

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

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ON THE NEW YEAR 1952

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January 1, 1952

Dear comrade soldiers and noncommissioned officers of the land, naval and air forces of the Korean People's Army,

Comrade officers and generals,

Ushering in 1952, a year of new victories, I would, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Supreme Headquarters of the Korean People's Army and on my own behalf, like to offer warm congratulations to all the men and officers of the People's Army who are fighting heroically for the independence, freedom and honour of the country.

Last year the Korean People's Army, together with the units of the fraternal Chinese People's Volunteers, won a historic victory in the struggle against the US imperialist invaders.

The US imperialist aggressors who launched the war against Korea and tried to occupy our country by "blitz warfare" have suffered a serious blow and their insidious plan of aggression is being frustrated as the days go by. Their vociferous propaganda that "technical superiority" decides the outcome of a war has been proved to be false, and their own experience has made it difficult for them to believe any longer in the "decisive role" of their air force and technical equipment.

Because of the powerful blows dealt by the units of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, the casualties on the side of the US imperialist interventionists keep increasing, and the battlefields are now turning into graves for the mercenaries of US imperialism.

In the Korean war the US imperialist invaders have sustained serious defeats not only militarily but also politically and morally. They have laid bare their foul, atrocious bestiality through the horrendous rape, plunder and massacre they have committed in Korea.

Conscientious people the world over, not to speak of the Korean people, curse the US imperialist invaders, the cannibals who put the Hitlerites in the shade, branding them as the most heinous enemy of mankind. Their crimes are being denounced bitterly even by their own people.

The US imperialist mercenaries are now in such a state that they can no longer pin any hope on the prospect of their winning the war and their combat capabilities and morale are falling with each passing day.

This clearly shows that the US imperialist aggressors are confronted with an insurmountable crisis in the Korean war.

The men and officers of the Korean People's Army have displayed unmatched heroism and noble patriotism in the sacred struggle for freedom of the country and happiness of the people and have upheld the honour of the Korean People's Army before the whole world by performing brilliant feats in battle.

In the war the Korean People's Army has always estimated the enemy forces accurately and dealt them annihilating blows. It has grown into an invincible revolutionary armed force with a wealth of combat experience, military skills and fighting ability, and lofty moral qualities.

At present our People's Army is fully prepared to annihilate and force all the US imperialist armed interventionists out of our country. Even the most desperate efforts of the aggressors cannot cope with the militancy of our People's Army which is increasing day by day.

Further assistance is coming in from the Soviet Union, the People's

Republic of China and other People's Democracies to the Korean people who have risen in the righteous struggle against the US imperialist invaders for the independence and freedom of their country, and this is making our People's Army and people more confident of their ultimate victory in the war.

In the present situation, if the US imperialist aggressors do not abandon their vicious designs to invade Korea but continue with the war, they will only meet with an ignominious defeat.

But the enemy is cunning and heinous by nature.

The men and officers of the People's Army must deal stronger blows at the invaders to destroy them and must, without being carried away by victory, heighten their revolutionary vigilance, and make thoroughgoing combat preparations to promptly frustrate any move by the enemy at aggression.

In addition, with a view to consolidating the victory already gained and winning the final victory, they must make every effort to expand the ranks of heroes and model combatants, perfect their military knowledge, skills and fighting ability, raise their political and ideological level, exchange and spread good combat experience extensively, have closer ties with the people, and increase the fighting efficiency of the units.

I am firmly convinced that all the men and officers of the People's Army will display heroism, daring and tenacity, set fresh examples and win greater victories in the new year, so as to achieve as early as possible the ultimate triumph in the Fatherland Liberation War, the unanimous desire of our beloved country and people.

Long live our honourable Korean People's Army!

Glory to the units of the valiant Chinese People's Volunteers!

Immortal glory to the brave soldiers who have fallen in the liberation war for the reunification, independence and freedom of our country!

Long live our glorious country!

Wipe out the US imperialist aggressors!

ON THE TASKS OF PUBLIC PROSECUTORS

**Speech at a Meeting of Chief Public Prosecutors
of Provincial, City and County Public Prosecutors Offices**

January 17, 1952

Comrades,

I have listened to your speeches at today's meeting with great interest. I am sorry that I could not hear your debate from the start. But the speeches made by a few comrades are enough to convince me that public prosecutors are working faithfully to implement the policies of the Party and the Government.

As you all know, ours is a body of public prosecutors for the people. It is an organ to defend and fulfil the policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and safeguard judicially the system of people's democracy.

Why should there be such an organ which judicially safeguards state power and the system of people's democracy established in the northern half of Korea?

The Korean people established state power for themselves and set up an advanced system of people's democracy in the northern half of Korea. Our state power is a power of the broad sections of the working people with the working class at the core; it is a genuine people's power to defend the interests of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. The people's power is working to achieve the complete independence, sovereignty and democratic progress of our country and raise the living standards of the people.

The masters of state power in our country are the broad masses of

people, including the workers and peasants. The landlords, capitalists, and stooges of imperialism who exploited others and lived in affluence in the past are opposed to our people's power. Their opposition aims at seizing power and regaining their old position to exploit the people and live in luxury and at selling the country and people again to the imperialists.

In order to defend the people's power and the people's democratic system from the encroachment of class enemies, there must be an organ that fights them on the strength of the law. Information work and education alone cannot defend the people's power and the people's democratic system from the insidious moves of class enemies. Through powerful judicial bodies such as the public prosecutors offices and courts, we must curb by law those who oppose the people's power and manoeuvre to destroy the democratic system.

The basic task of public prosecutors is to strongly defend the policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic, safeguard the people's power and the system of people's democracy and protect the lives and property of the people.

Our immediate goal in struggle is to repel the aggression of the US imperialists and their lackeys and achieve the complete independence and sovereignty of our country. The war we are waging now is a national-liberation war against US imperialist occupation and invasion of our country and a class war against the traitorous Syngman Rheeites trying to establish a government of landlords and capitalists even in the northern half of Korea.

To emerge victorious in this struggle to repel the aggression of the US imperialists and their henchmen and defend the people's power and the democratic system, we must rally the broad masses of people closely around our Party and the Government of the Republic.

The social and political composition of our population has become very complex owing to the protracted Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the division of our country by the US imperialists, and the policy of national estrangement the US imperialists pursued during our temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War. Among the people

of different strata there are those who have resolved to fight hand in hand with us to the end as well as those who might drop off halfway after having fought together with us for some time. Therefore, rallying the broad masses from all walks of life closely around the Party and the Government poses itself as a very important problem at present.

While working to build a prosperous, independent and sovereign democratic state the people's power has made strenuous efforts to unite the broad sections of masses around the Party. Every policy pursued by the people's power is designed to provide the people with genuine freedoms and rights in accordance with the Party's line and to unite them around it.

The people's power enacted the Labour Law and carried out the agrarian reform, thus effecting a fundamental change in the status of the workers and peasants and rallying them firmly around the Party. It authorized and encouraged private trade and industry, with the result that it won over even the private traders and manufacturers to our side. Also, by means of a correct united front policy it could enlist the broad masses of all strata in the vigorous struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique and for national reunification.

Needless to say, there still are bigoted people in some sections of the friendly parties. They cherish a delusion of seizing power, ignorant of the law of social development. However, they are quite small in number and are not supported by the masses. Only backward peasants in some mountainous areas follow them now. We should educate and win over all such peasants. They have also experienced exploitation and oppression in the past. That is why we will be able to educate and win them over.

The Government of the Republic is going to give all possible assistance to the peasants in mountainous regions in future. We intend to organize agro-stock farms in mountainous areas, to improve the living conditions of the peasants, and also to intensify their education. We will also gradually send them to factories as industry progresses. This will induce them to come with us, keenly realizing the correctness

of the policies pursued by the people's power. Then, they will pay no heed to the false propaganda of the bigoted groups no matter how hard they conduct it, and as a result, the latter will be further isolated.

What is most important in forming a united front with friendly parties is guaranteeing proper unity at the grass-roots. This is why I reemphasized this problem in a pointed manner at the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, too.

The Government of the Republic is taking various popular measures to unite more people around the Party, even in the difficult situation of the war. Officials of state organizations should strive to ensure the internalization of all state laws and decisions by the masses and correctly carry out the popular measures of the state. In particular, officials of local power organs, including the chairmen of ri people's committees who always come in contact and work among the masses, should fulfil their roles well.

At present quite a few officials of government organs fail to properly execute the laws of the state and the decisions and directives of the Party and Government. Although higher bodies frame good laws, and pass down sound decisions and directives, officials at lower levels produce contrary results in many cases, because they work in a bureaucratic manner. Without eliminating bureaucracy it is impossible to properly carry out the decisions and directives of the Party and Government.

Public prosecutors should supervise whether the officials of state organizations duly execute Party and Government decisions and directives and should intensify the judicial struggle against the officials who violate laws and regulations and behave in a bureaucratic manner. Thus they will rally more people of different strata around the Party.

What problems, then, should public prosecutors pay special attention to in fulfilling their tasks?

First, they should correctly analyse and deal, from the class point of view, with the criminal practices they discover while supervising the execution of state policy.

If we are to carry out a righteous judicial struggle against criminals,

it is important to judge them correctly from the class standpoint.

Criminals are not always hostile elements. Among them are those who have committed crimes unwittingly because there is in them the ideological survival of Japanese imperialism and feudalism or those who have committed offences because of the habits carried over from the old society. Most criminals are such people. Public prosecutors should, therefore, deal with criminal acts that are brought to their notice after strictly ascertaining whether they are intentional acts against our state power or crimes committed unconsciously due to the remnants of outdated ideas.

At present judicial and prosecution officials are inclined, in quite a few cases, to indiscriminately regard all criminals as reactionaries, instead of correctly analysing their crimes from the class point of view. You cannot deal with the offenders effectively in this way.

Public prosecutors should not deal with criminal acts uniformly but should classify them from the class point of view; they should enforce severe legal sanctions against those who deliberately acted against our state power and educate those who committed offences without hostile intentions, taking appropriate steps to prevent the recurrence of such crimes. The sources of hostile acts should thus be removed and many people brought over to our side.

Second, public prosecutors should correctly understand our Party's policy on voluntary surrender and execute it thoroughly.

Our Party's policy on voluntary surrender is that even hostile criminals should be dealt with leniently for their former offences and we should magnanimously take them into our fold for re-education, once they surrender themselves to the authorities, sincerely repenting the crimes they committed against our Party and people. This policy has great political importance.

At present different deviations are seen among some people because of their lack of knowledge about our Party's policy on voluntary surrender. Some are sceptical about the policy, saying, "How can we keep the murderers alive?", and others even regard it as a policy of compromise with the enemy. They are all mistaken. It is

necessary to know clearly the circumstances in which the Party's policy on voluntary surrender was put forward.

During the period of our temporary retreat the US imperialists entered the northern half of Korea and forced many people to commit crimes against our Party and the Government of the Republic. They formed various reactionary organizations and drew many innocent people into them by threat and blackmail. This is not in the least different from the fact that in the past the Japanese imperialists, by employing crafty methods, forced many Koreans to commit crimes against Korean communists.

The US imperialists expected that if many people were incriminated, our Party and the Government of the Republic would retaliate against them. Ruling other nations by dividing and alienating sections of the population is a customary method of the US imperialists. They sought to achieve their aggressive aims easily by making our people quarrel with and suspect each other, instead of uniting. If we punished as enemies all the people who had joined reactionary organizations, we would lose a large number of the masses and, in the last analysis, be taken in by the US imperialists' play. We should not fall prey to their sinister designs but foil them in advance.

Our Party's policy is to re-educate and unite on our side anybody who assumes a conscientious attitude today, irrespective of his past record. We pursue the policy of voluntary surrender to frustrate the enemy's insidious moves, isolate them and win over and rally together more people to our side.

During the past month, ever since we set forth this policy, several thousands of people have already surrendered themselves to justice. If we had not adopted this policy but only searched for the offenders, we could not have captured so many within a month. Even now guilty people are giving themselves up in surrender to the authorities.

Offenders give themselves up because they have realized that the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic is justified, that the Korean people have great strength to defeat the US imperialists and that to follow the US imperialists, the foreign aggressors, instead

of our Party and people, is treachery. Of course, among those who surrender there can be bad elements who give themselves up on the surface. However, we should regard the overwhelming majority of those who surrender as those who have denounced themselves with sincerity. Since they are Koreans, they must have national feelings as such, though they have committed crimes. Therefore, once they learn our Party's policy correctly, they will all follow us instead of the enemy.

Among those who have joined reactionary organizations, there are many people from the basic classes. Why then have they joined? It is because they lacked class awareness as they had had no access to systematic education because of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and, in addition, we had not given them a proper political education after liberation. So, as we retreated temporarily, they thought the Republic was going to fall, succumbed to the enemy's threat and blackmail and joined reactionary organizations. Most of them are not the kind of people who have been opposed to our state power from the start. Today they deeply repent their crimes and give active support to our Party policy.

Ever since we made effective the policy on voluntary surrender, the US imperialists have been very worried because the "Reds" are not taken in by their deceptive artifice. They cannot be otherwise because even the spies they send surrender to us voluntarily, bringing weapons and wireless sets with them.

Public prosecutors should have a clear understanding of the objective of the Party and the correctness of its policy on voluntary surrender and carry it out without any deviation. You should not ill-treat or insult those who come to surrender. This will drive them back onto the road of counter-revolution. Neither should you succumb to Rightist deviations such as holding a welcome meeting for surrenderers as was the case in some places. You should sharpen your vigilance against them, while reeducating them at the same time.

We should push forward the work of encouraging voluntary surrender in future, too, and, parallel to this, intensify the work of

detecting those who are in hiding, refusing to surrender.

Third, public prosecutors should execute the law accurately and induce all the people to observe it strictly.

They should correctly interpret laws and apply them fairly to everybody. At present some of them say that when high-ranking cadres or officials of government organs violate the law, they find it difficult to enforce sanctions against them. They are wrong. Our laws are made in accordance with the will of the entire people and are aimed at defending their interests. There is no stipulation that in case cadres have infringed upon the interests of the people, it should not be regarded as a crime. Cadres, high or low, should be held guilty if they violate the law.

Recently the chairman of the North Hamgyong Provincial People's Committee was punished by the law, and rightly so. Counting on his penal servitude in the days of Japanese imperialism, he squandered plenty of state property and committed grave errors. If he had not been punished by the law on the grounds that he had taken part in some sort of struggle in the past, what would have happened? It would have had a negative effect on the people. Millions of people are now working as splendidly as those who participated in revolutionary struggles before. If the law does not punish an offender on the plea that he was a participant in past revolutionary struggles, we should not punish the crimes committed by some of those millions of people either. This will, after all, blunt the people's sense of observing laws. Therefore, public prosecutors should not compromise even on trivial violations of the law but wage a resolute struggle against them.

Voluntary abidance by the law is a sacred duty of all citizens. No cadres can be exempted from this; cadres should have a stronger sense of observing laws than anybody else. Particularly, cadres should not neglect abiding by the law, boasting of their past records of struggle.

Flowers are loved by the people only when they keep blooming. If a flower does not blossom again, the flower pot is neglected by the people. The same is true with the revolutionaries; only when they remain faithful to the revolution, will they be loved by the people, but

if they do not play any helpful role today just because they were engaged in some struggle in the past, they will not earn the respect of the people. Former revolutionaries should work for the Party and revolution as faithfully as before.

Public prosecutors should strive to prevent illegal practices.

To do this, explanatory and information work about the law should be intensified among the people. In his speech just a while ago, a chief public prosecutor said that after he had gathered ri officials together and explained the law to them, they did not indulge in illegal practices. This is very good. Public prosecutors should carry on this sort of explanation at factories, villages and at civil service establishments so that people are well aware of the requirements of the law and observe it to the letter.

Public prosecutors should take profound care to see that illegal practices are not indulged in by cadres in particular.

Officials in the Public Prosecutors Offices of North Hamgyong Province and Chongjin could not have been ignorant of the wrongdoings of the provincial people's committee chairman. If they had a spirit of genuine comradeship, they should have helped him observe the law. They are to blame for having let him degenerate to such an extent.

To prevent illegalities, it is necessary to supervise the execution of the law strictly, while intensifying explanation and information work regarding it. Public prosecutors should, through such supervision, find out the factors underlying illegal activities in good time and take appropriate measures in contact with Party organizations, so as to prevent violations of legal order.

Fourth, public prosecutors should strengthen the struggle against wastage of state property.

State property is property of the people. To economize to the utmost in using the people's property and increase state accumulation is a highly important problem.

Since the war has been prolonged, the material condition of the country is extremely strained. We should increase state accumulation

so as to cope with the prolonged war and it is also necessary to do so from now onwards to build socialism after the war. In order to guarantee state accumulation wastage should be completely avoided.

However, some state and economic organizations are wasting materials, instead of economizing to the maximum extent and, what is worse, some individual officials embezzle state property.

Of late some officials are showing an inclination towards increasing state expenditure at random, giving no thought to the country's economic situation. This is wrong. At present our country has a state economy as well as small commodity and capitalist economies. In these circumstances the state cannot bear the brunt of all necessary expenditure. Moreover, in the present wartime conditions when state revenue is small, you should have no intentions of increasing the expenditure.

In Kaesong, however, they have built old people's homes and orphanages and taken in the old folks and orphans entrusted to individuals and even war victims, spending out of the grain stocks and finances of the state which are not sufficient. And some others propose to build large hospitals in villages; but in our present situation we cannot afford to build large hospitals in villages and give full-scale free medical service making use of a huge amount of state funds. At some places they supply rice rations to those who are not eligible to receive them or give rations and wages to loafers. This should not be done. Distribution should be conducted at present according to the quantity and quality of work done. True, in communist society each works according to his ability and receives according to his need, but this is a thing of the distant future.

Quite a few practices of wastage are also seen among cadres who assert their importance. When promoted as cadres, some people, instead of trying to do a better job, demand cars, try to assert their dignity by being attended on by adjutants and secretaries, and increase the number of their staff. They should not do this. They should simplify their office work using a small number of people.

From now on a vigorous struggle should be waged against the

wastage of state property throughout the Party, state and society. In particular, the role of public prosecutors should be enhanced to further strengthen the judicial struggle against wastage.

Fifth, public prosecutors should improve their style of work.

Whenever the occasion offers itself I emphasize the necessity of improving work style. Some public prosecutors and security servicemen, however, still treat people roughly or cause damage to their property, behaving like the policemen of the days of the Japanese imperialists. This is because obsolete ideas of Japanese imperialism remain in their minds. Although they did not work as policemen in those days, they used to see Japanese policemen beat up people left and right, plunder their property and receive bribes from them. Therefore, if they do not discard the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism, they may behave in a similar fashion.

Some public prosecutors are not modest and put on airs, pretending to know what they do not know. And some others are apt to tolerate wrong things when instructed to work in unity, and quarrel over trivial matters when asked to wage a principled struggle. As long as matters continue in this way, they cannot administer the law properly.

Public prosecutors should be polite in their speech and behaviour and live a frugal life. There is nothing wrong in dressing simply like the chief prosecutor of Cholsan County who is present at this meeting; he wears padded clothes, outer socks and straw sandals. Needless to say, when the war is over, we can wear good-quality suits and shoes, but in wartime conditions we cannot do so. The more frugally you live, the better.

Public prosecutors should be firm in principle, while being modest at the same time. In other words, they should be gentle in appearance but tough mentally. While being gentle and modest in their daily lives, they should be rigorous in the struggle against crimes.

In addition, public prosecutors should be exemplary in observing the law.

If they are to wage a principled struggle against criminal acts, those enforcing the law should abide by it better than anybody else.

Otherwise, public prosecutors cannot fight against offences.

Quite a few illegal practices are seen now among officials working in judicial organizations. It is not as though public prosecutors are exempted from the application of the law. Even public prosecutors should be punished by the law when they have committed crimes.

The Party, the Government of the Republic and the people have vested you with judicial power, because they trust you. When public prosecutors are fully aware of the honourable task assigned them by the Party, Government and people, they will not indulge in illegal acts but become models in the observance of the law.

Public prosecutors should accept Party leadership in good faith.

It is wrong for the offices of public prosecutors to be opposed to local Party and government organizations and fail to maintain good ties with them, claiming that they will only obey upper bodies in line with centralism, or for public prosecutors not to accede to the instructions of Party organizations, saying that they will only obey the law. Our laws reflect the people's will and embody Party policy. All public prosecutors are members of the Workers' Party. Therefore, the prosecutors who do not rely on the Party and obey its instructions are not steadfast in ideology and standpoint. Public prosecutors should have close ties with local Party and government bodies and rely strictly on the Party in their work.

Sixth, public prosecutors should strive to firmly equip themselves with working-class consciousness and raise their political and theoretical level.

Learning by rote the text of laws alone will not enable public prosecutors to do their work satisfactorily. Only when they have a high degree of working-class spirit, can they distinguish between our allies and foes and accurately discern between the crimes committed by class enemies and those committed by our allies before disposing of them.

To form a national united front, we are now placing greater emphasis on the national aspect rather than the class aspect. But we should not do the same in executing the law. On all accounts we must maintain a sharp class standpoint in administering the law, and this

calls for public prosecutors to arm themselves strongly with working-class consciousness.

In order to carry out the policies of the Party and state faithfully, public prosecutors should also steadily improve their political and theoretical level. An analysis of the errors being committed by public prosecutors in their work ascribes the main cause of such errors to their low political and theoretical level. Public prosecutors should make tireless efforts to raise this level and, in particular, intensify their studies to understand our Party's policies.

Comrades,

It is of great importance that a meeting was held of chief public prosecutors from public prosecutors offices at all levels in wartime conditions. I think you must have learned a great deal through this meeting and realized clearly how to work from now on.

Comrade chief public prosecutors should have strong confidence in victory and carry out all policies of the Party and the Government of the Republic, including those of establishing a strict legal order, stabilizing the people's livelihood and correctly implementing the policy on voluntary surrender.

I am sure that you will fulfil creditably the important task confronting the public prosecutors offices at present, so as to contribute greatly to ensuring victory in the war.

ON MAKING GOOD PREPARATIONS FOR UNIVERSAL, FREE MEDICAL CARE

**Instruction to Senior Officials
of the Ministry of Public Health**

January 20, 1952

We must introduce universal, free medical care from next year.

Introduction of this system is not a mere administrative and technical task; it is a very important political task which will realize the centuries-old desire of our people.

In the past our people lived a very miserable life as colonial slaves, going hungry and ragged. They could not receive medical care when they fell ill. As a result, many people died, unable to go to hospitals or take even a dose of medicine. All our parents also died early after suffering in such conditions.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we taught our guerrillas the Korean alphabet and then made them write compositions or letters. They all wrote tearful accounts, with hatred for the Japanese imperialist aggressors, landlords and capitalists, of how they had been humiliated by them, and how they had not been able to get even a dose of medicine for their ailing parents. This is a grudge harboured not merely by the anti-Japanese guerrillas but also by our nation as a whole.

While toiling under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in the past, our people nursed a desire to live long in happiness, free from diseases. It is a lofty task for us revolutionaries to make this

long-cherished desire of our people come true.

Soon after we drove out the Japanese imperialist invaders and liberated the country, we embarked on measures to introduce a public health system. We wiped out the remnants of Japanese imperialist colonial rule from the sphere of health services and ran it on a democratic basis. From 1947 onwards, in accordance with the Social Insurance Law, we ensured that free medical care was given to factory and office workers and their dependents who were in need of medical assistance. We also set up medical colleges, medical schools, nurses' schools and other centres to train large numbers of health workers of working-people origin. To add to this, we built hospitals and clinics in many parts of the country, thus completely eliminating the existence of sub-counties without doctors by the first half of 1950. We also manufactured and supplied quite a few medicines and medical appliances by our own efforts.

Even in difficult wartime conditions, we have paid and continue to pay great attention to public health. We have reorganized the health services on a war footing to protect the health of the men and officers of the People's Army and the people at the home front. In particular, we give free first-aid treatment to those wounded by enemy bombing and gunfire and medical services to war victims.

However, we should not confine ourselves to this. We should introduce universal and free medical care at state expense. This would be one of the most popular measures.

Certain people may wonder how it is possible to introduce free medical service at state expense when the country is facing a very difficult situation due to the war. True, it is no easy task in the present conditions to introduce universal and free medical care at state expense. To put this system into effect the state has to allocate plenty of funds to health work and provide all the necessary conditions for it. But, no matter how enormous the state expenditure and no matter what the difficulties are, we, who share the bitter and the sweet with the people, should do all we can to ensure universal and free medical care.

Nothing is more precious to us than the lives of the people. At

present our people are struggling both at the front and in the rear dedicating all they have to final victory in the war. What is it that we cannot spare for the people who fight selflessly, displaying noble patriotism and mass heroism? There is nothing we can spare for them.

The conditions and possibilities for the introduction of universal and free medical care do exist. We have already trained quite a few health workers and restored medical establishments damaged in the war.

We also have experience in enforcing free medical service in accordance with the Social Insurance Law. If we make effective use of the existing conditions and possibilities, we will be able to adopt the system of universal and free medical care even in wartime conditions.

Introduction of this system will mark an epochal step forward in the protection and improvement of the people's health. With the working of this system their health will be effectively guaranteed. All our people will receive medical treatment without paying a penny when they fall ill and will be free for ever from worries about obtaining treatment for their diseases. When the system is introduced, the people will have greater faith in our people's democratic system and strive to safeguard it with all devotion.

We must make adequate preparations to introduce universal and free medical care. We should now map out a plan to make meticulous preparations for a year or so.

First of all, health workers should be trained on a large scale and the qualifications of those already active in the field definitively improved.

If we are to make effective universal and free medical care, we need many doctors, pharmacists, nurses and other health workers. Without training large numbers of health workers it is no use introducing the system. While training large numbers of doctors, pharmacists and nurses at the existing medical colleges, medical schools and nurses' schools, the Ministry of Public Health should open short courses to train health workers in a big way. In particular, we should train many women health workers. Personnel required for the system of universal and free medical care should be trained not merely in terms of numbers

but in terms of quality. And the Cabinet should keep a lookout for individuals with the qualifications of doctors and pharmacists who work in other fields, and transfer them all to the sphere of health services.

The qualifications of health workers now in service should be decisively improved. Health workers deal with human lives. In capitalist society where medicine is used as a means for making money, the doctors' qualifications are not an important matter, but under our system where medicine serves to protect and promote the people's health, the improvement of doctors' qualifications is a matter of pressing urgency. When doctors are poorly qualified, the medical services will not be very effective in protecting the people's lives. While eliminating the existence of unqualified doctors as early as possible, the Ministry of Public Health should see to it that the habit of study is ingrained among doctors to constantly learn modern medical techniques.

Particular attention should be directed to the education of health workers.

At present they are striving to contribute satisfactorily to wartime health services but they still retain quite a few remnants of the old ideas. These survivals are manifested in that they do not treat the sufferings of patients as their own and that they lack devotion to patients. Some of them have proposed that pharmacies should be separated from hospitals; this is, in essence, another manifestation of the remnants of obsolete ideologies. If pharmacies are to be separated from hospitals, patients will have to go to the hospitals to consult doctors and then to the pharmacies for medicines. This will only increase the difficulty of the patients.

In the light of the importance of their duties health workers should free themselves completely from outmoded ideas. We should tirelessly conduct a campaign of ideological remoulding among them to equip them thoroughly with noble patriotism and democratic thoughts. This will be effective in inducing all of them to work for the protection of the people's health and lives, devoting their entire knowledge and

energy.

Rehabilitation and building of hospitals and clinics is an important task in the introduction of universal and free medical care.

The Ministry of Public Health should, in touch with the local organs of people's power, quickly restore and put into good order those hospitals and clinics which have not been fully rehabilitated as yet and, at the same time, set up new ones. The ministry should have them built preferentially in areas where there are not many medical establishments. This will enable the population to benefit from better medical services.

In restoring and building hospitals and clinics, adequate consideration should be given to wartime conditions, our people's habits, and prophylactic requirements. They should not be built too large but compactly in safe places and should have heated floors. The best way is to build them in semi-dugout style. This will make it possible to prevent damages from enemy bombing and economize in manpower and materials. Therefore, many hospitals and clinics should be built in this style. They should be built in such a way as to fulfil the need for medical establishments and schools of mass education in hygiene.

The manpower and materials needed to restore and build hospitals and clinics should be secured locally as far as possible. If we conduct effective information work about universal and free medical services among the people, they will give active help in the restoration and building of hospitals and clinics.

Close attention should be paid to the manufacture of medical appliances and medicines.

An increase in their production is an essential requirement for the successful introduction of universal and free medical services. We should not depend entirely on foreign countries for medical appliances and medicines but manufacture and supply them on our own. The facilities to manufacture medical supplies which were destroyed in the war should be restored quickly and kept in good shape so as to provide good-quality appliances and efficacious medicines in large quantities.

Medicinal herb which is available in abundance in our country should also be collected to increase the production of Korean medicines.

Taking into full account the situation with regard to funds, materials and manpower in consultation with the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Public Health should make preparations in a responsible way for the introduction of universal and free medical care.

Wartime sanitation and anti-epidemic work should be further strengthened.

In the health services emphasis should be placed on the prevention of diseases of all kinds through efficient sanitation and anti-epidemic work. In order to strengthen this work in wartime conditions, it is imperative to establish a well-regulated system for the work and to enhance the role of the agencies concerned. At present there are sanitation and anti-epidemic organizations from the centre down to localities but they have failed to play their role the way they should. They should intensify information work about sanitation and anti-epidemic work to disseminate knowledge of public health among the people and enlist the broad sections of them to the work. Meanwhile, guidance and supervision are necessary for all civil service establishments, enterprises and homes to keep their surroundings in good order and to conduct cleaning and disinfection on a regular basis. An active struggle should be waged among the working people against all manner of uncultured and unsanitary manners and customs.

THE TASKS AND ROLE OF THE LOCAL ORGANS OF POWER AT THE PRESENT STAGE

**Speech at a Joint Meeting of People's Committee
Chairmen and Leading Party Officials
of Provinces, Cities and Counties**

February 1, 1952

Comrades,

Many comrades have referred, in their speeches, to the practical activities of local organs of power in wartime. As their speeches reveal, there are many shortcomings in the work of our local organs of power. Therefore, I think it necessary to emphasize once again the fundamental problems concerning their tasks and role at the present stage.

1. THE CHARACTER OF PEOPLE'S POWER AND ITS BASIC TASK AT THE PRESENT STAGE

Comrades,

The Government of the Republic—our central organ of state power—and the people's committees at all levels—the local organs of power—are organs of genuine people's power of a new type.

Our people came to have their own power only after our country was liberated from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. This power is one by elected representatives of the broad sections of the people, including the workers, peasants, working intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie—the overwhelming majority of the Korean people.

The characteristic features of this power organ lie in the fact that it is a government organized by the people themselves, one which champions the people's interests and fights for their freedom and welfare. It maintains close ties with the people, relies upon them in its work and enjoys the support of the masses. The organ of people's power is one which performs its work with the participation of the broad masses and is deeply rooted among the masses.

Our people's power exercises dictatorship over the landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-US elements and traitors to the nation who are stooges of imperialism and spread its influence, but it exercises democracy as far as the people are concerned.

The basic task our people's power has set itself for the present stage is that under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, the vanguard of the working masses, it rallies around itself the working class and all other sections of the people and all the patriotic, democratic forces under the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea; wages the nationwide struggle against the heinous enemies of the Korean people, the Syngman Rhee reactionaries—representatives of the traitors to the nation, pro-Japanese and pro-US elements, comprador capitalists and landlords—and foreign aggressors; and strives for the complete independence of Korea, the democratic advance of the country, the building of an independent national economy and the improvement of the people's living standards.

As you all know, the seizure of power by the working class is only the beginning of the proletarian revolution. Comrade Stalin has said that after the working class has seized power, it is necessary to carry out the following three major tasks that confront the dictatorship of the proletariat:

“a) to break the resistance of the landlords and capitalists who have

been overthrown and expropriated by the revolution, and to liquidate every attempt on their part to restore the power of capital;

“b) to organize construction in such a way as to rally all the working people around the proletariat, and to carry on this work along the lines of preparing for the elimination, the abolition of classes;

“c) to arm the revolution, to organize the army of the revolution for the struggle against foreign enemies, for the struggle against imperialism.”

Our Party and our people’s power have been and are guided by these principles laid down by Comrade Stalin.

Since they took power into their hands, the Korean people have steadily fought to shatter the attempt of the enemies of the people—pro-Japanese and pro-US elements, traitors to the nation, comprador capitalists and landlords—to restore their power. Under the leadership of the Party, our people’s power has prepared the political and economic forces for securing the country’s reunification, independence and democratic advance by carrying out the democratic reforms and pushing ahead with economic construction and cultural development in the northern half of the country. It has organized its own People’s Army capable of crushing foreign aggressors and the armed forces of the internal reactionaries and has worked to strengthen this army.

But because our territory is divided and our nation split into two, we could not gear all the country’s resources and the strength of the entire people to construction along democratic lines. Moreover, due to the surprise invasion launched by the enemy on June 25, 1950, peaceful construction was suspended and our people entered the Fatherland Liberation War to safeguard the independence and freedom of the country.

As mentioned above, after liberation the situation in our country was complex and we had a very short period for peaceful construction. In spite of this, we built a powerful democratic base in the north and accumulated the political, economic and military forces to consolidate and safeguard it.

Already in the days of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, the Korean people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, carried out democratic reforms of historic significance, such as the agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries, the Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality, and did tremendous work to consolidate our democratic system. The people's power proceeded with economic construction and cultural development, rapidly rehabilitating and developing the national economy and national culture, improving the material and cultural life of the people and training large numbers of cadres needed for different branches. It built up our People's Army into an army capable of fighting as well as it does today and educated the people in progressive ideas.

Had it not been for these preparations, we could not have thwarted the enemy's advance and gone over to the counteroffensive to drive him down to the Raktong River area, nor could we fight against the American and British imperialist invaders for long, as we are doing at present.

All these achievements constitute a great victory won by the entire Korean people under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, and are the outcome of the strenuous struggle waged by our people's power. These achievements show that the new type of power organ the Korean people set up themselves is an excellent form of government suited to the actual conditions of our country.

2. THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR AND PEOPLE'S POWER

Our people's power demonstrated its advantages not only in peacetime construction but in war. The Fatherland Liberation War has proved that this power is the only power that can defend the independence and freedom of our country from encroachment by

foreign aggressors and lead the Korean people to a happy life.

When the US imperialists launched their surprise attack, the Korean people were able to reorganize all work in the country on a war footing and mobilize everything for victory at the front without confusion, because they had strengthened their state power and reinforced the People's Army. As a result, under the leadership of the Party and the Government, the Korean people have been able to win the victory of today in the 19 months of battle against long odds.

In the war, the Korean people have inflicted a heavy blow upon the enemy, making him realize that he will never be able to subjugate them.

The enemy reckoned that he could conquer our country and our people at a stroke with his tanks, aircraft and superior military technique. The Korean people of today, however, are not the Korean people of the days of the feudal Ri dynasty; they are not a people living under the corrupt rule of that time. The Korean people today are a people led by the Workers' Party of Korea which is armed with Marxism-Leninism, a people who have taken power in their own hands, a liberated people who are ready to fight to the last drop of their blood for the freedom and independence of their country.

The war being waged today by the Korean people against the US imperialist plunderers is not only a national liberation war to defend the independence and freedom of our country from imperialist aggression, but also a war to safeguard peace and security throughout the world. Our people's heroic struggle against the invasion of the US imperialists and their lackeys has become a banner for the colonial and oppressed nations of the East in their liberation movement. That is why all the progressive people of the world support our people's just struggle and world opinion and attention have been focussed on the Korean war.

Our people's power has withstood severe trials and grown stronger in the course of the war.

The Korean people infinitely love this new type of power, which is their very own. This is because they are convinced that this power

alone is the genuine power of the Korean people, that this power alone can safeguard the independence and freedom of our country against imperialist invasion and carry the Fatherland Liberation War to victory, and that this power alone can ensure a happy life for our people and lead our country along the road of democracy and socialism after victory.

Our most important task at present is to annihilate the enemy, defend the independence and freedom of our country and safeguard the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The US imperialists have not yet given up their wild design to turn the whole of Korea into a colony and are attempting to extend the war. The enemy is rearming Japanese imperialism, the inveterate enemy of our people, and manoeuvring to conquer Asia, using our country as a springboard for aggression, and ignite another world war. Our victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, therefore, will be a victory not only for the Korean people but for all the people of Asia and the world who want peace.

We are winning and will certainly emerge victorious from this sacred war.

Some people ask, "How can we defeat the mighty US imperialists?" Some officials of ri people's committees in Kaephung, Yonbaek and Ongjin, areas which were once under the rule of the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, say, "The Government of the Republic is a genuine government of the Korean people and people's power is genuine power of the Korean people. The policies pursued by the Government of the Republic are policies truly in the interests of the Korean people. You are right both in word and in deed. But once the Yankees come, we will all be killed because we work in the ri people's committee." They say, "How can Korea win against America? Korea was no match for Japan, so how can she win against America which is bigger and stronger than Japan?"

We can win, however. The 19 months of war furnishes ample proof of this. The Americans have made desperate efforts but have failed to conquer the Korean people.

If we had to fight alone, in isolation, that would be another

question, of course. Ours is an era when the banners of the socialist and democratic countries are flying from the Elbe to the Pacific.

We are not fighting single-handed. The Chinese People's Volunteers, sent by the Chinese people, are fighting side by side with us. Standing on our side first of all are the people of the Soviet Union, the strongest power in the world, the peoples of the People's Democracies and freedom-loving people throughout the world. The colonial and oppressed peoples in the East support us. So, we are mightier than the enemy.

Also, from the strategic viewpoint, the Korean People's Army is fighting in its own land and the Chinese People's Volunteers on the approaches to their territory, and they are both fighting without being separated from their solid rear. But the US imperialist aggressor troops are fighting thousands of miles away from their rear. So in this respect, too, we have far greater advantages.

Let us look at the morale of the soldiers. The US soldiers came to the Korean front for money and the British and other troops against their will. Because they are waging an unjust, aggressive war, they have no justifiable objective. As the days go by, they come to realize on whose account and for whom they are dying a worthless death on the Korean front. This is why their morale declines day by day.

But in the case of our People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers it is quite the opposite. They are fighting a death-defying battle because they know that they are waging a just war for the independence and freedom of their countries, for their peoples and for the revolution.

What, then, are we lacking as compared with the enemy? Militarily, we are worse off than the enemy as far as technical equipment goes. Technique, however, is not something one is born with. Even one who is not acquainted with it can acquire it. Our military technique is growing and improving every day. Time is in our favour. As time passes, our army will be better equipped technically, grow stronger, and eventually win final victory.

In order to win victory we must muster all our internal forces better,

do all work more correctly and consolidate the people's committees, our organs of people's power.

What should our organs of people's power do to win a long-drawn-out fight against the enemy?

They should enhance their role, mobilize all forces for victory by maintaining closer ties with the masses and rallying them around themselves more firmly, and heighten the people's political consciousness so that they are active in all work.

3. TASKS FOR CONSOLIDATING PEOPLE'S POWER

In order to strengthen people's power the following tasks should be carried out:

First, a struggle must be waged against the ideological hangovers from the days of Japanese imperialism and the remnants of obsolete feudal ideas, and against their manifestation—the bureaucratic style of work.

The ideological hangovers from the days of Japanese imperialism do tremendous harm to our work in every respect. Of course, it is impossible to root out these old ideological remnants in a short span of time. A long-term, persistent struggle is needed.

To combat the ideological vestiges of Japanese imperialism, we should intensify political education among the people and energetically set about patiently explaining and bringing Government policies home to the broad masses.

Why are the ideological survivals from the time of Japanese imperialism so much in evidence with us, above all in running the government?

Because they were in colonial bondage to Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century, the Korean people have had no government of their own and, accordingly, no experience in running one. Those few

who ever served in power organs are pro-Japanese elements and a very few elders who participated in the feudal government of the Ri dynasty before.

What the vast majority of our officials saw and heard in the past were things Japanese. The Japanese imperialists ruled the Korean people by bureaucracy and police methods. Consequently, even those who did not serve in Japanese imperialism's ruling organs, let alone those who did, were naturally affected by its ideology.

Some of the officials in the people's power organs have not yet got rid of all survivals of this ideology. Oblivious of the fact that they are the people's representatives, elected by the people, they behave like officials of Japanese imperialist days and dictate to the people. They do not realize that those who work in the organs of people's power are not bureaucrats in any sense but servants of the people. Though they come from among the people and were elected by them, they forget this once they are elected. They spoke the language of the worker or the peasant and were modest until yesterday, but after their election as representatives of the people they start using difficult words and behaving in an arrogant, bureaucratic way. In other words, they become not cadres of the people's power in the service of the people but bureaucrats.

In some villages, the people till the lands of the sub-county or ri people's committee chairman, raise money for him on his birthday or other feasts, and are saddled with various financial burdens, besides taxes, under this or that pretext. One county people's committee chairman in Hwanghae Province had a cow slaughtered for a banquet in celebration of his decoration with an order, and then made the people pay for it. All this shows that some of our officials are turning into bureaucrats.

Many of our officials act like Japanese imperialist officials when collecting taxes and, what is worse, they do such an outrageous thing as to make state purchases on credit. Even when collecting the tax in kind, some officials do it in the same way as the forced delivery that was practised in the Japanese imperialist days and do not hesitate to

ransack people's rice bins or clothes boxes.

What is the difference between such acts and those of sub-county chiefs, county heads and policemen under Japanese imperialist rule? There is no difference. If there is any at all it is that one is the people's committee chairman and the other was the Japanese imperialist officials, but their bureaucratic acts are the same.

Without stopping such bureaucratic acts on the part of the officials of the people's power organs, we cannot strengthen bonds with the people, and no decision or law, however good, can be effective. We must realize that we are not bureaucrats but servants of the people, elected by them.

Besides fighting against excessive acts of bureaucracy, we must combat the bureaucratic work style which finds expression in all work in one way or another.

Instead of paying heed to the voice of the people, meeting their demands and using the method of explanation and persuasion in doing their work, some of our cadres issue orders and commands to the people and bring pressure to bear upon them, so that they divorce themselves from the people.

These bureaucrats do not bother to find out what the masses want but assert that everything they do is right, nor do they bother to heed the advice of others or the voice of the masses. When such persons go down to the localities, they do not pay attention to the voice of the people but listen only to flatterers and are comforted by their false reports. They abuse subordinates who advance any different opinion, thus giving them no opportunity to tell their superiors their opinions on the work. Therefore, the lower units only report what is good to the higher organs and try to conceal what is bad as best they can for fear that higher organs or other people learn about it.

These things happen because people at the higher levels hold down their subordinates for no reason and because they do not carefully study the troubles and hardships confronting the lower units, help them smooth out difficulties and provide them with conditions for achieving success in their work.

For example, though autumn ploughing is not completed, the ri reports to the sub-county that it has been 100 per cent completed, so does the sub-county to the county and the county to the province. The provincial people's committee chairman reports likewise to the centre though he knows the facts.

Let us look into the question of tax in kind. Complaints are made against the wrong assessment of this tax in some localities. What is the reason?

Wrong assessment is due to the way things are already mishandled at the time of spring sowing. The area not sown to crops is reported as sown, while the higher authorities assess the tax on the basis of such reports without investigating the real state of affairs.

The county people's committee chairman does not collect the tax according to a correct assessment. Even when crop yields are poor, he reads the face of his superior and, if the superior seems to be in a good mood, he puts in a word-impossible; and if he is out of humour, he says it is possible, disregarding the facts. The upshot is that too heavy a burden of taxation is imposed on the peasants uniformly the way something is allotted. Thus, the tax in kind is not collected correctly in keeping with different local conditions—too much in some places and too little in others.

When collecting the tax in kind in certain districts, they do not take the actual conditions into account but press the peasants for delivery within the set time and are only concerned about the rate at which the collecting work is progressing. Consequently, grain is gathered in before it is ripe, and this does tremendous harm to both the peasants and the state. Another case is where floods have made it impossible to collect tax in kind, the peasants are pressed hard even to purchase and deliver it in order to fill their quotas. All these practices reveal the seriousness of the bureaucratic style of work of our officials.

If we do not rectify such bureaucratic methods of work, we will inevitably divorce ourselves from the people and may pervert our just cause. This could lead to discontent among the peasants and estranging ourselves from them even though we have given them land and

instituted an excellent system of tax in kind.

Despite these serious defects in the work of the officials of government organs, our people trust our Party and Government. Though the tax in kind is assessed incorrectly in the way of allotting something, the peasants deliver it to the state as required without complaint, saying, "A lot of rice must be needed in war." If we continue with this bureaucratic method of work just because the peasants do not complain, it will harm our work very much and discredit people's power in the eyes of the broad masses.

Bureaucracy has been revealed in the cloth production drive, too. This drive is a splendid patriotic movement to satisfy the demands of the army and give relief to the war victims. But the bureaucrats are ruining the movement.

The centre fixed a three-month term for the production of fabrics. But, in order to perform a glorious feat by completing the task before the deadline, the province shortened this term by 20 days, the county by another 20 days, the sub-county again by 20 days and the ri by yet another 20 days. In the end, only ten days were left out of the set term of 90 days for the people, the actual producers. The people make every effort, but can never fulfil their assignments in ten days. They are dunned so hard that some peasants cannot do anything else but give up the cloth put away for a daughter's or a son's marriage, and those peasants who have not even got such cloth buy it in the market at high prices. So, it is natural that the people should harbour grievances.

This is nothing but shirking one's responsibility in spite of how the masses suffer, an act of boosting oneself at the expense of the masses. The cloth production drive is a good campaign, but it has produced a harmful effect because it has been conducted in a bureaucratic way.

Discontent is fostered among the peasants in this way because officials of the power organs do their work in a bureaucratic manner. When the peasants become discontented, however, some officials say, "The peasants only grumble because they are backward. It needn't bother us." This is wrong. It sabotages our work. We should carefully study and analyse the people's demands and public opinion and take

appropriate measures.

Also, when they undertake some work, the bureaucrats do not widely enlist subordinates and activists in it, but take it upon themselves and try to carry it out on their own authority, thus making a mess of it. We must combat this bureaucratic style of doing things in an arbitrary manner. Many of our power organs often adopt decisions conflicting with local conditions, because they pay no heed to the opinions of the lower units and are not well acquainted with how matters stand with them. Even if they adopt good decisions, they do not bring the creative initiative of the masses into full play in implementing them but execute them in a bureaucratic way, with the result that things go amiss.

Take autumn ploughing for instance. Of course, autumn ploughing is a good thing, and must be done to increase the harvest. But though it is a good thing, the peasants just scatter earth over the fields in a perfunctory manner and report to the higher authorities that they have finished the ploughing, because you have simply pushed them to do it without taking their interests into account. This is all an outcome of the bureaucratic style of work on the part of the officials of our power organs who are ignorant of how matters really stand at the lower levels, do not listen to the views of the people but do their jobs in a formalistic way, being eager only to distinguish themselves.

Survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas which linger in our minds also find expression in the fact that some of our officials do not work as one with the masses but behave like bureaucrats or aristocrats. Cadres never take part in voluntary labour service such as road repair work but only mobilize the people for it. These officials were ordinary people themselves until yesterday, but now that they have either been elected or appointed people's committee chairman or internal security substation head, they think it is beneath their dignity to work with the people. What a shameful and deplorable thing! What is wrong with working with the people, breathing the same air as they and explaining things to them in times of hardship? Nothing is more honourable than working with the people. Nevertheless, some of our officials lose sight

of the people once they come to hold the post of “head”. We must fight against such goings-on.

The officials of the organs of people’s power must be genuine workers for the people, who rely on the people in work, pay regard to their interests, persuade and educate them instead of dictating to them, always learn from them and serve them in all sincerity.

Exposing and rectifying the shortcomings in the work of the power organs and eliminating the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism and the bureaucratic style of work still found in some of the officials does not in any way mean that taxes should not be collected or that procurement work should not be carried out. It does not mean either that we should not combat the petty-bourgeois ideas of the peasants.

Among the peasantry there are progressive peasants but there are also backward ones who only look after their own well-being without caring about the interests of the state. We should do all we can to support the toiling peasants but, at the same time, struggle against the greedy, backward peasants who seek to get a good living only for themselves by taking advantage of the hardships of others.

We should shape correct policies and execute them properly for the benefit of the country and the people. We should collect taxes exactly as assessed by the state, and carry out the necessary procurement work. The practice of procuring things on credit must be stamped out.

We should combat the backward ideas of some peasants who falsify their reports of crop yields, are reluctant to deliver quality grain for the tax in kind or pay taxes to the state on time or who take advantage of the difficult wartime conditions to engage in speculation. We must intensify ideological education and Party political work among the broad masses on the one hand, and, on the other, strengthen wartime state discipline and apply our revolutionary laws to such practices as shirking tax payment, cheating the state and indulging in speculation.

Second, we must ensure victory in the Fatherland Liberation War by increasing production and practising economy.

The war is still going on, and the enemy will not quit our soil

tomorrow. We must fight on until the enemy stops his aggression.

Our factories should ensure smooth production and produce more in spite of the difficult wartime conditions. They should do this in order to turn out war supplies and daily necessities in larger quantities to meet the demands of both the front and the rear.

The peasants should increase grain production. More grain and raw materials should be produced by cultivating every inch of land, and stock farming should be developed further to meet both the demand for meat and draught animals.

We must devote all our efforts to the struggle for increased production to satisfy the demands of the front and stabilize the people's livelihood.

We should endeavour to turn out for ourselves everything needed in the war, which can be produced in our country. It is wrong to look simply to foreign aid instead of producing what we can produce by our own efforts.

We should so organize work as to keep up production day and night. The production plan for 1952 is by no means an easy one. However, if it is not fulfilled under these wartime circumstances, this will constitute a serious crime against the country and the people, and we will be letting down the men and officers of our People's Army and the Volunteers who are shedding their blood at the front. We must do everything in our power to fulfil and overfulfil the production plan for this year.

Even in conditions of continuing war, we should invest more in production by practising economy in every way, stabilize the people's livelihood by properly adjusting commodity prices and ensure victory by supplying the front and the rear with more war materials and goods.

To this end, the broad masses should be urged to display greater activity and to use their initiative and roused to throw themselves into the wartime drives for economy and increased production.

The people's committees at all levels are confronted today with the following economic tasks:

1. Correct guidance should be given in agriculture and the patriotic

zeal of the peasants enhanced so that they tide over difficulties and overcome obstacles by virtue of mutual cooperation and self-reliance and do all they can to overfulfil the 1952 plan for increased grain production.

2. Guidance should be given in such a way that the workers, handicraftsmen and members of cooperatives turn out war supplies and daily necessities in larger quantities, and the people's livelihood should be stabilized by organizing goods distribution properly.

3. In order to ensure the livelihood of the factory and office workers, measures should be taken to meet their daily needs in kind, casting aside the tendency merely to raise their wages.

To this end, an extensive movement should be launched to draw their dependents into production by organizing side lines and producers' cooperatives.

4. We must stringently economize on food and materials and distribute them properly in order to wage a protracted war.

We must see to it that as many people as possible are enlisted in production by cutting down office staffs to the minimum and reducing the non-productive labour force. We now have very much non-productive manpower. Although factories and other enterprises have been destroyed and production has fallen, the productive and non-productive workforce has increased by nearly 70,000 as against the prewar years, and that is not even counting the army and the internal security organs. This means that our officials have not simplified administration but extended it wantonly during the war, augmenting non-productive labour as against peacetime. This sort of thing is impermissible in wartime. The Cabinet, therefore, should simplify the apparatus of the state administrative offices and divert the surplus workforce to the rural areas for agricultural production.

We should exercise strict control over rationing to prevent irregularities and ensure the correct distribution of food and other supplies. To this end, people who are politically dependable and well versed in accounting and statistics should be assigned to the food administration organs and the goods distribution agencies.

Strict control should be exercised over the consumption of materials and food. A mass struggle should be waged against squandering and pilfering state property.

5. Financial discipline should be tightened.

A movement to this end was conducted for some time after the meeting of activists of the Pyongyang city Party organization. However, it has now subsided as if everything was settled. This movement is not yet extensive enough to reach all the people, Party members, cadres, state officials and servicemen. The movement to tighten financial discipline should be developed to involve the entire Party and all the people.

State revenue has dropped sharply from its peacetime level, since we have been barred from peaceful construction for 19 months now. Under conditions in which many factories have been demolished and transport obstructed due to enemy bombings and barbarities, production and revenue have dwindled, while expenditures and consumption have greatly increased.

Nevertheless, some people do not take these grave circumstances into account but behave so selfishly as to preserve the same living conditions as in peacetime. Government officials who are unable to endure hardships and are ideologically corrupt often commit irregularities and violate financial discipline. They conduct trade hand in glove with profiteers, pilfer and sell state goods, use state property to give banquets for the purpose of winning favour with their superiors or to buy gifts for individuals, squander state property in purchasing unnecessary office supplies and equipment, and so on. We must fight relentlessly against such dishonest acts as pilfering and squandering state property.

Some people's committees, when asked to tighten state financial discipline, impose a considerable financial burden, besides taxes, upon the people under the pretext of economizing on state property. This is something more serious.

In effect, the tightening of financial discipline means strengthening Party spirit. Those who strive to save even a penny in these difficult

wartime conditions are men of strong Party spirit who fight heart and soul for the Party, the state and the people.

We should bear in mind that the struggle against violations of financial discipline and the squandering of state property is a struggle to get rid of the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism and the influence of capitalism. Without liquidating the survivals of the old Japanese imperialist ideas and strengthening financial discipline, it is impossible either to win the war or build a prosperous and powerful, independent and democratic state.

Therefore, we should see to it that the entire Party is mobilized to wage a relentless struggle against evil practices of all kinds, such as embezzlement, pilfering, squandering and selfishness, which are a legacy of Japanese imperialist rule, and to strengthen state financial discipline.

Third, the officials of the people's power organs should organize and lead administrative work properly.

1. To give correct guidance to the work of the people's power organs, it is necessary, above all, to organize all work in a planned way and increase the leading officials' sense of responsibility.

The officials of our Party and government bodies should have a deep sense of responsibility in everything they do. They should draw up correct plans for carrying out all work after making a deep study and detailed analysis.

After a plan has been mapped out, organizational work is needed to put it into effect.

Then it is essential to organize a checkup on how the plan has been carried out. The checkup should be done not merely for its own sake but to help correct shortcomings. It should be conducted personally by senior officials and not by subordinates.

You must learn to take stock of any work when it is completed or in the course of carrying it out and turn the experience you have gained this way to good account in your future activities.

Along with this, all work should be guided not in a general, uniform way but in an analytic, concrete way.

2. In their activities, the city and county people's committees should put stress on the ri people's committees.

The ri people's committee is the lowest level organ of power which is in direct contact with the people. That the city and the county people's committees should lay the main emphasis on the work of the ri people's committee means, therefore, that priority in their work should be given to the rural areas and factories. The masses are not to be found in the offices of the city and county people's committees but in the rural areas and factories. The work of a people's committee divorced from the masses will produce no results but will turn into a bureaucratic affair.

The work level of our ri people's committees today is very low. The officials of the city, county and sub-county people's committees, therefore, should go down to the ri people's committees, give them direct, practical assistance and teach them how to organize their work, how to keep in touch with the masses and how to get them to take part in the activities of the ri people's committees. In addition, they should explain Government decisions and ordinances to the ri people's committee cadres so that they understand them well and put them into effect correctly.

You must know that if the work of the ri people's committee goes well, all work will shape out well, but if not, it will go awry.

3. You should not conduct work arbitrarily but do it collectively. You ought not to take all work upon yourselves and thus make a mess of it, but give assignments to many people and organize and encourage them to use their initiative in carrying them out. Only then can you achieve success.

This, however, does not mean in the least that the people's committee chairman should sit idle, warming his chair, after he has given out assignments to his subordinates. You are mistaken if you think, "I'm a big shot, so I needn't do any work" or "This sort of thing only concerns the rank and file, and the chairman needn't bother about it." You should combat such backward thinking. Some comrades say that they can work as chairman, but not as department chief. What then

is the chairman? No one has ever become a chairman because he was born under a lucky star. He has been elected chairman so that he may do more and better work, organize and direct the work.

Many of our people's committee chairmen today do not have a clear idea of how matters stand at the lower levels. Once they become "heads," they begin putting on airs. When asked about something, they reply that they do not know about it but it is the concern of the section chiefs. A people's committee chairman of this sort would always have to be accompanied by section chiefs. "Heads" are appointed not for cutting a wide swath but for getting down to the job.

In order to organize and direct any work, you should have, above all, a good knowledge of it, and when you are not acquainted with it, you should not feel ashamed to learn, but study it hard.

You should become officials who know how to organize work carefully, how to direct it in a concrete way and how to mobilize the masses in the course of carrying it out, and you should set an example to people in everything you do.

4. You should know how to allocate and appoint cadres properly.

An end should be put to such a practice as appointing cadres without carefully studying them and transferring them right and left. You should know that to study the cadres constantly and train them well is to strengthen the people's committee.

5. Efforts should be made to raise the political and theoretical levels of the people's committee officials at all levels.

Every political worker should become a fighter who has a correct understanding of the Party's political line and Government policies, who brings them home to the masses and strives devotedly for the Party and the people. Political workers should firmly equip themselves with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook so that they will have an unshakable faith in the justness of our cause and its victory and be able to organize and direct work with foresight.

You should carry out all these tasks successfully, thus increasing the functions and role of our people's power organs and mobilizing the strength of the entire people for victory.

SOME TASKS CONFRONTING THE PEOPLE'S ARMY IN WINNING THE FINAL VICTORY IN THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR

**Speech at a Short Course for Regimental Cadres
of the Korean People's Army**

February 7, 1952

We took steps to conduct a short course for the commanding officers of the People's Army from the end of last year, in order to strengthen it in terms of quality.

I would like to avail of this opportunity of meeting you comrades attending this course to speak about the military and political situation of our country and some tasks confronting the People's Army in winning the final victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

As you know, following the Party's policy for carrying on active position defence, our People's Army is constantly routing and weakening the enemy in battles at the present line of confrontation with him and is, at the same time, strengthening combat and political training and making full preparations for hastening the final victory in the war.

Affected by the heavy blows administered by the People's Army, the US imperialists are facing a serious military and political crisis. Having suffered repeated ignominious defeats at the hands of the People's Army, they were obliged to propose the holding of armistice talks last summer. They appear strong outwardly, but, in fact, they are not. If they are strong, why would they propose holding armistice

talks? It is because they see no prospects of winning the war against us that they have come forward with the proposal for armistice negotiations.

But even while manoeuvring to attain their sinister aims at the armistice talks, the US imperialists are making frenzied preparations for a new military offensive since the turn of the new year. At present the enemy is reinforcing his military strength on a large scale and is viciously bombing and shelling our frontline positions, coasts and the rear.

You should not pin your hopes on the armistice negotiations and lapse into a pacifistic mood or slacken in alertness.

The People's Army must turn its time to the best account to consolidate the victory won at the cost of blood and, drawing on the experience already gained, make full preparations for the final victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

First of all, it is essential to make thoroughgoing political and ideological preparations.

Firm political and ideological training of the soldiers is a sure guarantee of victory in the war. Only when the soldiers are firmly equipped politically and ideologically can they fight stubbornly without yielding to adversity and display courage and a self-sacrificing spirit.

What is important in making political and ideological preparations is to instil in every soldier a great hatred for the enemy. You should tell the soldiers every detail of the bestial atrocities and crimes perpetrated by the US imperialist aggressors to rouse them from the class standpoint and infuse in them a burning hatred for the enemy.

We should strengthen the education of our soldiers in matters like the striking difference between the progressive social system established in the northern half of Korea and the reactionary social system of the southern half. In this way every soldier should be made to understand clearly the advantages of our social system, develop a deep love for the country and the people and defend every inch of the country with his blood.

In the frontline units the soldiers should be properly educated to prevent them from being fooled by the enemy's reactionary and false propaganda. These days the enemy is distributing leaflets and conducting propaganda over loudspeakers at the front. You should not remain indifferent to this, but expose in detail the reactionary and false nature of their content, and forestall the enemy's manoeuvres with active political education of the soldiers.

Another important task in making political and ideological preparations is to educate and instil in the soldiers the ideological determination to defeat the aggressors by themselves and win the final victory without depending on others.

Although the people of fraternal countries and the peace-loving people of the world are now giving active support and encouragement to the struggle of the Korean people, it is the Koreans themselves who are, at all events, responsible for the conduct of the Fatherland Liberation War. No matter who may help us, our People's Army must fulfil its role as the master. We must strengthen the ideological education of the soldiers to induce them to discard reliance on others, and to firmly resolve to rout the US imperialist aggressors by themselves and win the final victory.

Yet another important point in making political and ideological preparations is to infuse the soldiers with a firm faith in victory.

Even though our People's Army is equipped with weapons inferior to those of the enemy, they will surely win the war if they fight with the certainty of being victorious. It is a matter of course that a people and an army who wage a revolutionary struggle for a just cause should emerge victorious. History proves that a revolutionary army that fights for a just cause with the conviction of sure victory will defeat even technically superior imperialist aggressors.

In the past the anti-Japanese guerrillas fought in extremely difficult conditions, but because they had firm faith in victory, they finally defeated the powerful Japanese imperialists and won national liberation.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia is due to

the fact that the Russian working class fought under the leadership of Lenin with the unshakable conviction that capitalism would fall and that socialism would surely emerge victorious.

Today our People's Army is fighting in much more favourable conditions than in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The People's Army is armed with modern weapons and combat equipment and has a strong rear to support it. We have the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea to organize and inspire all the victories, and a people rallied firmly around it.

The People's Army is a genuine army of the people fighting for the benefit of the workers and peasants, an army of the Party and the revolution led by the Workers' Party of Korea. Our People's Army is carrying on a righteous war in defence of the country against the invasion of foreign imperialists.

But the US imperialist aggressor army is a reactionary and anti-people army invading and plundering other countries in the interest of a few monopoly capitalists. It is engaged in an unjust war to invade our country and, further, to attack China and the Soviet Union.

We have the active support and encouragement of the peoples of the People's Democracies and the peace-loving people of the world.

Therefore, if our People's Army fights on with firm faith in victory, it will surely win a brilliant victory in the great Fatherland Liberation War against the imperialist invaders headed by the United States and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique.

We must convince all the People's Army officers and men of the righteousness of our war and the justness of our cause, so that they fight bravely with firm faith in victory.

To proceed, we should continue to thoroughly implement the Party's policy on active position defence.

The regiment has a very important role to play in the implementation of this policy. Only if the regiments fulfil their combat duties as they should, can the division discharge its combat assignments without a hitch, and the Party's strategic policy be carried out with success.

Back in the units you should organize the work for defence efficiently and build strong positions in accordance with the Party's policy so as to render the front and the coastlines impregnable.

A larger number of and better defence positions should be built with tunnels as main strongpoints. Fighting from tunnels, you can protect the combat personnel and equipment well from the various blows and repulse any onslaught of the enemy. Taking into account their tactical uses, you should build tunnels in close combination with trenches. All defence units should step up and quickly complete defence work at the first positions, develop a deep position system along the road leading to the rear of the defensive sector and continue to fortify tactically important heights and points. In the mountainous eastern part of the front line major hilltops should all be fortified in such a way as to allow a circular defence.

The firing system should be effectively organized. Gullies and other covered places out of small arms should be made inaccessible with artillery fire and mines.

Defence battles should be skilfully prepared. In particular, you should be thoroughgoing in spreading out the sub-units, giving assignments, organizing the command and coordinating actions.

While skilfully organizing the defence, you should conduct defence actions more vigorously so as to continually rout and weaken the enemy troops. You should not sit back and wait in your positions of defence to hit out at the enemy only when he falls upon you, but should intensify the activities of assault parties, snipers' teams and mobile batteries to inflict losses on the troops, weapons and combat equipment of the enemy everywhere, tiring him out and leaving him trembling with fear all the time.

Assault is the best way to surprise and wipe out enemy troops. With well-organized night raids you can easily break any enemy. Infantry regiments should widely organize assaults and, in particular, surprise raids by night on enemy positions with assault parties so as to constantly destroy and wipe out the enemy's artillery, tanks, other combat equipment and various other objects.

The People's Army units should sum up the successes achieved so far in the activities of snipers' teams and further develop these activities. You should organize a larger number of snipers' teams with soldiers who are good at shooting, have good eyesight and are quick of hearing, and arrange short courses to teach them well how to engage in combat.

The activities of mobile batteries should be intensified. These activities are an effective way of wiping out large numbers of enemy troops and curbing the enemy's actions with a small artillery force. You should destroy more troops and firing equipment by intensifying the activities of mobile batteries.

More enemy planes should be shot down. We are planning to call a meeting of aircraft-hunting teams to sum up their past activities and propose new methods of fighting, taking into account the change in the flying tactics of enemy planes, so that a great improvement is brought about in their movement.

If they are to achieve success, the aircraft-hunting teams should not remain immobile at fixed spots but constantly shift their positions and bring down enemy planes by luring them with various sham structures, false guns, mock automobiles, etc.

You should be skilled at mountain warfare and night battles. We can say that battles in our country which is mountainous are a fierce struggle for the occupation of hills which lie between friends and enemies. Therefore, you should wage skilful mountain warfare to wrest away the enemy-occupied hills one by one and move forward step by step.

What is important in implementing the Party's policy on active position defence is that regiment commanders and chiefs of staff enhance their commanding ability and improve the work of their staff.

The war of today is different from the war of earlier times when mounted generals commanded troops in battle. Modern warfare is mechanized and three-dimensional, in which millions of troops armed with highly efficient weapons and combat equipment fight with rapid manoeuvrability in areas that have a far-flung front line and great

depth. Victory in modern warfare presupposes superb commanding ability on the part of commanders and efficient work by the staff. Commanders should be able not only to use modern weapons and combat equipment skilfully in accordance with their specific qualities but also to organize meticulously the coordinated actions of different services, arms, units and sub-units.

Commanders should be able to use artillery efficiently. In the past some regiment and battalion commanders did not use artillery properly and even showed a tendency of making little of them. Some commanders, who minimized the role of guns, went so far as to commit the pernicious act of sending the guns back to the rear sectors.

Commanders should make a deep study of how to use effectively all kinds of fire arms including guns to destroy more enemy troops and improve combat results. Artillery fire should be used not in a dispersed fashion but in a concentrated manner. If dispersed, artillery fire cannot deliver heavy enough blow to the enemy. In our mountainous country, in particular, it is very important to make good use of different kinds of guns in keeping with their specific combat purposes. As on Height 1211, you should bring direct-firing guns up to the tops of hills not only to wipe out enemy troops but to destroy individual firing points and tanks of the enemy and also to conduct anti-artillery actions. And the artillerymen should steadily improve their shooting skills so that large numbers of enemy troops can be wiped out with a small number of shells.

In order to make efficient use of artillery, regiment commanders should be well versed in the tactical use to which artillery may be put in mountainous areas and in the questions of principle with regard to the theory of gun firing. They should help artillery commanders to discharge their duties without a hitch.

Commanders should also skilfully organize coordinated action with neighbouring units and cover the boundaries with them properly. In modern warfare characterized by rapid changes in the combat situation it is of great importance to adroitly organize and maintain coordinated action and cover the boundaries with neighbouring units with a sense

of responsibility. Nevertheless, some commanders and staff pay little attention to covering boundaries, and it is even said that there are cases when no positive aid is given to neighbouring units that are having a hard time fighting back the enemy's onslaught. This is not a style of warfare worthy of commanders of a revolutionary army. Army units should render mutual support and rush to each other's rescue to ensure success in battle as a whole.

Further, training should be well organized to steadily increase the fighting power of units.

In accordance with the Party's policy on teaching what is actually needed in battle, combat drills should be conducted taking into account our past war experience, the actual conditions of our country and the immediate combat duties of the unit concerned. In particular, training for battles on mountains and by night should be strengthened so as to make the soldiers skilled in defence battles and raids in their sectors. The enemy is most apprehensive of nocturnal assaults by soldiers of the People's Army. So it is necessary to conduct training for night combats often in order to get the soldiers accustomed to them.

In the meantime, the training of commanders and the staff should be intensified. I have been told that during the present short course only tactical group drills on flat country have been conducted. In the future the stress should be placed on such drills in mountainous areas to suit the actual conditions of our country. Back in the units, you should make models of the topography and solve practical problems one by one according to the experience you have gained in real battles, thereby mastering ingenious and subtle tactics.

Next, iron military discipline should be enforced in the units and the units should be managed efficiently.

Discipline is the life and soul of the army. An army with a strong discipline, in spite of having inferior weapons, can defeat a technically superior enemy. Today the People's Army is fighting victoriously against the US imperialist army of aggression which boasts of being the "most powerful" in the world. One of the important reasons for this is that the People's Army has iron discipline.

Commanders should give day-to-day education to all their soldiers to observe military discipline voluntarily and carry out the orders of the commanders to the letter.

Commanders should love and take good care of the soldiers and manage their units well. At present some commanders are trying to maintain discipline by shouting at and abusing the soldiers instead of treating them warmheartedly and reasoning kindly with them. They cannot establish discipline in this way. Shouting and abusing are methods used in the armies of capitalist countries and such coercive methods are not to be tolerated in the People's Army.

If a unit is to acquire great fighting capability, its commander and soldiers should be firmly united in thinking and purpose. You are commanders in charge of large numbers of soldiers who are fine sons and daughters of workers and peasants. Therefore, you should treat the soldiers with warm hearts as true revolutionary comrades, love and take good care of them as their parents would, constantly find out and promptly solve their problems.

Commanders should pay great attention to the everyday lives of the soldiers. At the front the sub-unit is the unit of life, so the commanders can make the soldiers' lives comfortable with just a little attention.

Commanders should take care to give warm rice and soup for every meal to the soldiers who are engaged in fierce battles on the hills. And they should see to it that the soldiers at the front receive and read promptly publications including newspapers and magazines, and that they remain optimistic. It is our army's way of life to fight bravely, have pleasant entertainments and rest.

Commanders should always set an example in battle and in everyday life. The commanders of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army always guided their men by showing themselves up as an example in battle and life. They bravely led the men in battle; upon arrival at a bivouac during a march, they were the first to fell trees and pitch tents, and also stood guard as the men did. In the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army there was an intimate relationship between superiors and their subordinates. Like the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army commanders, the

commanders of the People's Army should be models in every respect.

Lastly, the commanders should make a deep study of the war experience already gained and of modern military science and apply them effectively to battle.

Our People's Army has experience in offensive battle, retreat, position defence, coast defence, assault and various other kinds of operations and battles. Being a living experience of modern warfare gained in the course of fighting against the US imperialist army of aggression boasting of being the "most powerful" in the world, our war experience is a precious asset for developing our military science.

We must profoundly study the tactics and combat experience developed in the Fatherland Liberation War. With a view to studying the precious experience of the Fatherland Liberation War and helping in the development of our military science, all commanding officers should write about their own combat experience and submit the records to the General Staff.

I hope that you will fight on in good health until the day of victory in the war.

**ON THE OCCASION OF THE FOURTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY**

**Order No. 059 of the Supreme Commander
of the Korean People's Army**

February 8, 1952

Comrade soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals
of the three services of the Korean People's Army,

Courageous men and women guerrillas,

Workers, peasants, working intellectuals, tradesmen and
entrepreneurs,

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters who are suffering under
the oppression of the US imperialist armed interventionists and the
traitorous Syngman Rhee clique,

Today the Korean people are celebrating the fourth anniversary of
the founding of the heroic Korean People's Army, their own beloved
child.

The infantrymen, artillerymen, mortar men, engineers, signalmen,
tankmen, fliers and sailors of the People's Army who are greeting its
fourth birthday have been seasoned in battle and grown up as
honourable soldiers capable of defending the freedom and
independence of their motherland—the Democratic People's Republic
of Korea.

In the past year our People's Army, with the active support and aid
of the entire Korean people and in close cooperation with the Chinese

People's Volunteers units, has delivered a heavy blow to the US armed interventionists and their lackeys, the Syngman Rhee clique.

As a result, the plan of the US imperialist aggressors to seize the northern half of Korea has fallen through, the myth about the "technical omnipotence" of US imperialism has been blown, and the enemy has sustained serious human and material losses and a moral defeat.

Under the impact of the hard blows dealt by the units of the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers and under the mounting pressure of public opinion of the world, the US imperialist aggressors had no alternative but to come forward for the armistice negotiations.

But the US imperialists continue to manoeuvre behind the screen of the armistice talks, with the new sinister intention of expanding the aggressive war and seizing the whole of Korea.

This plan of the US imperialists is doomed to failure. In close cooperation with the Chinese People's Volunteers our People's Army will administer a terrific blow to the US imperialist aggressors such as they have never sustained so far.

With constant tempering of our forces in the fierce fighting against the enemy, we are hastening the day of complete victory.

All the freedom-loving peoples of the world including the Soviet people give our people wholehearted support and encouragement in their solemn struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique.

The heroic feats performed by the Korean people and their glorious armed forces, the People's Army, in the struggle for the country's freedom and independence serve as a banner of struggle for the peoples of the East who have awakened to their own might and ability to uphold their national independence and sovereignty.

Soldiers, commanders and political workers of the three services of the Korean People's Army,

Courageous men and women guerrillas,

In the struggle for the freedom and independence of the country you

have displayed unbounded fidelity, valour, daring and fortitude and shown the enemy how crushing our blow can be.

But the US imperialist aggressors have not yet been vanquished; they are overriding the southern half of our country, oppressing our people in the occupied areas and clinging to the crazy plan of invading the whole of Korea.

We should not slacken or be off the guard even for a moment in the struggle against the enemy but maintain high revolutionary vigilance and keep ourselves in full combat readiness so as to deal deadly blows to the enemy anytime and anywhere.

Congratulating you on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, and in order to win the battle against the hateful enemy of our motherland, to destroy the US occupationists and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique, and liberate the territory of our country at an early date, my orders are as follows:

1. All the officers and men of the People's Army shall steadily improve their combat techniques, study combat experience, have a thorough knowledge of their weapons and take good care of them, give no breathing spell to the enemy, constantly wipe out the manpower and combat equipment of the enemy and always keep themselves in full combat readiness to fight a decisive battle against the enemy.

2. In order to destroy the enemy all officers and generals shall skilfully organize battles and concerted action between units of different arms, markedly improve the work of the staff, study the enemy at all times and improve reconnaissance, the army's feeler.

3. All commanding officers and political workers shall further raise the level of the ideological education of soldiers, tighten military discipline in every way, improve the political and moral state of the units, strengthen the military one-man control system in the units, be always concerned about providing sufficient supplies for the material lives of the soldiers and encourage and inspire the soldiers to new heroic exploits with plain and kind words, comradely assistance and personal example.

4. Men and women guerrillas shall step up the guerrilla struggle in the rear of the enemy ranks, arouse the broad masses of people in the enemy-ridden areas to the struggle for liberation, do everything to help the People's Army in the battle against the foreign armed interventionists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, raid the enemy's staff and rear by surprise and mercilessly wipe out their manpower and combat equipment.

5. All officers and men of the Korean People's Army shall further strengthen militant friendship and concerted operations with the Chinese People's Volunteers formed with true sons and daughters of the Chinese people.

6. In order to celebrate the brilliant achievements scored by the People's Army in the struggle to defend the freedom and independence of our motherland, 240 guns shall fire a salute of 20 shells in Pyongyang, Wonsan and Hamhung respectively at 20:00 hours today, February 8, the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army.

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our glorious motherland!

Long live the Korean People's Army, the defender of the freedom and independence of our people!

Long live the Workers' Party of Korea, the organizer and inspirer of the victories of the Korean people!

Glory to the officers and men of the fraternal Chinese People's Volunteers!

Eternal glory to the faithful sons and daughters of the Korean people who fell in battle for the freedom and independence of our motherland!

Death to the US imperialist aggressors and the traitor Syngman Rhee!

ON SOME CURRENT TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND ORGANS OF PEOPLE'S POWER

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

February 15, 1952

Basing myself on the problems raised in the report and speeches, I would like to speak about some current tasks of the Party organizations and organs of people's power.

1. ON HOW MATTERS STAND IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISION OF THE FOURTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY AND THE MEASURES FOR ITS FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION

The Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party held last November put forward tasks for eliminating the shortcomings in the organizational work of the Party and united front work, for strengthening the work of increasing Party membership and the work

of the united front and for improving the work style of officials.

After the plenary meeting, we mobilized the entire Party to the struggle for carrying out the decision of the meeting and took various measures for rectifying the deviations revealed in this struggle.

The Party Central Committee took opportune steps to correct the tendency of Party organizations to throw open the doors of the Party to admit to its membership any person who might come along at random. It also paid serious attention to the work of tempering the Party spirit of the members and heightening their political awareness.

Recognizing that the officials commit errors in the organizational work of the Party and the work of the united front and reveal shortcomings in their work style because of a low level of leadership and poor political and practical ability, the Party Central Committee arranged short courses for improving their qualifications for political and practical work and took steps to guide and help the officials at lower echelons in their work. We saw to it that in every province short courses were widely organized for Party and government workers including chairmen of Party cells and ri people's committees. At a joint meeting of people's committee chairmen and leading Party officials of provinces, cities and counties held a few days ago, we criticized the bureaucratic style of work evident among the officials and gave detailed pointers to remedy it. Further, we dispatched the best leadership forces from the centre to the rural areas to guide and help the cadres of rural Party cells and ri people's committees in their work. We took steps for the cadres of central bodies such as department chiefs and deputy chiefs of the Party Central Committee and ministers and vice-ministers to go to sub-counties and ri in South Phyongan Province every Sunday to guide and help in the work of the officials, study the realities, listen to the opinions of the masses and solve their problems.

The energetic guidance of the Party Central Committee and the efforts of Party organizations at all levels brought about considerable improvement in the organizational work of the Party in slightly over three months after the Fourth Plenary Meeting.

The tendency of closed-doorism revealed in the enrolment of members to the Party in the past was rectified to a considerable extent and the Party ranks grew rapidly. Large numbers of workers, peasants, servicemen and working intellectuals who fought heroically displaying patriotic enthusiasm and devotion at the front and in the rear joined the Party.

Following the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, the political awareness of Party members rose and an atmosphere of criticism began to grow. In the past Party organizations failed to provide sufficient opportunities and conditions for the members to freely advance their views and make criticisms. To add to this, many Party members, influenced by the Confucian ethics preached by Confucius and Mencius, preferred not to recognize the failings of others and, even when they did recognize them, were reluctant to criticize them. Moreover, they hardly ever thought of criticizing the defects of leading officials of Party and government bodies. But at present Party members not only take an active part in debates at Party meetings but boldly criticize the shortcomings of officials. This is an achievement of great significance in the consolidation and development of our Party.

Since the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee a noticeable improvement has taken place in the work style of the officials, too. Party and government officials are striving to rectify their shortcomings in work style. The cadres have a correct understanding of the essence and harmfulness of bureaucratism, formalism and dogmatism, and this proves that they are deeply conscious of the gravity of their shortcomings in work style.

To sum up, the foundation for a great change in our Party work was laid after the plenary meeting. However, this is but an initial success if viewed against the spirit of the decision of the plenary meeting. There have been considerable shortcomings in the struggle for implementing the decision.

Even now some Party organizations do not conduct the work of Party enrolment on the Party principle and from the class standpoint

but keep the Party doors open in an unprincipled manner to admit persons at random to membership. If the work of Party enrolment is done in this manner, the purity of the Party ranks cannot be ensured. Further, some Party organizations only put stress on the quantitative development of Party ranks and neglect the work for their qualitative growth. They also fail to pay serious attention to the fostering of hard-core Party members.

United front work is very important to unite the masses of all social sections into a single political force. So the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee put great emphasis on the need to strengthen the united front work in keeping with the wartime conditions and thus closely rally the masses from all walks of life and mobilize them for victory in the war. Nevertheless, some Party organizations still fail to take measures to establish close ties with the members of friendly parties and actively enlist them in political, economic and cultural work, and neglect the political education of the masses from all walks of life.

A formalistic and bureaucratic style of work persists among Party and government officials and many remnants of Japanese imperialist thinking linger on in their minds.

Some Party and government officials are not ready to accept the suggestions of their subordinates and turn a deaf ear to the voices of the masses. They submit false reports to the higher bodies and draw up decisions and directives inconsistent with the actual state of affairs, which they send to the lower bodies.

Because they are still under the influence of Japanese imperialist thinking, some cadres regard their posts as something like those at old-time government offices, and like to put on airs and throw their weight about, and seek an easy and comfortable life for themselves. Sycophants take advantage of this to bribe the cadres, thus fostering their evil practices.

The formalistic and bureaucratic style of work of our officials has not appeared just today; it appeared soon after liberation. But at that time it was not seen in its full extent among the officials. The war

proved to be a process of testing the qualifications of the officials, during which their hidden defects came to the surface.

The appearance of many shortcomings in the struggle for implementing the decision of the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party is due to the Party organizations neglecting the education of their cadres in the past.

We have only a few cadres who have long been tempered in the revolutionary struggle and Party life and who possess a rich experience of work. The greater part of our present Party and government officials are those who were trained after liberation. Although they are eager and enthusiastic to work efficiently, they fail to carry out their role properly because of their scanty experience and low political and practical level. The Party organizations should have conducted the education of cadres in a substantial manner, but they failed to do so. In the past they educated the cadres not in our Party's line and policy but in the combat experiences of political parties of other countries. Since the cadres have been mechanically taught the combat experiences of the parties of other countries, some of them insist that because the middle peasants are vacillating, they cannot ally with us and cannot be admitted to the Party no matter how well they may work.

Party organizations also failed to educate the officials well to rid them of their outdated thinking. If they had waged an energetic struggle to do away with the outdated ideas that have prevailed among the officials ever since liberation, phenomena such as embezzling and squandering state property to lead an easy and idle life would not have arisen among them today when we are in the midst of waging a grim war.

It is a good thing that we have made a timely discovery of the shortcomings in the implementation of the decision of the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. The process of historical development may be attended by twists and turns, and shortcomings may emerge in the course of work. The point is to correct these shortcomings boldly without fearing them.

Party organizations at all levels should promptly rectify the shortcomings incidental to the implementation of the said decision and

carry it out to the letter. They should always know and evaluate from time to time how the decision is being carried out, and take necessary steps without delay.

The most important task for the thorough implementation of the decision is to raise the leadership level and the political and ideological qualifications of the cadres and improve their work style.

Cadres are commanding personnel who directly organize and guide the implementation of the Party's line and policy. However correct the Party's line and policy and however sound the Party's decision, they cannot have good results if the officials concerned are at a low political and practical level and work in an outdated fashion. Therefore, Party organizations should make great efforts to raise the political and practical level of the officials and improve their style of work.

While regularly conducting study classes for the cadres, Party organizations should widely arrange short courses to raise the political and practical level of Party and government officials including the chairmen of Party cells and ri people's committees. The officials of the central organizations should go out to the lower echelons in a planned manner to educate the workers and help them in their work.

All officials should learn with an open mind to improve their political and practical qualifications. Thus, they should become competent workers as soon as possible who are well qualified politically and ideologically and capable of skilfully organizing and mobilizing the masses.

Officials should get rid of the bureaucratic work style and acquire a popular style of work.

The bureaucratic work style is not to be tolerated under our social system where the people are the masters of the country. Bureaucratism drives a wedge between the Party and the masses, injures the prestige of the Party and the people's government in the eyes of the masses and prevents the Party's line and policy from being carried out properly. The danger of bureaucratism is greater during a war than during a period of peaceful construction. If we do not eliminate bureaucratism among our officials at the present period when a grim war is being waged, it could

have irretrievably grave consequences. Therefore, we should wage a vigorous struggle against bureaucratism throughout the Party.

All officials are bureaucratic to some degree. Bureaucratism is found both in the officials of the central bodies and in the local Party and government officials. Every official should make persistent efforts to shed the bureaucratic style of work and acquire a popular style. Officials should always mix with the masses, share the sweet and the bitter, life and death with them, give them a hearing, satisfy their needs in good time, and not only teach them but also strive to learn from them. They should always adhere to the standpoint of the Party and state in their activities, work with all devotion for the people, heighten their sense of responsibility in work, deal prudently with matters in hand, know the actual state of affairs at lower levels at all times and give correct guidance. Officials should be exemplary in observing law and order and take the lead in the campaign for economy. They should lead simple lives and be polite and modest in their behaviour at all times.

Bureaucratism has taken shape over a long period of time and is rooted in outdated ideas. Therefore, making criticisms on one or two occasions and adopting decisions at a meeting will not end bureaucratism. It can be done away with only by clearing the people's minds of outworn ideas and infusing them with progressive ideas. Therefore, we should wage a tireless struggle against bureaucratism by combining ideological education and ideological struggle.

2. ON MAKING ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS FOR FARMING AND ENSURING SPRING SOWING WITH SUCCESS THIS YEAR

Increased production of food grain is of great importance in stabilizing the people's livelihood, consolidating the rear and guaranteeing victory in the war. The Fatherland Liberation War having

assumed a protracted nature, it has become all the more urgent to increase the production of food grain. Only if we have a large reserve of food created through increased production of grain, can we hold out even if the war drags on for a long time. Therefore, this year, too, the slogan “The struggle for food is a struggle for the country and for victory at the front” should continue to be our fighting slogan.

If we are to produce more food grain this year, we should make good preparations for farming.

However, the preparations for farming are at present making poor headway. As was pointed out in the report and speeches, some localities do not even produce manure properly by themselves, or repair farm implements, or prepare seed grain. With preparations for farming proceeding in this way when the sowing season is near at hand, how can sowing be carried out without a hitch? Party and government bodies should hasten the preparations for farming by mobilizing all the rural forces.

First of all, manure should be prepared in large quantities. Since the rural areas get poor supplies of chemical fertilizer, it is impossible to raise grain output without producing enough manure. All farms should actively tap the sources of manure and produce large quantities of homemade manure such as compost and burnt soil.

The government bodies should investigate into the quantities of seed grain in the possession of the peasants and take steps to make up the shortage. The peasants should overcome each other’s shortages through mutual accommodation, and the shortages of the sideline farms of institutions, enterprises and army units and of the war victims should be supplied by the state.

A great reserve of high yields can be built up by planting select seeds. Party and government bodies should ensure that the peasants acquire and plant select seeds as far as possible.

Sufficient quantities of farm implements should be procured. Peasants should, if they can, repair farm implements by themselves and their shortages in farm implements should be supplied by the factories of local industry.

Farm machine hire stations should maintain their tractors well. If these tractors are maintained well and better utilized, they can work a considerable area of fields.

Measures should be taken to secure water for irrigation so that a shortage of water may not render it impossible to transplant seedlings of paddy. From now on steps should be taken with foresight to prevent damages due to storm and flood.

This year, too, as was done last year, not even one inch of land should be left uncultivated. Party organizations and government bodies should not allow land to lie idle in the countryside but should take strict measures to prevent this. They should make an investigation into the farmlands left uncultivated because of shortage of manpower and into ownerless lands and distribute them to institutions and enterprises for sideline cultivation.

In view of the shortage of manpower and draught animals, if spring sowing is to be completed in time, labour should be properly organized and draught animals used rationally. To this end, the peasants should widely form labour-aid and oxen-sharing teams in the spirit of mutual assistance and sow seeds in cooperation with each other. At the same time, labour aid to the countryside should be strengthened. In the sowing season workers, office employees and army men in the rear should be mobilized to give a helping hand in sowing operations.

Since we shall have to sow seeds in the difficult conditions of war this year too, the job may be attended by many handicaps and difficulties. Party organizations should educate the peasants well to induce them to finish the spring sowing in good time with great enthusiasm in production and with an indomitable fighting spirit in overcoming all kinds of obstacles and difficulties.

This year the soldiers of the People's Army are going to help in farm work in Ongjin and South Yonbaek, both being newly liberated districts. The army men going there should work hard to raise good crops. The people of the newly liberated districts will watch the soldiers of the People's Army carefully to see how well they do farm work. The soldiers should prove themselves good farmers to exert a

positive influence on those people. The state should, on a preferential basis, supply the newly liberated areas with seed grain and chemical fertilizer and set up farm machine hire stations there as soon as possible.

Establishing farm machine hire stations in the newly liberated areas is of great political significance, to say nothing of its economic importance. If farm machine hire stations are set up and the fields are worked by tractors, the people in the newly liberated areas will come to a deeper realization of the superiority of our system. It will also exert a good influence on the farming population of south Korea.

This year animal husbandry should be developed to increase the production of meat.

At present we are not in a position to supply sufficient meat to the soldiers of the People's Army who are fighting at the front. If we are to satisfy the needs of the front for meat, rural households should be encouraged to raise domestic animals in great numbers. At the same time, existing stock farms of the state should be expanded and many new ones formed.

Solving the problem of animal feed is most important in the management of the newly formed or expanded stock farms of the state. Without this, the state stock farms cannot carry on meat production on a normal basis. They should solve the problem of feed through an active reclamation of wasteland. We should start making adequate preparations for building a large-scale state stock farm in the vicinity of Mt. Paektu. In places where sources of feed such as breweries and rice mills exist, many small stock farms should be set up.

Agricultural tax in kind should be collected in a proper manner.

Many deviations have been making themselves manifest every year in the work of collecting agricultural tax in kind. The most serious shortcoming in this work was that quotas were imposed. This is fundamentally incompatible with our Party's policy on agricultural tax in kind, and is prejudicial to the interests of the peasants.

At present some government officials, instead of taking measures to correct this failing, thoughtlessly suggest that a system of fixed tax in

kind be introduced indiscriminately in accordance with the fertility of farmlands. We have already said on many occasions that since private farming is predominant in the countryside and crop conditions differ from year to year, it is impossible to introduce a fixed tax in kind. In spite of this they keep forwarding the same idea. From this it is evident that our officials do not study the Party policy earnestly.

As has been done so far, we should draw up realistic estimates of crops and, on this basis, levy the tax in kind. If the assessors are educated properly to make correct estimates, we can collect the tax in kind accurately.

The patriotic rice-donating movement should be conducted strictly on the voluntary principle. The rice is supposed to be donated to the state voluntarily by the peasants out of patriotism, so they must not on any account be forced to donate or allotted quotas. At any event the patriotic donation of rice should be left to the discretion of the peasants.

3. ON THE SIMPLIFICATION OF THE STATE APPARATUS AND THE REDUCTION OF NON-PRODUCTIVE MANPOWER

Our Party has emphasized the need to simplify the state apparatus and reduce the numbers of non-productive personnel ever since the beginning of the period of peaceful construction. Nevertheless, clerical offices have increased in number during the wartime as compared with the period of peaceful construction, with a corresponding growth of non-productive personnel.

Although our country has not yet been reunified, the state administration has expanded large enough to administer the affairs of the whole of Korea; and although private economy is still existent in towns and rural areas, the economic management structure has grown

so bulky as to be fit for the control and operation of all branches of the national economy. There are more homes for the aged and rest and holiday homes than necessary.

Leading officials are responsible for the superfluous expansion of the state machinery; instead of striving to simplify the apparatus from the Party and state point of view, they haphazardly expanded it with narrow-minded departmentalistic motives. Also answerable for it are the inadequate role played by the State Commission for Fixing the Number of Personnel and the loose control of the financial and food administration agencies over money expenditure and food consumption.

In wartime conditions with scanty state revenue and a large expenditure, we cannot leave the bulky state apparatus as it is to use up what little food grain and money the state has. Moreover, in the rural areas shortage of manpower is at present causing difficulty in farming and so it is unreasonable for clerical offices to employ a large number of personnel and waste manpower.

The state apparatus should be simplified taking into account the wartime conditions and the situation in the country.

The State Commission for Fixing the Number of Personnel should check on the structures of all administrative and economic bodies and boldly abolish superfluous departments and merge those which have similar functions. It is also necessary to examine the institutes for personnel training run by ministries and provincial authorities and either merge or abolish those which are found unfit. Institutes for training cadres should produce competent cadres if they do train cadres at all.

State administrative and economic bodies should curtail paperwork to the minimum and carry out their work with a small staff. If the officials improve their political and practical qualifications so that each of them can cope with work for two or three, it will be possible to effect a drastic cut in the staff without detriment to work.

From now on discipline should be enforced to prevent a haphazard expansion of the state apparatus. The State Commission for Fixing the Number of Personnel should resolutely combat the practice of

administrative and economic bodies of expanding themselves at will and taking on more than the fixed number of people on their staff, and should keep track of the number of personnel employed every year. Food administration offices should exercise rigorous control over the illegal rationing of food.

The Ministry of Labour should divert the manpower released as a result of the curtailment of the number of personnel to production units and farming districts. It would be good to send as many hands as possible to the countryside. Demobilized soldiers, too, should not be assigned to clerical offices but to production units and farming districts. Organs of people's power should take good care of the lives of those who come to work in production units and the countryside so that they may do their jobs free from care. In particular, the people who come to settle down in the rural areas should be given a loan of seed and food grain and supplied with farm implements to do this year's farming.

4. ON THE CENTRAL LINE FOR THE CURRENT YEAR'S WORK

Our main tasks last year were to strengthen the Party and government bodies and the People's Army, put the guerrilla units operating in the enemy rear in good shape and step up their activities, intensify the struggle against the reactionaries and stabilize the people's livelihood. We accomplished these tasks assigned by the Party with credit.

This year we are faced with very important tasks. Our primary tasks this year are to further strengthen, on the basis of last year's achievements, the Party and government bodies, social organizations and the People's Army, actively expand industrial and agricultural production, and create enough material reserves to cope with the

prolonged war. Only when we have carried out these tasks will we be able to win the war and, in case armistice is realized, recover quickly from the war wounds.

What, then, should we do to carry out our primary tasks this year?

In order to strengthen the Party and government bodies we should build up Party cells and ri people's committees, improve the work style of the officials and cement our ties with the masses. We should also raise the political and ideological level of Party members and the people through proper education.

In order to strengthen the People's Army we should improve the political education and military training of the soldiers. Local Party and government bodies should pay special attention to the work of aiding the army units at the front and of helping the families of People's Army soldiers.

The struggle against the reactionaries should be strengthened. This struggle should not be left only to the security personnel and personnel of interior organs. The whole Party and the entire masses should be mobilized in the struggle.

In the field of industry production should be actively expanded by making the most of the existing conditions and possibilities.

In the munitions industry the production of weapons should be increased to satisfy the needs of the front, and the machine-building industry should turn out large quantities of machine parts needed for rehabilitating and maintaining the wrecked factories and transport equipment. In light industry great efforts should be directed to the production of fabrics, footwear and processed foodstuffs.

The mining industry should strive to produce large amounts of nonferrous metals such as gold, zinc and wolfram. Nonferrous metals such as gold and zinc will fetch plenty of foreign currency.

Major factories should be moved to zones where raw materials and transports are easily available and which are safe from the standpoint of national defence. It would do well to send important machine-building works and light industry factories underground. In the field of industry an energetic drive for new creative ideas should be

launched with a view to overcoming the fuel shortage with substitute fuels.

Work in railway transport should be improved. While fully ensuring wartime transport, the railway management should form Railway Rehabilitation Corps with its own workers in preparation for the restoration of damaged railways after we win the war. The Transport Bureau under the Cabinet should take steps to develop river transport.

In agriculture crop cultivation, livestock farming, production of industrial crops and fish breeding should be developed.

Organs of people's power should work hard to stabilize the people's livelihood. In particular, great attention should be paid to improving the lives of the workers and office employees.

In all branches and units of the national economy the struggle for economization should be intensified. Because we stored up plenty of food before the war, we have been able to fight the enemy till now without going hungry. More material reserves should be created through economization to the utmost in food, fabrics, fuel, rubber and so on in all economic branches and units.

If we draw up the current year's national economic plan well after sufficient debates and work vigorously for its fulfilment, we will be able to achieve great successes in the economic field this year, too.

ON MEASURES FOR COMBATTING THE ENEMY'S BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

**Speech at an Enlarged Meeting of the Military
Commission of the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea**
February 20, 1952

Comrades,

Today I would like to speak about the need of taking thoroughgoing measures for combatting the enemy's bacteriological weapons.

Face to face with the enemy, the People's Army units are now carrying on an active positional defence battle. While building strong defences including tunnels on the front and coastline, they are dealing serious blows at the enemy with active military actions.

The US imperialists who have suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of the heroic People's Army have gone so far as to use biological weapons in an attempt to recover from their ignominious defeats. From January 28 to February 17 alone, they dropped hosts of various insects such as fleas and flies on many sectors of the front and some areas in the rear. Upon examination the insects were found to be carrying bacilli of plague, cholera and various other infectious diseases. This proves that the US imperialists are using biological weapons deliberately.

Their intention is to destroy en masse the People's Army soldiers and peaceful population, weaken the fighting capability of our army

units, cut the ties between the front and the rear and terrorize the soldiers and people.

Under these conditions, when the US imperialist aggressors have taken recourse to barbaric germ warfare without scruple and in gross violation of all moral codes and international conventions, it is of great significance for increasing the fighting power of the People's Army and consolidating the rear to frustrate this warfare promptly.

We are not in the least surprised or scared at the use of biological weapons by these aggressors. Already towards the end of 1950 we had an experience of facing such weapons, and, moreover, we are fully prepared to crush the enemy's germ warfare. People in all areas should calmly organize the defence against biological weapons and quickly take steps to frustrate such warfare.

Before all else, the organizational work for combatting the germ weapons should be conducted efficiently. Success in all undertakings depends largely on organizational work. Therefore, for success in the defence against the germ weapons, too, scrupulous organizational work is essential.

In the centre, provinces, cities, counties and ri, and in the People's Army units, the system of epidemic prevention should be reorganized quickly, its functions and role elevated and a proper commanding system established. The anti-epidemic institutions at all levels in the People's Army and local areas should be built up with politically and ideologically staunch and technically well-qualified workers and, if necessary, new anti-epidemic organs should be formed. Thus, an active defence should be organized against the germ weapons with the anti-epidemic institutions playing the leading role.

Another important thing in organizational work is to keep a sharp lookout for enemy aircraft and set up well-organized communication of information. Observation and watch should be organized in army units, workplaces, cities, villages and at important points along highways to immediately detect enemy planes dropping germ bombs, and a reliable system should be established to alert the epidemic prevention committee about them and other suspicious things as soon

as they are discovered. This information should be relayed immediately to the higher committee, and all provincial committees and committees in all army corps should send this to the State Extraordinary Epidemic Prevention Committee and the Medical Bureau of the Supreme Headquarters. The communication facilities of institutions and army units should give utmost priority to this information. All political parties, social organizations, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Railways and various other institutions should actively help in this work.

The defence against germ attack should be organized swiftly. Mobile anti-epidemic corps should be formed quickly with competent health workers in the centre and provinces, and they should be adequately equipped so that they can go into action at any moment. The Ministers of Public Health, the Interior and of National Defence should draw up detailed plans of anti-epidemic measures and get them approved before sending them out to the lower organizations and army units for implementation.

Next, the system and discipline in sanitation and anti-epidemic work should be thoroughly established in all fields and units and the defence against the enemy's germ warfare should become an all-out mass movement.

The main thing in health service is to take effective prophylactic measures. In the struggle against the bacteriological weapons, sanitation and anti-epidemic work should be conducted properly.

Cleanliness and disinfection are important in sanitation and anti-epidemic work. If they are done well, infectious diseases will be warded off even if bacilli are dropped, or their spread prevented even if there are infectious cases. Therefore, proper cleaning and disinfection should be done regularly in all units. In particular, people and soldiers should often clean the residential districts and barracks, keep the wells and lavatories clean, exterminate insects and mice, refrain from drinking unboiled water, and frequently wash clothes and bedding and sterilize them.

Another important task is to inoculate the civilians and soldiers.

Doctors and nurses should be mobilized to inoculate first all those in danger zones against virulent epidemics such as plague and cholera.

At the same time, when the US imperialists drop germ bombs containing contaminated insects or animals, we should immediately get rid of them to the last one, and burn or bury things contaminated with germs deep underground. Field investigation should be conducted by anti-epidemic workers on the areas contaminated by germ weapons of the enemy and steps should be taken to sterilize them, and such areas should be strictly quarantined to prevent even animals, to say nothing of people, from coming in and out of them. If a case of specific disease has occurred in a danger zone, the residential district should be quarantined and thoroughgoing prophylactic measures should be taken immediately so that the disease will not spread.

Yet another important task is to establish strict discipline of epidemic prevention in all units. Since specific diseases spread rapidly and have high death rates, irretrievable consequences may follow if anti-epidemic discipline is not observed well. Therefore, those who violate this discipline should be severely dealt with according to the law.

As in other things, the struggle against the enemy's germ warfare, too, cannot succeed without enlisting the broad masses. So not only specialized health workers but all members of government bodies, People's Army, interior organs and social organizations should be mobilized for this struggle. Party bodies at all levels should skilfully conduct the work of organizational leadership to rouse the entire membership and the masses to this task.

In addition, all political parties, social organizations, government bodies and People's Army units should extensively conduct information work exposing the criminal germ warfare of the US imperialist aggressors among the people and army men. The Ministry of Public Health and the Medical Bureau of the Army should prepare materials giving information about infectious diseases and their preventive measures. The Ministry of Culture and Information and the General Political Bureau of the People's Army should conduct

information work properly, so that all the people and soldiers come out as one man in the struggle against the enemy's germ weapons. Only then will we be able to completely frustrate the germ warfare of the enemy.

Further, proper steps should be taken to guarantee material conditions for this struggle. The state should provide the anti-epidemic corps and stations at all levels with sufficient amount of disinfectants, insecticides, rat poison and various preventive medicines including cholera and plague vaccines, and supply them quickly with laboratory facilities and equipment for bacteriological tests and mobile equipment necessary for the struggle against germ weapons. The Engineers Bureau should drive tunnels for use as bacteriological laboratories, the State Planning Commission and General Supply Service Bureau should guarantee cars and lorries for epidemic prevention purpose, and the Food Administration Bureau under the Cabinet should supply food for segregated patients.

Now, external information work should be stepped up to expose to the people of the whole world the bestial acts of the US imperialist aggressors who are using germ weapons.

The germ warfare by the US imperialist aggressors is the most heinous of all barbarities committed by them. The Geneva Convention prohibits the use of bacteriological weapons. Nevertheless, they are persisting in germ warfare. This clearly shows that US imperialism is the enemy of not only the Koreans but all the peace-loving people. We should expose to the people of the whole world that the criminal germ warfare in Korea was planned and prepared by the US imperialists long ago and is a shocking barbarity outrageously transgressing the elementary norms of morality and international conventions. And we must see to it that representatives of the international democratic organizations and journalists from various countries come to our country and investigate the atrocious germ warfare and bring it to the notice of the peace-loving people the world over.

Only then will the criminal acts of the US imperialist aggressors be fully exposed, will they be further isolated internationally, and the

voices of the progressive people the world over supporting our just struggle rise ever louder.

If we take effective measures to combat the enemy's biological weapons and vigorously mobilize all the people and soldiers for this purpose, we will be able to smash up the germ warfare of the US imperialist aggressors.

FOR THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE ROLE OF SERGEANT MAJORS

**Talk with the Instructors and Trainees of the Sergeant
Major Training Centre of the Korean People's Army**

February 25, 1952

I have long been thinking of visiting the sergeant major training centre, but I could hardly find time to do so. Only today I have managed to come.

Up to now the sergeant major training centre has functioned excellently without a hitch in spite of the wartime difficulties. Today the instructors are full of zeal and the trainees are also eager to learn, and they are provided with fairly good living conditions. I am very happy to see all the instructors and trainees working and studying in good health.

Today, on this occasion, I would like to speak about some tasks sergeant majors should carry out when they go back to their sub-units.

The present situation at the front line is very good. The People's Army units have the initiative all along the line, delivering heavy blows one after another to the US imperialist aggressors and putting them on the defensive.

The international situation is also turning in our favour. The US imperialist invaders are being bitterly denounced by the peace-loving people the world over and they are getting isolated on the international arena. In all parts of the world voices are being raised every day in protest, demanding that they take their blood-stained hands off Korea.

Even within the United States itself a movement for supporting and encouraging our people's just cause is rising.

Our people's just cause for defending the freedom and independence of the country will surely win.

But victory will never come of itself; it must be fought for. The US imperialist aggressors are making every desperate attempt to retrieve their defeat. Therefore, the men and officers of the People's Army should never be carried away by their successes. They should always vigilantly guard against the enemy and make every effort to raise the fighting capability of the army.

What is important for raising the fighting capability of the army is to strengthen the companies in every way. This is a prerequisite for steeling the whole army.

In order to strengthen the company the role of the sergeant major should be enhanced. He plays an important part in educating the soldiers, maintaining discipline and order and preparing for battle. Experience shows that everything goes well in a company with a sergeant major who gives a good account of himself; that discipline and order become lax and things go badly if he is slipshod. We can say that he is to the company what the eldest son is to the family. He should love the soldiers and look after their lives like an elder brother. When soldiers show any shortcoming, he should persuade them to remedy their fault, and educate them politically and militarily.

He should establish strict discipline and order in the company.

Discipline is the life of the army and the basic guarantee for raising the fighting capability and winning victory in war. Strict discipline and order are indispensable for boosting the combat efficiency of the company and, further, the fighting capability of the entire People's Army.

The sergeant major should see that the soldiers of his company lead a disciplined life, and educate them to comport themselves according to the military regulations and manuals. The discipline in our army is voluntary, and is fundamentally different from the forced discipline of the armies of imperialist states. But discipline cannot be established of

itself in the People's Army. It can only be maintained when the soldiers meet the requirements of military discipline willingly. For this the soldiers should be educated all the time. The sergeant major should make the soldiers fully aware of the necessity and importance of strengthening and maintaining military discipline and always persuade them to live in accordance with the requirements of military regulations.

In order to tighten discipline and order he should be strict with the soldiers. In matters of principle he should not yield a single point, but should be very demanding and uncompromisingly root out everything violating principles. He should ensure that all soldiers promptly carry out the commander's orders and instructions to the letter and acquit themselves well in combat and political training and day-to-day routine as befits members of a revolutionary army.

Further, the sergeant major should correctly comprehend and control everything the soldiers do. He should not be indifferent to whatever the soldiers do.

He should arrange life in the company very carefully.

This is not an easy job. Life in the company comprises many complex aspects from feeding and clothing the soldiers to completing preparations for battle.

The sergeant major should always be deeply concerned about the living conditions of soldiers and manage the economic life in the company assiduously. In particular, he should see that the quarters and mess hall are well equipped and cause no inconvenience to the soldiers in their daily life.

He should pay great attention to improving the soldiers' diet. It is his foremost duty to feed them well. In order to improve their diet, whatever is available should be put to proper account. You should endeavour to prepare a variety of dishes even with one kind of material like soy bean. On Height 1211 where fierce battles are being fought they grow bean sprouts to feed the soldiers, who, I am told, like them very much. It is not very difficult to grow bean sprouts. If only you cleverly arrange things, you can grow them as much as you want.

Wherever possible you can run your own vegetable gardens. If the soldiers grow vegetables for their own table, they will be able not only to improve their diet but also to lighten the burden on the peasants. They can also plant such things as potatoes. It is also advisable to pick edible wild plants to supplement the menu. They abound in all parts of our country and are both nourishing and good to eat.

The sergeant major should take good care of the soldiers' hygiene. This is essential for them to be healthy and discharge their combat duties creditably. He should see that the soldiers bathe often, wash their underwear regularly and strictly observe the rules of hygiene.

He should see that they are always spick and span. The appearance of soldiers mirrors their state of mind. They should look smart in their uniforms, have their hair cut in good time and change their collars often.

The economy drive should be intensified among the soldiers. The sergeant major should impress on the soldiers to save every grain of rice and piece of thread. In particular, he should be seriously concerned to ensure that the soldiers take great care of their weapons, ammunition and combat equipment like the apples of their own eyes.

He should encourage the soldiers to strictly observe the lofty tradition of unity of the army and the people.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we gave the slogan "Fish cannot live without water, nor the guerrillas without the people," and always put faith in the people and relied on them in our struggle. That was why we were able to defeat Japanese imperialist bandits in such arduous conditions.

Following the example of the anti-Japanese guerrillas, you should strengthen the ties with the people in the areas you are stationed. As its name indicates, the People's Army is an army of the people, an army in their service. It is therefore impermissible that for your slightest needs you should bother the people. If you borrow a utensil and the like, then you must return it without delay. In the busy farming season you should give a helping hand to the peasants in the neighbourhood. Thus, the army and the people should form a harmonious whole.

The sergeant major should be a model for the men in all aspects of work and life.

To show practical examples is a good way to educate and influence the soldiers. If the sergeant major sets an example, the men are bound to follow the example and do better in their military service.

The sergeant major should be exemplary in the inner service. You have arranged the barracks of the training centre excellently and put them in good trim. Later when you join your sub-units, too, you should do the same. It will not do to lead a bohemian life, pleading the wartime circumstances as your excuse. You must be scrupulous in the inner service as required by the military regulations. When the soldiers are engaged in fatigue duty, the sergeant major should join them, and when a tough, backbreaking job is ahead, he should always take the lead of the men.

The sergeant major should always be modest and simple. Modesty and simplicity are inherent qualities of a revolutionary. You should not ride the high horse; you should be unassuming and simple in work and life, in word and deed. As for matters which pain or trouble the men, you should regard them as your own problems and solve them at once.

In order to perform his duties without a hitch, the sergeant major should equip himself well politically and ideologically.

You should have a lofty revolutionary determination to fight for the Party and revolution, for the country and the people, even by laying down your life without hesitation. For this you should diligently attend the political study classes to get a deep understanding of the Party's line and policy and constantly raise your class consciousness. Especially, you should be thoroughly imbued with a patriotic spirit to love the country and the people ardently, and with a class consciousness to bear irreconcilable hatred for the US imperialists, landlords and capitalists.

Along with this, you should participate actively in organizational life of the Party and the Democratic Youth League, and temper yourselves continuously.

The sergeant major should not only have a high political and

ideological level but also be well qualified in military technique. If he is to guide and educate the soldiers, he should know a great deal himself. He should zealously take military training to acquire military knowledge and should be a good marksman. He should make a deep study of the military regulations and manuals and make it a habit to follow them.

While you are attending the training centre, you should conscientiously observe discipline and actively receive training to learn as much as possible. Since the training course has been arranged for you sergeant majors amid the flames of war, you should utilize your time best and attend political lessons and military training faithfully, thus completely mastering the subjects contained in the training programme.

The training centre should clearly reflect the aim and importance of the training course for the sergeant majors and every effort should be exerted to make it a success.

The training centre should strictly guard against dogmatism in carrying out the training programme. As in other fields, so in the military field, too, it is absolutely wrong to introduce foreign things mechanically. The training course should on all accounts be conducted in keeping with the actual conditions in our country on the basis of the experience and lessons of the Fatherland Liberation War. If there is anything that goes contrary to this, it should be brought into conformity before it is taught. In the future the army regulations should also be examined, and anything incompatible with our actual conditions should be revised.

The training centre should teach the trainees in detail what is needed for the organization of the inner service and management of the company, so that when they go back they can properly organize the life in the company in compliance with the requirements of the army regulations and acquit themselves well as taught at the training centre. In particular, great attention should be paid to guiding the trainees to keep the buildings of the centre including the barracks and mess hall clean and live in a smart way.

The training centre should look after the living conditions of its charges well.

Before all else, they should be well fed. The diet of the trainees should be improved, with enough meat, oil, vegetables and other items. In winter they should be served with hot soup.

In view of the frequent bombings by the enemy planes, thoroughgoing measures should be taken against air raids. The buildings, including the barracks and the mess hall and their surroundings, should be well camouflaged, and air raid shelters should be dug wherever necessary. During the day care should be taken to avoid all smoke, and at night fire should be lit only to heat the barracks.

I expect you to take this training course zealously, full of vigour and good spirit.

LET US SUCCESSFULLY ENSURE WARTIME TRANSPORT

Speech at a Congress of Active Railway Workers

March 11, 1952

This congress is attended by many administrative and political workers of the railways, model locomotive drivers, Heroes, and model servicemen of the Railway Guards and the Railway Rehabilitation Corps. It is very good that you have gathered here to learn from each other's experiences and discuss measures for future work. I am convinced that this congress will prove a landmark in guaranteeing wartime transport.

As was pointed out in the report, in the past days of the war the railway workers have fought valiantly for the Party, the country and the people. In spite of the difficult conditions in which the major railway facilities and transport means have been severely damaged due to the US imperialist aggressors' brutal bombing and shelling, they have promptly ensured the movement of war supplies and met the transport needs of the national economy by displaying mass heroism and lofty patriotism. Thus, they have made a great contribution to the successful implementation of the Party's strategic line and to increasing wartime production. In particular, locomotive drivers who directly handle transport have shown high courage. In the face of the enemy's terrific aerial attack and gunfire, they carried weapons, ammunition, shells and food without delay to the front at the risk of their lives. The loud whistles sounded by our brave engine drivers inspired our soldiers at the front

and the people in the rear to victory. In the hard struggle to ensure wartime transport our drivers have been further tried and tested politically, ideologically and technically, and many Heroes and recipients of state decorations have emerged from among them.

The officers and men of the Railway Rehabilitation Corps raised high the slogans “Let us quickly restore the enemy-wrecked railways!” and “Let us make trains run to the front without being a minute late!” and swiftly repaired the permanent way and bridges destroyed by the enemy, thereby ensuring wartime transport quickly. The people in the rear, too, did not spare themselves in rendering manpower and material assistance in the railway repair work.

Our brave officers and men of the Railway Guards displayed patriotic devotion and an indomitable fighting spirit in firmly defending the railways against the enemy’s destructive attempts. They downed many enemy planes that swooped down to destroy the railways and detected in time and crushed the manoeuvres of spies, subversive elements and saboteurs. A young member of the Railway Guards shot down as many as five of enemy planes with small arms, which is highly praiseworthy. This comrade is a patriot and a hero who is true to his duty.

I highly appreciate the heroic feats of the railway workers and the officers and men of the Railway Rehabilitation Corps and the Railway Guards.

The railway workers should not rest content with the successes already achieved but should wage an unremitting struggle for still greater successes.

Now I would like to emphasize some of the future tasks of the railway workers.

The railways are the arteries of the country. In particular, they have a very great part to play in bringing nearer victory. However well-equipped the armed forces and however solid the rear may be, victory cannot be won if there is no means to link the front closely with the rear. One of the powerful means for this is the railways. It is because the railways play an important part in the war that the enemy

bombs them fiercely and sends in spies, subversive elements and saboteurs in their vicious effort to destroy the railway facilities.

Today the railway workers are confronted with the heavy yet honourable duty to defend the railways firmly against every attempt of the enemy to destroy and sabotage them and send war supplies quickly to the soldiers who are fighting on the hills. It is no exaggeration to say that victory depends on how the railway workers carry out their duties. Bearing the importance of their duties in mind, the railway workers should make greater efforts to fully meet the transport needs of the front and the rear.

First of all, they should rationally organize the transport under the war conditions, make timely repairs and properly maintain the means of railway transport including locomotives and freight cars and increase their utilization.

Since we are short of locomotives and freight cars, rationalizing the organization of wartime transport is of importance in meeting the transport needs of the front and the rear with existing rolling stock. Therefore, it is necessary to define and strictly observe the priority principle in transport. The railway workers should give first preference to the goods to the front and actively introduce a proper train schedule to ensure fast transport under war conditions.

At present some railway workers neglect the repairs and proper maintenance of locomotives and freight cars. This will not do. Only when they are repaired in time and kept in good trim can accidents be prevented and their rates of operation be raised. In the railway field locomotives and freight cars should be regularly repaired and maintained well as required by the regulations. Along with this, a vigorous struggle should be waged to reclaim the damaged ones. Thus, more of them should be rebuilt and put into use.

At the time of changing shifts the crews should punctually hand over and take over the locomotives, and tighten the system of checking. While care of locomotives is an individual responsibility, a movement should be launched on a wide scale to safeguard them.

If the railway tracks are in bad shape, it is impossible not only to

increase the speed of trains but also to ensure their safety. The linemen should improve the work of repairing and reinforcing the tracks. They should always know the state of tracks, eliminate in time all defects, and regularly repair important structures including tunnels and bridges.

The railways should be well protected against all wrecking activities of the enemy.

The enemy not only carries out indiscriminate bombings on our cities and villages but is viciously attempting to sever the ties between the front and the rear. With the war turning into a prolonged one, the enemy is still more frenziedly trying to destroy the railways. Therefore, if wartime transport is to be ensured, the railways should be securely safeguarded.

The officers and men of the Railway Guards should display mass heroism and bring down all intruding enemy planes. Along with antiaircraft weapons, small arms should be widely employed in fighting enemy planes.

The Railway Guards men should strengthen guard over important railway points including bridges and tunnels, so that spies, wreckers and saboteurs cannot make reckless attempts.

Wrecked railway lines should be repaired quickly. The railway workers and the officers and men of the Railway Rehabilitation Corps should bear in mind that if running of trains is dislocated even for a moment, this will cause immense hardship to the People's Army personnel at the front, and lose no time repairing the railway tracks whenever damaged. For this all material required should be kept ready beforehand. In order to ensure smooth operation of railways, it is also necessary to lay hidden reserve lines, such as detour lines and submerged railway bridges.

The rehabilitation of railways calls for dispatch, so the railway workers and officers and men of the Railway Rehabilitation Corps cannot cope successfully with this work all by themselves. Therefore, a mass movement should be launched to tackle this work.

Strict discipline and order should be established in railway transport.

Discipline is life on the railways. Tightening discipline is not merely a requirement stemming from the specific features of the railway transport itself, but is an important question arising from the need to ensure quick transport to meet the wartime demands. Maintaining strict discipline on the railways is the only way to guarantee the wartime transport, whatever the difficulties or circumstances.

We have already established a quasi-military command system on the railways, put the railway workers in uniforms and taken steps to enact and apply new disciplinary rules. But as yet no discipline like that of the army has been established on the railways.

In the railway sphere a rigid command system should be established, everything should be tackled in an orderly manner under strict discipline, and even the slightest manifestations going against orders and instructions should not be tolerated but overcome immediately through an ideological struggle. The railway workers should observe the established regulations and order consciously and carry out the orders and instructions of the superiors to the letter.

In the railway sphere latent reserves should be actively exploited and the economy drive intensified.

With the war drawing out, the material needs of the front and the rear are steadily increasing, but production cannot keep pace with the demand because the industrial enterprises have been destroyed. Therefore, we should step up the struggle for economy and create material reserves to cope with the long-drawn-out war.

Coal consumption of locomotives should be reduced to the utmost in the railway sphere. The usual norm should be lowered and control over the use of coal tightened.

A spirit of love for railway facilities and state property should be established among the railway workers, and the struggle against wasting and embezzling state property should be stepped up. Discarded or damaged materials and equipment should be reclaimed and put into use as far as possible.

The struggle for economizing in food should be intensified in order

to create a buffer stock. Also superfluous non-productive manpower should be eliminated, drawing illegally extra rations controlled, and the struggle against waste of food intensified. It was suggested in the report that the employees under the Ministry of Railways should save food for the bereaved families of patriotic martyrs, war victims, and needy peasants. This I think is a very good thing. I strongly commend their suggestion. The railway workers should be a model of the whole country in the struggle for economization of provisions.

We should strengthen the training of railway cadres and raise the technical and skill levels of the railway workers.

This is an important guarantee for smooth wartime transport. This is also essential for rapid rehabilitation of the railways after the termination of war. In spite of the difficult conditions created by the war, the railway authorities should direct their efforts to the systematic training of cadres and improvement of the workers' technical qualifications.

In the railway sphere the system of training reserve of cadres should be properly established, and the hard core tried and tested in the process of the war should be selected and systematically trained. Thus, the ranks of these cadres should be constantly replenished.

The re-education of cadres on the active list should also be properly tackled. This should be done according to plan through training establishments and short-term courses.

The superior methods and experiences of work evolved in the struggle for wartime transport should be widely popularized among the railway workers. The locomotive crew should make vigorous efforts to master the operational techniques. They should apply themselves closely to the technical study.

The leadership personnel of the railways should improve their style of work.

Since long ago we have stressed the need to do away with the bureaucratic and formalistic work style among the railway cadres, but this persists till now.

Bureaucratism and formalism are manifested in giving commands

and instructions peremptorily without knowing the conditions at the lower levels, allotting work haphazardly and evading responsibility. This style of work proves an obstacle in ensuring wartime transport and dampens the enthusiasm of the subordinates. The railway cadres should abandon their bureaucratic and formalistic work style and strive to acquire a popular one.

The personnel of the Ministry of Railways and the railway management bureaus should listen to what the masses have to say at the stations, locomotive sections and track maintenance sections, solve their problems and give specific guidance to their work. Cadres should be modest and simple, and should on no account be given to lax and degenerate acts.

The political organs in the railway sphere should strengthen the political and ideological education of the workers.

The military and political situation in our country is turning in favour of our people who have risen in the just Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist invaders and their stooges. The fate of the US imperialist aggressors has already been sealed and by no means will they be able to save themselves from the imminent doom. Our people are winning victory after victory in the sacred struggle to defend the freedom and independence of the country and will certainly win the final victory before long. The political organs in the railway sphere should inspire the workers so that they fight still more bravely with a firm conviction of the ultimate victory. It is also necessary to properly educate the workers in the lofty spirit of patriotism.

The railway cadres should pay scrupulous attention to the living conditions of the workers and, in particular, the locomotive drivers.

These drivers are precious assets to our Party and are brave fighters. They should be well looked after so that they may not feel any inconvenience as they strive with all devotion for wartime transport. Meal rooms should be opened at tunnel stations to supply nutritious food to the locomotive staff and they should be provided with enough conditions for rest.

I am sure that just as you have fought bravely by displaying lofty

patriotism and an indomitable fighting spirit in face of the enemy's heinous bombing till now, you will in future, too, fight heroically, with unbounded loyalty to the Party and the country and the people and burning hatred towards the enemy, for the final victory of the great Fatherland Liberation War and for meeting the transport needs of the front and the rear, united firmly around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic.

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN TAEDONG COUNTY

**Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Taedong
County Committee, South Phyongan Province,
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

March 14, 1952

Comrades,

First of all, I would like to warmly thank, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, all the Party members and people of Taedong County, and you comrades attending this plenary meeting of the county Party committee, who have been working with devotion to strengthen the Party and government bodies and the People's Army and to ensure the production of food for victory in the war.

At this meeting I have heard the report of the chairman of the county Party committee and the speeches of many comrades and thus acquainted myself with the actual state of affairs here.

The report has dealt in detail with the shortcomings revealed in the course of carrying out the decision of the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. In the speeches lively criticism and self-criticism have been made. This is a good thing, of course.

It will not do, however, to end by just pointing out and criticizing the shortcomings. Of course, it is important to do all this at a meeting. But it is still more important to find out ways to rectify them. At today's meeting you only criticized the shortcomings, but discussed little about the ways of remedying them.

And what should the Party organizations in Taedong County do to rectify the shortcomings in their past work and acquit themselves well of their work in the future?

First, proper measures should be taken to prevent recurrence of shortcomings.

Just as hospitals inoculate people against diseases, Party organizations should take measures to prevent shortcomings from appearing among the lower Party organizations, cadres and rank-and-file members. Preventive measures mean nothing special. They are precisely to give proper guidance to the lower Party organizations and strengthen the Party life of cadres and the rank-and-file.

The county Party committee should always study and know the activities of the lower units and effectively lead them. Its officials should always go to the lower levels and study and analyse the actual state of affairs. On this basis, they should give suitable guidance. And they should meet and educate cadres and rank-and-file members in a planned way.

What is of special importance in guiding the lower Party organizations is to strengthen the work of the Party cells, the basic units of our Party. The county Party committee should help the cells to organize and guide the Party life of the members in a proper manner.

Enhancing the role of the cell chairmen is important in strengthening the members' Party life. If they are to properly organize and guide the members' Party life, the chairmen should know well the aptitude, ability, character, taste and so on of each member. Even those who belong to one and the same cell differ from each other in age, the level of consciousness, social and administrative position, character and taste. Among them are men and women, those who are tempered politically and ideologically and those who are not, those who are at a high general intellectual level and those who are at a low level, those who occupy a position of cadre and those who are ordinary members. And take taste and habit for example. We have some who like drinking and those who do not touch wine. The cell chairmen should have a

thorough knowledge of all such characteristics. Only then can they organize and guide their Party life in keeping with their specific qualities.

When feeding her child, a mother selects the food according to its age and constitution. Suppose a mother gives chestnut to her child. If it is still an infant, she will powder it before giving it; if it is a little bigger, she will give it boiled chestnut; and if the child is big enough, she will give it raw chestnut. Similarly the chairmen should assign a task to Party members or have a talk with them in conformity with their consciousness level, aptitude and character, and always lead them along the right path. This is essential for the cadres and the rank-and-file to do their work well without committing mistakes.

Party organizations should establish Party discipline and strengthen criticism among the cadres and members.

Intensification of criticism is of great importance in correcting the shortcomings in time and ensuring a healthy Party life among the cadres and Party members. Just as a man's leg will have to be ultimately amputated if a tumour is allowed to grow without timely treatment, cadres and Party members will finally slide into a bottomless quagmire if their mistakes are not rectified through timely criticism. Therefore, Party organizations should promptly correct the shortcomings of cadres and Party members through sharp criticism.

In order to intensify criticism, cadres and Party members should criticize their own shortcomings with an open mind as well as sincerely criticize others.

They should not wait for others to point out their failings, but should learn to find out and criticize their own shortcomings. Party cell chairmen should learn to criticize their own faults in the presence of Party members, and ri people's committee chairmen, before the masses. At this meeting, the county Party committee chairman criticized himself well. Cadres and Party members can correct their shortcomings only when they find them out by themselves and criticize them with an open mind.

They should learn to criticize not only their own faults but also the

failings of their comrades. They should not connive at but criticize in time the failings of their comrades. Criticism should always be to save comrades, that is, comradely criticism. This alone can make for strengthening unity between comrades and alert people of their own faults and induce them to correct them.

Party organizations should educate the cadres and members to strengthen comradely criticism with a correct attitude towards criticism.

Secondly, cadres and members should identify themselves thoroughly with the masses.

This means that they should always live among the masses without getting isolated, and together share the sweets and the bitters, life and death. Only when they are identified with the masses, can they firmly unite the masses in all walks of life around the Party and work better in the interests of the masses.

At present, however, there are many indications that cadres and members are not identified with the masses.

An indication of this is that they behave in a way strange with the masses. Some rural Party cell chairmen and ri people's committee chairmen think that their prestige will be enhanced only when they are dressed well and speak over the heads of the masses, and move about in suit and boot, uttering such difficult words as "proletariat" and "hegemony." Some ri people's committee chairmen go to the extent of moving about the rice fields where peasants are working, wearing a suit and carrying a briefcase under their arms. If they gad about like this giving instructions, they cannot mix well with the masses.

Another indication that cadres are not identified with the masses is apparent in their bureaucratic behaviour.

Bureaucratism is an anti-popular style of work. This work style is utterly intolerable under our social system. Nevertheless, there are some officials who hold fast to their own subjective views and ignore the masses and suppress their creative ideas, ordering them about and abusing them, and forcing things haphazardly on the lower ranks. Some others make no scruple to try to earn fame at the expense of the

masses. Such a tendency has appeared in the movement for cloth production.

This is an excellent patriotic movement to supply clothes to the soldiers who are fighting the US imperialist aggressors on the front and to help the war victims. Yet, this movement is spoilt by the bureaucrats.

As I said at the Joint Meeting of People's Committee Chairmen and Leading Party Officials of Provinces, Cities and Counties held last February, the central authorities set the time limit for cloth production at 90 days, which was cut by 20 days at the provincial level, and then by 20 days each at the county, sub-county and ri levels. So, in the end only ten days were left for the people to produce cloth. No matter how hard they worked, they could not turn out their quotas in ten days. That officials should do this is an expression of bureaucratic work style prompted by a desire to win distinction. Owing to such a bureaucratic work style, the grand patriotic movement for cloth production has left a bad impression on the people.

After the February joint meeting some officials have started to linger at the tail of the masses allegedly not to commit bureaucratic mistakes, and fail to push ahead boldly with their work or to overcome negative phenomena. This is also wrong. At today's meeting the chairman of the Party Committee of Namhyongjesan Sub-county criticized himself saying that he had acted bureaucratically in scolding and taking to task the merchants in his sub-county for pursuing only their own interests while showing little enthusiasm for the work of aiding the front. This comrade still has no correct idea of bureaucratism.

Severely criticizing and censuring somebody for his failings is not bureaucratism. Strongly demanding that people should work well is not bureaucratism either. As for people who are only engaged in money-making business for their personal prosperity without the least thought of the country and the people, we must wage a resolute ideological struggle against them to rectify their faults.

Cadres and Party members must strive to shed the old style of work and identify themselves with the masses. They should always live

among the masses, eat and dress like them and work together with them. Further, the officials should rouse the masses to activity by means of explanation and persuasion instead of orders and instructions. If the masses are passive, you must find out the real reason and take appropriate measures.

Party organizations should promptly wage an ideological struggle to overcome the phenomena of cadres and Party members not mixing with the masses. At the same time, they should be taught how to identify themselves with the masses. To this end, short courses should be arranged for Party cell and ri people's committee chairmen.

Thirdly, a vigorous struggle should be waged against outdated ideas.

They do tremendous harm to our work and dampen the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Party members. Without intensifying the struggle against outdated ideas among cadres and Party members, we cannot develop Party work nor raise the vanguard role of Party members. Party organizations should tirelessly wage a struggle against outdated ideas among cadres and Party members.

What is of importance in this struggle is to get rid of the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism and prevent the infiltration of capitalist ideas.

These ideological remnants still linger to a considerable extent among Party members including cadres. They are manifested in the wrong attitude towards labour.

For 36 years in the past our people toiled and moiled, exploited by the imperialists, landlords and capitalists under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. So they developed a profound contempt for labour. In those years only a man doing clerical work was regarded as a clever person, and a person engaged in physical labour was looked down upon as very lowly. Many people thought, when a boy was born, to give him education to make an office worker of him, and, when a girl was born, to marry her off into a rich family to lead a life of idle ease.

But under our social system, it will not do to regard labour as degrading. In our country the workers and peasants have become the masters of factories and land and the masters of state power. Today our

working people work not for landlords and capitalists but for the state and for themselves. After liberation our people successfully carried out democratic reforms including the agrarian reform and the work of peaceful construction and built a new country for the well-being of all by their creative labour. Under our system labour has become a matter of honour. Therefore all our people should work diligently, devoting all their energy and intellect to defend our system against the enemy's encroachment and win victory in the war.

Party members joined the Party to do more work for the Party, the country and the people, not just to live an idle life. So they should participate in labour more honestly than anyone else. Nevertheless, some Party members, oblivious of their weighty yet honourable duty, fail to work honestly and try to deceive the Party and government bodies just as they cheated the Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists in the past. Party organizations should intensify the struggle against such a tendency and, at the same time, educate their members in the spirit of cherishing labour. All Party members should thus be made to work faithfully with a correct attitude towards labour.

While doing away with the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism, we must thoroughly avert the infiltration of capitalist ideas. Having sustained ignominious reverses one after another in the war, the US imperialist aggressors are now making vicious attempts to inject capitalist ideas in the northern half of Korea. Therefore, Party organizations should thoroughly guard against capitalist ideas making inroads into our midst and intensify educational work to prevent their infiltration.

Lastly, I would like to make a brief remark on some questions which call for attention by the Taedong county Party organizations.

Class struggle should be further intensified in the countryside.

At present the reactionaries are acting against the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic and craftily manoeuvring to strike roots among the peasants. We should step up the class struggle in the countryside to isolate and suppress the handful of reactionaries and, at the same time, win over and unite the broad masses around the Party

and the Government. Party organizations should rouse the members and the peasant masses to the struggle for isolating and suppressing the reactionaries, awaken them from the class point of view and bring them to watch every movement of the reactionaries at all times with a high degree of revolutionary vigilance. In this way the reactionaries should be stopped from recklessly manoeuvring behind the scenes in the rural areas.

The struggle for economy in the use of state property should be intensified.

In our society, where the people are the masters of the country, all state property is the property of the people. Only when the state's accumulations are increased through the economization of the people's property can we win the war against the US imperialist aggressors.

At present, however, some officials of state institutions are wasting state property and even embezzling it without any scruple. As was pointed out in the report, some of them misappropriated food and other state supplies and squandered them on lavish birthday parties or bought household articles for personal use without giving a thought to the country's economic condition or the soldiers at the front fighting on empty stomachs. A certain official made rice cakes and liquor with cereals of the state and went to the extent of butchering a draught cow to give a birthday party. At present the peasants suffer from a shortage of draught cattle, and here someone has butchered a precious cow for a birthday feast. What a shame! A certain ri people's committee chairman sold part of the property confiscated in accordance with Cabinet Decision No. 190 and used the money for drinking and even buying several sewing machines!

The struggle against the wastage of state property should be waged vigorously on a mass scale. The peasants are the masters of the countryside. With a high sense of this responsibility, they should not only show an example in the struggle for food economization but irreconcilably combat the wastage of state property.

The forests should be jealously looked after and protected.

The forests are a valuable asset to the country. Before the war

mountains were afforested on a large scale through a movement of the masses as a whole. But many of them have been burnt out due to the heinous bombings of the US imperialists. Add to this, the peasants cut down trees recklessly to make mountains denuded. It is already heartrending that many mountains have been burnt out by the bombings, and is it permissible to cut down trees recklessly? After we win the war, we will need a great deal of timber to rehabilitate the destroyed national economy. Therefore, we should wage a resolute struggle against reckless deforestation, and we must plant trees widely in a nationwide movement.

An energetic struggle should be waged for increasing food production.

In the countryside not an inch of land should be left fallow. All farmlands should be sown to produce more food. To this end, the shortage of food and seed grains, draught cattle and manpower should be covered.

The state will lend food and seed grains and supply fertilizer to the peasants. This will heighten their enthusiasm for production.

You must not depend only on the state for food. The good spirit of mutual aid should be evoked among the peasants, and thus those who have a surplus should come to the aid of those who are short of food. Then, the food problem will be resolved to a considerable extent.

In order to meet the shortage of manpower and draught animals, you must organize labour-aid teams and ox-sharing teams rationally and concentrate all rural forces on crop raising. Further, all the people should be mobilized to help the rural areas in terms of labour. All workers, office employees and students should be mobilized to finish sowing in season.

Great efforts should also be directed to develop livestock farming in the countryside. Thus, meat should be produced and, at the same time, the problem of draught cattle should be solved.

I believe that after this plenary meeting, you will rectify the shortcomings revealed in your past activities and do your work better.

ON CREATING MODEL COMPANIES

**Order No. 0166 of the Supreme Commander
of the Korean People's Army**

March 26, 1952

The work of creating model companies is making good progress in all units and combined units under Unit No. 327.

Commanders and political officers at different levels have intensified the military and political training of companies and looked after the material and cultural life of soldiers at all times. The Party and Democratic Youth League organizations have given active help to the commanders. As a result, 14 model companies are created in Unit No. 825 alone. These companies are faithfully carrying out the orders of the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the requirements of diverse army regulations in military and political training, in political and moral life and in maintaining discipline.

The soldiers of the 2nd Company of Unit No. 827 which is one of the model companies under Unit No. 825 have wiped out large numbers of enemy troops in the course of the Fatherland Liberation War, and in the summer battle of 1951 they captured 560 enemy officers and men. And no big mishap has occurred in this company.

The commands of the corps and division have appraised this company's military and political training as follows:

The showings for tactics—4.5 points, shooting—4.3 points, and political training—4.2 points. And there is strict discipline and order prevailing in the company, the soldiers have been educated in the love

of comrades-in-arms and in the spirit of comradely mutual assistance, and Party political education is conducted at a fairly high level.

The valuable experience of the 2nd Company of Unit No. 827 proves of practical help to other units in their activities.

Highly praising the initiative displayed by the commanders and political officers under Unit No. 327 in creating model companies, I order as follows:

1. The commanders and political officers of all units of the People's Army, whether in the rear or at the front, shall make every effort to raise the level of military and political training and fighting efficiency of their units in general by increasing the number of model companies and widely propagating their experience in creating such companies.

2. The criteria of appraisal for a model company shall be as follows:

a. In the frontline units

1) when it has wiped out or captured more enemy officers and men than the number of persons it has lost;

2) when its losses in battle are very negligible;

3) when its soldiers use their weapons skilfully;

4) when it is totally free from serious mishaps;

5) when there is no violation of military discipline;

6) when the political and ideological education of the soldiers is conducted well and they are provided with good material and cultural living conditions;

7) when state and public property is well looked after and economized;

b. In the reserve units and the defence and rear units

1) when its showings in military and political training including the tactical, shooting and political training are above four points;

2) when weapons and other military equipment and state and public property are looked after and economized with utmost care and are well maintained;

3) when there is no loss of personnel, weapons and other combat equipment caused by enemy planes because of thoroughgoing camouflage;

- 4) when it is totally free from serious mishaps;
- 5) when there is no violation of military discipline;
- 6) when Party political education is conducted excellently;
- 7) when the soldiers are provided with material and cultural living conditions in accordance with regulations.

3. The right to recommend a company as a model company candidate is accorded to the Regiment Commander and to commanding officers with an equal power, and the right of appraisal is accorded to the Division Commander and to commanding officers with an equal power.

4. Model companies shall be awarded as follows:

- 1) By May 1 all model companies shall be given red Model Company Flags printed with model soldier ensigns, and the members of these companies shall be presented with model soldier ensigns;

- 2) Soldiers who are exemplary in studies and in observance of military discipline, even if not members of a model company, shall be awarded model soldier ensigns;

- 3) The appraisal of model companies shall take place at the end of each month. When a model company has forfeited its qualification as such, the Model Company Flag shall be taken away and individual soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers who are answerable for this shall be deprived of the model soldier ensigns.

5. Model Company Flags and model soldier ensigns shall be presented in the name of the Corps Military Commission (in the directly subordinate units, in the names of different arms commanders) and this shall be proclaimed by an order to all units under its control.

6. The General Political Bureau and the General Supply Service Bureau of the People's Army shall draft the Model Company Flag by April 15, and make necessary numbers of Model Company Flags and model soldier ensigns and send them to all corps (arms commands).

7. The commanders and political organs shall strengthen the work of creating model companies and explain the significance of this work in detail to all soldiers.

8. This order shall be made known to all Korean People's Army soldiers.

TO STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMY DRIVE IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

**Order No. 0176 of the Supreme Commander
of the Korean People's Army**

April 1, 1952

In order to win the final victory in the Fatherland Liberation War against the imperialist armed interventionists headed by the US aggressors in defence of the country's freedom and independence, not only the entire people's great efforts and the People's Army officers' and men's heroic feats are necessary but also strict economy and growth of accumulations in various fields are indispensable. This is because under the present conditions the sources of state revenue have dwindled due to the destruction of many factories, enterprises and mills by the barbarous enemy while, on the other hand, the material needs of the front and the rear for victory have further increased.

A nationwide struggle for taking good care of and economizing in state property and war materials should be waged to overcome our difficult economic situation and to rehabilitate and develop the national economy and meet the demands of the war. In particular, rigid economy in the People's Army which is a giant consumer is of great significance in increasing state accumulations.

I order the People's Army to launch a mass campaign to protect well and economize in state property and tighten the financial discipline on the following lines:

1. Approval is given to the general plan of the People's Army for

economy submitted by the Minister of National Defence.

2. The commanders and political workers of all units, combined units and organizations shall not rush the campaign but shall conduct it continually in a day-to-day mass movement.

All commanding personnel and political workers shall make it thoroughly known to all the servicemen that taking good care of and economizing in the property of the state and the people is the solemn duty of the People's Army soldiers expressly stated in the Servicemen's Oath and a fighting task inseparable from their military duties, and thus make the struggle for economy one of the principles to be observed by the servicemen in their daily life. Further, they shall bring the servicemen to the profound realization that the financial discipline is not an affair applicable only to the finance and accounting bodies but is a part of the general discipline binding on all servicemen, and shall regard all such practices as waste, embezzlement and violation of the financial discipline as criminal acts equivalent to the neglect of combat duties.

3. The struggle for economy shall not be limited to the narrow bounds of taking good care of and economizing in weapons and supplies, but work connected directly or indirectly with economy shall be organized widely in various forms and ways.

Improvement of technical qualifications is of special importance in effecting greater economy. So all units, combined units and organizations including production organizations in the army shall actively carry on work for improving the technical level of all personnel, to say nothing of the technical crew.

Commanders and political workers shall educate the servicemen in the idea that mastery of techniques is indispensable in increasing the fighting capability of the army and carry on the work of raising the technical qualifications along with the strengthening of combat readiness and the struggle for economy.

All officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers shall be trained to become experts in the use of their weapons and skilled in practical work as required by the army regulations and manuals, and in the productive branches advanced technology shall be studied

continuously and its achievements introduced to raise steadily the level of the technicians, skilled persons and other workers. In particular, many pass-on-technique sessions, conferences for furnishing information from personal experiences, meetings for giving personal opinions on a given question on the basis of its study, etc., shall be arranged to raise the technical level as a whole. In this way fine techniques and skills shall be widely popularized.

Under the slogan “The struggle for food is a struggle for victory at the front,” the army units shall see to it that not an inch of land is left uncultivated, the habit of saving even a grain of rice and a piece of thread shall be established, and all servicemen shall take an active part in the struggle for economy. In particular, worn-out things and waste materials shall be reclaimed on a wide scale by displaying creative initiatives, so that the armed forces, a giant consumer, will make an active contribution to the growth of state accumulations and the rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

4. Various organizations, units and combined units of the People’s Army shall simplify office work. Departments which are superfluous or less needed shall be abolished or merged, the personnel on the lists shall be reduced, and the released persons shall be diverted to branches where they are urgently needed, and the time gained by simplifying and rationalizing office work shall be used for giving more extensive guidance and assistance to the lower levels. At the same time, an end shall be put to all the wrong work style of sticking to one’s desk.

For this purpose,

a) the multiplicity of reports such as daily, five-day and bimonthly reports currently made by units at different levels shall be abolished, a consolidated operational report and a report on the situation in the unit shall regularly be submitted once every month, and reports on serious mishaps and on matters demanded by the higher levels shall be presented when necessary. Units located in the vicinity of their higher commands shall make reports orally or by telephone;

b) statistics on the personnel shall only be handled by personnel statistics departments, statistics on various kinds of weapons and

combat equipment shall be received systematically by arms commands and organizations directly in charge of them, so that practices of receiving duplicate and triplicate reports shall be done away with;

c) the Minister of National Defence shall make a concrete plan for simplifying office work and let it be carried out down to the unit level.

5. Various production organizations and factories shall eliminate waste of raw materials and other supplies, strictly observe the norm of material consumption, and use raw materials and other supplies effectively and appropriately, thereby lowering production costs.

With the profound realization that the economy of food is one of the most important steps for victory, they shall thoroughly carry out my Order No. 0134 on food economization dated March 8, 1952.

For the economy of food,

a) throughout the People's Army uniform ration tickets shall be issued and put into use to prevent dual rationing or illegal food supply during official trips;

b) the ration for officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers serving at the headquarters of divisions and upwards shall be reduced from the present daily norm of one kilogramme to 800 grammes.

6. The units shall regard the rearing of domestic animals as an important task of the subsidiary economy and take every necessary step for increasing livestock. At the same time, they shall step up the work of preventing epizootics and improve the care of animals to reduce the rate of their death from diseases. Indiscriminate butchery shall be eliminated.

7. Transport services and units with many vehicles shall know the exact number of their vehicles and formulate a concrete plan of their operation to increase their running distances, reduce their turnaround time and eliminate their running without loads. In particular, if they have no load on the return journey, they shall help state establishments in goods transportation. All the passenger cars allotted to bureaus, departments, units and combined units in excess of the authorized number shall be taken away, and their fuel supply shall be stopped.

8. For the economization of fuel the relevant establishments shall

supply fuel strictly in accordance with the consumption regulation and induce the supply men to handle it skilfully to avoid waste. Especially the fuel stations and all units shall take steps to prevent losses due to enemy bombings. Along with this, transport services shall improve the drivers' skills so as to lower petrol consumption.

9. For the economization of clothing, the term of issue of new woollens to high-ranking officers from regiment commanders upwards and to the generals shall be extended from two years to three.

10. For the economization of footwear it is necessary, first of all, to improve their quality and induce all the servicemen to save their footwear along with all other supplies. New shoes shall be issued only in exchange for the old ones.

11. The personnel in various production branches shall increase the operation of machines and prevent accidents by taking good care of them and raising their technique and skill levels, and shall prolong the life-span of machines by avoiding overuse.

12. Units, combined units and organizations shall collect and deliver to the state various abandoned items and wastes including scrap iron, gasoline drums and bottles for use as raw materials or for reclamation.

13. Corps and combined units shall draw up suitable economization plans in consonance with the general plan of the People's Army for economy, and carry them out through a mass campaign.

14. In order to politically ensure success in the campaign for economy being conducted throughout the People's Army, the chief of the General Political Bureau shall take the following measures:

a) the importance of economy shall be explained to all members of the units in different forms and ways including meetings, talks and lectures. To this end Party and Democratic Youth League organizations within the units shall be mobilized;

b) all the servicemen shall be educated in the spirit of caring for and economizing in state property and tightening the financial discipline, and political work shall be conducted to make them realize that waste, embezzlement and misappropriation are grave crimes against the country and the people, and wage a merciless struggle against such practices;

c) the servicemen shall be made to thoroughly criticize others and themselves for various wasteful practices of the past period and expose and denounce embezzlers, wasters and pilferers of state property before the masses, so that such phenomena will be eliminated quickly. Those who persist in such activities, in spite of a number of educational measures, shall be sternly dealt with in the organizations concerned.

Political work for economy shall be conducted not as a temporary measure but steady and continuous movement.

15. The Director of the Prosecutors Bureau shall take appropriate steps in advance to ensure the successful implementation of the general plan of the People's Army for economy and prevent such phenomena as waste, embezzlement and misappropriation.

16. Units shall review the campaign for economy at the end of every month, rectifying the shortcomings revealed and popularizing valuable experiences. The corps shall summarize the excellent experiences of the lower units, and report to the General Staff. The General Staff, in its turn, shall summarize them and give them wide publicity in all the units.

17. The front commander, corps commanders, directors of schools, commanders of separate units, arms commanders, chiefs of bureaus and departments shall draw up their plans of economization suited to their units' actual conditions in accordance with the general plan of the People's Army for economy and receive my sanction for them by April 10 through the Minister of National Defence. They shall be implemented from April 15.

18. I charge the Minister of National Defence with the responsibility to check up frequently on the implementation of the general plan of the People's Army for economy.

The Minister of National Defence shall inspect the implementation of the economization plans in the units and report the results to me by mid May.

19. The main contents of the present order shall be made known to all servicemen.

ON ESTABLISHING A POPULAR STYLE OF WORK AMONG THE INTERIOR SECURITY MEN

**Speech to the Cadres and Political Workers
of the Interior Security Organs**

April 4, 1952

Comrades,

At the Joint Meeting of People's Committee Chairmen and Leading Party Officials of Provinces, Cities and Counties held last February, I dwelt upon the need to clear the people's government officials of the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism, oppose bureaucratism and tighten financial discipline in order to strengthen the people's government and enhance its role. So I would not refer again to it here. You should study that speech well and take guidance from it in your work.

Our interior security organs are, in a word, organs of power that defend the people's government and the Party. It is they that maintain state and social order and safeguard the lives and property of the people in accordance with the Party line and Government policy.

Ours is a government of the people and, accordingly, its apparatus, the interior security organ, is also of the people. The interior security men too are of the people. They do not defend the privileges of the propertied classes but serve the interests of the working people.

Our interior security organs consist of workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Therefore, their staff defend no less than their

own interests when they defend the interests of these people and safeguard the social order of the state administered by them.

In the past seven years since their formation our interior security organs have made great progress. After the Korean people took power into their hands after throwing off the Japanese imperialist yoke, these organs were at first inexperienced, were unable to exercise their functions to the full and had many shortcomings in maintaining social order. But later they were consolidated rapidly and played a big part in the period of peaceful construction and during the Fatherland Liberation War. Because you are well aware of the great deal of work done by these organs and their staff, I would not speak about it further.

Now I would like to touch on some tasks confronting the interior security workers.

In the first place, the remnants of Japanese imperialism should be done away with and depravities eliminated from among these workers.

In the interior security organs, too, as in other organs of the people's power, there are survivals of Japanese imperialist ways. Although we cannot say that these organs are more affected than others, they appear to be so since their personnel wear uniforms and carry rifles, unlike people in other organs. The latter do not stand out very conspicuous because they are in civilian dress. But the interior security men are in uniform and that is why they stand out clearly from others, and even a minor slip of theirs is magnified.

How is it that our officials have survivals of Japanese imperialism? They were born and lived in the years of Japanese imperialist rule. The social environment and bad practices in the days of Japanese imperialist rule are all that they saw and heard of as they grew up, and these refuse to give way but persist in their minds.

Our people saw in their childhood Japanese or Korean policemen strutting about wearing sabres at their sides. People hated them for wickedness, but it is a fact that they wished, though vaguely, they could also wear sabres and swagger around, throwing their weight about. This illusion remains in the minds of the officials, and now manifests itself in the officialist methods of work and bureaucratic work style.

In the past, when a pretty girl was born, people used to say that she was suitable to be the eldest daughter-in-law in a rich family, and, in case it was a boy with a broad handsome face, that he would live a life of plenty. This shows that the poor did not hate the rich who exploited them but, rather, envied them. Today some women want to marry men who would make them eat the bread of idleness, and once married, they will not work. This is all an expression of the outworn ideas they inherited from their parents.

The ideological influence of the old society is exerted more or less on everyone, and it can hardly be exterminated in a day or two.

Since they were appointed to their posts before they rid themselves of the residues of the outworn ideas, our interior security workers, after appointment, forgot the days when they had been oppressed by the police of Japanese imperialism, and put on airs in the very uniforms given to them by the people. Although they are sons of workers, peasants and working intellectuals, they behave like the Japanese police.

Under the people's democratic system today the danger of bureaucratism is very great.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule the policemen would often arrange birthday feasts, because they could receive many bribes by way of birthday presents. They gave parties frequently on the pretext of celebrating the birthdays of their fathers, mothers, their own, their sons, and what not, thus receiving lots of bribes. Suppose they could live for two months on the bribes they accepted on the occasion of one birthday party, then if they gave five parties, they would receive as much as could last them nearly a whole year.

We sometimes find people among our interior security men who behave like this. If they give a birthday party, how is it different from the one given by the policemen in the days of Japanese imperialist rule? The only difference is in the names—one being interior security men of the people and the other being policemen of Japanese imperialism. But there is little difference between them. At present there is a lot of officialist style of work lingering in the interior security organs. This is most dangerous.

As I found out while conversing with peasants, illicit distilling cannot be wiped out in the countryside now because interior security men join hands with some peasants in this affair. In fact, a farm village has not many houses and so its inhabitants can have no secrets from each other. If the interior security people cooperate with the Party members in the village, they can keep strict control over such practices as illicit distilling. Yet, instead of doing so, they leave it alone or have a hand in it.

Some interior security organs impose extra-tax burdens on the people, and there was even a case of interior security men beating people.

How can we entrust such workers with the important duty of defending the Party and government bodies? This is a great risk. People who sell out their office for some wine and rice cake will sell out even the state power for a larger sum of money.

Since the interior security organs have the duties of defending the Party and the state power and maintaining social order in conformity with the Party line and Government policy, their staff should be truly of the people who discharge these duties faithfully. Or else, they may become tools of the enemy.

The enemy spies seek to suborn those fellows who love drinking and lead a loose and fast life, selfish fellows who are corrupt and fond of money, and criminals. If a person is induced into a dishonest way in all matters, he cannot get free as if he is caught in a trap, and may be pulled into a still more dangerous pit. So, if one behaves like a Japanese policeman and becomes corrupt, one will be estranged from the people and the organs of power and may in the end go over to the enemy's side. It is quite evident what a great harm the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism and the influence of capitalism do to social development and to our work, and how dangerous they are. Herein lies the reason why today our Party and Government propose waging a struggle for liquidating the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism in a whole-Party and all-people movement.

If they truly want to work for the country and the people, the

interior security personnel should think hard and correct what is harmful to work and what is wrong in their behaviour and work, and combat the influence of capitalism and feudalism and corrupt practices.

Today the people are suffering from many hardships and going hungry. The soldiers at the front sometimes fight the enemy on empty stomachs. Nevertheless, they are all together fighting without losing heart and keeping up their courage to win victory at all costs. This is because our people know what they are fighting for.

Our people do not want to live the life of a deprived nation again as in the days of Japanese imperialist rule. In the past five years they have realized clearly from their own experience in building democracy that the democratic system is really good. So they are fighting to safeguard their gains of democratic construction.

Our people are convinced of victory. In the past the Korean people had neither government, nor Party nor armed forces. Yet, they fought, crying hurrah, for national independence. Today, however, they have their own government, the ever-victorious Workers' Party of Korea, and the People's Army. Therefore, they are displaying courage with a firm conviction that they can win.

At present the Korean people are not fighting alone; they have the support of the powerful world democratic camp in their struggle. In the years of Japanese imperialist rule the Korean people had no international support and, if any, it was only political support. But today the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other democratic states are giving them political, economic and technical aid and, in particular, the Chinese people have dispatched the Volunteers to help us. That is why our people are fighting bravely with a still greater faith in victory.

Do our people have a correct understanding? Yes, indeed.

When the people, firmly convinced of victory, are fighting on empty stomachs surmounting all difficulties, some interior security men and cadres are leading a depraved life. While people are busy at work, some others are holding a drinking bout; and while others are

fighting shedding blood at the front, some in a corner of the rear are leading an extravagant, fast life. How outrageous this is!

Depravity implies corruption. An infected part should be cut off. A single rotten fruit causes all the fruit to go bad in the end. So rotten fruit should be sorted out. First preventive steps should be taken against corruption and then the ones that nevertheless go to bad should be sorted out. Corrupt practices stem from the remnants of capitalism, which degrade and deprave people and, in the end, cause them to be drawn over to the enemy side. We must fight back the enemy's ideological infiltration. To this end, we must wipe out the ideological residues of capitalism that remain among us and strengthen education in socialism and democracy.

Corrupt phenomena include failure to overcome difficulties, violation of discipline and laziness. A resolute ideological struggle should be waged against corrupt practices and they should be rooted out.

Further, discipline should be tightened within the interior security organs.

Discipline is still weak in these organs. Being in uniforms, their personnel should faithfully observe discipline. A regular and orderly system should be established and iron discipline enforced in these organs.

It is still a long way to the establishment of discipline in the interior security organs. Some of these organs do not even have proper statistics. Some of their men fail even to take care of their weapons. Last spring officials from the Party made a call at a certain interior security substation to find that its personnel were asleep, leaving their rifles in the room. They were unaware of the rifles being carried away. If they keep their guns in this way, rogues may do evil things and accidents may happen.

Since interior security organs neglect military drills, some of their men do not know even how to shoot properly. To a bad shot, the rifle is worse than a club. When a man neglects his rifle and is a poor shot, what does he need it for? All this is the result of loose discipline.

In addition, the system of carrying out orders has not been

established in the interior security organs. Once orders are given, they should jump into even fire and water, but some of their personnel are not yet prepared to do so. Further, their appearance is not neat and trim. I have seen some of them walking along the streets not properly buttoned, and there are even cases when they go outside without putting on their caps and walk about bareheaded. All these instances show that discipline is loose among them.

If they are to fulfil their duty as the people's interior security organs which defend the Party, the Government and the people, they should tighten discipline.

To proceed. The Party spirit among them should be promoted.

Some officials of the Ministry of the Interior do not respect the Party just because they are in uniforms with shoulder-straps. Some interior security men feign indifference to the good initiatives taken by the Party organizations and do not render assistance, but follow some individual workers of Party bodies willingly, keeping in step with them in doing evil. This shows they lack Party spirit. The officialist work style, depravities, violations of discipline and the like are all an outcome of weak Party spirit.

When we say Party spirit should be promoted, we mean that you should become faithful Party members who have a correct understanding of the Party's line and policy and struggle vigorously for their implementation. Yet, many Party members are ignorant of the Party's Programme and Rules, and of the duties of Party members. By ignorance of the Party's Programme and Rules it is not meant that they cannot say them by rote but that they lack a profound understanding of their contents and that they do not act upon them.

Our Party members should preserve their quality as such, and if they have committed a mistake, they must reflect on their conduct and ask themselves thinking in view of the Party's Programme and Rules: "I am a Party member, I carry a membership card in my bosom, and how can I have done such a thing in violation of the Party member's duties!" This is precisely what is meant by Party spirit. During our temporary retreat, a large number of Party members bravely died

facing the enemy bayonets in the occupied zones rather than yielding to the enemy in order to uphold their honour as members of the Workers' Party. This was because they had a strong Party spirit.

In order to promote our Party spirit, we must understand the Party's line and policy clearly and acquire the lofty quality worthy of Party members. We must always study the Party's Programme and Rules and line and policy, and when taking political lessons, we must study in their light. Only then can we advance along the right path.

In order to enhance the Party spirit of the interior security workers, we must strengthen their political and ideological education.

Most of the comrades present here are political workers and so now I would like to speak about the task of political workers.

What is important to political workers is to eliminate the officialist work style and the corrupt and degenerate practices within the interior security organs, and educate and train their staff to be true servants of the people.

Tightening of discipline and promotion of Party spirit among the interior security men hinge entirely on the political workers.

Political workers are mothers in the units. As the mother is the principal educator of children in a family, political workers should educate soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers in the interior security organs. It is administrative workers that assume administrative responsibility, but it is political workers that take the responsibility for ideological education.

Nevertheless, some political workers do not undertake the ideological education of the personnel of their organs as their mothers, but infringe on the one-man management of the interior security administration and, if administrative workers do not come to the Party committees, hurl abuses and howl at them, saying that they have a weak Party spirit. It is the general failing of the political workers that they take upon themselves the duties of administrative personnel and put on airs in violation of the one-man management system. If they do not discharge their own duty but just call upon others to follow them, no one will do so. They should not infringe on the one-man

management system but induce the personnel of their organs to work voluntarily by activizing the Party and social organizations and strengthening ideological education.

They should always be modest, candid and simple, be exemplary in their behaviour, untiring and persevering in work. Then, administrative workers will place confidence in political workers of their own accord. This confidence should be so great that an administrative worker should be able to say that he can cope with his work only with the political worker, that without the political worker he cannot do his work.

One of the principal shortcomings in the work of the interior security organs is that the guidance and control of the subordinates are at a low level. It is very important to improve the cadres' art of leadership, and success in this also depends on political workers.

There are now two kinds of shortcomings in the method of guiding and controlling the lower ranks. One is the peremptory issuing of orders without studying the situation and the indiscriminate punishment of people; and the other is conniving at unjust things. Both these are wrong.

If you think you can educate the masses by punishing one person, you should punish him. But, as I pointed out at the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, it is wrong to punish people indiscriminately. Punishment should not be for punishment's sake but it should be inflicted for the sake of education. When they are criticized for tolerating unjust things, some officials mete out punishments haphazardly, and when this mistake is criticized, they do not punish even those who deserve punishment. This will not do.

What, then, are the principles on which they should guide and control the subordinates?

First of all, a political worker should be a model in everything.

It is a mistake that a political worker remains indifferent to military affairs, alleging that he is only required to do political work. He should be good at shooting, faithful in receiving military training, exemplary in observing discipline, skilled in sports, early in coming to meetings, and take the lead in combatting difficulties when they arise. He should

lead the others in an offensive battle and, during a retreat, should bring up the rear. And he should be simple and blameless in private life, and should never be corrupted or violate financial discipline. In guiding his subordinates, too, he should not simply give orders and instructions, but, when things do not go well, should set an example by deeds, and should be well-versed in all matters in his sphere of work.

Another important thing in the work of interior security organs is to strengthen mutual consultation. Inadequate consultation is a definite failing in the work of these organs. There is no harm if frequent consultations are held in their work. It is often better in the army, due to its specific character, that during a battle the commander gives orders resolutely at his own discretion without consultation. But it is advisable in the work of the interior security organs to frequently consult each other on any matter. A good consultation will prevent mistakes in work.

In the interior security organs the control of the subordinates should be done according to plan. It is the general failing of their workers now that they do their work by rule of thumb, without a plan. All workers should correct this fault quickly and work under a detailed plan.

When we were carrying on the anti-Japanese armed struggle, all the commanding personnel worked under a plan. If you do your work on impulse, it cannot go well. You must shape a concrete plan and carry on your work normally and perseveringly according to it.

The struggle for economy, too, should be concretely planned. Only shouting for economization is useless, and the work cannot end by making passionate speeches and shouting hurrah at a meeting. A detailed plan for economy should be worked out and carried out thoroughly.

Suppose the interior security department of South Phyongan Province formulates a plan of economy. It should work out the plan after giving mature consideration to things in the following manner: "Last year we gave banquets so-and-so many times, but this year we should cut the number and save so-and-so much money; in the past we used motorcars on such-and-such unnecessary occasions, but this year

we should improve the organization of their operation to save so-and-so much gasoline; there was wasteful use of food in such-and-such cases, but we can save so-and-so much by such-and-such means.” You should draw up the plan after examining various aspects of things such as the possibilities of benefiting the state by enduring the hardships, by increasing production and by practising economy in consumption.

If the interior security men wear their shoes 20 days longer per year, this will greatly profit the state. The budget made by the General Supply Service Bureau of the People’s Army already envisaged a considerable extent of economization. Yet, this bureau has again worked out and submitted an enormous economization plan. The Ministry of the Interior, too, should draw up and carry out an economization plan suited to its actual work.

Another important matter in guiding and controlling the subordinates is proper checkup. After assigning tasks to the lower levels, cadres should go out to make field inspection to see whether they are being carried out or not. There is a saying that seeing is believing. So they will do well to go out to see for themselves as far as possible.

Checking up, too, should be made according to plan. All matters should always be organized and scrutinized in a planned way. Then there would be no blunder in work.

Further, the struggle against the reactionaries should be correctly managed.

At present two harmful tendencies are seen in this struggle.

The first is the tendency of leaning to the right. You just sit and wait, without intensifying searches, for the reactionaries to give themselves up simply because many of them have been voluntarily surrendering themselves to justice. Only when you intensify searches and make it too hot for them to stay in hiding, will there be more voluntary surrenderers. And there are cases in which you treat them with undue leniency, thinking they are all right now that they have given themselves up. This is also a mistake. As for those whose

offences are grave, they should be exposed and isolated among the masses. To isolate does not mean barring them from drawing water from the community wells but segregating them politically. In other words, their offences should be laid bare in the presence of the masses, so that the latter heighten vigilance and keep watch on them, and prevent them from repeating evil acts. Only then will the people not be taken in by the tricks of wicked elements.

The second is a deviation to the left. This is expressed in locking them up with a great deal of fuss as if ready to kill them at once. This will frighten those who have come to surrender themselves, and make them and even others take to flight.

The work of encouraging self-surrender should be continued. You should step up searches and make it hard for the scoundrels such as reactionaries, bandits and spies to lie low in hiding, and when they deliver themselves to justice, you should deal leniently with them. This does not mean that you should arrange a meeting of welcome for them. Rather, you should tirelessly educate them so that they repent of their faults and work with zeal and be faithful to the Republic.

Further, thoroughgoing steps should be taken to combat the bacteriological weapons.

We need not be greatly surprised or frightened at the US imperialists' use of germ weapons. But, it will not do also to be careless and neglect the struggle against them. We must take appropriate steps calmly and combat them unremittingly.

There are three types of measures to be taken thoroughly in the struggle against germ weapons. First, your places should be kept clean, no matter whether germ weapons have been dropped or not. If you do so at all times and take good preventive measures against epidemics, there is no danger of diseases spreading even if germ weapons are dropped. Secondly, all people should be inoculated. Thirdly, the worms and insects dropped by the US imperialists should all be wiped out immediately.

Such preventive measures taken in the past have given good results. No epidemic broke out even where germ weapons were dropped

because insects were immediately wiped out and the places were cleaned well to prevent the spread of diseases.

In future the enemy may drop more germ weapons. Therefore, you must be more vigilant, and in such cases, you should quickly investigate and report and take thoroughgoing measures to deal with them. From our experience of the past one month and a half, we have gained confidence that we can nullify the germ weapons. So there should be no panic in the struggle against germ weapons and everything has to be done perseveringly and coolly.

As I said already at the Joint Meeting of People's Committee Chairmen and Leading Party Officials of Provinces, Cities and Counties and also have emphatically stated today, what is important now is to combat the officialist work style and bureaucratism. This struggle should not end in mere speech and criticism and adopting a written pledge at a meeting. It can be successful only when concrete work plans are drawn up and tireless efforts are made to carry them out.

On your return, you should study in detail the questions of eliminating bureaucratism, establishing financial discipline and practising more economy and work out plans for the purpose in consultation with the county Party and people's committees, and carry them out thoroughly.

Interior security workers should act upon the Party's line and decisions and put the main stress on the thorough implementation of Party policy in their work. Thus everybody must shed the officialist work style and bureaucratism and truly serve the people and win their confidence and love.

Hearing that bureaucratism should be combatted, some comrades fear that they might be criticized as being bureaucratic if they urge the peasants to hurry up with the ploughing of fields. But they ought not to be afraid. You must actively encourage those peasants who are halfhearted. It is not bureaucratic to be strongly demanding in work.

I would like to emphasize once more that the interior security men are charged with the important duty of defending the Party and the

people's government and safeguarding the people's lives and property. You should faithfully serve the people and be models for the masses in overcoming all difficulties and hardships. During the spring sowing last year you worked well, and this year, too, you should take the lead. You should also take part in irrigation works and help zealously in sowing operations.

Our path ahead may be beset with many difficulties. You should bravely overcome all difficulties you may encounter, and become workers faithful to the people.

I hope that the interior security men will fight on more selflessly for final victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

THE PROSPECTS OF THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR AND THE TASKS OF THE UNIVERSITY

**Speech Made before the Faculty and Students
of Kim Il Sung University
*April 13, 1952***

I wanted to visit the University immediately after it had moved from Kusong to Sunchon County, but owing to various circumstances it is only today that I have managed to come. I am very much delighted to see you healthy and energetic here.

It is a great achievement that even in the difficult wartime conditions you have kept the University running and have continued educational work normally. I am quite satisfied with you, the professors and students of the University, who are teaching and studying earnestly despite adverse conditions in this recess of the mountains.

Today I would like to speak to you about the prospects of the Fatherland Liberation War which we are waging now, and some tasks devolving on the University.

1. THE PROSPECTS OF THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR

It is nearly two years since the beginning of the Fatherland

Liberation War against the US imperialist invaders. In this period, our People's Army and our people have fought heroically, dealing a heavy blow to the US imperialists and their stooges, and defending the freedom and independence of the country with honour.

The US imperialists who unleashed a war on Korea, intended to gobble the northern half of Korea in one gulp. These aggressors hurled massive troops and a large number of aircraft, tanks and other modern military equipment into the Korean war and, further, brought in the armies of 15 of their satellites under the signboard of the United Nations.

With all these huge forces, however, the US imperialists could not subdue our people. Instead, they suffered an ignominious defeat in the face of indomitable resistance of the Korean people. They had no alternative but to sit down on the line from which they had started the war. As a result, the front line is now stuck in a stalemate between friend and foe. Judging by the present situation, this situation looks like staying for some time.

The US imperialists have tried so far everything they could in the Korean war; they have used all their resources. But their only reward has been defeat and death. Although they would like to push forward from the line they are now holding, the US imperialist aggressors are powerless to do so.

Our strength has further increased in the course of the war.

Above anything else, our political power has incomparably grown during the war. Our people and the People's Army have been tempered politically and ideologically. They are even more closely united around the Party and Government. At present they are very well-equipped ideologically. They are firmly determined to fight to the last drop of their blood for the country and the people.

The US imperialists are advertising loudly their so-called "military-technical superiority," but with that alone they cannot win the war. The decisive factor for victory in war is the political and ideological superiority of the army and the people. A politically and ideologically superior army can beat an enemy who is technically

superior. This is an immutable truth. Our victory in the Fatherland Liberation War is firmly guaranteed by the political and ideological superiority of our people and the People's Army.

From the military-technical point of view, too, our People's Army is much stronger now than in the first days of the war. It is a fact, indeed, that we have only a few big men-of-war and airplanes and the like. But the kind of military gear with which an army is fitted out is decided not only by the country's economic power but also by its topographical conditions and the assignment of its armed forces. We have no intention of invading other nations, and our armed forces are for defence purposes. So we do not need such things as large war vessels in great numbers. At present we have almost all kinds of military equipment we need. We are still somewhat short of aircraft, but we will soon have enough of them. In the units of all arms and services, the work of reinforcing their weak points is going on now. In future the armament of the People's Army and the military-technical level of the soldiers will improve.

Our People's Army has a strategical and tactical superiority over the enemy. With scientific strategy and tactics, a small army can defeat a big enemy. In the past, the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army with its small force was able to fight victoriously against the scores of times larger Japanese imperialist aggressors, because it was strategically and tactically superior. Our People's Army has not only inherited the tactics of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army but has worked out various new tactics in many stages of the complex and difficult war. It is applying these tactics effectively. With all their long-standing war experience, the US imperialists are no match strategically and tactically for our People's Army.

In the course of the war, the prestige of our Republic has risen further in other parts of the world, and international solidarity with the Korean people is increasing day by day. The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies give us active help, and many peace-loving countries and the progressive people of the world support and encourage the Korean people in their just war.

The US imperialists find themselves in a dilemma. In agony, they presently ponder over how to wind up the war. If there is a way out of the dilemma for them, it will be one of these three: either continue the war in the state of confrontation like now, or reach an armistice, or else expand the war and unleash a big war like a third world war,

Let us study first if the US imperialists can go on with the war in the present state of confrontation.

They are not in a position to continue with the war in the state of confrontation like now. To continue with the war in a situation like now when the front line is frozen up and both sides stand in confrontation, is very unfavourable to the enemy. To go on with it, vast numbers of troops and huge quantities of war materials should be replenished in good time. We can replenish them promptly because the front and the rear are near, but the US imperialists have to ship them from their own country or Japan which is a long distance from the front. So, it is very difficult for the enemy to supply them to the battle line. Moreover, at present the morale of the enemy soldiers is falling with each passing day, and the contradictions between the US imperialists and their satellites are aggravating further. Their satellites are unwilling to despatch their troops to the Korean front. The allies of the US imperialists have begun to ostracize them.

In these circumstances, the US imperialists find it impossible to continue the war. Yet, they cannot launch an all-out offensive either to bring the war to an early conclusion. If one side wants to take the offensive against the other in a war, it needs at least three times greater forces than the latter. But the US imperialists now do not have forces three times as great as ours. So, it is evident that the enemy will not dare to attempt to launch an offensive.

Next, the question is whether the US imperialists can ignite a large-scale war like a third world war. In a word, this is also hardly possible. They have sustained greater losses in the present war than during World War II. Their manpower losses alone stand at hundreds of thousands. They are not prepared now to unleash a third world war. As they themselves admit, they have suffered a great defeat in the war

against Korea, a small country, and if they start a large-scale war now and extend the battle line, this will only spell their own ruin. Therefore, the US imperialists, war-maniacs as they are, will not dare to provoke a third world war in the present situation.

In the present conditions they are unable either to go on with the war or to start a world war. So, the only way out for the US imperialists is to seek an armistice. Why, then, are they dragging out the armistice negotiations?

This is so because, above all, if they sign an armistice agreement recognizing their defeat, the United States' prestige will be impaired. The US imperialists have been bragging that in their more than 100-year long history of aggressive wars they have never suffered a defeat. So, it cannot but be quite disgraceful for them to have suffered an ignominious defeat in the war against a small nation, Korea. That is why they are seeking a so-called "honourable truce" in an attempt to recover their shattered prestige through the armistice negotiations. In other words, they intend to make an armistice as "victors." But we cannot on any account tolerate that. Since the US imperialists are trying to conclude a truce as "victors" in disregard of our proposals, the negotiations are inevitably delayed.

They are dragging on the armistice talks also because they know that if an armistice is brought about, the might of our Republic will grow quickly, and the international balance of forces will turn to their disfavour. It is apparent that if an armistice is concluded, our Republic which has the support of the people will progress faster than the puppet Syngman Rhee clique and will become powerful. Therefore, the US imperialists cannot help but think twice about agreeing to an armistice and thus giving us time to become strong.

They are also delaying the armistice talks in order to secure more profits for the monopoly capitalists of the United States. These capitalists are reckoning that, if an armistice is reached in Korea, it would be hard to sell the weapons they have produced. Therefore, they are averse to an armistice in Korea.

These are the reasons why the US imperialists are obstructing

armistice negotiations and, meanwhile, are making desperate attempts to expand their armaments extensively, ease the contradictions between the United States and its satellites, and save themselves from the fix they are in. But no amount of last-ditch efforts will help the US imperialists either to recover from their humiliating defeat in the Korean war or to achieve a so-called “honourable truce.”

What, then, is our position with regard to the armistice talks? It is clear. If the enemy drags on the talks, we drag on, and if the enemy fights, we fight. This is our firm position which will not vary.

Of course, we are not against armistice. This is because an armistice itself will mean victory for us, and if an armistice is reached, we can secure time for fuller preparations for the final victory.

But we will not agree to an armistice which is even in the least prejudicial to the interests of our country and our people. We can only conclude a fair and reasonable armistice. We will never accept unreasonable conditions for ceasefire.

Even if the enemy refuses to accept our just proposals and seeks to continue the war, we are not afraid in the least. If the US imperialists go on with the war, we will fight it out and deliver a still more crushing defeat to them.

If the armistice negotiations are to make progress in future, three questions must be resolved. These are: first, the question of composition of the neutral nations supervisory commission; second, the question of building the airfields; and third, the question of repatriation of the prisoners of war.

In regard to the question of composition of the neutral nations supervisory commission, we suggested as its members the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and the US side named Switzerland, Sweden and Norway. The US side is opposed to the Soviet Union as a member of the commission. The question of the neutral nations supervisory commission does not pose a big problem for expediting the armistice talks. This question can be resolved if each side names two from among the three it has recommended to form the commission.

The question of building the airfields is raised because the US side

takes exception to our construction of airfields. To build airfields is a question of sovereignty of the Government of our Republic; it concerns the national right of the Korean people. Therefore, objection of the US imperialists to our building airfields amounts to an outrageous interference in our internal affairs. On no account will we permit this impudent interference of the enemy.

The question of repatriation of the prisoners of war has made such a progress lately that both sides exchanged the lists of their names. Nevertheless, this question has now run up against a snag.

It is a principle of international law and an internationally accepted moral code that, after the termination of a war, both belligerent parties should send home all the prisoners of war. This notwithstanding, the US imperialists, unwarrantedly, have come out with the proposition of so-called “voluntary repatriation.” The so-called “voluntary repatriation” insisted on by the enemy is in essence nothing but a deceitful trick. Its aim is to justify their criminal intentions. They want not only to detain forcibly our prisoners of war instead of returning them home. They also want to turn them over to the Syngman Rhee and Jiang Jieshi puppet cliques.

We cannot agree to the so-called “voluntary repatriation” proposed by the US side. We hold that all the prisoners of war of both sides should be exchanged. We will make every effort to get back without exception all our people who are anxious to return to the Republic. So long as we cannot get all our people back home, we will not conclude an armistice.

Although the US imperialists are now protracting the truce talks, it is not that the possibility of armistice has been ruled out. The only alternative left for the US imperialists in the present situation is a ceasefire. They will surely fall on their knees before our people and an armistice will be achieved before long.

If the armistice comes some day, it will not imply a complete peace. The war hazard cannot disappear altogether before the US imperialists are driven out of our land and the country is reunified. Our country occupies a particularly important position; it provides access to the

Asian Continent. That is why it has always been an object of invasion by the imperialists. Therefore, even if an armistice is reached, we must remember that the war danger persists as ever before, we must always keep ourselves ready to act.

2. ON THE NEED TO CONDUCT RESEARCH FOR POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

The great Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist aggressors will surely end in a victory for our people. We must hurry up with the preparations for postwar reconstruction with a firm faith in victory.

The war has reduced our cities and villages into heaps of ashes. It has played havoc with industry, agriculture and all other branches of the national economy. An early reconstruction of the shattered national economy is essential for the consolidation of the country's economic base. It is essential for stabilizing and improving the people's living conditions which have deteriorated.

We should make all necessary preparations for the postwar reconstruction, so that, when the war ends, we can quickly rehabilitate and develop the shattered national economy.

Some comrades may wonder; what is the need to rebuild the national economy when even after the armistice the war hazard will linger on and, if the war is resumed, destruction will take place again? True, the armistice does not mean a lasting peace, and so the war may be resumed in our country, and in that case what we have built at great pains can be wrecked again. But we cannot sit idle without carrying on reconstruction for fear of war destruction. If the war starts again, and reduces everything to rubble once more, let that be so. But we should make the most of the time offered by the armistice to rebuild all branches of the national economy.

If we do not rebuild the national economy on the assumption that the war, if resumed, will destroy everything all over again, we cannot build the country's economic power, and, moreover, will be able neither to consolidate our democratic base nor to hasten the cause of national reunification. Therefore, when an armistice is realized, we should immediately set about the reconstruction of the national economy.

We must conduct postwar reconstruction by ourselves. We always advocate self-reliance. We have consistently adhered to this principle ever since the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Without the spirit of resolving one's own problems by oneself, one can neither make revolution nor build the economy, nor tackle anything.

We should not turn to other countries for help in postwar reconstruction. We can certainly receive aid from other countries in rehabilitating the shattered economy after the termination of the war. But, if instead of undertaking postwar reconstruction with our own efforts, we look only to others for help, we cannot duly receive aid either. Just as a doctor refuses to give an injection to a dead man, so other nations will be averse to give us aid if we are not prepared to maintain ourselves by our own efforts. So we must push ahead with postwar reconstruction on our own in the spirit of self-reliance.

If we are to rebuild the wrecked national economy rapidly on the principle of self-reliance, we must make the best use of the existing manpower, techniques and resources. It is no easy task to rebuild the national economy when everything has been razed to the ground. Rebuilding will be accompanied by a host of difficulties and hardships. But we must get over the difficulties and hardships by our own efforts and rapidly rehabilitate and develop the shattered economy by fully utilizing the creative ability and wisdom of our people and exploiting the country's natural resources.

Reconstruction of the dislocated national economy on the principle of self-reliance calls for stepping up the struggle for economy by the entire people. They have to be industrious and live a simple life. All the people should work hard with belts tightened and make economical

use of every piece of a brick and a gramme of cement. As during the war years, so after the war too, we must look to it that all the people reject ease, slackness and all wasteful practices, and live a simple and intense life all the time.

One of the important tasks confronting the faculty and the students of the University today is to conduct good research for the reconstruction of the devastated national economy after the war.

The University's faculty and students should correctly analyse and classify the merits and shortcomings of the national economy which appeared during the war.

In the postwar reconstruction of the country's economy, we must take into good account the experiences and lessons gained by us during the Fatherland Liberation War. In the past the Japanese imperialists set up factories and enterprises primarily in the coastal areas with a view to plundering and taking away our resources. This made our losses in the war still greater.

When we rebuild the ruined national economy in the future, we must take into account wartime experiences and lessons and without fail eliminate the shortcomings found in the distribution of industries and other fields of the national economy. To do so, we should, from now, correctly analyse our strength and weakness as revealed in the Fatherland Liberation War, and properly map out a perspective plan for postwar reconstruction of the national economy. The faculty and students of the University should offer creative opinions on postwar reconstruction.

The University should investigate the country's natural resources. It should conduct proper research for rational utilization of the resources.

As you know well, our country is not very large in area, but it has a great abundance of mineral, hydraulic, forestry and fishing resources. If we are to use the country's natural resources effectively, we must have material about them. Yet, at present we do not have adequate material. If the master of a house is to manage the household well, he must know well the nature of utensils and the extent of property in his house. Like this, if we are to manage the country's economic life well,

we must be well informed as to what kinds of resources our country has and their location and quantities. Only then can we formulate a correct perspective plan of postwar reconstruction and carry it out confidently and manage the nation's economic life according to plan.

In order to develop the mineral resources properly, it is necessary above all to carry on geological survey on a wide scale. And effective measures should be taken so that the minerals whose amounts of deposits have already been established by the surveys, are mined without delay.

As for gold, the earlier we extract it, the better. We should mine it in large quantities and sell it before the downfall of capitalism. In return we have to purchase the machinery and equipment needed in our country. With the exception of those things which we can produce for ourselves to meet the country's demand, we must purchase from other countries what we are short of or we do not have at all. To do so we need foreign currency.

Therefore, we must strengthen the work of geological survey to correctly estimate the amounts of mineral deposits, and steps should be taken to locate and extract at an early date those minerals which have not yet been discovered.

Further, the research on the industrialization and electrification of the country should be carried out efficiently.

Our country's path ahead leads towards socialism. If we are to build socialism, the country should be industrialized and electrified.

Of course, industrialization is by no means an easy job in backward countries which were once colonies or semi-colonies. Moreover, industrialization is very difficult in our country where the war has reduced everything into a rubble.

But we have the Party and the people hardened in the war, and we are rich in natural resources. Further, unlike the Soviet Union which, in the past, had to build socialism in isolation, encircled by capitalism, we are going to build socialism in a favourable situation. Therefore, if we make good preparations and actively mobilize the masses of the people, the country's industrialization will be well within our power.

The industrialization of the country requires the development of heavy industry and, among the rest, the engineering industry.

Beginning with the production of parts, we should gradually go over to the manufacture of up-to-date machines. This is the direction in which our engineering industry should advance. We must first build machine repairs factories which cut parts and repair machines, and then gradually develop them into higher level factories.

Our country took over a backward colonial industry from Japanese imperialism and even this has been wrecked entirely during the war. In this situation it is difficult to build modern engineering factories at once on a large scale. We should aim low at first, in keeping with the country's economic base and the working people's technical qualifications, and then set the goal higher by degrees. Only then can we build a modern engineering industry successfully. Nevertheless, you need not think at all that the engineering industry is something superhuman. In the future, we should manufacture all kinds of machines by ourselves. For instance, we should produce motorcars on our own. A country which is incapable of producing motorcars for itself cannot be called a developed country. It is not so difficult to make them. Even at the present technological level of our country it will be quite possible to produce them with only a little effort. The steel goods, weapons and the like produced by our technicians and workers at present are of high quality. Given the facilities for automobile production, it is well within our reach to produce motorcars with our own techniques and our own steel.

Light industry should also be developed along with heavy industry.

For the development of our light industry, it is necessary to solve the question of raw fibre materials. It is inappropriate in our country where the arable land is limited to plant cotton to solve this question. Moreover, cotton does not thrive in the climatic conditions of our country. Therefore, cotton cultivation should not be encouraged widely; rather, it would be more profitable to tap our rich mineral resources and exchange them with other countries for cotton.

Since our country is mountainous, it will be profitable to develop

sericulture. The University should take up research on silk raising.

In order to solve the question of raw fibre materials, we should develop the chemical industry and produce synthetic fibres instead of depending on natural fibres alone.

Electricity is the principal motive power in modern industries. Without electricity you cannot run factories, no matter how many you may build.

Our country abounds in hydroelectrical resources. Thus it is blessed with conditions to solve the question of electrification rather easily. We should build a large number of big and small hydroelectric power stations on rivers and reservoirs.

The University should investigate such rivers as are fit for the construction of hydroelectric power stations and accurately estimate their effectiveness. And it is advisable to study the possibility of building more power stations even on the rivers where they have already been constructed.

While power stations are built, large quantities of electrical equipment such as transformers and electric motors should be produced for the electrification of the country.

Scientists, technicians and university professors should study the problems of the country's electrification along these lines.

Yet another important task arising in postwar reconstruction is to resolve the transport problem.

First of all, the problem of railway transport should be tackled.

An effective way of resolving this problem is to switch the railways over to electric traction. Fuel poses the main trouble in railway transport at present, and this problem can be resolved only by introducing electric traction. Railway electrification should be started in sections with a sharp gradient. It should progress along the lines of gradual switchover of all the railways in the country to electric traction.

The railway network should be extended and distributed rationally. At present there are only a few lines connecting the west and the east of the country. This is a defect in our railways. We should eliminate this defect.

The question of laying railway tracks in the mountain areas should be studied. In the mountain areas the railways would face little risk of being bombed. These areas are beyond the reach of naval bombardments. Both from the economic and the defence point of view, it is very important to build railways in the mountain areas. You will do well first to form a plan for laying a Kanggye-Hamhung line in the northern mountain area.

River transport should be developed together with railway transport.

Our country has many rivers, and you should do research for their utilization as transport routes. Transport faces trouble now in the forward areas and in the rear. At present the major roads in the interior play a great part in wartime transportation, but the enemy's air raids cause considerable difficulties. If we use rivers for transport in such times, it will be very advantageous for ensuring wartime transport, because there is no fear of the waterways being blocked even by the enemy's bombings. River transport costs much less than transport by land. Therefore, developing river transport is a great necessity in both economic and military terms.

It is of special importance to develop river transport in regions like Hwanghae Province which are near the battle line. The Pyongyang municipal authorities once failed to supply citizens with food in good time because they could not transport it, although there was food grain in nearby Jaeryong. The chairman of the Pyongyang City People's Committee asked for lorries to carry the grain. So, we told him to ship it by the Taedong River because lorries could not carry much and also involved the risk of being bombed. And now this problem has been solved satisfactorily.

In order to develop river transport, rivers fit for transport routes should be investigated and steps should be taken to open shipping services. The University should actively carry out investigations on the rivers of our country.

The question of making canals should be studied for the development of river transport. If canals are dug, the Taedong River

could be linked up with the Ryesong or the Chongchon River. If the upper reaches of the Taedong and the Ryesong are connected by a canal, the transport problem in this area will be successfully solved.

Whenever I study the map of our country, more often than not I think of the possibility of linking the East Sea and the West Sea by building a canal between the upper reaches of the Taedong and the Ryonghung or between the upper reaches of the Rimjin and the Tokji. Building canals there to allow ships to sail freely between the East Sea and the West Sea, will be of tremendous political, economic and military significance.

Of course, building canals will be no easy job, because many tunnels will have to be cut and vast amounts of earth excavated. But this will not present a big problem; we have the experience of building tunnels during the war.

In the future we should cut canals not only in north Korea but also in south Korea and thus build several waterways linking the East Sea and the West Sea. The faculty and students of the University should undertake a deep study of the question of building waterways linking the East Sea and the West Sea and draw up a rational perspective plan of canal construction.

We should build various types of ships in a large number in order to develop river transport. In particular, many flatboats should be built to sail in shallow rivers.

Motor transport should also be developed. The damaged roads should be restored and kept in good repairs, and steps taken to produce motorcars on our own.

Next, good utilization of existing land and bringing under cultivation large areas of new land is of importance in the agricultural sphere.

Our country has a limited area of farmland and, on top of this, its rate of population growth is high. Therefore, while the existing land is used rationally, a struggle for new land should be waged to expand the farmland continuously.

Our country has many tracts of reclaimable land such as the

tidelands on the west and south coasts, the highlands of North and South Hamgyong Provinces, hillsides and grounds contiguous to rivers. Tidelands alone exceed 700,000 hectares, of which over 300,000 hectares are in the north. If they are reclaimed and used as farm lands or salt farms, they will greatly help to develop the national economy and improve the people's livelihood. The reclamation of tidelands is a far-reaching undertaking for national prosperity; it is a grand project for remoulding nature, which has great significance for the development of the country's economy.

As soon as the war ends, we should immediately get down to the work of tideland reclamation on the west coast. To do so, it is necessary to investigate in detail from now the location and size of the tidelands reclaimable for use as farmland. A large number of the professors and students who have technical knowledge in this field should participate in the survey of tidelands.

While we strive to obtain new land, we should pay profound attention to improving and rationally utilizing existing farm lands. Non-paddy fields should be turned into rice fields as far as possible to increase the yield. And steep-sloping fields, burned fields and the like should be changed into orchards or mulberry fields.

Livestock farming should be developed. We are not yet able to meet the people's demands for meat. In the future we should build large state stock farms in the areas of Jangjin, Pujon, Musan, Onsong and Kyongwon which have rich fodder resources. We should build small and medium ones in the vicinity of rice mills. At the same time, all individual peasants should be actively encouraged to raise domestic animals, one or two per household, and the state crop-growing and stock-raising farms should supply superior strains of domestic animals to them.

The fishing industry should also be developed. Bound by the seas on three sides, our country has very favourable conditions for developing fisheries.

For the development of fisheries, fresh-water fish culture, along with ocean fisheries, needs to be actively encouraged. Our country is

mountainous and has many streams and rivers. So, if ravines are dammed up and reservoirs are made, fish can be reared everywhere. Build many reservoirs, and not only can you breed fish, but you can also use them for irrigation and power generation.

Effective research should be conducted for rational use of mountains. They occupy about 80 per cent of our territory. It is therefore of great importance for us to use the mountains rationally.

First of all, trees should be planted extensively so that mountains are densely wooded. In the past the Japanese imperialists felled trees recklessly, and, to add to this, the war devastated our mountains still more. So, when the war ends, we should plant trees in a nationwide movement. If the soldiers and the people are mobilized for some ten days a year, it will be possible to plant large numbers of trees within a few years. In particular, youth and students must take an active part in afforestation work.

You should not plant any kind of trees, but plant useful trees that are suited to our natural features and have economic value. Some people say that pine trees common in our country are good to enhance the scenic beauty. But in economic terms, they are of little use. Instead of pines, fast-growing useful trees should be planted widely so as to transform the appearance of our forests.

Research should also be conducted for conserving and propagating and effectively utilizing valuable animals and plants.

3. ON UNEARTHING AND PROPERLY ARRANGING THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL AND CULTURAL RELICS OF OUR COUNTRY

To conduct research into the history and culture of our nation and give publicity to them is of great importance in educating our people in patriotism.

The first and foremost revolutionary task of our Party and people is to carry out the Korean revolution with success. For successfully carrying out the Korean revolution, knowledge of Korea's history and culture is required. Without this knowledge, we can neither apply the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism in keeping with our country's historical conditions and national characteristics, nor can we acquire patriotic spirit. Therefore, it is necessary to unearth and properly arrange material on our history and relics of our national culture, and use them in teaching the students and the people.

Correctly studying and arranging our people's history and culture is of great significance for developing our science and culture today.

Unless we study our history and cultural relics, we cannot develop science and culture in a proper way. A new science and culture cannot be created out of nothing. The only way of progress in this direction lies through the process of inheriting and developing the best traditions and achievements of the preceding ages. And the achievements of other countries in advanced science and culture can be assimilated correctly only on the basis of properly inheriting and developing one's own precious relics of science and culture.

Yet, at present some people readily belittle our historical material and cultural relics, instead of digging out, correctly arranging, inheriting and developing them. There are people who even denigrate everything our own and adore everything foreign even in things like folklore and songs. This is a tendency of national nihilism, which is highly detrimental to our revolution.

Our history and cultural relics contain plenty of which we can be proud before the world. But in the past years we failed to unearth and properly arrange many of these historical relics. Thus, we now have little historical material to educate the soldiers and the people in patriotism. Since books on our history and cultural heritage are scarce, our people read uncritically history and culture books from other countries. This has given rise to the worship of other countries being fostered in the minds of people even before they realize it. This has also given rise to dogmatism which implies only respecting things

foreign and swallowing them wholesale. Dogmatism is a cousin of national nihilism. National nihilism will inevitably lead to dogmatism.

Like national nihilism, dogmatism is a very pernicious idea. In our country dogmatism has become especially glaring in the course of the war and has done a great harm to military activities.

As everyone knows, our country is mountainous and has countless ravines and valleys. Nevertheless, some commanding officers of the People's Army used other nations' military manuals which are suited to a flat country, and thus introduced direct-firing guns in large numbers. This prevented them from effectively using artillery fire and ensuring smooth cooperation between the artillery and the infantry.

Dogmatism manifested itself in the ideological education of the People's Army soldiers, too. Ideological education should always be conducted with the aid of material that suits our country's specific conditions and our people's sentiments. But dogmatists educated the soldiers and people not with the battle stories of our own heroes but with the material about the fighting of heroes of other countries.

We must draw a serious lesson from this. The dogmatist tendency, manifested in ideological work and military activities, has been fostered by the elements who spread and encouraged such bad ideas and tendencies. But it is also attributable to the scholars who have failed to dig up our nation's historical data and cultural relics and produce enough good material which can be of help in educating the people in patriotism. Even now we should strengthen research into our history and culture, so that the soldiers and people are educated with our own material.

The work of deeply studying and giving wide publicity to our history and culture should be undertaken by the University which has many specialists in the science of Korea including Korean history, geography, and literature.

What, then, is the immediate task?

First of all, it is necessary to properly arrange and correctly evaluate the historical facts widely known among our people so as to use them in educating the soldiers and the people.

Our history and cultural relics contain much good material to educate the soldiers and people in patriotism. There are many stories about the struggle of our people who fought bravely against the foreign invaders in old times, and also the biographies of such famous patriotic commanders as Ulji Mun Dok and Ri Sun Sin. In addition, our country has many old literary works including the *Tale of Chun Hyang* and the *Tale of Sim Chong* commonly known among the people.

The historical material and works familiar to the people, though of old times, could be used in educating our people and soldiers in patriotism if they are correctly analysed and rewritten in easy language.

The University's professors and scholars should make efforts to study deeply and systematize the scientific and cultural heritage of our country left by our forefathers in the spheres of history, geography, military science and so on.

They should translate our national classics and write many booklets on the history of our people's struggle.

For the present they will do well to translate ancient books on strategy and tactics and write booklets on the military arts of famous patriotic commanders. Our country has a renowned old book on military science, the *Tongguk Pyonggam*. This book should be translated. A plan should be drawn up to translate and publish other classics on military science systematically. It would be good to take up research on the weapons used by our ancestors, in old times, and synthesize material concerning them.

4. ON TRAINING LARGE NUMBERS OF EXCELLENT NATIONAL CADRES

The most important duty of the University is to train large numbers of excellent national cadres.

To have its own cadres is a must for the prosperity and development

of a country and building an independent, sovereign state. It is impossible to solve successfully the difficult and complex problems arising in nation-building without able cadres tempered politically and ideologically and highly qualified in science and technology.

Our Republic is young. So, we are still short of the national cadres we need.

Whether an armistice is attained or the war goes on, the University should direct great efforts in future to the training of national cadres and turn out large numbers of them.

The Party and the Government of the Republic are always greatly concerned about the training of national cadres. Even in the most difficult days of the war, they ensured that educational work went on without interruption in higher learning institutions, and recalled the students from the front to pursue their studies.

The faculty of the University should clearly realize how badly the state needs national cadres at present. In the future, when the reconstruction of the national economy starts, the demand for national cadres will further increase. Therefore, the faculty of the University should strive to rear all its students to become able cadres.

It is essential to equip students firmly with our Party's line and policy to rear them to be well-qualified cadres. However learned he may be in science and technology, a person who is not firmly equipped with our Party's line and policy cannot serve the country and the people faithfully. The University should pay primary attention to the education of the students in our Party's line and policy.

The students should be made to acquire a wealth of scientific and technological knowledge. Only then can they cope well with the scientific and technological problems arising in nation-building and develop all branches of the national economy, including industry and agriculture, on a high scientific and technological basis.

At the University the lessons in the subjects of natural science should be conducted in depth; these should be combined closely with practice, and the students should be encouraged to read many books of science and technology.

Sufficient reference books should be made available to the students. I have been told that at present reference books are short. This will naturally make the students stick to what they have taken down in their notebooks from lectures. If they want to acquire a wide range of knowledge in depth, they should not simply rely on their notebooks but should read many different reference books.

The University will do well to open a library to cope with the shortage of reference books. If a library is opened in the University, it will be possible, even with a small number of books, for many students to read them. The Ministry of Education and the University should encourage professors and scholars to write more reference books, and also take measures to import some necessary books.

The students should be provided with notebooks. If it is difficult to produce them under the wartime conditions, at least paper should be supplied to them. Although paper is short, the students should be supplied with enough paper, even by cutting its allotments for other uses.

Good living conditions should be ensured for the students. At present the students understand the difficult situation of the country which is waging a war. They are willing to endure inconveniences, if any, in their daily life. This is, of course, a good thing. But we should guarantee good living conditions for them as far as possible.

School uniforms should be supplied to the students. The comrades who have come back from the front, are still in army uniform. The state should supply the students with school uniforms and caps, and provide such things as shoes, underwear, and soaps to them.

In particular, we should look well after the lives of disabled soldiers and girl students. The disabled soldiers are precious assets of our Party. They fought for the country and gave their blood for it. The University should look to their needs with all sincerity so that they may not remain in want for anything in their lives. It should take measures to keep the rooms of girl students free from damp and provide them with bedclothes padded with cotton.

The diet of the students should be improved. The state should

supply the institutions of higher learning with soy beans and cooking oil. You can prepare various tasty victuals with soy beans and oil. The University should run its sideline farm efficiently and improve the students' diet.

The students should create better living conditions for themselves and observe the rules of health in their daily lives. They should be positive in building up their lives according to the principle of meeting their own needs by themselves as much as they could.

A revolutionary habit of study should be established among the students.

For establishing such a habit, it is important that all students harden their resolve to rely on themselves in studies. Teachers' guidance and comrades' assistance are certainly important in studies and scientific pursuit. But even more important is the resolve to pursue one's studies by one's own efforts. When a heavily burdened man tries to stand up by himself, he can rise to his feet easily with another person's help. But if he only wants to rise with the help of others without his own effort, he will not be able to get on his feet in the long run. This is also the case with studies. The help of comrades is certainly necessary, but a student can be successful only when he himself makes tenacious efforts with a strong determination to manage by himself at all costs. In brief, as in all other matters, so in study too, it is necessary to give full scope to the spirit of self-reliance.

Another important thing in establishing a revolutionary habit of study is that the students display a fighting spirit. The students of the University are mostly comrades who have been recalled from the battlefields. You, comrade students, are now engaged on the learning front with pen in your hands in place of gun. On the battlefield, your primary duty was to do away with as many enemies as you could. But now your basic duty is to study well. Upholding the slogan "Study is also a battle," all of you, students, should study energetically with the same stamina as you showed on the battle line.

In the University, education and productive labour should be properly combined.

You say the students prosecute studies and, at the same time, do productive labour. This is very good. Productive labour helps not only to harden the students physically. It also helps to consolidate the knowledge they gain in classes. The students should not become swots who only know books. The University should see to it that education and productive labour are properly combined.

I am firmly convinced that the faculty and students of the University will overcome the difficult wartime conditions and fulfil the honourable tasks confronting the University with credit. They will thus justify the expectations of our Party and the Government of the Republic without fail.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE

April 25, 1952

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May Day, the spring holiday and the gala day of friendship among nations, is near at hand.

The ever-growing international solidarity of the working people is a great gain of the communist movement and a triumphant embodiment of Lenin's theory of proletarian internationalism.

Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world have rallied more closely than ever before under the banner of proletarian internationalism for their social and national liberation, and are shaking the tottering citadel of capitalism to its very foundation.

Proletarian internationalism is a powerful weapon of the working people and oppressed peoples the world over in the struggle against imperialist aggression, for peace, national independence and social progress. Today, in particular, when the US and British imperialists are desperate in preparing for a new world war, Lenin's theory of proletarian internationalism serves as the unbreakable ideological bond and the banner of unity and joint struggle of the people throughout the world for peace and welfare of humanity.

The theory of proletarian internationalism acquires great significance in the national-liberation struggle of the Korean people.

This theory provides us encouragement in our struggle, and ensures other peoples' aid and support for our people. The Korean people, led and educated by the Workers' Party, have come to believe firmly, through their own experience, that they can safeguard the country's freedom and national interests only by firm adherence to proletarian internationalism, and that true patriotism is inseparable from proletarian internationalism; it is antipathic to bourgeois nationalism.

The attempts of bourgeois nationalists to attain the independence of Korea within the framework of bourgeois society, ended in a failure. The bourgeois nationalists were afraid of the advance of the revolutionary movement of the masses of the people. They hindered the active struggle of the people against the Japanese aggressors and took great pains to seek the support of the ruling circles of the United States, old China and other bourgeois nations. In the end, either they degenerated into servants of new imperialist aggressors who sought to bring Korea under their rule, or they admitted their total defeat and gave up political struggle.

Both the Japanese and US imperialists regarded Korea as an object of colonial plunder and her people as a nation predestined to be slaves. They craftily used the bourgeois nationalists of Korea to realize their aggressive plans. If some conscientious people among the bourgeois nationalists became aware of the situation and refused to serve the colonial rulers, the imperialists persecuted them by every possible means. We can take, for instance, the fate of Ryo Un Hyong and Kim Ku who were assassinated by the US imperialists in south Korea. The reason was that they realized the danger of the Korean people being enslaved again and changed their attitude towards the US policy.

The calculations of the bourgeois nationalists were unrealistic when they sought to achieve the independence of Korea with the help of foreign imperialists. Their activities obstructed the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people for national liberation and catered to the plots of the US imperialists and thus they became reactionary and anti-national.

The Korean people should firmly maintain the stand of proletarian internationalism and march ahead in close unity with the peoples of the

fraternal countries. Only then can they accomplish the historic task of achieving complete liberation of the country and building an independent democratic state.

This has been proved to us positively by all the events of recent years. One of the factors which have enabled us to uphold the country's independence and achieve tremendous successes in building a democratic state is the wholehearted aid given to us by the peoples of many friendly nations of the world.

The Soviet Union rendered great help in the liberation of our country from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism. True to the principle of proletarian internationalism, the Soviet people have continuously given aid to our people after liberation too. This aid has been greatly helpful to our country in consolidating the people's democratic system, rehabilitating the wrecked economy, and improving the people's livelihood. On the international scene, too, the Soviet Union has actively supported our Republic, struggled in defence of the Korean people's rights and interests, and, at every step, frustrated the intrigues of the US imperialists who have been frantically trying to subjugate Korea by misusing the UN organization.

In the difficult time of the war our people realized more keenly than ever before the significance of our solidarity with the freedom-loving people based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. The attention and sympathy of the progressive people throughout the world were focussed on the Korean people who were fighting heroically against the aggression of the US imperialists. All honest and sober-minded people of the world resolutely demanded that the United States should discontinue its robber-like acts of aggression in Korea. In many countries of the democratic camp an extensive movement for aid to the Korean people was organized. When the war had reached its grimmest stage, the Chinese people, our brothers and close friends, sent their sons and daughters to Korea. They helped, and are still helping our people, at the risk of their lives.

As a result, the detestable plan of the US imperialists to internationally isolate the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and

crush it by force of arms, was blown up to pieces.

Our friends and freedom-loving people throughout the world answered the intrigues of the US imperialists with firm solidarity with, and wholehearted aid to, the Korean people. As a result, the international prestige of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea rose considerably in the course of the Fatherland Liberation War, and the sympathy and love of the progressive people of the world for the Korean people grew still deeper. This is because our people displayed matchless courage and fortitude in the just struggle against the US imperialist aggressors for national freedom and independence. They are thus contributing to the cause of safeguarding world peace with a self-sacrificing struggle.

The active political and moral support and material aid of the fraternal peoples constitute a positive guarantee of our people's victory in the Fatherland Liberation War against the US interventionists.

The Korean people are aware that they are not isolated in the struggle against the colonial marauders. It is beyond bounds that this inspires our embattled people and infuses in us the confidence in victory. The immortal idea of proletarian internationalism is sinking deeply into the minds of the Korean people who have the warm sympathy of peace-loving people of the whole world and receive the aid of the fraternal peoples.

Our Party deems it an important duty to educate the entire people in the spirit of fidelity to Marxist-Leninist theory, also in the spirit of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the peoples of the democratic camp, which is a splendid product of this theory.

Under the influence of Lenin's theory of proletarian internationalism, a new type of international relations never known

before in human history have been forged and are developing among the nations of the democratic camp. These relations are based on mutual respect and fraternal cooperation, and they constitute the bud out of which will grow the international relations of the communist future.

The might of this new type of international relations stands out more conspicuously when contrasted with the international relations of the capitalist world, which differ fundamentally from the former.

International relations of the capitalist world are characterized by the fierce struggle between the plunderers for markets and sources of raw materials, invasion and subjugation of smaller nations by great powers, and plunder of colonial and semi-colonial countries by imperialist states. Korea was one of the victims of such international relations. Freed from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism, our country linked its fate for good with the great harmonious community of socialist and people's democratic nations. This is the greatest blessing for us.

While speaking of the fraternal aid given by the peoples of the democratic camp, we must not fail to recall the farce about so-called "aid" to Korea recently staged in the United Nations. This farce is a knavish trick of the US imperialists who played havoc in our country, soaking its land with blood, to pose shamelessly as "philanthropists" towards Korea. It is common knowledge that they passed a "special resolution" in the United Nations for "aid" in the "rehabilitation" of Korea.

But whom can the criminals ever deceive by their empty words about "aid" to Korea when they keep murdering our peaceful inhabitants and demolish our towns and villages by every bestial means? What can be more wicked than this false propaganda of the imperialist robbers?

The US imperialists have inducted the so-called "UN Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" into south Korea. But this "commission," in fact, only covers up the crimes of the armed interventionists and aids and abets the destructive actions of the aggressors. It turns a blind eye towards the miseries of the people in the

southern half who are deprived of their rights and suffer from hunger under the rule of the US imperialists and their lackey, the Syngman Rhee clique. The “commission” does not raise a finger to help in the rehabilitation of the devastated south Korean economy and improvement in the people’s livelihood.

Which of the capitalist countries has ever given disinterested donation to help the Korean people who are suffering from the war? None. We are only too well aware of the true nature of the so-called “aid” advertised by the imperialists.

In striking contrast to this, many countries of the democratic camp give us true fraternal aid.

The militant friendship of the fraternal peoples united under the banner of proletarian internationalism is vividly demonstrated in the aid given to the Korean people by the Chinese people and their valiant Volunteers units.

The friendship and unity of the Korean and Chinese peoples has long historical roots. Our two peoples have been united closely and have formed unbreakable friendly relations in the common struggle against foreign imperialism and its followers. When the patriots of Korea were obliged to seek refuge abroad to evade the persecution of the Japanese occupationists, the Chinese people kindly offered them an asylum. In the period when the communists of Korea were fighting against odds in opposition to the Japanese occupiers in the border areas between Korea and China, they received brotherly support from the Chinese inhabitants. In that period numerous patriots of Korea joined the Chinese People’s Liberation Army and helped the Chinese people in their struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of the Guomindang.

Having lost their position in China, the US imperialist aggressors again closed in on China via Korea. When the crucial moments came for our country and its people, the Chinese people despatched the Volunteers in aid of the embattled people of Korea. In concerted action with our People’s Army, the Chinese People’s Volunteers are successfully crushing the armed interventionists of US imperialism.

This aid to the Korean people by the peoples of fraternal countries

is an expression of the new form of friendship and mutual assistance possible only among the nations of the democratic camp; it is disinterested aid based on the principles of equality and mutual respect.

Thanks to this mutual assistance, the countries belonging to the democratic camp have become an invincible force, capable of fighting back any surprise attack of the imperialist aggressors.

3

US imperialist aggression has meant immeasurable mishaps and distress for our people.

Lenin said that the billionaires of the United States, the modern slave-owners, had opened a specially tragic page in the blood-stained history of blood-thirsty imperialism. He branded American imperialism as the most savage imperialism and the most shameless oppressor and strangler of weak and small nations. Our people have understood Lenin's correct and profound evaluation of US imperialism ever more clearly as a result of their own bitter experience of the war.

In an attempt to turn Korea into their colony and stamp out our people's aspirations for freedom and independence, the US imperialists are waging an unprecedentedly destructive war in our land. They have thrown into our small country a vast number of the armed forces of the United States and its 15 vassal nations. Faced with the stubborn resistance of the heroic people of Korea, the US imperialist interventionists resort to every possible means to destroy the peaceful inhabitants of Korea on a mass scale; their means include the use of poison gas, germ weapons and napalm bombs in disregard of international law and all norms of human morality.

The US imperialist colonial marauders have a long and vast experience in beastly atrocities. It is universal knowledge that the forefathers of the contemporary US savages perpetrated barbarous acts

when they were waging wars against the aborigines. They skinned the skulls of captured natives and even paid a premium of 150 dollars for the skin of a man's head and 50 dollars for a woman's.

The US savages are perpetrating this villainous tradition of their army on a wide scale in Korea, too. They pay generous rewards to the soldiers for murdering our peaceful inhabitants, wrecking our houses and cultural monuments, raping women and committing other criminal acts.

Once Engels called the British army the most brutal force. The German fascist army surpassed the British army in brutality during World War II. The human brain could not imagine more wicked and more shocking atrocities than those perpetrated by the Hitlerite beasts at the time. But, in Korea, the Yankees have far outdone the Hitlerites. This has been unanimously confirmed in the statements of unbiased foreign newspapermen, people's delegations, and commissions of the Women's International Democratic Federation and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers that visited our country some time ago.

The US imperialist brutes, driven to desperation by their repeated military and political defeats, inflicted tremendous damage and loss on our country. But in spite of such a heavy damage done by the war, in spite of the enemy's "technical superiority" and barbaric means of mass destruction, and in spite of all the atrocities and crafty schemes of the US imperialist interventionists, our people have been able to check the enemy's invasion by overcoming all difficulties and passing through ordeals and to frustrate their predatory plan. Of decisive importance in this connection were the unshaken solidity of our people's democratic system and the unity and patriotic devotion of the Korean people, who are upholding the country's freedom and independence under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea which is equipped with the progressive revolutionary theory. Also important is the active help given to our people by many fraternal peoples.

Lenin said that the war is a general test of all material and spiritual forces of every people involved in it. In the struggle against the US

interventionists the unity and fortitude of the Korean people have grown further. The war has tempered the Korean people and unerringly taught all of them that the path indicated by our Party is the only right path leading to the nation's freedom and prosperity. Therefore, our people are now united more firmly than ever and filled with the resolve to uphold their just cause to the end.

One of the main characteristics of the present political situation in Korea is that our Party's prestige has risen incomparably in the eyes of the broad masses of the people. The Workers' Party of Korea ensured the solid alliance of the patriotic, democratic forces of the entire Korean people in the struggle against the US aggressors. The embodiment of this alliance is the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea which unites the political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea into one with our Party as the core.

Our Party has become the organizing and guiding force of all the Korean people, both in the rear and on the front. All the Korean people are following the Workers' Party. This is because they are well aware that the Workers' Party most jealously defends their vital interests and skilfully directs the nationwide struggle against the attempt of the US imperialists to conquer Korea.

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International support to the struggle of the Korean people against US interventionists has a great impact on the progress of the Korean war. It must be pointed out at the same time that the Korean war exercises considerable influence on the international affairs of our epoch.

The commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers that inquired into the atrocities committed by the US armed interventionists in Korea pointed out: "The events in Korea cannot be treated as an isolated incident, but as a phase in the development of

active war that may endanger and engulf the whole world.” This is an entirely correct conclusion.

The beastly acts of barbarity perpetrated by the American interventionists in Korea roused great indignation among all honest-minded people of the world. The example of Korea has reminded all mankind how dangerous the aggressive war conducted by the ruling circles of the United States is to them, and also given them a clear idea what horrors the imperialists are anxious to inflict on them by attempting to unleash a new world war. This has roused the peoples of all countries to a more energetic action for the defence of peace.

At the same time, the failure of the US plan for aggression in Korea has forced the incendiaries of war to reflect seriously on the various evil consequences their military adventure was likely to entail. The aggressive acts of the US imperialists against Korea and China represented a sinister attempt to touch off a third world war. But such a war did not come about. This was by no means because the ruling circles of the United States did not try to bring it about, but because they were scared of the quite unexpected turn of the Korean war to their disadvantage. Another reason was that the countries of the socialist and democratic camp prevented the Korean war from expanding into a world war.

We are proud that by bravely checking the invasion of the US aggressors, the Korean people have made a great contribution to the cause of preventing a third world war.

Our people’s valour and fortitude checked the United States from turning Korea into a strategic base for attacking the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Needless to say, this proved a heavy blow to the entire imperialist camp.

The Korean war seriously discredited the United States in military and political terms. The United States, the most powerful imperialist nation, and its vassal states attacked us by mobilizing vast crack units armed with superior up-to-date technical equipment. But they failed to subjugate the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Now even the Americans themselves cannot but admit the defeat of their armed

forces whose power they used to brag about. The former US Secretary of State Marshall rated the results of the Korean war with candour in these words: "The myth has been exploded. We were not as strong a nation as others used to think us to be."

The explosion of the myth about the "omnipotence" of the United States through the Korean war will help the peoples of many countries to shed the fear of the United States' military techniques and will inspire them with a strong faith that, if they fight to the end in unity, they are fully capable of repulsing aggressors.

Our people's successive victories in the Fatherland Liberation War give great encouragement to the colonial peoples in Asia and Africa in their struggle for national independence and freedom. It is not an accident that the peoples of many countries including Viet Nam, the Philippines, Malaya, Egypt and Tunisia, in addition to Korea, have risen with greater determination in the struggle against imperialist aggression. This signifies that the imperialist forces will collapse completely in the East.

The military and political defeat of US imperialism in Korea demonstrates that now imperialism cannot invade the territories of other nations recklessly as before, and that it can no longer subjugate the peoples who, relying on the united force of the camp of peace and democracy, have risen up, ready to die in the struggle for the freedom and independence of their countries.

The experience of the Korean war shows that, if they wage a determined struggle in firm unity, the peace forces of the whole world are fully capable of curbing the war incendiaries. The forces of the democratic camp are much stronger than the imperialist forces.

The unity of the freedom-loving people of the whole world and all the peace champions is a sure guarantee of preventing a new world war.

FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCES IN OUR COUNTRY

Speech at a Congress of Scientists

April 27, 1952

Dear scientists and technicians,

This congress of scientists is of great significance to our country. This congress should be of great help in mobilizing the strength of the intelligentsia of our nation for the solution of the enormous economic and cultural tasks confronting our Republic for victory in the war and rehabilitation of the national economy.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have always paid special attention to the work among the intelligentsia. They have endeavoured to expand the ranks of the intellectuals, improve their qualifications, give them political and ideological education, and enlist them actively for building an independent democratic state.

The intelligentsia is a great force and a precious asset of our country. Without the intelligentsia and without their willing activities, neither the country's economic development nor its cultural progress can be expected. Thus, our primary task after liberation was to prepare the intellectuals of the nation and bring up our own cadres for all spheres of state activities.

Shortage of qualified cadres was, and is even now, a great problem in our work. The prolonged rule of Japanese imperialism left behind serious aftereffects particularly in the matter of cadres.

As everyone knows, the Japanese aggressors impeded in every way

the development of our national culture and allowed no opportunity of education for the Koreans. No Korean was appointed to any important post in the state administration and in the field of production.

All schools were in the hands of the Japanese imperialists. They catered to the needs of the colonial rulers. True, they allowed some Korean youths to attend these schools. But this was aimed at Japanizing Korean youths, obliterating their national consciousness and training people who would implant Japanese influence among the Korean people. Koreans who graduated from institutions of higher learning were very few. As a consequence of this policy pursued by the Japanese imperialists, Korea had few specialists at the time of liberation.

Furthermore, the intellectuals who had received school education under Japanese imperialism had many defects, and these defects proved an obstacle to their participation in the building of an independent democratic state. Thus, tireless political education was required to make them understand our policy and the duty of the intelligentsia towards the country and the people.

Although they had been educated at schools run by the Japanese, the old-time intellectuals of Korea have been, in the main, faithful to their people and, notwithstanding some vacillation after liberation, they took an active part in building the state. The invasion of the US imperialists brought about a great change in the thinking of the intellectuals. The Fatherland Liberation War stirred up their hatred for the imperialists and hardened their determination to fight by the side of the people for the freedom and independence of the country.

But it was hard to cope with the host of tasks confronting us with only the old-time intellectuals. This was evident from the single fact alone that they were too small in number. Therefore, our Government took all possible measures to quickly train new cadres who came from among the people.

The historic democratic reforms introduced in the northern half of Korea created favourable conditions for fostering and training new working intellectuals. It is a mistake, of course, to think that a large

army of new intellectuals can be created in a matter of five or six years. The training of intellectuals takes a long time. It is by no means an easy job. Nevertheless, we have already achieved a big success in this work within six years of liberation.

In 1949, the year before the war, the number of our specialized schools was 12 times that in 1944; and 15 institutes of higher learning were opened in north Korea as against none before the liberation and the total enrolment of these institutes came to over 10,000. In 1949, the specialized schools sent out 4,000 graduates, and the institutes of higher learning over 1,400. In addition, every year since 1946 we have sent for study a large number of students to the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

We will successfully tackle the task of training competent cadres needed in industry, agriculture and all other areas of state activities. Every year in future more and more specialists educated in the socialist spirit will go in for production.

In the production sphere itself, talented workers are also growing up. Within a few years after the establishment of the people's power, many progressive workers were appointed to leadership posts. They are reinforcing the ranks of new intellectuals and infusing in them the lively ardour of the working class.

As you see, in our country, the new intellectuals who are faithfully serving the people, are now growing up, and the ranks of the intelligentsia are expanding daily in size and quality.

But growing up of new intellectuals does not mean that we may take little account of the old-time intellectuals who are already with us. Today, when we have a serious shortage of specialists, mutual assistance among the old and new intellectuals is of special importance. The old-timers are firmly convinced that they have been emancipated from the humiliating mistreatment and exploitation of the colonial rulers by the people's democratic system itself and that this system offers them unbounded opportunities to dedicate their creative labour for the prosperity of the country and the well-being of the people. That is why they actively support our policy. We have to

respect these intellectuals, render help in their reeducation, and enhance their ideological consciousness through persevering political education.

The war has been a rigorous ordeal for our intelligentsia, too. We can now say with confidence that the intelligentsia has come out of this ordeal.

In the just struggle against the armed intervention of the US imperialists, the Korean people have displayed unprecedented valour and selflessness. Our working class and peasantry and intelligentsia are doing everything in their power in the fight to repulse the enemy and foil their aggressive plan. The intellectuals engaged in production have sent their representatives to this meeting. They have rendered specially great service. In spite of the difficult wartime conditions, they are working with devotion to keep up production in factories, to restore the production facilities wrecked by the enemy, and to create the necessary conditions for rehabilitation and development of our national economy after the war.

In all patriotic campaigns for original ideas for supporting the front and ensuring victory in the war, our intellectuals have been in the forefront of the people and they have actively espoused the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic.

The Party and the Government will make every effort to further expand the ranks of our intellectuals and to raise their level so high as to enable them to carry out successfully the great tasks confronting them.

It is the sacred duty of the working intellectuals to work devotedly for the people.

In the capitalist countries, nearly all intellectuals are forced to assume the role of servants to the bourgeoisie, and the upper crust of the intelligentsia are closely tied up with the propertied classes because of their social standing. The propertied classes use the intelligentsia to hamper the people's interests, to pose a menace to peace, and to strengthen their political control.

Take the bourgeois intellectuals of the United States, for example.

What an inglorious job they are performing now! They are in the service of the war incendiaries; some of them are making atom bombs and bacteriological weapons, the means of mass destruction of human beings. It is known to the whole world that the US imperialist villains are using bacteriological weapons against the Korean people.

In our country, a country of the working people, the intelligentsia is in the service of the people.

Comrades,

The tasks of the intellectuals are really enormous in the Fatherland Liberation War of our people against the US imperialist aggressors. It is the privilege and the duty of our intellectuals to help the people in rehabilitating industry and agriculture and ensuring supplies to the front and the rear.

In order to blow up the aggressive plan of the enemy, we should promote our own strength every hour and every day. We have many shortcomings and difficulties. We must overcome them by all means. If our engineers and scientists devote all their energies to the solution of practical problems confronting the country, we shall be able to considerably hasten the day of the final victory.

We must first restore quickly, in the order of priority, the national economy and cultural facilities destroyed wholesale by the bestial barbarism of the US imperialists. We should further strengthen the defence potential and economic foundation of the Republic.

Taking our war experience into account in rehabilitating and developing the national economy, we must systematically develop the munitions industry and, in parallel with this, restore and develop the basic industries.

Meanwhile, we should abolish the deformity of the national economy left behind by the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and the imbalance produced in the economy by the war. We should create the necessary conditions for future industrialization of the country. To do so, we should restore and expand the metallurgical, engineering, chemical and building-materials industries.

We must stabilize at an early date the war-devastated life of the

people and hasten the general rehabilitation of all branches of the national economy. This necessitates that priority should be given in rehabilitation to the facilities which can quickly show their results in building up the defence power and stabilizing the people's livelihood.

The stress should be laid on the restoration and development of textile and footwear industries, along with the metallurgical, engineering, chemical, building-materials and other branches of heavy industry. Our war experience should be taken into consideration in the distribution of industries so that excessive concentration of enterprises is avoided and, at the same time, those enterprises which were dispersed too widely because of unavoidable wartime conditions are brought to proper places again.

Steps should be taken to ensure the smooth operation of transport and communications by quickly restoring the wrecked facilities and putting them in order.

In agriculture, the cultivated area should be expanded, the output of crops and animal products augmented, more industrial crops produced, and efforts should be exerted in the direction of gradual mechanization of farming.

This is our basic line for the restoration and development of the national economy. In the enormous work of rehabilitation of the national economy, we should actively introduce the achievements of advanced science and technology, increase labour productivity and the rate of reconstruction by accelerating mechanization and automation, expand production by making the most of the restored facilities, lower the costs and further augment the accumulations by practising the utmost economy in the use of materials, manpower and funds.

In order to carry out all these tasks with success, it is essential not only to enlist the patriotic ardour of the entire working masses, but also to activate scientific and technological research and investigation of various kinds. Such research and investigation should be carried on in close relationship with and faster than the rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

There are many problems of natural, technical and social sciences

awaiting early solution for hastening victory in the war and rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

It is necessary to think out ways to exploit more effectively the rich mineral resources, natural sources of energy and various other natural resources, rapidly restore the wrecked facilities and turn their capacities to the best account, and make a rational use of raw materials, supplies and manpower.

The metallurgical industry, an industry basic to the national economy and most important from the military viewpoint, needs theoretical and practical research for improving the use of blast furnaces, and varied research concerning the introduction of high-speed smelting process in open-hearth furnaces and electric ovens, the adoption of the Bessemer process and improvement of the quality of special steels. Research is also needed to make good products by using domestic raw materials in the production of various firebricks which have an intimate bearing on the development of the metallurgical industry.

The engineering industry is faced with the task of learning, and quickly introducing into production, advanced theories and techniques of making precision machines, instruments and tools, in order to turn out various arms in large quantities. At the same time, techniques to put an end to the rejected products which are still quite enormous, and to high costs and low quality of products in our machine building, should be thoroughly studied and put into practice systematically. Without a struggle for this, we cannot hope for the development of the engineering industry and, further, the national economy as a whole.

The chemical industry should continue to produce explosives for industrial and military uses by making use of all domestically available resources, no matter how difficult it is.

Petroleum has not yet been discovered in our country, and so the creation of a coal-liquefying industry, fed with brown coal from North Hamgyong Province, is not only a scientifically and technologically interesting problem, but it is also of great importance in consolidating our national economy, and this particularly under wartime conditions.

In our industry there are great possibilities for developing a high-molecular synthetic industry, but these possibilities have not yet been fully explored. Needless to say, it was a great achievement after the liberation for our engineers to produce alcohol and nitric acid from carbide. We should not stop there, but advance to produce on our own such high-grade organic compounds as insulating material, high-grade paints, plastics and synthetic rubber which are badly needed for military purposes and for economic use.

Further, it is very important to conduct scientific investigation of the natural environment in our country. Only when we exploit all that is within our reach for building the national economy and develop the natural resources on a wide scale, according to scientifically-substantiated data about our natural environment, can we rapidly push forward our national economy.

Because in the days of Japanese imperialist rule geological survey was carried out sporadically and on a small scale in our country, only very insufficient data are now available. Thus, only small areas, amounting to 12 per cent of the whole territory of Korea and nine per cent of north Korea, were surveyed, and even this was done unsystematically and in a crude manner. As a result, we do not possess scientifically reliable data. Having taken over such a poor survey work, we have failed so far to carry out geological survey and search for mineral deposits on a wide scale. We worked in a stopgap manner for a long time. There are various reasons for this.

Needless to say, we have achieved considerable successes in this work. But we have not yet erased the vestiges of the past and are not in a position to meet fully the ever-increasing demand for nonferrous mineral ores.

Therefore, we should survey at an early date the deposits of various ores indispensable for military purposes and in great demand for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, including gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc and other nonferrous mineral ores, and tungsten, nickel and other special ores in particular.

The need is for an active geological survey of the vast mountain

areas where even an adequate field investigation has not yet been conducted so far. Also needed is an energetic prospecting of the already known promising areas.

We have also failed to conduct proper research for a comprehensive use of the rivers, lakes and sea waters, which are important resources, for the development of the national economy. Take the rivers, for example. They can be used for many purposes—power generation, irrigation, supply of water to industry and towns, transport, fish culture and so on. But only sporadic and small-scale investigations were, and are, being carried out about the rivers and lakes.

Our country has very favourable geographical conditions for hydroelectric power generation, and investigation of many promising spots for such power generation was carried out. But most of the records of investigation carried out in the past have been destroyed by the US imperialist aggressors. So survey work should be conducted to reconfirm the already known favourable spots and discover new ones. In the meantime, the investigation of rivers and lakes should be conducted for rational utilization of the waters of rivers and lakes for irrigation, the important material foundation of agricultural development.

This work is also necessary for preventing flood damage and for keeping a vast amount of water in the rainy season from uselessly flowing away to the sea and storing it for effective use for the national economy.

In order to develop agriculture in our country we need a meticulous study and investigation of our natural conditions. Our country has a very small area under cultivation. Therefore, increased production of cereals in the northern half requires a rise in the per-unit-area yields throughout the country and, at the same time, a struggle for obtaining new lands for farming.

We need first to bring all the fallow land under the plough in various local areas and, at the same time, to pay attention to the vast tidelands on the west coast. The west coast has nearly 300 000 hectares of tideland fit for use. This is equal to 15 per cent of the total sown area

in the northern half. Designs should be drawn up to bank off the sea and use the tideland for farms, industrial plots and salt fields. Meanwhile, measures are needed to choose viable crops for the fairly saline muddy beaches and plant them in the newly reclaimed tidelands.

In order to raise crop yields, pedological and other research in agricultural science should be tirelessly carried on.

Crop seeds should be improved by developing seed production through bold introduction of advanced theories. If, for instance, a rice seed which can withstand dry weather and is high yielding is created, or, our country's short-fibre cotton is improved into a long-fibre variety, this will meet an urgent need of our peasants who are striving for high yields and at the same time, this will greatly benefit the state.

As you all know, our livestock farming is in a very backward state. Great efforts should be made to develop livestock farming. In order to innovate the Republic's livestock farming as a whole, many-sided research is needed so that the breeds of domestic animals, especially the Korean cows and pigs whose qualities are deteriorating, can be improved, new breeds created, animal hygiene strengthened, methods of breeding improved, and sources of feed secured.

Improvement of our people's livelihood calls for great attention to be paid to the development of the fishing industry.

In our country which finds great difficulty in developing livestock farming, there is urgent need for developing the fishing industry in every way. Therefore, investigation and research should be conducted on a still larger scale to increase the output of marine products and develop inshore culture and fish breeding. Various seafoods occupy a major place in foreign trade. It is important to make efforts to increase their output and, at the same time, improve their quality.

Our forestry resources had diminished from year to year before liberation owing to the Japanese imperialists' reckless felling of trees. Recently part of the forest areas was burnt by the US imperialists' barbarism. As a result, our forestry resources are very small in comparison with those of other countries. Thus, they are meagre and, furthermore, they are located preponderantly in the northern mountain

regions. The areas near the seas are short or almost bare of trees.

The areas short or almost bare of trees should be planted with fast-growing, useful trees. As for the rich forest areas, if too many red pine trees have reduced their quality, it should be improved, and research should be undertaken to create mixed forests of coniferous and broadleaved trees.

Various chemical processes should be employed for rational use of timber. In particular, efforts should be made to prevent timber from decay, and wood preservatives should be applied to railway sleepers and utility poles whose buried parts rot quickly every year, so that a large quantity of timber is saved. While the most effective method is employed to prevent timber from decaying, we need to promote research for the production in quantities of chemical goods including tannin and methanol.

In the field of health service, the precious experience gained during the war should be summed up and it should be turned to good account in further developing health service. In particular, scientific research should be carried out to improve the work of preventing epidemics and other diseases and produce plenty of different preventive medicines in order to effectively combat the germ weapons frequently used by the US imperialist beasts in recent days.

In the sphere of pharmaceuticals, an end should be put to the practice of clinging to making chemical compound drugs only. While the cultivation of medical herbs is expanded, more specific research should be done on the methods of cultivating and utilizing these herbs to improve their uses.

I have so far dwelt mainly on various problems of natural and technical sciences. In the field of social science, too, there are many problems that must be solved for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy and for cultural progress.

Quite a few problems confront the economists more than anyone else. For instance, theoretical and practical solutions should be found to such important problems as those of raising labour productivity, lowering costs and economizing in the expenses for goods distribution.

Studies should also be conducted in the problem of rational transformation of the structure of our industry in the future in order to remedy its colonial lopsidedness and remove the imbalances newly created by the war. The problems of fixing reasonable prices and of developing the cooperative economy are current economic problems awaiting an early solution.

Scientists in the domains of law, philosophy, history, linguistics, pedagogy and literature should use all their wisdom and talents to educate the masses of people in Marxism-Leninism, carry forward our national culture, equip all working people with patriotism and raise our people's general cultural level.

Scientists and engineers working in institutions of higher learning, laboratories, factories, and other establishments should contribute, in close cooperation with the workers and peasants, to the great task of bringing prosperity to our country, improving the people's welfare, developing our national culture and achieving the freedom and independence of the country.

Dear scientists and engineers,

I have so far mentioned the problems which the scientists and engineers of the Republic should solve, at all costs, to secure final victory in the Fatherland Liberation War and to rehabilitate and develop the national economy in a short span of time. The state really expects great things of you.

Our past scientific research work, however, suffered from some shortcomings. Our scientists and engineers have not yet boldly joined the ranks of innovators and have not solved promptly the practical problems which come up in building the power of defence and developing the national economy. Scientific and technological research should naturally keep ahead of the development of the national economy. But it remains at a low level. This is due, needless to say, to the fact that our science and technology are still young and have a short history. But there are other reasons, too.

First, our scientists and engineers lack the sense of responsibility as honourable pioneers on the Republic's scientific front. They also lack

the pride as the country's masters.

Thus, they have failed to push ahead their work courageously and confidently as servants of the country and the people. This is apparent, first, in the fact that the scientists have scarcely put forward views and produced very little fruits of research. This means that the scientists were inert in research. This also shows that some of them hesitate to publish even their justified opinions for fear of criticism.

Because they are wanting in the sense of responsibility and pride, our scientists have failed to display the spirit of boldly going ahead with their research and to create a cheerful atmosphere for the advancement of sciences through constructive polemics. I cannot but refer to this as a big shortcoming.

Secondly, so far our scientific research has been prosecuted apart from production as of old, and individual persons or establishments have worked separately without any contact among themselves. So they have been unable to develop collective strength.

There is little contact and cooperation between different laboratories under one and the same ministry, between the Ministry of Heavy Industry and the technical colleges, and between the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the agricultural colleges.

And among our scientists and engineers there is a notable tendency: they hold on to unrealistic subjects far removed from the needs of the state, which suit their personal tastes or have been chosen from the standpoint of narrow self-interest, instead of primarily seeking the solutions of problems that will promote the interests of enhancing defence power and building the national economy, and think as if they were engaged in some kind of far-reaching research. This tendency is specially evident from the fact that scientists in different institutions of higher education have not changed their subjects of research to suit the wartime conditions but have proceeded as before with the unrealistic peacetime research.

Thirdly, since the officials of administrative organs did not have a correct understanding of the great significance of scientific research for the development of the national economy, they failed to pay deep

attention to scientific research and investigation of various kinds.

There is a marked tendency of leaving scientific research to take its own course without always giving thought to it and providing it with necessary material conditions.

The Ministry of Education failed to tackle properly the work of giving specific guidance to different institutions of higher learning, building laboratories and providing them with necessary apparatus and books in time to enable them to carry on scientific activities.

The Central Weather Station under the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry has worked very unsatisfactorily for a long time, and the Central Mining Research Institute under the Ministry of Heavy Industry is only a name which does not have to its credit any showing in the exploration of mineral resources and prospecting of ore deposits. This notwithstanding, the organs concerned have not taken necessary measures to improve the situation but have left things to take their own course.

There are many shortsighted people among the officials of administrative organs. They do not respect the scientists and engineers, regarding the backward practices among some of scientists and engineers as common to all of them, and hastily censure them for failure to yield palpable results at once in their scientific research.

The administrative officials should drop hastiness and be generous towards the scientists and engineers, and give all possible assistance to them.

Fourthly, the achievements of our young scientists and engineers in their painstaking research are not correctly evaluated nor used for the building of the economy without delay.

Some people are not yet free from the mean spirit of despising in an unprincipled manner the achievements of our scientists and engineers, whether great or small, and of indiscriminately praising things foreign.

Let me take examples. There is a tendency of idolizing the Baeyer aspirin of Germany, although the aspirin manufactured at our pharmacies acts well enough. Then there is the tendency to demand only Japan-made glucose injections when our own glucose is quite

equal to the foreign-made one.

Lastly, the shortage of competent people is the reason for these shortcomings.

Scientific research demands experienced and qualified specialists. As I have already said, under Japanese imperialist rule we were unable to train competent scientists and engineers of our own.

We reared large numbers of new able people in various fields in a short space of time after liberation. But we have not yet trained enough people in the sphere of science and technology who, unlike those in other fields, require a rather long period of regular education. As a consequence, we have not yet overcome the shortage of cadres. This constitutes the biggest obstacle to the progress of our scientific research.

Dear scientists and engineers,

In order to eliminate the aforesaid shortcomings at an early date and advance our scientific research rapidly in the future, we must cope with the following tasks:

First, it is important to combine theory and practice.

Without closely combining theory and practice and without creative cooperation among scientists and production workers, there can be no progress in science and technology. Stalin said: "The data of science have always been tested by practice, by experience. Science is called science just because it does not recognize fetishes, just because it does not fear to raise its hand against the obsolete and antiquated, and because it lends an attentive ear to the voice of experience, of practice." (*Problems of Leninism*, Eng. ed., p. 535.)

Creative cooperation of scientists and production workers will facilitate the introduction of the fruits of scientific research and scientific discoveries in the national economy. And this cooperation will show the right way and direction to scientific activities corresponding to the requirements of production.

Thus, strong ties between theory and practice are of great help not only for production but also for the development of science itself.

But, to our regret, we cannot help but admit that in our country there

is no active, day-to-day contact between scientists and production workers.

Scientific research institutions and technical schools pay little attention to production. Some scholars do not take the urgent requirements of production into consideration. Instead, they prosecute research quite alien to the practices of the national economy. It is self-evident that the efforts of such scholars will bear no fruit.

In industry, we have few instances of new discoveries and rationalization of production, and fail to properly encourage the initiative and creative proposals of workers with specialized techniques. The work of introducing the already known new methods of organizing production and advanced techniques, too, is sluggish.

We cannot leave this state of affairs as it is. We should take all necessary steps to strengthen the ties between science and practice.

Our scientists cannot allow themselves to be indifferent to the innovatory achievements scored by the working class of Korea in production and rehabilitation under wartime conditions.

Our scientists and engineers should generalize the labour exploits and precious experience of the leading production innovators and popularize them widely among the broad masses.

Secondly, we should recognize scientific research as an important part of the state plan and push it forward in a planned way. We should subordinate research to the ultimate objective of the state by all possible means.

The Government of the Republic has instituted the Scientific Research Bureau within the State Planning Commission as a body to organize and guide scientific research as a whole. Every scientist and engineer should fulfil the assignments in research given to him by the state in a responsible manner within the set time, so that the fruits of his research are immediately put to use for victory in the war.

To this end, it is necessary to give more material aid for scientific and technological research and investigation of various kinds. Money should not be spared for urgent research; various equipment, materials and literature should be supplied in sufficient quantity for them. It is

necessary to increase the import of laboratory apparatus and materials required for research in natural science and technology. At the same time, as much of such apparatus and materials as possible should be produced at home.

Our precious heritage such as records of different nature, books and other relics, have been dispersed and lost. This greatly hampers our research. In order to inherit the cultural heritage of our nation and build up a new science for our time, such material should be collected and arranged in order all over the country. Measures should also be taken to enable researchers to use the material widely and freely.

Thirdly, for smooth progress of research of national importance, all ministries, bureaus directly under the Cabinet, research institutions under them and universities and colleges should establish close ties among them and display their collective strength in the spirit of mutual aid.

The Ministries of Education, Heavy Industry, Agriculture and Forestry, Public Health, and other ministries, and the bureaus directly under the Cabinet should give systematic guidance and assistance to the work of scientific research institutions under their jurisdiction.

In order to gather able scientists from all parts of the country and carry on scientific research collectively, we will set up an Academy of Sciences.

Fourthly, every scientist and engineer should enhance his political and ideological consciousness and take the firm stand of faithful service to the country and the people.

Scientists and engineers in all fields should not only become specialists in their own area of research, but also patriots and progressives who always think of their country's destiny, know and learn to use the laws of social progress, and take an active part in the country's political life. Therefore, they should tirelessly try to equip themselves firmly with Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the only correct world outlook which expounds the method of scientific understanding of the laws of development of nature and society and of

transformation of the world.

Fifthly, the achievements of scientific research, however insignificant, should be immediately implemented in practice and should be popularized.

Monopolization of the results of research is impermissible.

If their basic orientation is correct, the achievements of research, even if slightly defective, should be published boldly and further perfected through criticism and with the assistance of others.

In this connection, it is necessary to publish according to plan and widely propagate the achievements of scientific research.

Sixthly, criticism should be encouraged and strengthened in academic circles so that scientific research may be developed.

Only where lively and constructive criticism is freely developed can science advance in a sound way. Without the freedom of debate and criticism, no science can develop.

However, unprincipled criticism which unjustly tramples underfoot young buds on the pretext of intensifying criticism should be repudiated. An atmosphere should be created in which shortcomings are criticized always along the lines of cherishing, supporting and fostering new buds.

Seventhly, our scientists and engineers should actively study and assimilate the achievements and methods of advanced sciences.

If they stick to their outdated methods or are carried away by the successes achieved earlier, and do not strive to come up to the world level of the fast-progressive science at the earliest possible time, our scientific research work will not get out of its backward state.

Eighthly, success in all our work depends on the number and quality of cadres. We are still very short of scientific and technological workers. You, the people on the scientific front, must train new scientists with utmost care.

The old-time scientists and engineers should train a large number of new cadres and build up high traditions in the field of science and technology. This is the most reliable guarantee for the progress of our science in the future.

Lastly, I would like to comment on the problem of improving our specialists' work ability.

Our scientists and production-technical intellectuals are confronted with the heavy task of developing our technology, improving production processes, and increasing labour productivity in factories and mines. Success in this task depends largely on how hard the engineers strive to improve their technical qualifications.

It is therefore necessary to arrange the technological education of industrial and transport workers on a wide scale and strengthen the training of skilled workers and engineers.

In view of the fact that most of the men have joined up and women have taken the place of men in enterprises, special attention should be paid to the work of imparting expertise to the women and passing on technical know-how to them.

Improvement of the re-education of technical workers and scientists is also of importance. We must take steps to improve the system of education and re-education for technical workers and the system of training for the scientists.

Comrades,

The war has inflicted a tremendous loss on our national economy. This loss is further multiplying because the US imperialist aggressors refuse to stop their barbaric bombing of our cities and farm villages. In this context, our scientists, production-technical intellectuals, production innovators and inventors should devote all their energies and learning and experience to the work of rehabilitation and development of the national economy after the war as well, in addition to the task of ensuring victory on the front by overcoming the wartime hardships.

This is the loftiest duty of our intellectuals to the motherland. I firmly believe that our intellectuals will discharge this duty honourably to the last.

ON MAY DAY

**Order No. 236 of the Supreme Commander
of the Korean People's Army**

May 1, 1952

Comrade soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals
of our land, naval and air forces,

Men and women guerrillas,

Workers, peasants and working intellectuals,

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

I would like to congratulate you on May Day. It is a day which demonstrates and tests the international solidarity and militancy of the working people the world over.

The toiling people throughout the world are now celebrating May Day, their significant holiday. On this occasion they are waging a grand struggle to consolidate their international solidarity and unity, oppose the igniters of a new war, expand and strengthen the worldwide peace movement, and achieve peace, democracy and socialism.

The Korean people are observing this day amid the grim circumstances of the Fatherland Liberation War.

In the course of the Fatherland Liberation War, the Korean people and the People's Army, their armed force, have frustrated the aggressive designs of the US imperialist armed interventionists against our country and won an honourable victory. They have thus laid firm foundation for final victory in the war.

In the just war to safeguard freedom and independence of their

country, the Korean people have defended the people's democratic system, which is their achievement. They enjoy the warm sympathy and support of the peace-loving people of the world.

The US imperialist interventionists are evoking ever-increasing hatred and curse from the peace-loving people and are being increasingly isolated as the days go by. This is because of their aggressive war and the atrocities they have committed against the Korean people.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies, as well as the world's peace-loving people, are giving wholehearted support to the Korean people in their struggle against the US imperialist armed interventionists.

We are now fighting jointly with the heroic Chinese People's Volunteers consisting of the best sons and daughters of the Chinese people.

The meritorious services and achievements of the Chinese People's Volunteers in the Fatherland Liberation War will shine for ever in the history of our country.

We are not alone in our struggle. We have genuine internationalist friendship and unity of the world's peace-loving people and the peoples of the democratic camp. Their friendship and unity are being consolidated and expanded with each passing day.

However, things are different with the enemy. His military and political vulnerabilities and internal contradictions are being aggravated with the passage of time in course of the war.

The forces of peace, democracy and socialism are stronger than those of war incendiaries.

Dear officers and men of the People's Army,

The Korean people are confident that the People's Army which is their armed force will surely defend to the end their country's freedom and honour from the aggression of the US imperialist armed interventionists, in coordination with the brotherly Chinese People's Volunteers.

There is no doubt that the People's Army will meet our people's

expectations and hopes.

I hope that the officers and men of the People's Army, who are deeply conscious of their duty, will achieve new successes in combat and in military and political training.

Long live our glorious motherland!

Long live the heroic Korean People's Army!

Long live the heroic Chinese People's Volunteers!

Everlasting glory to the officers and men who have fallen in the Fatherland Liberation War for the country's independence and freedom!

Wipe out the US imperialist invaders and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique!

TALK TO PEASANTS IN WONHWA-RI, TAEDONG COUNTY

May 10, 1952

I have come here today to discuss farming with you, the peasants of Wonhwa-ri.

Wonhwa-ri is a nice place. The people are good, so is the place. The peasants of Wonhwa-ri fought well at the time of the agrarian reform shortly after liberation. And today they are working devotedly to increase food production for the war.

It is of great importance to produce more food now. Only when we have plenty of provisions, can we win the war and stabilize the people's deteriorated living standards. That is why our Party has put forward the slogan, "The struggle for food is a struggle for the country and for victory at the front!" and is energetically mobilizing the peasant masses in the struggle for increased production of food.

The important responsibility of providing the country with food in wartime rests on the shoulders of you, the peasants. Today, when we are fighting a life-and-death struggle with the enemy, the peasants are responsible for production and supply of food for the soldiers and the people, while the working class is responsible for manufacturing and providing weapons, ammunition and other military supplies.

To produce more food through good farming is the duty of the peasants. It is an honourable and worthwhile job which contributes directly to the final victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

Deeply aware of your duty as peasants responsible for the nation's

granary, you should make every effort to increase food production.

Of course, it is no easy task to do so in the present situation when the US imperialists carry on their brutal bombing and the countryside is short of manpower, draught animals and farm implements. However, it is possible to overcome these obstacles and difficulties and produce and send more food to the fighters at the front, if all the peasants farm with the spirit of fighting the enemy at the front.

To increase grain production, it is necessary to do all the agricultural work well and in season. It is particularly important to sow seed in season. Otherwise, you will bring the whole year's cultivation to naught. In the bygone days, the peasants did spring ploughing only when the cuckoo started singing. But now you must sow seeds a bit earlier. Only then will the seeds bud fully and can the crops ripen well. You should push ahead with ploughing to finish spring sowing as early as possible.

Besides, you should plant good strains of seed. You should select the high-yielding variety suited to the climate and the soil. Our peasants have been planting one and the same strain of rice. So they have no clear idea if it is good or bad. You cannot raise the yield of rice this way. After selecting good seed, you should plant it with great care; you should plough the fields deep, soften the lumps of earth, and then make furrows well. And you should sow the seed after spreading good-quality manure. You should not sow too close or sparse, but adequately. Then the seed will take root evenly and the grains grow fast even in dry season.

You should secure the area for spring sowing according to your plan and should not leave the land fallow. You should not leave idle even an inch because this precious land has been brought back to you by the people's power after liberation. Furthermore, we have a limited area of cultivated land and so you cannot produce food on a normal basis if you keep it idle. Therefore, you should not work in a slovenly way and leave the land fallow under the pretext of wartime difficulties.

I have been told that the livestock breeding station lays the sideline fields fallow now. This is very serious. You should not ignore the

practice of keeping the precious land idle, but should combat it to prevent the land from being left fallow.

Furthermore, you should strive to get all the arable land sown. You should fill up the bomb craters to grow crops in them, and make good use of the idle fields. In this way you should strive to cultivate all the precious land without leaving the tiniest plot idle, and thus produce more grains.

The peasants of Wonhwa-ri seem to be hard up with food now, so it is advisable not to take wheat and barley as tax in kind. If wheat and barley are not collected as tax in kind and the peasants are allowed to eat the whole crop of them, it would mean providing them with provisions till the millet harvest. Therefore, instead of going into all the bother of taxing them in kind and then giving them back, we should exempt them from tax payment in the form of wheat and barley.

It is very good that women follow the plough. With most of the young and middle-aged people at the front, there are only women and old folk in the countryside now. Therefore, women are the masters of the countryside today, and they should do a better job of it. Women, too, should hold the plough. In future we should train more of them as ploughwomen.

It is good that in Wonhwa-ri you have formed ox-sharing teams and labour-aid teams and do your cultivation helping each other. Farming through joint efforts and mutual help in labour-aid and ox-sharing teams is a laudable tradition of our peasants. If many families join hands in these teams, work will be easier and you can rationalize the use of oxen and agricultural implements. Therefore, you should organize these teams and work by common effort, helping each other. This is essential for agricultural cooperativization in the future.

To cooperativize farming, we are going to organize agricultural cooperatives with peasants. The agricultural cooperative is a good form of cooperative economy where the peasants pool their efforts voluntarily and farm jointly. The organization of agricultural cooperatives will make better cultivation possible. It would educate work-shy people to be hardworking, and also enable the peasants to

work with ease, helping and leading each other.

Organizing the cooperatives has many advantages. This will make planned agricultural work possible and develop agriculture rapidly through the employment of machines for field work. In particular, the cooperatives will make it possible to pool and jointly use manpower, draught animals and farm implements, and thus to overcome their shortage. One of our major objectives in forming agricultural cooperatives under the difficult conditions of war, is to solve this very problem.

If we are to develop agriculture, we have very many things to undertake, including irrigation projects. And if agricultural cooperatives are formed and the peasants work as one body, we will be able to undertake many things successfully. The organization of agricultural cooperatives is the only way to improve the living standards of the peasants radically. Therefore, I advise you, the Wonhwa-ri peasants, to organize and try at managing an agricultural cooperative.

You should not regard the organization of cooperatives as something mysterious. There is no mystery about it at all. If the peasants themselves want, it is possible to organize a cooperative.

It is not as if agricultural cooperativization can be brought about only when the country's industrialization has been achieved and modern farm machines are available. Of course, that may be favourable for agricultural cooperativization. But there is no rule making that a precondition for the organization of agricultural cooperatives. If the peasants form cooperatives and work in unison even with the farm implements they are using now, it is incomparably more advantageous for them than when they work individually.

At first, the agricultural cooperatives should not be too large, but should comprise 30 families or so. Should they be too large from the outset when we have no experience in the management of the cooperatives, we may have difficulty in running them and will not be able to demonstrate their superiority.

We should form agricultural cooperatives only with those who

volunteer to enter them; we should admit other people gradually, after the cooperatives have been strengthened.

When an agricultural cooperative is organized in Wonhwa-ri, the fields in front of the village should be made into paddies and the other fields irrigated.

Judging from the dwelling houses in the village of Wonhwa, we can see that the peasants here lived a hard life in the past. There were two landlords in the village. The peasants must have been exploited harshly by them. On top of this, everything was burnt down because of the US imperialists' bombing and the enemy's atrocities during the retreat. Even now, the Americans are committing atrocities without hesitation; everywhere they go, they set fire to grain stacks and slaughter people in cold blood. The US imperialists are savages. In the future, you should pull down all the straw-thatched houses here and build modern dwelling houses, and have electricity in all of them.

There are quite a few ponds and hillocks in Wonhwa-ri. You can raise a lot of fish and develop fruit growing.

You should convert the ponds into fish farms. If you raise fish well, the peasants will have more fish dishes on the table. There are ponds and lakes everywhere in our country. How good it would be if we raise fish by using them all! In future we should breed lots of fish in them.

When catching fish in the ponds or rivers, you should always use nets and catch only the big ones. You should let the small ones go and wait until they grow. If you use explosives in catching fish, not only will the precious explosives be wasted, but people may also be injured and the fish stock wiped out. Therefore, you must not do so.

You had better grow a lot of fruit plants or mulberry trees on the nearby hillocks. If you plant various fruit trees on the hillocks, by the roadside, and everywhere else, you will have plenty of fruit in the future and the peasants will be able to eat them regularly.

If you organize a cooperative and build the village decently by united efforts, Wonhwa-ri will turn into a beautiful place where the crops are abundant and all kinds of fruits thrive, a nice place to work and live in.

LET US TRAIN MORE ABLE TECHNICIANS

**Speech before the Teaching Staff and Students
of the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute**

June 17, 1952

Comrades,

When I was leaving for this place, people at the Party Central Committee tried to stop me. They said it was dangerous to go because of the enemy's heavy bombing. However, I was thinking of the reconstruction which we shall have to undertake after the war. I could not, therefore, put off even for a moment this visit to the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute which is in charge of training technical cadres. So here I am to see you today.

I am very glad to see you at this place putting in great effort to implement our Party's policy of training technicians despite the difficult conditions of the war.

I should like to talk to you today of the present military and political situation and some problems that arise in strengthening the training of technical personnel.

The tide of war is now turning in our favour.

The front has been fixed along the 38th parallel since June last year. The brave fighters of our People's Army have built their defence positions into impregnable fortresses and, relying on them, they are carrying out positive positional defence battles and mobile assaults to deal heavy blows at the enemy. They are thus gaining time for full preparations for the final victory of the war.

The truce talks started last July have been in progress for nearly a year by now, but have not yet been brought to an end. The talks are being delayed entirely because of the insidious moves of the US imperialists.

The US imperialist aggressors are playing tricks to achieve through the armistice talks what they have failed to achieve in the war. The enemy delays the armistice talks by insisting on unreasonable demands in an endeavour to recover its ignominious defeat in the war as well as its lost prestige, and attain a so-called “honourable truce.”

We are for an armistice. But we are against an unjust armistice which encroaches upon the interests of our country and nation. We support only a fair and reasonable armistice.

Moreover, the US imperialists are working to expand the war. They are reinforcing their armed forces on a large scale under cover of the armistice talks in their design to spread the war of aggression and unleash another world war.

We are ready to cease fire. We are ready also to continue the war. We have nothing to fear if we have to fight a protracted war. All our towns, farm villages, factories and other enterprises have been destroyed. We have nothing more left to be destroyed. But we have the strength to wipe out the US imperialist aggressors and secure the final victory in the war. In the course of the war, our People’s Army has not only grown in number. It has also further strengthened itself politically, ideologically and militarily. We are not alone. The peoples of the Soviet Union, China and other friendly countries, as well as the world’s peace-loving people, give us active support and encouragement in our righteous cause.

Although the US imperialists are manoeuvring to spread the war and unleash another world war, they will not dare do so because they are aware of our might. Should they dare, they will not escape ruin.

We must not pin any hope on the armistice talks. If a ceasefire is achieved, it does not mean complete peace; in the literal sense of the word, it is no more than a temporary cessation of hostilities. Even if a truce is attained, the US imperialists and their lackeys may invade us

again at any time. Therefore, we should never be overtaken by a pacifist mood on achieving a ceasefire; we must always maintain sharp vigilance and live and work strenuously.

The enemy will surrender to our people before long, no matter how desperately it manoeuvres. The key to victory is already in the hands of our people.

Under the prevailing situation, we must be fully prepared for final victory in the Fatherland Liberation War and, at the same time, make ample preparations for postwar reconstruction, whether we achieve a truce or have to go on with the war.

We have a lot of things to do after the war. We must rehabilitate and develop the severely destroyed economy and stabilize and improve the ruined living standards of the people. Particularly, we must build an independent national economy and bring about industrialization so that we can turn our country into a rich, powerful and independent sovereign state. The most important thing in carrying out these tasks is to train a large number of our own technicians. Without them, we can neither carry out postwar reconstruction nor build an independent national economy.

Our country lacks its own technical personnel. This situation most urgently calls for improvement in their training. As a consequence of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, our country feels an acute dearth of national technical cadres. Just now it is very important for us to solve the problem; on it will depend whether or not we can rebuild our country which has been reduced to ashes.

That is why the Party Central Committee always lays great stress on the training of our own technicians in spite of the war, and has taken a number of measures to strengthen this work. We have already decided to recall the teachers and students who are fighting at the front. Recently, we drew up a long-term plan for the training of cadres and took steps to conduct this work purposefully.

On all accounts, we must train our cadres at home by ourselves. This is a major principle to which our Party has consistently adhered in the solution of the problem of cadres. As a matter of fact, now that we

are waging a war, we send some students to brotherly countries for study. But this cannot be the basic method of solving the cadre problem. We must restore and reinforce our colleges and specialized schools and improve the training of our cadres.

The Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute assumes a very heavy and honourable responsibility for solving the problem of technicians. This institute is a comprehensive centre of training technicians in our country. The teaching staff of this institute is charged with the task of training a large number of competent technical personnel to be equipped with progressive ideas and a high degree of scientific and technical knowledge. Deeply conscious of their heavy duty in solving the problem of our own technicians, the entire teaching staff should devote all their strength and wisdom to improve the training of technical personnel.

First of all, you should give good education to the students.

Giving good education is the main task of the institute. The institute must conduct education regularly, overcoming the wartime difficulties, and inculcate strong discipline for studies.

What is important in education is to firmly equip the students with our Party line and policy. The institute must take it as its primary task to arm the students with the Party's ideology and give them a systematic and deep understanding of the Party line and policy. In particular, it must explain to them in good time all the decisions and the instructions which the Party puts across at each stage. It should thus induce all the students to have a clear perception of the Party's intentions and to think and act accordingly.

It is important to educate the students to cultivate national pride and conviction in victory. The institute should let them know clearly that our people are sagacious and valorous with a long history and a shining culture. Especially, it should educate the students by the use of the factual information which shows how our people are winning the Fatherland Liberation War by bravely fighting the US imperialists who boast of being the "most powerful" in the world and the troops of their satellite countries. This will heighten the national pride of the students

and inspire them with greater confidence in victory.

While firmly preparing the students politically and ideologically, the institute should teach them to acquire a rich knowledge of advanced science and technology and be well-versed in their specialities. To this end, it should constantly improve the quality of instruction in line with the demands of developing modern science and technology, and closely combine theoretical education with experiments and practices.

The students must study hard. Studying is a battle for the students now that we are fighting a war. They are charged with the duty of contributing to postwar reconstruction and building a new society. Therefore, the Party and people expect much of them.

The students should devote all their energies to studies in the spirit with which they smashed the US imperialist aggressors at the front in the past. They should form the habit of study firmly and intensify the study of Party policy and of their specialities to become competent technicians.

Next, we must solve the shortage of teachers.

The teacher is directly in charge of instruction and education. If we lack teachers, and their level is low, we can neither conduct satisfactory education nor raise the students' work-ability.

If we are to solve the shortage of teachers, we must rationally organize classwork and enhance the responsibility and role of the teachers. In view of the shortage of teachers the curriculum should not be overloaded but should be moderated.

We should prevent the practice of transferring college teachers to fields other than education. At present some officials, in their effort to execute the Party's instruction to set up an Academy of Sciences, are trying to draft college teachers to its staff. They should not do so. You must make sure that no college teacher is called. The institute must train teachers by itself to replenish its teaching staff.

The teachers' qualifications should be raised.

At present the teachers' qualifications are so low that they fail to achieve greater successes in teaching. The institute should decisively

raise the political and professional qualifications of the teachers. Therefore, it must cultivate the strong habit of study among them, intensify the study of Party policy and their specialities, as well as the study of pedagogical affairs. Besides, it must organize short training courses and scientific and technical forums regularly.

You should provide the students with books and experimental equipment.

The students are said to face some hardships in their study at present because of the shortage of textbooks, reference books and experimental apparatus. The institute should procure what it can by itself, and what it cannot procure by itself should be provided to it by the state.

The Ministry of Education and other concerned authorities must take specific measures to provide the students with the needed books and experimental equipment. As for reference books and experimental equipment which can hardly be procured at home right now, they should get these even by importing them.

However, you should never try to import what you can get with a bit of effort; nor should you rely only on foreign assistance. We must adhere to the principle of solving everything for ourselves even if we have to face difficulties and obstacles. The success of the Korean revolution depends on how the Korean people, its master, strive.

Only when our people themselves strive to carry out their country's revolution, can they receive better help from other countries. Only when a fallen man does his best to recover his legs, will others have the sympathetic urge to help him get up. Our people are enjoying the assistance of the fraternal countries today, because we are fighting heroically against the US imperialists and their lackeys, conscious of being the masters of the country. We should allow full scope to our spirit of self-reliance and make what we do not have, and find what we lack, and solve everything for ourselves.

Next, we should intensify scientific research.

After the war, we should not confine ourselves to merely restoring the ruined national economy as it was before. We should eliminate the

shortcomings revealed in the war as well as the colonial lopsidedness of our economy; we should reconstruct the economy and work for the nation's industrialization in such a way as to lay the foundation of an independent national economy relying on our abundant raw material resources. We must conduct scientific research with the main emphasis on the solution of scientific and technical problems urgently needed in carrying out these tasks.

We must first study how to develop and utilize our natural resources.

Our country has inexhaustible natural resources. We must develop and use them effectively if we are to build an independent national economy and bring about the country's industrialization.

We should conduct extensive research to develop and utilize all the overground, underground and aquatic resources. Our country's fuel situation is acute, so you should undertake research and solve the problem of substitute fuels.

You should conduct research to develop the power industry. If we are to rehabilitate and develop the ruined economy and make the country prosperous, we must develop the power industry and bring about the country's electrification. Therefore, it is important to undertake study in depth to develop this industry from now on. The development of the power industry depends largely on whether or not we can produce electrical materials and equipment on our own. We must conduct research to make electrical materials and equipment by ourselves.

We must take up research into the ordnance industry.

As long as there exists imperialism on the globe, we should continue to strengthen our defence capability to safeguard the country and nation. We should therefore develop the ordnance industry. In view of our experience in the Fatherland Liberation War, it is particularly necessary to lay the firm foundations of an ordnance industry of our own.

We need not try to make all kinds of arms on our own on the plea of developing the ordnance industry. We are developing this industry not

to invade other countries but to defend our country and people from the enemy's encroachment. So, our ordnance industry should be developed in this direction.

We must study to make various kinds of modern weapons in large quantities which suit our country's specific conditions and the constitution of Koreans. In particular, the experience of the war requires us to conduct research in depth into various kinds of arms for the infantry, signal and supply equipment.

We must also conduct scientific research to develop transport.

We must exert great effort in the research to advance motor and river transport, the weakest links in the spheres of transport.

The demand for automobiles is increasing in our country now, but we fail to make them on our own. There is no mystery about making automobiles. If only we properly conduct research into their production, we will be able to manufacture them by ourselves. We should begin with the production of motor accessories and gradually go over to the production of automobiles.

River transport should also be developed.

Our country has many large and small rivers; this offers us an advantage for developing river transport. If we use the Taedong River and other rivers as transport routes, the strain on transport will be considerably eased and the development of the inland areas will also benefit.

We should make vessels to be used for traffic on swift running rivers to develop river transport. If we make such vessels, they can be used for transport between Suphung and Hyesan and between Tokchon and Nampho; and the Chongchon River can also be used for transport.

We must undertake a study on how to use the Han and other rivers in the southern half as transport routes in the future when we defeat the US imperialists and their lackeys and the country is reunified.

The state will provide the funds and equipment for scientific research. We do not spare anything for this purpose. You should conduct your research energetically.

The road of scientific research is no royal road. It is a rugged,

unexplored path which has to be pursued in the quest for the new. Therefore, if our scientists are to capture the fortress of science, they should not only display an enterprising spirit, perseverance, enquiry and energy; they should also be imbued with unbounded loyalty for the Party and the people as well as ardent patriotism.

Next, you should take good care of the living conditions of the teachers and students of the institute.

All college teachers and students are precious treasures of the country and revolutionary comrades-in-arms. Quite a few of them went as far down as the Raktong River and fought the enemy bravely, shedding their blood. Therefore, to look after them well is not only a sacred duty of the college officials; it is also their comradely obligation.

You should improve the diet of the teachers and students. The officials of the institute should do everything to ensure that the teachers and students are supplied with tasty and highly nutritious foods.

The state will increase the daily food ration for the students and give each of them 100 grammes more of beans. So you should make bean curds for them. The institute should also provide the teachers and students with various subsidiary foodstuffs such as cooking oil and vegetables.

Some time ago, the Party and Government took measures for administrative bodies and industrial enterprises to take up good side jobs to improve the diet of the factory and office workers. The Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute is said to have reclaimed fallow land and undertaken a side job on it. This is very good.

If the institute takes up a side job, you can provide the teachers and students with more subsidiary foods of various kinds. It is also good for promoting health and fostering a work spirit in the teachers and students because they will be engaged in adequate manual labour. If the institute runs its sideline well, this will also be good to show the peasants the advantages of collective economy.

The institute should run its sideline better to keep steadily improving the diet of its teaching staff and students.

You should build a dormitory for the students. I was told that the students are having inconvenience in their collective life now, because they live separately in farmhouses. You should build a dormitory to enable them to live together. You had better build it on a sunny hillside with timber abundant at this place. This will enable you to ward off the damages of bombing.

The existing bathhouse is small, so you should build another. You will thus enable the students to take a bath regularly and wash their clothes often. This will prevent infectious and other diseases.

You should provide the teachers and students with clothes and bedding. The state must supply a suit of clothes to each teacher and provide the students with school uniforms even though the economic situation of the country is difficult at present. You should also supply bedding to the students according to season.

I firmly believe that the teaching staff and students of the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute will carry out the Party policy of training technicians by achieving successes in education and studies with indomitable fighting spirit.

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA IS THE ORGANIZER OF VICTORY IN THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR

**Speech Delivered before the Teaching Staff and Students
of the Central Party School under the Workers' Party of Korea**

June 18, 1952

Comrades,

Today I would like to speak to you about the policies and leadership role assumed by our Party after the outbreak of the Fatherland Liberation War.

As soon as the Fatherland Liberation War broke out, our Party clearly defined the character of this war. At first, we thought this war to be a civil war against the puppet Syngman Rhee clique. But a few days later when the US imperialists directly launched an armed intervention, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee made it clear that this war was not simply a civil war but a Fatherland Liberation War against formidable foreign imperialist aggressors. For victory in the war we immediately formed the Military Commission, called upon the entire people to rise in arms and expanded and strengthened the People's Army. At the same time, we appealed to the people throughout the world for backing and supporting our people's struggle.

At the outbreak of war our People's Army fought back the enemy's invasion at one stroke and, crossing the 38th parallel, advanced swiftly to the Raktong River sector. When the US imperialists realized that

they would not be able to conquer the Korean people easily, they further expanded the armed intervention by mobilizing vast military forces.

Although we had successfully carried out the democratic reforms and founded the Republic after liberation, we had no economic foundation and defence capability as yet powerful enough to cope with US imperialism because our Republic was still young. Nevertheless, attacked by the enemy, we were obliged to fight him with all our forces.

We issued orders for a general mobilization and considerably increased the People's Army divisions. But with an army organized recently and trained for a short period of time, it was impossible to repulse at once the powerful armed forces of the enemy with a history of hundreds of years of aggressive wars.

In October 1950 we had to retreat to the area north of the Chongchon River.

The temporary retreat was the most difficult period our Party had ever experienced during the Fatherland Liberation War. Our country was at stake faced with the alternative of becoming a colony of imperialism again or not. In this grim period when the fate of our country was being decided the eyes of all the Korean people were turned to our Party and the whole world was following us closely. If we pulled through this serious difficulty and went over again to the counteroffensive, driving off the enemy, this would be a great demonstration of the strength of our people and the mightiness of the democratic camp and give a powerful impetus to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries. But if we had succumbed to the difficulties and surrendered to the US imperialists, the world would have said, "I thought as much. The United States is such a strong nation. How can so small a country as Korea stand up against it?" And if we had failed to crush the aggressive offensive of the enemy who indulged in bravado and bluster, the US imperialists would have reckoned still more arrogantly that they could invade China and, furthermore, the Soviet Union, to say

nothing of Korea, and gain world supremacy. So, we had to put up a vigorous stand and valiantly beat off the enemy, thereby clearly demonstrating to the peoples of the world that the days were already past when the United States was at liberty to conquer small countries.

During our temporary retreat our internal situation was very complex. In our Party there were some waverers and there appeared a defeatist tendency, too. Taking advantage of the confusion, breaches of discipline and order appeared in the People's Army. Moreover, reactionaries who had wormed their way into the friendly parties committed the crime of murdering our Party members who had failed to evacuate in collaboration with the enemy in the areas seized by him.

In this grave situation the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, with a view to tiding over the difficult situation, took the following steps.

First, we decided that a counteroffensive against the enemy should be launched without fail and that in this the initiative should be taken by the Koreans themselves. Even though we receive foreign aid, we ourselves should take the lead. Only when the master who receives aid plays the part of master well and takes the lead will the people who give aid feel themselves justified in doing so and become enthusiastic and come forward with greater fervour. In a labour-aid team, too, the villagers will not work with zeal if the master fails to play his role well.

Secondly, instructions were issued to put in order rapidly the army units in retreat, strengthen discipline in the Party and the People's Army, combat the waverers more resolutely and take stringent organizational measures against them.

We called the Third Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee in order to mobilize the entire Party and all the people for the implementation of the decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. Great successes were achieved by the plenary meeting which was held in a grave period when the fate of the country was being decided.

The plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee confirmed the correctness of the policy adopted by the Political Committee, and the

entire membership of the Party gave unreserved support to the appeal and decision of the Party Central Committee.

Around the time when the plenary meeting was held, the People's Army passed over to the counteroffensive and liberated Pyongyang and Seoul, the latter for the second time, and advanced as far as the Suwon area. Then, the People's Army units active behind enemy lines linked up with the main units. During the second offensive our People's Army dealt the enemy a shattering military blow.

With the aim of further consolidating the great successes achieved by our people in the second offensive and mobilizing the entire people for a new victory, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee set forth the major fighting tasks for 1951 in accordance with the decision of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

In general our Party's instructions concerning the main lines of work for 1951 can be summarized as follows:

First, the Party and government bodies should be rapidly restored;

Secondly, the People's Army should be further expanded and reinforced and more branches of the technical service trained;

Thirdly, measures should be taken to stabilize the people's life;

Fourthly, the struggle against the reactionaries should be intensified;

Fifthly, the work of inviting more foreign support and aid should be improved;

Sixthly, the guerrillas behind enemy lines should be marshalled and their activities stepped up.

These lines put forward by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee for the purpose of carrying into practice the decision of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee were absolutely correct.

The Party took a number of important measures to strengthen the People's Army. It dispatched members of the Political Committee of its Central Committee and other cadres of the national level directly to the divisions and frontline units to explain the Party's line to the

soldiers, boost their morale and raise the officers' commanding power. As a result, the morale of the army and the commanding power of the officers rose markedly.

The formation of Party organizations in the army units in keeping with the decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee was of special importance in strengthening the People's Army. With the formation of Party organizations the hard-core ranks of the army were further consolidated and the Party's political leadership of the army units was strengthened.

The People's Army grew in scope and strength in terms of armament and techniques, too. Today our People's Army has *MIG-15* fighters it did not have before 1950 and, accordingly, is capable of hitting hard at the enemy not only on the ground but also in the air. All the artillery units were also put in order in 1951, and became more formidable than during the first counteroffensive. The units of other technical branches were also further reinforced.

Through countless operations the People's Army has accumulated a wealth of fighting experience and grown stronger from the point of view of quality. At present our People's Army units are capable of skilfully employing varied tactics such as offensives, position defence, and guerrilla warfare. From the point of view of numerical strength, too, the People's Army has grown. Now our People's Army will stand firm and not fall back one step; it has the upper hand in battle.

Simultaneously with the growth and strengthening of the People's Army, the guerrilla units in south Korea have been revitalized. The People's Army soldiers who failed to retreat and the guerrillas who stayed behind in the localities have linked up and are active in many districts including the Mt. Jiri area.

The Party has also paid much attention to the rehabilitation of the dislocated economy, stabilization of the people's life and consolidation of the rear. It formed the committee for the relief of war victims and carried on the work of relieving war sufferers on a wide scale. It set up schools for bereaved children of patriots and orphanages and looked after the war orphans while sending part of them to be brought up in

fraternal countries. Owing to the poor distribution of goods, even salt was in short supply once, but now we are in a position to provide salt and rice even to the mountain areas of Kangwon Province at any time. As you see, the positive steps taken by the Party have made the people's life far more stable.

The war played havoc with industry, but our Party mapped out a plan for national economic development in 1951 and mobilized the masses of working people for its successful implementation.

We quickly rehabilitated the wrecked munitions factories, and resumed the production of submachine guns and other small arms, mortars, shells, bullets, to be supplied to the People's Army. In rehabilitating such industries as footwear, clothing and textile which were severely damaged during the enemy bombing raids and in organizing the production, too, our Party overcame all manner of difficulties and scored great successes.

All other branches of the national economy, with the exception of capital construction, fulfilled their plans.

In the field of agriculture the Party ensured that sowing was on time in the spring of 1951. For this it called a congress of active peasants, arranged short courses for the cadres of the ri Party cells and people's committees and ri branches of public organizations and did a good deal of organizational work for the spring sowing. Although the bombing raids by enemy planes were severe, Party members were the first to go out into the fields despite the danger and led the peasants in farm work. This is to be applauded.

In 1951 we made sustained efforts to further develop internationalist friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries, and the support and aid of the peoples of these countries to our people further increased.

The year 1951 witnessed great success in the restoration and consolidation of our Party organizations, too.

But our work in 1951 had shortcomings as well. Mention should be made above all of the shortcomings manifested in the work of restoring and consolidating the Party organizations. The most serious

shortcoming is that many officials carried out the Party's line incorrectly. While restoring and consolidating the Party organizations they mechanically issued penalties against many Party members for reasons of Party membership cards.

Since large numbers of Party members had been killed in the war, the Party ranks should have been replenished through the enrolment of patriots and activists who had fought unflinchingly against the enemy during the retreat, but, rather, the doors of the Party were kept closed. As a result, the Party ranks were prevented from being expanded. Such deviations were sharply criticized at the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. A resolute struggle was waged against such wrong tendencies and, in consequence, the Party organizations were fully restored and consolidated and the Party came to be further expanded and developed organizationally.

In order to strengthen the Party we had to combat other serious drawbacks, too. Some Party organizations, not knowing how to conduct their work with the masses, alienated them from the Party rather than rallying them around it, and revealed a bureaucratic tendency by ordering people about and coming down hard on them instead of organizing, encouraging and educating them.

Some Party organizations and officials acted for the government bodies rather than strive to build up the hard cores of the Party and strengthen and develop the Party organizations with the main stress on their restoration and consolidation. As a result, both the Party work and the work of the government bodies made a poor showing.

There were also Right and "Left" errors at first in the struggle against the reactionaries. In an attempt to take revenge, some people tried in most cases to confiscate the properties of those who had joined the reactionary organizations and finish them off indiscriminately. Such a "Left" action was tantamount to playing into the hands of the enemy in the work of wiping out the reactionaries. During his occupation of the northern half, the insidious enemy formed the "peace maintenance corps" and other reactionary organizations and deliberately caused numerous people to commit crimes against the

Workers' Party. In doing so the enemy calculated that the Workers' Party, when it returned, would not trust them and that consequently, the masses would split off.

Therefore, the Party took measures to rectify the "Left" deviations committed by the Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Public Security and local Party organizations in the struggle against the reactionaries. Our Party followed the policy of isolating only the instigators and wicked elements among those who had participated in the reactionary organizations, bringing over to our side again those who had been used as tools.

By isolating the handful of instigators and wicked fellows and generously allowing their followers to return to our side, we made it possible for those still in hiding to surrender themselves to justice of their own accord. But in doing so there has now appeared a Right tendency to bring even the instigators over to our side, claiming that they are "not guilty". Such fellows will never turn round and come over to our side.

Our Party correctly laid down the line of struggle against the reaction and timely criticized and rectified the Right and "Left" errors partly revealed in this struggle, thereby registering great success in it.

As you see, we scored considerable successes in the course of carrying out the major tasks put forward by the Party in 1951. These successes show that the decision of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and the guidance given by its Political Committee and Organizational Committee were correct.

On the basis of a careful study and summarization of the work done in 1951, we have clearly defined the line of work for 1952.

The central task of 1952 is to continue to strengthen the Party and government bodies and public organizations and further reinforce the People's Army on the basis of last year's successes. Only by so doing can we win final victory in the long-drawn-out war.

Unless we strengthen the Party and government organs, public organizations and the People's Army we cannot hope to fight successfully and, moreover, to win the prolonged war.

What should be done to strengthen the Party and government bodies? There is no special way here. For the consolidation of the Party and government bodies we should get rid of the bureaucratic methods of work and the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism and strengthen the ties with the masses in conformity with the message of our speech made at the Joint Meeting of People's Committee Chairmen and Leading Party Officials of Provinces, Cities and Counties in February this year.

In the February speech we stressed that every Party member should learn to organize, rouse and educate the masses. Because our Party has not grown from an illegal underground party but has undergone a lawful development with power in its hands ever since its inception, our officials are largely apt to take the easy line of giving orders and employing administrative methods in their work instead of going to the masses and mobilizing them through persevering explanation and persuasion. In order to strengthen the Party, every Party member should organize and mobilize the masses; he should not break away from the masses, nor order them about and bear down on them.

If they are to have correct relations with the masses, the Party cadres and every Party member should, first of all, strengthen their life in the Party cells, develop lively criticism and thoroughly do away with bureaucratism and the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism. The thing is to carry out to the letter the decision of the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee with regard to the consolidation of Party cells.

The Party should strengthen its cells; the government organ should strengthen the ri people's committees; and the army should strengthen the companies. The masses are to be found in the lower bodies, and so unless such bodies at lower levels are strengthened the Party cannot take deep roots in the masses.

If the Party fails to sink its roots in the masses, it can possibly crash in the wind like a tree with large spreading branches and weak roots. Only when it has strong roots can it withstand the wind whatever direction it comes from. If the Party only has a strong upper structure

and a weak foundation, it will not be able to withstand a severe test like a tree with shallow roots. If the Party cells, ri people's committees and primary bodies of the mass organizations enhance their role, everything will go well.

At present, however, if there are competent people at lower levels the higher organizations select them and take them away rather than endeavour to consolidate the lower levels. My talks with peasants in Phyongwon County, South Phyongan Province revealed that if there is a competent person in a village who was a primary school graduate before liberation and could become a hard core, he is selected for appointment at county level. Because the higher bodies take away people like this rather than think about training people well and dispatching them to the lower levels, the Party cells are left almost empty.

On my visit to Wonhwa-ri, Tongam sub-county, Taedong County, South Phyongan Province, I found that the cadres of the ri are poorly staffed. The villagers had all been tenant farmers before and so received their share of the land; it is a good village said to have been a model village before the war. It has only 70-odd homes, and has sent more than 70 persons to the People's Army. There are now only old folk and women left in the village. Of the women of this village many including the chairman of the Women's Union organization are working women who are clever and diligent and loyal to the Party. But both the chairmen of the Party cell of this village and of the ri people's committee are old people. True, they are good people, but they cannot be active because they are old. They are ardent supporters of the Party and the Government of the Republic, but cannot educate, lead, organize and rouse the masses to good effect. By good people the Party does not merely mean meek, good-natured people. Those who can faithfully carry out the Party's policies are truly good people.

This spring we visited that village early in the morning without notice. When we called on the chairman of the ri Women's Union organization and asked her how matters stood with the sowing, she answered: "We women folk can manage it ourselves all right, but we

are really annoyed because the livestock breeding station or something over there is making a mess of things. It has as many as 16 oxen, but is almost starving them to death. It is greedily insisting on cultivating as many as 30 hectares of non-paddy fields, but they aren't likely to manage that much. Please teach those people a lesson." Then she went on to say: "There is a certain producers' cooperative over there, and I'm sure they are merchants pursuing their own interests while cheating the state." Upon examination, we really found them to be merchants. And when I summoned the executives of the livestock breeding station, the chairman of the Women's Union organization fell on them vehemently with: "You're responsible for the low production in our village." Then, she added: "Because a landlord fellow here was left with a free hand, this fellow has now gone to Pyongyang and become the manager of a state-owned restaurant there. Why leave such a fellow alone? Even now I could go and take him back."

As you see, they have many active women Party members who are infinitely loyal to the Party and the Government, have a strong hatred for the enemy and are straightforward. But the county Party committee does not take on such fine women as cadres, probably because they are women. I went to several other places and found that the same was the case with all of them.

Upon returning from Wonhwa-ri, I gave my views on the matter: "The masters of the countryside are now women. It is necessary to admit many women to the Party and train many of them as activists to play a leading role in the countryside."

In order to strengthen the Party cells we should train the hard cores who know how to work among the masses and how to educate, organize and mobilize them. A village without hard cores cannot carry on.

Have we, then, people who are eligible for hard cores? We have any number of such people. The question is to pick out such people and educate them so that they can guide the masses.

You should also proceed to the nearby Party cells and train their hard cores, thereby making them qualified to skilfully organize and mobilize the masses. Then, these hard cores will in their turn train

other Party members in the same way and the roots of the Party will grow stronger step by step.

In order to strengthen the Party it is necessary, in a word, to consolidate the Party cells in accordance with the decision of the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and to get rid of the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism and bureaucratism according to the February speech; and in order to strengthen the government bodies it is necessary to put stress on the consolidation of the ri people's committees. When the ri level bodies are strengthened, the work will go well even if the central authorities give instructions immediately to the ri, bypassing the intermediary stages such as sub-county and county.

In the People's Army all efforts should be concentrated on the strengthening of the companies. At present a widespread movement is afoot for the creation of model companies. When the companies become strong the whole army will be strong.

The strengthening of the Party, government organs and army depends on the strengthening of the Party cells, ri, and companies. The public organizations such as the Women's Union and the Democratic Youth League can also be strengthened but only if their primary organizations are built up adequately.

Now, it is urgent to raise the leadership level of the cadres of the administrative and economic organizations. At present the leadership level of the officials of the state organs is generally low.

What is important in raising the leadership level of the officials of state organs is, above all, that they acquire the specialized knowledge needed in their particular fields of work. The leadership level of many officials is low precisely because they have no specialized knowledge. Some people read the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* allegedly to raise their theoretical level, but make little effort to acquire the professional knowledge of their particular fields. If you are to guide the work of the administrative and economic bodies after finishing school, you should possess specialized knowledge. If you enter the service of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry for

example, you will not be able to guide the establishments under the ministry properly without having a knowledge of agriculture and forestry.

Our Party members should not simply be good persons. People often say, "This man is loyal to the Party because he is of worker origin." When asked, "What is his work ability?" they answer, "He is a good person, but his work ability is not great." An incompetent man cannot be regarded as faithful to the Party. Only an able and highly-qualified man who correctly carries out the Party's instructions is a faithful Party member, but a good-for-nothing who sits still cannot be regarded as such.

When I ask some comrade to make an inspection trip to a stock farm, he goes and has a look round and returns, but when I ask him if he has any good suggestions to improve the work of the farm, he answers he has nothing special to suggest. This is because he has no professional knowledge. Our officials' lack of professional knowledge is a serious drawback.

Yet another official says, "I don't know much about work because I'm of worker origin," and makes hardly any endeavour to study. This is a gross mistake. A man of worker origin should study all the more diligently and do his work so much the better.

To acquire the professional knowledge needed in one's own field of work is stipulated in the Party Rules, too, as a duty of Party members. At the Second Party Congress we added this provision to the Party Rules because it was a very important question. But many Party members make no endeavour to discharge this duty.

The officials of all state organs should make tireless efforts to acquire professional knowledge along with political knowledge.

In order to raise the work level of the officials of state organs it is also important to do away with a lack of planning in their work.

In the February speech, too, we stressed the need for carrying on all work according to plan. Yet, state officials still fail to draw up plans and check on their implementation. Working without a plan, you cannot hope for success. State officials should make it a point to plan,

organize, direct, check and sum up work.

And Party organizations should not act for government bodies but should always educate and encourage government officials so that they display activity and creative initiative.

Further, I would like to remark on the tasks of our Party in the field of economic work.

First, it is necessary to eliminate the irrational disposition of industries and distribute them properly in the light of our war experience, and further increase the production of war supplies through the development of the munitions industry.

The factories and enterprises set up mainly in the coastal areas previously by the Japanese imperialists to facilitate plunder, should be moved to places where raw materials are available, places that are conveniently situated for transport and supply to the people and are safe from the viewpoint of national defence, so that they can continue production even under wartime conditions.

Secondly, serious attention should be paid to the work of further stabilizing and improving the people's standard of living.

Thirdly, proper preparations should be made from now on to rehabilitate the war-ravaged industries and lay the foundation for our country's industrial development in the future. This poses the question of cadres, technicians, raw materials and other materials,

In rehabilitating the ravaged industries after the war and laying the basis of industrial development in the future, the less urgent branches should be left till later on and work should be started first on the urgent branches.

For the implementation of this economic policy of our Party it is essential, first of all, to tap all the domestic resources and manpower, economize more and save more. And the people should be encouraged to display more activity and creative initiative and to bravely pull through all difficulties and hardships.

Measures should be taken to make effective use of the aid from fraternal countries while all domestic forces are mobilized.

Now, I pass on to the question as to where to place the main

emphasis in information work and education for the people at the present moment.

The most important aspect of information work and education for the people is to instil them with national pride and confidence in victory. By boosting their national pride they should be made to have confidence that Koreans are strong and perfectly capable of defeating any enemy.

The Korean people are strong enough to beat off any foreign invaders. Somebody said that the Koreans are good at fighting because they are ignorant. We refuted him by saying that the Koreans are good at fighting not because they are ignorant but because they are scholarly. Because they tasted the bitterness of life as a ruined people in the past, the Korean people are firmly determined not to fall into slavery to imperialism again. Thanks to the democratic reforms after liberation our people became the masters of the factories and land and found themselves in a position to send their sons and daughters to middle school and university. They experienced a free and happy life under the people's government. They know full well that they must not be robbed of such precious revolutionary gains and that they could not become colonial slaves again. That is why the Koreans are brave in battle; this is not merely blind courage by any means.

The People's Army is made up of youths who received democratic education for five years after liberation. They are all sons and daughters of workers and peasants who before liberation were humiliated and oppressed from both the class and national points of view. That is why our People's Army fights consciously and stubbornly for their country and their people.

It is also important to educate the people in the spirit of internationalism. Ours is a time when the imperialists cannot freely invade any country that belongs to the democratic camp. The Korean people's struggle is a graphic illustration of this. We are in the powerful democratic camp and have active support and aid from the fraternal countries, and so can wage a prolonged struggle against the armed invasion of the US imperialists and their satellite states and win

final victory in the war.

We must understand clearly that the international aid we are receiving today is aid of a new type.

While educating the people to have a spirit of self-reliance, national self-respect and faith in their strength, we should equip them with internationalist ideas so that they become keenly conscious of the need for forging an enduring unity with the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and other countries of the democratic camp.

Further, it is of great importance in the education of the people to induce them to foster a more intensive hatred for the enemy.

The US imperialist aggressors are the sworn enemies of our people. The US imperialists have played havoc with all our factories and mercilessly slaughtered our parents, wives and children, and our fellow countrymen. No enemy could be more vicious.

The US imperialists have perpetrated all sorts of brutalities in Korea. It is not because they have a spark of humanity in them that so far they have not used the atom bomb in Korea. They cannot use the atom bomb in Korea because it will no longer produce any effective result and also for fear that should it be used it would bring a still greater international calamity on their heads.

As a matter of fact, the US imperialists have tried out every foul weapon in their possession in Korea. They are testing all the newly invented weapons in the Korean war, and have not hesitated to use poison gas and germ bombs.

By exposing each and every crime committed by the US imperialists, we should infuse our people with an even fiercer hatred for them.

Lastly, I would like to touch on the question of the armistice.

At present the US imperialists are dragging out the armistice talks. The main reason for this is that they are in an awkward dilemma. They have now three alternatives open before them. They have to decide whether to have a ceasefire, or maintain the present state of confrontation for long, or to spread the war into a big one similar to a third world war. They will have to make a choice out of

these three alternatives.

Now let us first examine the question of their starting a big war. It can hardly be said that the US imperialists are fully prepared at the moment for a big war. Of course, the history of wars shows that even such aggressors as Hitler and Napoleon did not start wars fully prepared in every respect. They launched aggression while proceeding with their preparations for war. So there is no saying definitely that the US imperialists will not ignite a big war. But judging from the situation at present, they will not yet be able to start a third world war.

The next question is whether the US imperialists will be able to maintain the state of confrontation as it is now and continue the war. They are in a very difficult position to maintain the present state of confrontation. The situation today is a far cry from that in October 1950. It is now utterly impossible for them to roll back the People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers and make inroads as far as the Chongchon River or the Amnok River again. It is also impossible for them to hold out as at present.

Since they cannot unleash a big war or drag out the present situation for long, the only alternative open to them now is truce. Why, then, do they put off the armistice?

First, they want a so-called "honourable truce," and are really desperate in their attempt to become victors when they are not.

But we demand a reasonable armistice. The US imperialists have failed ignominiously in their attempts to subjugate others, and yet they are trying to assume the role of victor. Why, then, should we be the losers when we have won? We can never back down.

The negotiations make little progress, because the US imperialists, in disregard of our reasonable proposal, are trying to have the people of the United States and the world believe that they have achieved an "honourable truce".

Secondly, the US monopoly capitalists are very much afraid that if an armistice is reached, they might run up against great difficulties in selling their weapons. At the ceasefire negotiations the US side is acting entirely upon the instructions of the US monopoly capitalists.

They have manufactured vast quantities of weapons. Should the war come to an end, they will not be able to dispose of all these weapons. Therefore, although they have come to the truce talks, they are none too pleased with the idea of an armistice. The US warmongers are interested in the presence of tensions and are frantically trying to aggravate them by all means.

On the one hand, the US warmongers are dragging out the truce talks, talking nonsense that “we want a truce, but can’t reach it because the Communist side demands too much,” or “the Communist army doesn’t want a truce,” while on the other hand they are putting pressure on Japan, West Germany, France and other satellite countries to purchase more US weapons. In so doing they are seeking to break the deadlock they are facing. This is another reason why they are delaying the ceasefire negotiations.

Thirdly, the US imperialists fear that we might grow strong more rapidly than the enemy after the armistice. The enemy has examined and compared the forces of our Republic and the puppet Syngman Rhee government before the war. Syngman Rhee had blustered all the time that should a war break out he would push as far as Mt. Paektu within a few days. But when war did break out, the puppet Syngman Rhee army proved to be quite impotent and was crushed by a single blow from the People’s Army. The US imperialist scoundrels, too, have realized that we would grow more powerful with time.

So, they are weighing the advisability of allowing time to us and to the puppet Syngman Rhee clique alike by bringing about a ceasefire. It is obvious that with equal time on hand, our Republic which has the support of the people will develop and grow strong at a faster rate than the enemy.

The US imperialists’ plan to rearm and use Japanese imperialism to invade Korea and China is also coming to naught. Today’s China is people’s China. Even when the Japanese imperialists fought against Guomindang China in the past, they failed to win eventually after eight years of exhausting struggle. So how can Japan, a subject state of the United States, win a battle with people’s China? There is no doubt that

China will develop and grow incomparably faster and stronger than Japan.

On comparing the Syngman Rhee clique with our Republic, Japan with China and, further, the United States itself with the Soviet Union, the US imperialists find everything is hopeless after all, and so are hard pressed by the only alternative of an armistice. Yet, they are afraid of armistice.

The question of a ceasefire in Korea is now aggravating the discord between the State Department and the Defence Department of the United States, and also between the United States and Britain.

At present the US imperialists are delaying the truce talks on the pretext of exchanging POWs. If they want an armistice, it cannot make any difference to them whether they get a few more POWs back or not.

The trouble is that they want both to have an “honourable truce” in their favour and to continue to deal in arms. If such an ambition is not realized, they may possibly go on with the war.

What, then, should we be prepared for? We do not care if it is an armistice or a prolonged war. We do not fear a prolonged war. With us everything that could be destroyed has been destroyed. There is nothing more to be destroyed. Our people have all been toughened in the war, and know quite well how to fight against aircraft, too. There is no fear of our retreating as in 1950. Rather, our people want to drive the enemy out of our territory and reunify the country even if it means waging a prolonged war. Even if an armistice is achieved, we must continue to fight for national reunification as long as the Yanks do not leave.

From the very outset of hostilities with the US imperialists, we were prepared for a long-drawn-out war.

Although we have equipped ourselves for a prolonged war, we need to make more thorough preparations to take better care of the people, to build munitions factories underground, and the like. Even in the present conditions of a grim war, we are training Party cadres and are sending students abroad for study, too. What can be there that is beyond our power?

Needless to say, we are not against an armistice. An armistice will be all the more welcome and favourable to us. During the armistice we will be able to prepare and supplement faster what we failed to prepare in the five years following liberation. So, we want an armistice. However, we do not fear a prolonged war or a big war either.

We must not relapse into a pacifist mood, merely pinning hopes on the truce talks, but push ahead energetically with preparations for the final victory in a prolonged war. We should make efforts to get an armistice. But if an armistice is not concluded we must win victory in a prolonged war. Such is our political conclusion on the question of an armistice.

Even if an armistice is concluded we cannot regard it as a complete cessation of hostilities and take off our shoes and go to bed believing that peace has come. Because the thief will be staying in the next room as before. As I told the teaching staff of Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute yesterday, an armistice is not a peace but literally a suspension of hostilities. Who can vouch that just because the hostilities have been suspended, the enemy will not pounce on us again?

Even when an armistice is achieved, we will be faced as ever with the national task of driving out the US imperialists and reunifying the country so long as they remain in occupation of the southern half of our country.

Therefore, even if an armistice is concluded, we should not relax in the least, but should find more efficient methods and shorter ways to do ten hours' work in one hour and ten days' task in one day, thereby quickly eliminating our shortcomings manifested in the war and making full preparations for beating off the enemy in the event of another big war. By making more effective use of the ceasefire, we will have to build up our forces in every way.

Even though the country is not reunified, if a reasonable armistice is concluded as we insist, it will be a great victory for us.

First, the fact that the US imperialists have failed in their attempts to seize the whole of the northern half of Korea is in itself a victory for us. We have defended our revolutionary democratic base. As we have

continually stated ever since liberation, the reunification and independence of the country requires a powerful revolutionary base. We have firmly defended such a base for national reunification.

Secondly, in the course of the war the strength of our People's Army has increased further, our cadres have grown up and our revolutionary forces have been augmented. During the war our cadres have learned to organize and guide the people.

Thirdly, the fact that the US imperialists have been unable to win the war with a small country like Korea, has clearly shown to the whole world that there is no need to be afraid of them. In the Korean war the United States has lost its prestige completely. The fact that the Korean people heroically defended their country in the struggle against the US imperialists has firmly persuaded the oppressed peoples throughout the world that if a people rise and fight in nationwide unity for the liberation of their country with the active support of the democratic camp, they can repulse any imperialism. Inspired by the struggle of the Korean people, the peoples of Iran, Egypt, Viet Nam, Malaya and many other countries, for instance, are now raising the flames of the national-liberation struggle still higher.

We demand an armistice and are striving for it. But it will not do to neglect preparations to cope with a prolonged war simply in the belief that an armistice will most certainly be reached.

We have not fulfilled the task of national reunification and have not routed and driven off the enemy completely. The task of reunifying the country and crushing the US imperialists and traitorous Syngman Rhee clique still remains. Therefore, if an armistice is concluded, we will have to work vigorously to utilize it to build up our revolutionary forces more rapidly.

LET US FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE PEOPLE'S AIR FORCE

**Speech at a Meeting of Military and Political Officers
of Unit No. 564 of the Korean People's Army**

June 20, 1952

Comrades,

The present situation at the front is in such a stage that friend and foe stand face to face in equal strength, trying to find out each other's weak points, and, at the same time, preparing to enter a decisive phase with greater strength than the opposite side by further strengthening the respective forces.

Therefore, our basic task is to find out the enemy's weaknesses and direct a fatal blow at them, thus securing conditions for the final victory as soon as possible and earlier than them.

For the complete victory in the decisive phase in the future, it is most important to further strengthen the People's Army militarily, politically and ideologically. This is the basic policy of our Party Central Committee and Government today.

It is highly important for building up the forces of our People's Army as a whole that the air force is strengthened along military, political and ideological lines.

What, then, is to be done to strengthen the air force units in military technique?

First, the quality of leadership of the officers should be improved.

Our air force was formed not long ago and so it still lacks in

experience and its theoretical and technical levels are not high. It is, therefore, important to improve the ability of commanding personnel who educate soldiers. If the soldiers are educated by competent commanders whose theoretical level is high and who know to organize and conduct united actions skilfully with different arms, including the infantry, their units will go strong. On the contrary, when commanders are not able enough, the combat efficiency of their units does not increase.

Therefore, every officer should steadily raise his theoretical level and develop his art of leadership without becoming self-conceited.

Second, their technical level should be raised. The technical level of all servicemen in the air force, not to speak of commanders, pilots and the technical service crew, should be elevated still higher, and the units increased in numbers.

The enemy confronting us is by no means weak. As the strongest of capitalist countries, the United States has many hired pilots who have acquired their techniques for tens of years. It boasts of so-called “technical and numerical superiority.”

What about our pilots, then? Sons and daughters of workers and peasants, they have grown up, never knowing how automobiles look like, to say nothing of planes. In order not to turn our people again into the slaves of imperialists, our Party created an air force after liberation and sent the best young people to its units. You have displayed boundless patriotic devotion and made rapid progress in a short span of time by learning and acquiring techniques through practice. However, our pilots are still immature technically, and need to be developed still more.

Every soldier in the air force should be aware that it is the most important task to study hard and develop his techniques so that he can pilot his plane skilfully and defeat the enemy, thus demonstrating the strength of our air force.

Third, you should take good care of combat and technical equipment.

As is well known, the combat and technical equipment you use is

what we cannot make for ourselves as yet. The planes you are handling are the most valuable people's property which our people have secured for you, enduring all hardships for the victory of the war, without getting enough food and clothes.

I should like to tell you what an old woman of a farm village said. All her sons are at the front, and she said, "I wish our planes would fly as soon as possible and shoot down the planes of American marauders. I'll then be more happy than to see my sons return home." Our parents, brothers and sisters want victory in the war so anxiously, and work in such a self-sacrificing manner, dedicating everything to it.

You should always remember that each plane you pilot and each rivet and screw you use was procured by the blood and sweat of the people. Thinking of all the Korean mothers who love our pilots, you should love your planes like them.

Moreover, in order to guarantee the ultimate triumph in the present state of the prolonged war, all soldiers should understand the country's difficult economic conditions fully and display all their patriotic devotion in the campaign to take good care of and economize in state supplies and war equipment. This drive is under way throughout the Party and nation.

Fourth, the requirements of the military regulations should be met thoroughly.

On joining the army, each serviceman took an oath to meet all the requirements of the military regulations. It is the most important duty for every soldier to strive to strictly adhere to the regulations and strengthen discipline and order in the army.

An army without discipline is no army. A disciplined army is always victorious. And vice versa, an undisciplined army is always defeated.

Being a technical unit, the air force in particular can never increase its combat efficiency without rigid discipline and order.

Discipline and order in the air force should be like a cogwheel in a machine. As the whole machine stops when a part of the cogwheel goes wrong, so an entire unit is disorganized when discipline gets loose

on any point even in the slightest. A unit, however excellent technically, loses its fighting efficiency when its discipline and order is infirm.

Every serviceman should strive to enforce discipline and order in the unit and fully meet all requirements of the military regulations as a first major step to strengthen the combat efficiency of the unit.

Fifth, the work of the staff should be strengthened.

The staff is to the unit, as the brains are to a human being. Its function is to plan and organize the unit's work and put it into motion.

In old days, warriors fought individually in a simple way. But in modern warfare where advanced, latest science and technology are applied, we can defeat the enemy only when all arms and services operate in unison and fight as a powerfully organized combat force. It is essential to continuously raise the role of the staff in order to take well-coordinated action in battle and increase the fighting efficiency of the unit. Whether a unit is strong or not can be judged by the work of the staff.

However, some of our staff members are still lukewarm in their endeavour to work according to the new method to suit the modern warfare in which latest science and technology are applied; they work in a conventional way and thus they fail to achieve success. In the air force, the work of the staff has not yet been put on the right track; this is its weakest point. The divisional, regimental and other commanders and political workers in the unit should strive to improve the work of the staff in every way.

Staff officers should know how to draw and execute combat plans and to inspect their implementation. Staff officers at all echelons should conduct this work regularly and be proficient at it.

What is particularly important in the staff work is to make an intensive study of enemy forces.

You cannot win the battle if you are ignorant of your enemy. In wrestling you can win only when you put out a feeler and spot the opponent's weaknesses before you evolve the suitable technique to face him. The same is true of war. We can win when we have studied

the enemy's tactics and know his strong and weak points and strike at the weak spots.

In the air force, however, the study of enemy troops is not proceeding on well. From now on everybody—not only commanders, but also pilots and technical service crew—must study the enemy and pry out his movements regularly and should pay special attention to improving reconnaissance at the staff level.

Now, what is to be done to strengthen the air force in political and ideological aspects?

First, the Party spirit of Workers' Party members should be raised.

What does the Party spirit mean? It means the loyalty to the Party, with which the Workers' Party members, conscious of their membership, strive invariably, dedicating all their energies and, if necessary, even their lives, through thick and thin, to meet the requirements of the Party Programme and Rules and fulfil Party policy and decisions.

The air force is formed of best sons and daughters of our Party and people. In spite of difficult circumstances the Party is making every effort to reinforce the air force units. Therefore, every Party member in the units should be more faithful to the Party than others and acquire a high degree of devotion to the Party, the country and the people.

They should become members imbued with a strong Party spirit, bravely fighting solely for the Party and the country till the end of their life.

Second, they must have a stronger hatred for the enemy.

It is very important to increase the soldiers' hatred towards the enemy. When one has intense hatred against the enemy, he will neither violate discipline nor waste combat equipment and state materials. Hatred for the enemy develops necessarily into a powerful force with which to fight devotedly to crush him.

What have the US imperialists and their stooges done against us, the Korean people? They have burnt our land and reduced to ashes the factories and villages built by our people. They have reduced to ashes all the valuable property of the people. Moreover, they have killed a

great number of our parents, brothers and sisters, resorting to all sorts of brutal methods. The US imperialists have indiscriminately slaughtered innocent women and little children playing in the streets.

Some time ago the enemy planes shot our women planting rice seedlings in the farm village of Kangdong County. They strafed even innocent children amusing themselves at an orphanage in Pyongyang. How many of you had your parents, brothers, sisters and relatives slaughtered by them! The enemy hates our Workers' Party members in particular and kills any number of them in cold blood.

How can we not hate the enemy and retaliate against him?

We must not for a moment forget that the Americans are the sworn enemy of the entire Korean people. Every Korean must have the bitterest hostility for them and fight them out.

Third, commanders and political workers should be deeply concerned for the lives of their unit and their men.

All of them are in duty bound to educate and protect their subordinates well. The superiors educating their subordinates kindly, and the subordinates respecting them from the bottom of their hearts and obeying their orders is a noble moral quality of our People's Army.

Noncommissioned officers and men of the People's Army trust, respect and follow their officers the way they do their own parents and brothers. Therefore, commanders and political workers should always care for the living conditions of their subordinates and deal with their problems with paternal affection—just as the parents bring up their son, ensuring that he eats well, his bed is comfortable, he sleeps soundly, or concerned if he has any pains. They should give good military and political education to noncommissioned officers and men, the commanders being demanding like strict fathers and the political workers taking affectionate care of them like kindhearted mothers.

Fourth, revolutionary vigilance must be heightened.

As I have mentioned already, friend and foe are now confronting each other, the enemy is making all desperate efforts to spot our weaknesses. Having suffered a serious defeat in the past two years of the war, the enemy is well aware that our infantry is stronger than his.

He has not yet surrendered completely. He only counts on his “air force superiority” and boasts of his “technical superiority.”

The enemy will get a decisive blow and become unable to escape the ultimate defeat only when our air force gains the upper hand on the enemy. He knows this, too. That is why he fears the reinforcement of our air corps more than anything else.

The enemy resorts to all manner of plots and tricks to weaken our air force. He is working hard to slip his spies and subversive elements into our ranks to detect our movements and operations, destroy our equipment, and alienate our officers from their subordinates. Besides, he is plotting to undermine the fighting ability of our units in various ways—employing women to blunt the political awareness of pilots and producing many melancholics and degenerates to use them to slacken the soldiers’ conviction in victory.

Political workers should so organize soldiers as to wage a vigorous struggle to maximize their revolutionary vigilance. When our soldiers are not deceived by the enemy and are highly vigilant everywhere and all the time about his movements, then the enemy will be unable to do any mischief.

In the effort to heighten revolutionary vigilance, Party members should always play a vanguard role. Each of them should know how to struggle shrewdly against enemy spies and subverters.

Fifth, a struggle should be waged against pacifist mood and indolence.

A wrong trend towards slackness and pacifist laxity is developing among some army men. This is because they are on the home front and because of armistice talks. This is a negative trend.

An armistice is not so important a matter for our soldiers. To cease fire or not is a question to be decided by the Government. The army must, on all accounts, further increase its fighting capabilities and be combat-ready to repulse the enemy at any moment.

Even if hostilities cease, it would not mean a lasting peace, nor would it mean the fulfilment of the task of national reunification. Whether an armistice comes or not, the task of national reunification

would still remain to be fulfilled as long as the Americans stay on in our country and the treacherous Syngman Rheeites are not wiped out.

If an armistice is signed, we will have the task of using the favourable conditions of the ceasefire to complete all battle preparation in a short space of time by strengthening our weaknesses, and raising our technical level quickly.

Soldiers should not give thought to whether a truce will be made or not. They should exert themselves to increasing their combat ability as soon as possible, without in the least being lost in pacifist laxity.

A fierce battle against the enemy is still raging at the front. You must not for a moment forget that at the front line officers and men are fighting the enemy in spite of all difficulties; you should bear in mind the valiant people fighting at the front and dedicate all your energy and exhibit all your devotion to fulfil your fighting tasks. You should complete the combat preparations of the air force. This is what all the people and the soldiers at the battle front expect of you with great concern.

Such are the tasks for strengthening the combat efficiency of the air force.

At present some pilots ask us to allow them to fight as soon as possible. Their will to fight is very praiseworthy. However, the essential task for our air force today is not to fight the enemy recklessly but to make full preparations to secure a decisive victory in close coordination with ground units at a crucial stage in the future.

If, at the crucial stage of the war, our air force prevails over the enemy's, covers the attacks of our ground units, and bombs enemy positions heavily, the blow which the enemy will be given will be stronger than he got in the past.

Our infantrymen have already been accustomed to the air raids of the enemy and have gained a rich experience in battle with enemy planes. They do not fear enemy planes and, moreover, have learned to fight them skilfully.

The enemy, however, lacks the similar experience and is very much afraid of the sorties of our planes. Therefore, the enemy tactics is to

liquidate our flying corps before it has grown up technically or numerically. The enemy is now bent on eliminating even one more of our planes although this may cost him several more planes.

Our task is to further strengthen our people's air force and display its full ability at the crucial stage in the future to win the victory.

The air force units should be active in improving their fighting efficiency, complete all combat preparations, and, once orders are issued, make sorties to the front and the enemy rear in skilful coordination with ground units to annihilate the enemy decisively. You should thus faithfully fulfil the task assigned by the Party and the country.

TALK TO MEMBERS OF THE PARTY CELL OF THE CASTING SHOP OF THE RAGWON MACHINE FACTORY

June 21, 1952

This evening I attended a cell meeting of Party members in the casting shop. Now that the meeting is over, I shall make a few remarks.

The Party members and workers of Ragwon are in excellent spirits. I am very happy to see them all in good health and working with vigour, despite wartime difficulties.

It is good that the Party cell of the casting shop holds its meetings regularly and it is important to conduct these cell meetings in a planned and effective manner, as required by the Party Rules. Only when cell meetings are held with effect on a regular basis can the Party cell educate its members, enhance their vanguard role and fulfil its tasks successfully.

Although the Party cell of the casting shop calls its meetings regularly, they do not seem to be of an adequately high level. The Party cell meeting convened this evening gave the impression of an administrative-technical conference. It should have had the flavour of a Party meeting, but it did not.

At the meeting quite a few Party members made requests for pig iron, coke and other fuel and supplies, but this is a problem to be solved by them among themselves; not one to be brought up at a Party meeting. Requests for fuel and other supplies should not be made to the Party but to the management.

A Party meeting is held for the members to tackle difficult and complex tasks. It should strengthen the Party spirit and class spirit of the members and rouse their voluntary enthusiasm. In addition, it should find ways and means to solve the questions that are raised and discuss measures to put the solutions into effect. In other words, at a Party meeting the methods by which the revolutionary tasks may be carried out should be discussed earnestly on the basis of Party principles and detailed Party assignments given to implement them. On all accounts a Party meeting should discuss matters that arise in and out of the members' work.

If the problem of ensuring wartime production is to be dealt with as at the Party cell meeting of the casting shop this evening, Party members should have an earnest discussion on how to activate the masses of people and untangle knotty problems in wartime production, and then on the appropriate measures to be taken. Only when a Party meeting is conducted on these lines will it be possible to find ways and means to solve pressing problems in production, enhance the members' creativity and enthusiasm, and guarantee the successful carrying out of their wartime production assignments. From now on the Party cell of the casting shop should prepare well for its meetings so that they are held the way Party meetings should be.

The first militant task now facing the Party members at the factory is to ensure success in wartime production.

Successful wartime production is the only way to send more weapons, ammunition and other war supplies to the front, stabilize the people's livelihood and consolidate the home front. The effort for wartime production is simultaneously the struggle for victory in the war. Therefore, you should do your utmost to carry out the wartime production tasks assigned to the factory.

Needless to say, it is no easy task to guarantee perfect production in wartime. The war has resulted in the factory being inadequately provided with fuel and other materials and being very short of manpower. To add to this, heavy bombing by enemy planes compels the workers to stop working to take shelter and, more often than not,

the cupola comes to a halt due to interruption in the supply of electricity.

However, the wartime production plan must be fulfilled unconditionally, come what may. Our Party members should be in the forefront in this task and lead the masses. At the Party cell meeting today a comrade said he would go through thick and thin to fulfil any task given by the Party. All Party members ought to do so. They should acquire pig iron and coke when these run out of supply; if a fan stops working due to a breakdown in the supply of electricity, they should rotate it with their hands, so as to keep the cupola working. If Party members work in this manner, other workers will follow their example. Once the workers are set in motion, all obstacles and difficulties will be overcome and wartime production ensured. Party members should lead the masses in overcoming bottlenecks and hardships and play the central and vanguard role in guaranteeing wartime production.

At the meeting there was a suggestion that pig iron be carried in pushcarts. Mechanization of production processes is a very important issue. This alone enables people to work without difficulty and ensures smoother wartime production. Using small pushcarts and the like in conveying pig iron will be far better than the workers carrying it on their backs.

Some time ago I had been to South Phyongan Province, where also I gave instructions for mechanization of conveying operations because workers were carrying loads on their backs. In capitalist society the workers are made to work like beasts of burden, but in our society where the working class and other labouring people are masters of the country we should ensure that this is not done. We should put to work not people but machines, through the mechanization and automation of production processes. The casting shop should not try to mechanize large operations alone; it should begin with the mechanization of small ones, thus helping the workers perform their jobs with ease.

At present we are waging a fierce war unprecedented in the world history of war. We have been fighting the US imperialist aggressors for two years now.

They unleashed the war in our country when our people were about to settle down to a good life after having rebuilt the factories destroyed by the Japanese imperialists. They are heinous marauders trying to turn our country into a colony. They have wrought terrible havoc on our industrial enterprises, reduced the peaceful towns and villages to ashes, and massacred people brutally. A while ago a woman Party member said her two children had been killed by enemy bombing. The US imperialist aggressors are inflicting innumerable misfortunes and sufferings upon our people. How can we then sit back with arms folded? We must annihilate them completely.

US imperialism is an aggressor with more than a hundred years of history of aggressive wars behind it. Though young, our country which has risen to oppose its aggression, is sure to win because it is waging a righteous war.

Our strength is inexhaustible. The entire people and People's Army, closely united around the Party, have come forward in the sacred war against the US imperialist aggressors and are struggling, dedicating everything they have. Our courageous People's Army is being further strengthened. The air force in particular is growing rapidly in scope and strength, like mushrooms after a rain.

Meanwhile, the People's Democracies and many other nations of the world render active support and encouragement to our people in their just struggle. It is certain, therefore, that the Fatherland Liberation War will end with the victory of our people.

After the war we must reconstruct the destroyed factories, towns and villages. This will be attended by many difficulties. We will be short of manpower and wanting in technology. Nevertheless, we must restore the damaged cities and rural areas at all costs.

Just a while ago a woman comrade in the Party said that if only we won the war, reconstruction would not pose a problem. She added that since we had successfully restored in two or three years what the Japanese imperialists had destroyed so severely in their flight from the country, and lived well thereafter, we would be able to lead affluent lives after postwar rehabilitation as well. And she asked me not to

worry too much. What she said is correct and inspiring, indeed. Her words express the strong will of our working class. Ours is a working class who are so strong-willed that they never succumb to difficulties and trials; because we have this working class we will win the war definitively and succeed in postwar reconstruction, too. Everything depends on our working class and is borne upon the shoulders of our Party members.

Party members should work well and study hard. I was told that the woman Party member attends an evening Party school while on the job. This is good. All Party members should work and study as hard as she does.

The factory should set up an evening technical school to teach workers technology. The reconstruction after the war will require many skilled workers and technicians. So we should train them in large numbers from now onwards. The Ragwon Machine Factory should contribute greatly to rehabilitating the damaged factories after the war.

In the future the Ragwon Machine Factory should be developed into a modern machine plant. After the war large buildings should be constructed, up-to-date machines and equipment installed, and the area of the factory expanded. The factory cannot expand backwards because of the hills, but it can extend forward as much as you please, because you have a plain in front.

The factory should strive to guarantee workers' safety and improve their living standards. It is important to carry on wartime production satisfactorily, but what is more important is to make sure that the workers are not wounded by enemy bombing. Man is the most precious being in the world. No matter how much the enemy may destroy, it can be restored, so long as there are people.

The factory should take thoroughgoing measures against air raids and guarantee labour safety well. You may not be able to hear the roar of planes due to the noise of the machines, so you should organize an effective air-raid ward and build solid bomb-proof shelters to prevent the loss of lives. Steps should be also taken to shift the factory to a place of safety.

The country is hard pressed now. But our Party and state are deeply concerned about the living conditions of the people.

They send plenty of food and war supplies on first priority to the People's Army now fighting at the front. We spare nothing to feed better the soldiers of the People's Army who are fighting the enemy valiantly for the country and the people.

The Party and state also pay great attention to the improvement of the living conditions of factory and office workers. They have decided to increase their food rations and provide them with padded clothes and shoes from this winter onwards. They had also planned to raise their wages, but did not do so because this would induce private traders to raise prices of commodities as a result of which the standard of living of the factory and office workers would not improve. Instead of a wage increase, therefore, they saw to it that supply service was improved.

Measures to raise the standards of living of workers and office employees should be adopted by the state, but the factory, too, should make effort to supply more supplementary foodstuffs to them. It should do sideline farming well to provide the workers with more vegetables and the like and raise pigs and other domestic animals for the supply of meat. The workers should endeavour to build their lives better by their own efforts.

I hope you will work and study hard in good health.

STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER IS AN IMPORTANT GUARANTEE FOR VICTORY IN THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR

**Speech before the Teaching Staff and Students
of the Central Higher Cadres Training School**

June 23, 1952

I came here to see how the teaching staff and students of the Central Higher Cadres Training School live and study under the difficult circumstances of the war. I am glad to see all of you carrying out your tasks conscientiously at the school.

The Central Higher Cadres Training School is a dependable cadre-training centre of our Party and the Government of the Republic. If the Central Party School is an institution to train leading cadres of Party bodies, the Central Higher Cadres Training School is the one to train the counterparts of people's power organs and economic agencies.

In the past, our Party and the Government of the Republic have paid profound attention to the work of this school. They have kept it running even in difficult war conditions. In the period of temporary retreat in particular, they even took measures for the evacuation of the school to a place of safety so that it could continue its work.

As I always say, cadres are the mainstay of the country, and the leadership personnel of the revolution. Therefore, we cannot interrupt the training of cadres even for a moment. Under the difficult conditions of the war, our Party has continued to run the Central Party School, the

Central Higher Cadres Training School and other cadre-training institutions at different levels, and has thus trained many cadres of Party, state and economic bodies and re-educated quite a few cadres on the active list.

The Central Higher Cadres Training School has trained many cadres for the organs of the people's power and the economic agencies, thereby admirably fulfilling its honourable mission and contributing greatly to strengthening the people's power. In the future, too, this school should assume and play the important role in strengthening the people's power.

As you all know, the righteous Fatherland Liberation War has gone on for two years. Last year was a difficult year for our people, indeed. However, overcoming all hardships, we not only achieved great success in the military sphere but also obtained considerable results in consolidating the home front. In a short period we completed the work of restoring and reinforcing the organizations of the Party, the power and the working people in the areas liberated from the enemy's temporary occupation, and rebuilt the destroyed factories to ensure wartime production and stabilize the people's living standards in the main. In addition, we restored schools and hospitals and thus carried on education and medical service in a normal manner. By having restored, reinforced and consolidated the rear in this way, we guaranteed victory at the front.

The Fatherland Liberation War has assumed a prolonged nature. In order to win a long-drawn-out war, we must further build our revolutionary forces and continue to strengthen the front and the rear. That is why our Party has lately been laying emphasis mainly on strengthening its organizations and the People's Army, while, at the same time, consolidating the people's power. Only when the people's power is further strengthened to meet the requirements of the military and political situation in our country, can we consolidate the rear, fully meet the frontline demand for manpower and materials, and stabilize the people's living standards. In strengthening the people's power lies an important guarantee for victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

I detailed the tasks in strengthening the people's power at the Joint Meeting of People's Committee Chairmen and Leading Party Officials of Provinces, Cities and Counties held last February. I believe you have studied and discussed the speech I made then. But, since the students of this school must work in the people's power bodies in the future, I am going to re-emphasize today the tasks proposed for strengthening the people's power.

What is important in consolidating this power is to wipe out the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism and eliminate the bureaucratic style of work among the officials of government bodies.

The bureaucratic style is an unpopular style of work. The bureaucrats employed it to oppress the masses of the people under the feudal or capitalist system. Without liquidating this work style among the officials of the people's power bodies, the people's power cannot strike its roots deep in the masses of the people and carry out the Party and Government policy properly.

The bureaucratic work style among government officials has been considerably curbed since the February speech. However, it is still early to say that this work style has been stamped out. It finds expression in different forms in the work of government officials.

Nevertheless, the struggle against bureaucracy is not being waged in an all-round and profound way, but in a perfunctory manner. In some ministries, the struggle to wipe out the bureaucratic work style takes place at a meeting or two without serious reflection and criticism. Meanwhile, some officials refrain from pushing their work ahead boldly, or they meekly accept unprincipled demands of their subordinates on the pretext of correcting their work style.

If you think bureaucracy can be overcome through a couple of meetings or criticism, you are grossly mistaken. In the past we held a number of meetings and offered criticism on the question of exterminating bureaucracy. However, its virus still remains among our officials. This means that bureaucracy cannot be overcome by means of a few meetings or criticism.

Bureaucracy has its source in the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudalism. Therefore, it cannot vanish through a couple of meetings or criticism; it can be swept away only through a steady and stubborn ideological struggle and practical efforts. Government officials should be acutely conscious of this and carry on an uninterrupted, untiring struggle against bureaucracy. At the same time, they must make strenuous efforts to equip themselves with popular work style of devoting everything to the endeavours for the people, owning the responsibility for their work before the people, learning from them with an open mind and teaching them.

Next important task for strengthening the people's power is to quickly improve the leadership ability among the cadres.

Officials of all the organs of power from the centre down to ri should strive to develop their leadership ability.

The present composition of our cadres is very complex. Their ranks are composed of those who fought abroad and at home in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, who were released from prison, who came from the Soviet Union and China, and those who have developed after liberation. Not only is the composition of cadres complex, but their level is also very low. Particularly low is the level of new cadres who grew up after liberation.

Koreans have had no experience of participation in government because they remained colonial slaves of Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century. Those who did participate in government in that period are a tiny handful of pro-Japanese collaborators and traitors to the nation. After liberation, our people entered politics and ran the economy for the first time. The same goes for our officials working in the central authorities as well as the chairmen of provincial, city, county, sub-county and ri people's committees.

This situation calls upon all cadres without exception that they study their jobs deeply and constantly and tirelessly grasp our Party's policy and revolutionary theory. However, some officials only regard their posts in the same light as the old-time hereditary government offices and put on airs. They do not try to learn with an open mind, and,

even if they learn, they do not do so in a substantive manner. As a result, some cadres, though entrusted with important duties, fail to perform them.

Some of the cadres who were earlier engaged in revolutionary work do not learn with an open mind just because of their past activities and only boast of their record of struggle. This is quite wrong.

Flowers are loved by people only when they go on blooming beautifully. Flowers which do not bloom again, cannot win the love of the people. The case is the same with the cadres who earlier participated in revolutionary activities. Only when they remain faithful to the revolution will they be respected by the people; otherwise, they will be forsaken by them and become good-for-nothing. Therefore, a revolutionary should fight today as well as he did in the past and continue to fight well in the future, too.

From wherever they are and whether they have record of revolutionary struggle or not, all our cadres should dedicate everything to the struggle for the victory in the sacred Fatherland Liberation War, for the people's well-being. Our Party wants all the cadres to strive to do so.

In order to work as required by the Party, they should not be conceited and arrogant, but should learn, and learn open-mindedly. Thus they will decidedly improve the quality of their leadership and political and ideological attainments.

It is important to conduct studies effectively in keeping with our country's specific situation.

Quite a few cadres who are said to have learned much of Marxist-Leninist theory, commit errors. This is precisely because they learnt their Marxism-Leninism by heart, mechanically, and did not study it in the context of our reality.

One should not study in such a way as to learn a subject by rote without grasping its essence. The knowledge acquired by heart mechanically is useless. He who has studied dogmatically, no matter how much, is, in fact, no better than an ignoramus.

You cannot tell the real taste of a water melon merely by looking

at its skin. Only when you cut and try it can you find if it is sweet or sour. The same is true of the study of Marxism-Leninism; if you study it like licking the surface of a water melon, you cannot understand its substance. Studying it in the context of our reality is the only way for you to grasp its essence and apply it correctly to our revolution. That is why cadres should not memorize Marxism-Leninism mechanically but make a profound study of it in close relation to our reality.

Main effort should be directed to the study of our Party's line and policy in particular. They are the guiding compass of our revolution. Only by studying our Party policy deeply can you become genuine people's workers equipped with living knowledge and practical ability.

What is next in importance for strengthening the people's power is to strengthen ri people's committees.

The ri people's committee is the lowest body of the people's power, working directly among the populace. This committee is what the cell is to the Party and the company is to the People's Army. In order to strengthen the Party, it is essential to reinforce its cells; in order to build the People's Army, it is essential to build its companies. Likewise, if we are to strengthen the people's power, we must strengthen ri people's committees. All the bodies of people's power will then grow stronger, and when the work of ri people's committees goes well, all the work of the organs of the people's power will be successful. The strengthening of ri people's committees is essential, not only for building up the people's power itself, but also for consolidating the countryside which is today fulfilling important tasks on the home front. Provincial, city, county and sub-county people's committees should exert themselves mainly to strengthen ri people's committees.

In order to strengthen the ri people's committee, we should raise the level of its chairman.

Since the host of the ri is the chairman of the ri people's committee, the work of the ri goes smoothly only when he is of a high level. The level of ri people's committee chairmen is very low at present.

Therefore, their level should be raised quickly.

To uplift their level, the Cabinet took measures to open a course for ri people's committee chairmen who are on the active list at every provincial cadre-training school. On the one hand, provincial, city, county and sub-county people's committees should arrange short training courses in a planned way to improve the qualifications of ri people's committee chairmen, and, on the other, their senior officials should often go to the ri to teach them how to work.

The Central Higher Cadres Training School, too, should let its teachers and students help the work of ri people's committees in the outlying areas. It will be conducive to both strengthening the committees and improving their own leadership level if the teachers and students take charge of these committees and assist them in their work. Since this school is situated in North Phyongan Province, the Party and the people's committees of this province should, in coordination with the school, induce the teachers and students to take an active part in providing guidance to the outlying ri people's committees.

While raising the level of ri people's committee chairmen, we should pay profound attention to developing the hard core in the ri. You must take into account the actual conditions of the countryside today for grasping and developing the hard core. The composition of the rural population has markedly changed as compared to what it was before the war. The majority of men have gone to the front, and there are many women in the ri. We should select good persons from among the women, develop them into the hard core, and draw them actively into the work of ri. Some officials still make light of women and are reluctant to accept them as cadres. They should not do that. Young women who have a high degree of political awareness and are active and zealous in their jobs should be boldly promoted to ri cadres and given every possible assistance in their work. Meanwhile, short itinerant training courses should be organized on an extensive scale to raise their political and professional levels.

For strengthening the countryside it is of great importance that

democratic publicity halls should be improved.

The democratic publicity hall is a base for mass education. It works regularly to explain the policy of our Party and the Government to the masses of people, make them correctly realize the advantages of our social system, and convince them firmly of our victory in the war. Besides, it disseminates advanced farming techniques to the peasants, organizes the emulation campaign for increased production, and mobilizes them for the struggle to increase wartime production of grain. Therefore, by improving the hall's work, we can raise the political and ideological level of the peasants and rouse them forcefully in the struggle for increasing grain production and thereby consolidate our Party's position in rural areas.

Nevertheless, the present state of affairs shows that although democratic publicity halls have been set up, they are not run regularly. Where they are run, they are managed poorly. They are used merely for meetings or lectures. There are very few books which the peasants can read with interest.

If democratic publicity halls are used only for meetings or lectures, people would not gather there readily. They must be run well so that people come there with interest. To attract young men and women, Christian pastors used to give them first such things as notebooks and pencils and got them to sing songs when they came to the church. After rousing their interest in this way, they gradually preached the Christian doctrine to them. In fact, young men and women went to the church in the past not because of belief in Christianity but to sing songs and keep each other's company.

If democratic publicity halls are run regularly in different ways, many people will gather there with interest. People will be interested in coming to these halls when they are equipped with various books and playthings for the young people to study and participate in amateur art activities and when elders are invited there to tell amusing old tales.

In order to run the halls well, it is necessary to have good people as their chiefs and raise their qualifications. We can meet many sensible women in rural areas. It would be good to have them as chiefs.

Further, I will refer to a few tasks which organs of people's power should fulfil in political and economic spheres at the present stage.

They should pay deep attention to strengthening the ideological unity of the masses of the people and their unity of will. The great Fatherland Liberation War demands that we unite the broad masses of people from all walks of life and mobilize them for victory in the war. Organs of the people's power should, therefore, unite them on a solid basis by carrying out our Party's united front policy and encourage them to dedicate themselves to the struggle for victory.

Along with this, education of the people should be intensified. What is important here is to ensure that the masses of people are imbued with national pride, an unwavering faith in victory in the war, and a fierce hatred against the enemy, and heighten their revolutionary vigilance. It is also important to teach the people to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the peoples of socialist and people's democratic countries who are rendering active support and encouragement to our struggle and to remain faithful to proletarian internationalism.

Organs of the people's power should see to it that the masses of people tide over all hardships and obstacles and increase production of war supplies for the front by displaying activity and creativity to the full.

Organs of the people's power should make great efforts to stabilize the lives of the people.

They should produce daily necessities everywhere, using even handicraft methods if necessary, and supply them to the people.

Every effort should be bent to increase production of grain and promptly send war materials for the front. Organs of the people's power should ensure that peasants complete this year's farming to good effect with the slogan: "The struggle for food is a struggle for the country and for victory at the front!" Meanwhile, they must ensure that plenty of manure is produced from now in a mass movement to prepare for the next year's farming.

One of the important tasks confronting the organs of the people's power is to prepare for postwar reconstruction from now onwards in a

foresighted manner. Rehabilitation of the shattered economy after the war will require a large number of cadres, machines, equipment, and materials. That is why they should from now train cadres and secure machines, equipment and materials needed for postwar reconstruction on the basis of a long-range plan.

Can we ensure wartime production and prepare for postwar reconstruction simultaneously? We certainly can. If we tap and utilize the country's resources rationally, step up the struggle for economizing, and increase state accumulations in the spirit of self-reliance, the spirit of doing everything by our own efforts, we will be able to guarantee wartime production and prepare for postwar reconstruction simultaneously.

Now, let me tell you about the prospects of the war which are a matter of concern for all the Korean people and the people all over the world.

As the US imperialist aggressors suffered one serious defeat after another in the Korean war and were thrown into a dilemma, they proposed armistice talks with us in June last year. As a result, the talks which started in July last, have been going on for nearly a year to this date. But they have not yet come to the conclusion. This is entirely because the US imperialists are retarding the armistice talks.

Why are they retarding the talks?

First, because they try to use the talks as a means to recover their lost prestige and attain through the talks their unaccomplished aggressive war aims. They are attempting to conclude an armistice agreement from the position of the "victor." In other words, they harbour an illusion of realizing an "honourable armistice."

We cannot recognize them, the vanquished, as the victor, nor can we regard ourselves, the victors, as the vanquished. We insist that a fair armistice agreement should be concluded. The armistice talks are being delayed because, in their endeavour to attain the "honourable armistice," the US imperialist aggressors disregard our reasonable proposal.

Second, because the US imperialists attempt to prolong the war

under the cover of the armistice talks. The US monopolists do not want the end of war in Korea, they do not want detente, because the war brings them enormous profits and serves as an important medium for arms race. By continuing the war on their instructions under cover of truce talks, the US side is trying simultaneously to attain its aggressive aims and enable them to make more money.

Third, because the US imperialists are afraid that our forces will grow strong rapidly if a ceasefire is realized.

Such are roughly the main reasons why the US imperialists are retarding the armistice talks.

Our Party is steadfast in its stand on the talks. We are ready for both, an armistice and a prolonged war. Our people never fear a prolonged war.

While exposing the enemy's moves to defer the armistice talks, we have consistently made every sincere effort for ceasefire. As a consequence, many questions have been agreed upon. The pending issue at present is the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

To forcibly detain our prisoners of war, the US imperialists put forward the idea of what they call "voluntary repatriation." However, the reactionary nature of this idea of "voluntary repatriation" has already been exposed fully. The life-and-death struggle which our prisoners are waging against "voluntary repatriation" at the POW camp on Koje Island, lays bare the reactionary nature of their move.

We must bring back all our prisoners of war. This is our Party's persistent stand. Under no circumstances can we leave those who fought for the country and the people in the hands of the enemy.

At present, the US imperialists are insisting on their unjustified demand for forcible detention of our prisoners of war, at the same time carrying out brutal bombing against our peaceful towns and villages. Their effort is to realize their demand by applying pressure on us. But they cannot bring us to our knees by such a method. We will never accept their unfair conditions for an armistice. No matter how desperately they try, the US imperialists will have to concede our just demand and sign an armistice agreement.

We will continue to strive for ceasefire. But if we fail, we must win the prolonged war.

The military and political situation in our country is changing in our favour. As the days go by, we grow stronger while the enemy grows weaker. We have ample possibilities of defeating him ultimately.

We have the invincible Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Republic, and the patriotic people united closely around them. Our people are not the backward people of yesterday. They are the people who have seized state power in their hands and are under the sagacious leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea. They have fully proved during the last two years of war that they can defend their country and the state power by their own efforts.

We have the powerful People's Army and a solid home front. The People's Army has accumulated rich experience in the course of the war and grown into a revolutionary armed force capable of prevailing over any enemy.

In addition, we enjoy active support and encouragement from the peoples of socialist and people's democratic countries and the peace-loving people the world over.

But the US imperialists are in quite a different situation.

A great confusion has arisen among the enemy and his fighting morale is falling daily. The US imperialist aggressive army is an army of mercenaries. They came to the battlefield in Korea with a dream of earning a lot of money and "triumphantly returning" to their homes. But the war has given them death, instead of the opportunity of money-making or the honour of "victorious returnees." That is why defeatism and war-weariness are increasing with each passing day within the aggressive army of US imperialism and its satellite armies.

The US imperialists are hard up also in the supply of war materials. They spend much time and a colossal amount of manpower in bringing war supplies from their country thousands of miles away. So, from the strategic point of view, they are in a much more unfavourable condition than us.

Victory does not come of itself just because we have ample

possibilities and the enemy is in utter confusion. It must be won through struggle. We must strive to translate these possibilities for victory into reality.

Today we are enjoying active support and encouragement from peace-loving people all over the world. But it is the Korean people who are the masters in the righteous Fatherland Liberation War to achieve the country's reunification and independence and defend the people's democratic system. No matter who assists us, we can vanquish the US imperialists only when we, the masters, do our bit as such, and fight well as befitting the masters.

Victory belongs to us. The longer the US imperialists continue the war in Korea to achieve their aggressive aim, the more crushing defeat they will suffer, and they will be unable to escape destruction.

In conclusion, I would like to touch briefly upon some tasks facing the teaching staff and students.

Today our Party wants you to train a greater number of able state officials who should be prepared politically and professionally. If more competent state officials are to be trained as the Party wants, the quality of education should be improved.

Good lectures are of utmost importance for improving the quality of education. Teachers should give lectures rich in content and suitable for the level of the students. In particular, lectures on theoretical subjects should be given in the context of our country's reality so that the students can understand them easily. A little while ago I inspected lectures on political economy and Marxism-Leninism. The lecture on political economy was delivered well in easy terms which the students could understand. It was related to our reality. But the lecture on Marxism-Leninism was not.

For the lectures to be good, the teachers should study in depth the policies, decisions and instructions of the Party and the Government. They should be well-versed in the content of their lectures and should constantly go on improving their teaching methods. It would be good to deliver lectures by way of explanation, not by way of dictation.

We will get the decisions and instructions of the Party and the

Government sent to this school systematically to help the teachers in preparing their lectures.

In school days the students should be made to study the practice in real life. They cannot consolidate what they have learnt and improve their professional qualifications by attending lectures alone. The school should organize studies of reality for the students under a set plan so as to train them to become officials who know how to combine theory and practice.

You students should undertake tireless efforts to become workers who can efficiently run the organs of the people's power and the economy. You should set your hearts on studies and acquire a popular style of work while at school. At the same time, you should intensify ideological training, voluntarily observe the order and discipline set by the school, lead an intense life and exert yourselves to harden your bodies. Since you will also have to provide guidance in cultural affairs after graduation, you should raise your cultural attainments and build your lives in a cultured way in your school days. You should also learn military affairs in earnest to get ready to fight the enemy at any time.

The school should be well managed. The lecture-rooms and offices should be kept in good order and the roads and lanes around the school laid out properly.

Welfare supply services should be conducted the way they should. If leading personnel of the school are scrupulous in making organizational arrangements, the students will feel no inconveniences in study and life even under the wartime condition. Hostels and dining rooms should be neat and hygienic and the quality of meals should be improved. Vegetables and meat should be obtained by the school itself through a proper arrangement of the sideline.

I expect the Central Higher Cadres Training School to achieve great success in its future work.

YOU MUST TEACH WHAT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE ACTUAL BATTLE

Talk to the Teaching Staff of the Kang Kon Military Academy

June 24, 1952

You have built the academy well despite the arduous conditions of the war. Adequate conditions are provided for study, and every aspect of the work and life at the school is in good order, giving it the flavour of the army. It is very good that you, comrades, who once fought bravely at the front, have built these excellent educational facilities in the mountain for yourselves, and carry on educational work. I am delighted with the success you have achieved so far.

The duty devolving upon the Kang Kon Military Academy is very important. This academy should train ever larger numbers of competent military commanders who are infinitely faithful to the Party and able to organize and command battles dexterously and send them to the front. In order to train more able commanders needed at the front, you must teach the cadets what is essential for the actual battle.

You should, first of all, make every effort to impart to the cadets our combat experience; you should teach them the tactics suited to our specific conditions. Only then will they be able to efficiently organize and command battles at the front after graduation.

In the last two years of the war against the US imperialist aggressors, we have formulated a good deal of excellent tactics suiting our terrain and specific conditions. We have accumulated a wealth of combat experience. Our tactics and combat experience are major assets

for further increasing the fighting capabilities of the People's Army and ensuring victory in the war.

You should teach the cadets a great deal about mountain warfare and night actions in particular.

Since our country abounds in mountains, many battles are fought in mountains. Therefore, it would be better for you to teach the cadets quite a number of different tactics and actions in mountain areas and give them more training in the mountain warfare.

Night action is one of superb tactics that enables us to win the battle against the technically and numerically superior enemy. We are now inflicting hard blows to the enemy at the front through vigorous combat actions such as raids and ambushes at night. Experience shows that it is quite effective to organize raids and other actions at night. The academy must teach the cadets how to fight at night and give them more training at night.

You should also teach them well both offensive and defensive warfare.

In offensive tactical training, you should impart good education in the methods of actions by sub-units to break through the enemy's defence lines and encircle and annihilate them. At the first stage of the Fatherland Liberation War, mainly the People's Army units pushed on continuously, failing to besiege and wipe out a large number of enemy troops. This should not be repeated. You should give the cadets attack training to scale mountaintops by charging along the ridges as well as training them to drive the enemy into ravines, encircle them and destroy them.

Training in defensive tactics should be geared to imparting in detail the method of organizing solid circular defences on heights as strongpoints. You should also give the cadets a great deal of training by creating complicated situations for them and letting them assess and cope with them so that in the future they would proficiently organize and command combat actions of their units under all circumstances.

Faculty heads, battalion commanders and other school cadres should not leave the education of the cadets entirely to the teachers, but should visit the training grounds frequently to give them direct guidance.

In order to teach the indispensable elements for actual battle, you should properly build rooms for the study of different subjects and training grounds.

The existing study rooms are not bad. Visual aids for different systems of obstacles in the study room for tactics are well made. Since ground plans are put on the wall and models are displayed below, one can see the systems of obstacles both on the level and in three dimensions. The extensive use of well-made visual aids will enable the cadets not only to easily understand the content of lectures but also to consolidate what they have been taught. Education must be visual.

The sand table for tactical study is not well made. It should be a live one so that the cadets can apply their knowledge as they please; but it is a still one, so it differs little from a rough sketch. It will not be much helpful to the visual education if it is made only to decorate the lecture room.

The model of the cock of an anti-tank rifle is made well. Though cut out of wood, it is well made to move like a real one.

It is a very good thing that teachers make different kinds of educational apparatus and materials for visual teaching. You should make more of useful educational equipment suited to the content of education and to our reality and use them widely in teaching.

You should build the firing range well. It must be laid out in such a way that upward, downward, and cross firing is possible to suit the actual conditions of our mountainous country. Thus, you will ensure that cadets learn the firing methods in mountain areas through practice—shooting at targets suddenly appearing or transitory targets in standing, sitting or lying postures, in any terrain, and hitting them downwards, upwards and crosswise, on different slopes. Meanwhile, test firing in mountains should be widely organized to prepare a manual for firing in mountainous areas suited to our terrain.

You should expand the training ground for river crossing, draw more water into it, and bring lots of river-crossing equipment. In this way you will conduct training in the real battle atmosphere.

The cadets learn what is essential to actual battle not only through

training, but also in the course of their daily life at school. So you should pay close attention to the academy's everyday life to make it a model for all units.

You should organize the daily life of the cadets in keeping with the requirements of regulations and manuals and guide them to live in a disciplined and orderly manner. Discipline is the life of an army. This is indispensable for collective life. The academy should educate all the cadets to observe discipline voluntarily and be so well disciplined as to carry out combat orders accurately however difficult the situation.

The military academy should set a pattern for units in camouflage also. At present it is not camouflaged well. An army should not lead an unvigilant life, as you do. If the academy goes on in this way, the students will also live the same way in their units after graduation.

The academy should wear camouflage quickly and take necessary steps lest its location is exposed. The passages should be so narrow that one or two cadets can walk past each other. You should refrain from cutting live trees for camouflage, but make use of natural objects as they are so that they are used for long. The barracks should be so situated that they are not laid bare. It seems better that lectures are delivered by teams. It would be a good idea that military training is conducted and political lectures are also delivered outdoors frequently after the place is prepared.

You should educate the cadets well so that they take good care of the weapons and become proficient in handling them.

In the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle we mowed down hordes of Japanese imperialists with outdated weapons. You now have submachine guns which are much better than the arms used by the anti-Japanese guerrillas. What the US imperialist aggressors are afraid of most is our submachine guns. The academy should give regular education to the cadets so that they take great care of weapons as the apple of their eyes and are also skilled in their handling and keep them and look after them carefully.

The armoury must be built solidly in a place where soldiers can promptly pick up weapons in an emergency, away from the kitchen

and heated floors and chimneys.

You should intensify political and ideological education of the cadets, while, at the same time, teaching them well the methods of political work so that they all grow to be stalwart revolutionaries and ardent political activists.

The cadets studying at this academy are duty bound to take charge of platoons or companies to which they will be assigned after graduation, and organize and rouse their men for victory in battle. Therefore, you should firmly prepare them politically and ideologically and educate them to acquire a high degree of class consciousness and combat and moral qualities. The political lecture rooms should be so equipped that you can educate them in our Party's history of struggle, particularly in the revolutionary traditions set up in the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

It is also highly important to adequately impart the methods of political work to the cadets. I am told that some platoon leaders who are now at the front do not know well how to shout at the enemy to surrender and are poor in working among their men. This means that the platoon leaders are rather ignorant of the methods of political work. Companies have deputy commanders for political affairs, but platoons do not have full-time political workers. In platoons, therefore, their leaders should conduct political work themselves. Such being the case, the Kang Kon Military Academy, whose main task is to train platoon leaders, should teach its cadets the methods of political work adequately. This will enable the graduates, after they are assigned to units, to treasure and love their men as their own brothers and work among them skilfully, taking charge of platoons or companies.

To teach the cadets what is indispensable for actual battle, the teachers should acquaint themselves well with the actual situation in the frontline units and have rich combat experience. Therefore, the ranks of teachers should be built out of good people who are politically and ideologically prepared and are rich in fighting experience. In addition, the platoon leaders who organize and guide the everyday life of the cadets should also be people tempered in battle and capable of accurate

combat movements. Then, the cadets can learn vividly what is needed in actual fighting, not only from lectures but also through their daily life.

Building the teaching staff out of those who have combat experience does not imply dismissing the inexperienced from the academy. You should send the inexperienced teachers to the front for inspection and give them effective assistance so that they study combat experience.

Combatants of the frontline units possess a wealth of good battle experience and, while fighting fierce battles, devise excellent combat equipment of different types. Take, for instance, the members of aircraft-hunting teams. On their own they have manufactured and put into use diverse combat equipment to bring down ever more enemy planes. The faculty members should go to the front themselves to hear more from combatants about combat experience in annihilating the enemy and convey to them what they know. This will enable the teachers to acquire many things they need in teaching the cadets. This will also help the frontline units.

Further, the academy should be deeply concerned about the living conditions of the cadets.

Thickly wooded, this area is good for camouflage and has fine scenery too. The cadets are not badly-off despite wartime conditions. So, the cadets who are from the battle front may rest content with their present lives. But you must never be self-conceited with this; you should improve the barracks and dining rooms and thus ensure that they feel no inconveniences in regard to bedding and meals.

The Kang Kon Military Academy is our only academy to train infantry commanders, and all the cadets here are the treasure of the nation.

I am firmly convinced that, bearing in mind the important duty entrusted to the academy, the entire teaching staff will raise the level of education and further tighten discipline and order, and thus train a larger number of competent commanders who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and the people and are equipped with advanced military techniques.

ON STRENGTHENING PARTY POLITICAL EDUCATION AND MASS CULTURAL WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

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

June 28, 1952

Some time ago we guided the work of North Phyongan Province on the spot. During the guidance period, we attended meetings of factory and rural Party cells and talked to many Party members.

Needless to say, it is difficult to estimate the work of all Party cells upon the guidance of a few Party cells. But, we gave guidance to the work of many Party cells in South Phyongan Province in the past years. We can, therefore, make a rough assessment of the work of the Party cells as a whole even if we guided just a few of them this time.

Having attended these Party cell meetings and talked with Party members during our recent visit to North Phyongan Province, we got the impression that Party cells, the basic organizations of our Party, are developing soundly now and are making vigorous efforts to carry out the Party line and policy. The sound development of a Party cell presupposes the building of its hard core, and the Party cells have quite a few hard-core elements at present. In most of the cells now, members who joined the Party before the war are playing the role of the nuclei. Though poor in speech and at a low intellectual level, they understand the Party line and policy correctly and strive for their implementation.

Generally speaking, they correctly organize and run Party cell meetings and analyse and deal with the problems raised.

One of the Party cell meetings we attended this time was presided over by a woman comrade who accurately analysed and dealt with the problems raised at the meeting. All the Party members who took the floor, too, had a correct knowledge of our Party and strongly resolved to fight to the last for the Party and the revolution, taking it as the highest honour to have become members of the Workers' Party of Korea.

We attended the meeting of a Party cell which was said to be the most backward in Kusong County, but, there too, I found that all the members who took part in the debate correctly understood and actively supported the Party line and policy and tried to find ways for carrying them out in the right direction.

All this shows that our Party cells are advancing soundly and the Party's policy of training the hard core of the cells is being fulfilled.

In spite of these successes, our Party cells face quite a few shortcomings in their work.

They are not militant enough and the political and ideological level of the Party members is low. In conducting their meetings, the Party cells stick to unnecessary formalities and fail to use diverse methods to make them instructive.

A Party meeting should be a school which tempers the Party spirit of the members, unites them in ideology and purpose, and educates them politically. But, because they are not run properly, Party cell meetings cannot fulfil their role as political schools for educating and training Party members.

At these meetings problems are discussed rather perfunctorily. By its nature, a Party meeting must discuss in detail the measures and ways and means to solve the problems raised and decide on appropriate assignments. Suppose a rural Party cell meeting discusses how to make the immediate farm work a success. It must discuss this in detail before adopting relevant measures and assigning specific tasks; it should consider how to produce compost, when to conduct inter-row

cultivation and weeding, how to secure irrigation water, how to make up for deficiency in manpower and draught animals, which Party member to undertake mass political motivation work and how, and which Party member to help such and such person. But at present Party cell meetings do not discuss things this way.

Recently we attended a factory Party cell meeting and a village one; the former discussed the problem of guaranteeing wartime production and the latter the problem of ensuring inter-row cultivation and weeding. At the factory Party cell meeting they only made speeches shouting slogans such as: I support Party policy and let us not make goods which are rejected. But there were no specific discussion and constructive suggestion on appropriate measures. At the village cell meeting they did not have specific debate either, only shouting slogans on the inter-row cultivation and weeding to be wound up by such and such a time. As a result, the Party cell meetings gave an impression of rallies to rouse people to action.

More serious is that Party cell meetings are not held in a militant and revolutionary atmosphere.

We are now engaged in a grim war against all hues of class enemies, including US imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction. At the front, fierce battles are going on between friend and foe, and, in the rear, spies and subverters are carrying on insidious manoeuvres. In spite of this, most of the speakers at the Party cell meetings we attended did not say a word about the need to intensify the struggle against the class enemies by working and living in an intense atmosphere and sharpening revolutionary vigilance; they only stressed the necessity to strengthen the united front. They think as if the struggle against the class enemies should be conducted only by public security personnel and interior servicemen and that all they have to do is to carry out production. Due to the lack of class awareness, Party members fail to promptly uncover the hidden manoeuvres of the class enemy and strongly combat saboteurs and loafers. The appearance of pacifist inclinations among them means that Party organizations have not given them proper class education.

In short, at present, the work level of Party cells is not high, nor is the political and ideological level of their members. In particular, the work level of rural Party cells is lower than that of factory Party cells, and the political and ideological qualifications of Party members in the countryside are poorer than those of their counterparts in factories.

The low political and ideological level of rural Party cell members is due to the fact that the best members in the rural areas were mobilized for the front and large numbers of politically immature people have joined the Party ranks since the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. But the main reason for this is that Party organizations have neglected political and ideological education. They have not given this education regularly to rural Party cell members nor arranged Party study sessions properly. It is, therefore, inevitable that their political and ideological qualifications are poor.

The improvement of the qualifications of rural Party cell members and peasants is a matter of pressing urgency today.

The just Fatherland Liberation War has been going on for two years and is expected to continue for a long time. The protraction of the war is causing many hardships at the front and in the rear, and aggravating the class struggle at home. In order to overcome the difficulties and win the war, we must further reinforce the countryside. Therefore, we must improve Party political education and mass cultural work in the countryside. Only then will it be possible to raise the political and ideological level of rural Party cell members and peasants and reinforce our rural positions, and forcefully conduct a campaign to increase the wartime production of grain and the work for the aid to the front. All Party organizations should correctly understand that the strengthening of the countryside at present is a very important matter related to victory in the war. They, therefore, should decidedly improve Party political education and mass cultural work in rural areas.

On what should we put stress in conducting Party political education and mass cultural work in the countryside? In the present conditions when the fierce Fatherland Liberation War is going on, we should put stress on inspiring Party members and non-Party people to

strive for final victory in the war, with intense loyalty to the Party, a strong will to brave any obstacles and difficulties, a firm conviction in our victory in the war, and a noble internationalist spirit. Party organizations at different levels should lay emphasis on this and organize brisk Party political education and mass cultural activities in the countryside.

First, the educational network of Party members in rural areas should be conducted regularly, and oral information and motivation work carried on actively among Party members and the masses of people.

When a new Party policy is put forward, Party organizations should quickly hold short courses for Party members to acquaint them with it. At the same time, study sessions of Party cells should be put on a normal basis and their quality improved. These sessions must be conducted in coordination with lectures, talks, and discussions, to suit Party members' qualifications and political awareness. In the countryside Party study sessions were not held in farm seasons, with the result that the progress of study is retarded considerably. Measures should therefore be taken to fill the gap in lectures. It is better to reorganize improper study networks of Party members to suit the actual conditions in rural areas.

If you are to hold study sessions of Party cells on a high ideological level, you should build the ranks of lecturers and raise their political and theoretical level.

Because of poor qualifications of the lecturers, Party cell study sessions are held merely for form's sake at present. Quite a few lecturers dictate mechanically to Party members the lecture texts given at lecturers' short training courses, which the lecturers themselves do not understand. Therefore, Party members do not grasp the lectures though they do attend Party cell study sessions.

Party organizations should examine all the lecturers and replace those who are not politically and theoretically equipped with teachers and self-studying Party members possessing a strong Party spirit and some amount of political and theoretical preparedness. After building

their ranks, you should settle them as lecturers and raise their level systematically. For the lecturers, you should regularly organize short-term political and professional training courses and meetings for exchanging experience. You should help them make thorough preparations for the guidance of studies. Whenever a new subject is studied, you should organize model lectures, reviews of their texts, and classwork inspections to imbue the lecturers with the essence of the subject and teach them how to guide studies. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee should compile good texts for lecturers.

Inner-Party and public lecture meetings should be held regularly for the Party members and the masses of people in rural areas, and explanatory talks should be given on an extensive scale. You must see to it that competent officials take the floor at the lecture meetings.

Next, the means and personnel for information and motivation work must concentrate on Party political education and mass cultural work for Party members and people in the countryside. Senior officials of provincial, city and county Party organizations should pay close attention to such work.

Quite a few senior officials are not interested in the education of rural Party members and the masses of the people. Some of them do not organize and guide this work themselves, leaving it entirely to the officials of information and publicity departments, neither do they take the floor at lecture meetings, political report meetings and short training courses out in rural areas.

They must rid themselves of these practices quickly; they themselves should organize and guide the work of educating rural Party members and other people, and make speeches frequently at lecture meetings, political report meetings and short training courses. In particular, they should exert themselves to confirm rural Party activists and give them political and ideological education.

In rural areas at present there are many Party members who were trained and tested during the period of democratic construction and the grim days of the temporary retreat. Among new Party members too,

there are many good women. They carry out their tasks zealously, but their political and ideological qualifications are so poor that they do not know how to educate, encourage and inspire the masses of people and are unable to sharply analyse and deal politically with the problems raised. Only when the political education of the nuclei of rural Party cells is intensified and their political and ideological level elevated, would it be possible to reinforce the cells and, through them, go on educating new Party members and the masses of people.

Senior officials of county Party organizations should educate the hard-core elements of rural Party cells purposefully. They should go down to these cells in a planned way and attend their meetings to give effective help, meet Party activists and explain Party policy to them, and inform them of the internal and external situation, and teach them in detail how to run cell meetings and work with Party members and non-Party people. And they should let the rural Party cell nuclei attend county Party committee plenary meetings, model meetings, demonstration lectures and the like to be organized on a county-wide scale so as to educate them and teach them the methods of work.

This winter we should organize a short-term training course for chairmen and members of rural Party cell committees, chiefs of ri social organizations, chairmen of ri people's committees, ri secretaries and other rural hard-core elements. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee and provincial Party committees should prepare thoroughly for the training course from now onwards.

What is important here is to prepare good lecture texts. The texts must be so drafted as to help the rural core elements in correctly understanding the political situation in our country and acquiring class awareness. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee should prepare good texts, taking into due consideration the qualifications of those who are to attend the training course and the opinions of provincial, city, county, and sub-county Party workers.

Competent people must be selected as lecturers and they should be

prepared well for lectures. Incompetent people cannot deliver good lectures to suit the political preparedness of the audience. Some time ago we visited the Central Party School to inspect classwork. The teacher used difficult terms in his lecture to the students who were at a low level and asked them to learn the content of the lecture by heart mechanically. Poorly qualified teachers cannot but give lectures that way.

Only those who are well-versed in Party work and are politically and theoretically prepared can give good lectures in keeping with the political level of the short course trainees and in the context of actual problems. Provincial Party organizations should select as lecturers those who have a strong Party spirit, are prepared politically and theoretically, are versed in Party work, and have rich experience in it.

Further, steps must be taken to compile good data for Party cell studies, the *Political Knowledge* and various other study materials, as well as *Peasant Newspaper*, and multiply their copies so that the countryside gets more publications.

The *Political Knowledge* and *Peasant Newspaper* are now being received favourably by rural Party members and peasants. Yet, they want these publications to be written in plain terms.

The *Political Knowledge* must be well compiled to meet the requirements of Party members in rural areas. It had better carry lots of realistic matter. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee should make it rich in content but easy to understand.

The compilation of *Peasant Newspaper* should also be improved. It should carry articles explaining the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic, material for class education and on farming techniques, on feats performed by peasants in the campaign to increase wartime production of grain, and on the experience gained in the management of democratic publicity halls. Thus the newspaper will help intensify Party political education and mass cultural work in the countryside. In order to make it rich in content and easy to understand, the staff of the newspaper should be built of capable people.

To continue. Rural democratic publicity halls must be managed

properly.

The democratic publicity hall is the base of mass education. It puts main stress on mass cultural work while at the same time propagating Party policy and disseminating scientific and technical knowledge through varied methods. The effective management of democratic publicity halls will make it possible to raise the political and ideological level and cultural attainments of Party members and non-Party people.

By the way, the democratic publicity halls run by full-time chiefs are not too bad, but those run by part-time chiefs are sloppy.

In order to manage the halls well, it is essential to enhance the sense of responsibility and role of their chiefs.

They should make every effort to run the halls so skilfully as to rouse public interest. People will come there with interest if many persons are drawn into the activities of the halls—allowing great readers to read novels, good singers to sing songs, elderly storytellers to tell old stories, veterans to speak about battles they fought, those with high political and theoretical attainments to explain Party policy. From now on democratic publicity hall chiefs should draw in their work many teachers, soldiers of adjacent army units, youths, women and old people, and organize novel reading, story telling, battle story telling, singing sessions, explanatory talks, lectures, etc., under a set plan.

Democratic publicity halls must be so arranged as to have educational value. Various slogan boards and charts must be hung on the walls, and books, newspapers, magazines, pictorials and other educational material be kept, as well as playthings. This will induce people to come there to read books or papers or sing songs as they please.

To improve the work of democratic publicity halls, we should refresh the ranks of their chiefs from among good people and raise their qualifications. They should be reinforced by those who are prepared politically and theoretically. Short training courses, meetings to exchange experience, and model lectures should be held regularly to

raise their qualifications. In future, we should replace part-time chiefs with full-time chiefs who will take care of two halls each.

The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture and Information should intensify their guidance of the activities of democratic publicity halls.

The Ministry of Culture and Information should dispatch mobile projecting teams to rural areas and organize performance tours by art troupes, so that peasants can see films and art performances.

SOME TASKS FOR STRENGTHENING PARTY POLITICAL WORK IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

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

July 7, 1952

It is nearly one year since the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee discussed the activities of Party and political organizations in the People's Army. In this period a great change has taken place in the work of these organizations. They played a greater part as organizers, mobilizers and educators, and the Party members enhanced their leading role markedly.

People's Army soldiers and Party members fully showed the mettle of the Koreans by delivering heavy blows at the enemy in the battles which were unprecedentedly fierce in the war history of the world. Mass heroism and peerless courage displayed by the People's Army soldiers in the raging battles to frustrate the enemy's "summer and autumn offensives" and defend Height 1211 last year, vividly illustrate the increased part played by the political organs and Party organizations of the People's Army and the enhanced leading role of Party members. People's Army soldiers are now at a very high level of political and ideological awareness and in high fighting spirit.

Since the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, Party and political organizations in the People's Army have recruited a large number of Party members from among the soldiers who fought bravely for the Party, the country and the people. This resulted in the

rapid growth of the Party ranks in the People's Army and further increase in the army's fighting capability.

A considerable progress has also been made in establishing discipline and order in the People's Army. Party and political organizations played their part in forming the habit of thoroughly implementing the orders and instructions of the commanding officers and largely preventing all kinds of mishaps in the army.

Party and political organizations in the People's Army have also achieved a sizable success in carrying out the Party's policy of re-educating officers and generals.

Leadership and other qualities of the commanding officers are an important factor in enhancing the combat efficiency of their units, and constitute the key to success in war. On the outbreak of the war, however, many new combined units and specified service and arms units were organized, and the officers' corps was flooded with recruits from local Party and government bodies and social organizations; they had no military knowledge. This situation urgently demanded that officers and generals, the cadre of the People's Army, be fully trained in political and ideological preparedness and in military skill.

Since the time when we were preparing for the second counteroffensive after the temporary strategic retreat, we paid deep attention to raising the qualifications, including leadership qualities, of the commanding officers. In particular, when the forces of the People's Army assumed general positional defensive on the front line which settled down along the 38th parallel, we took a bold step to organize short courses of two to three months for the officers. Accordingly, the officers' courses started on a full scale early this year.

Under the guidance and with the help of Party and political organizations in the People's Army, the commanding officers' courses are going on successfully, and many of the officers have already been trained in the courses and other educational institutions. As a result, commanding officers' leadership and their administration of units have improved markedly.

All these successes are proof of the great validity of the decision of

the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee on improving the organizational work of Party organizations. These also prove the great validity of the decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee on strengthening the work of Party and political organizations in the People's Army.

During the past year, quite a few shortcomings along with success were revealed in the work of these organizations.

A major shortcoming was that the organizational and political work among the officers and generals was inadequate to temper them in Party spirit. A fair number of Party and political organizations were very conservative in this work. In consequence, instances of lack of Party spirit were much in evidence among officers and generals.

The lack of Party spirit found expression in their failure to implement Party decisions and instructions in good faith.

The basic criterion of Party spirit consists in the members' loyalty to the Party. Party members are duty bound to defend the Party Central Committee even at the cost of their lives, carry out Party decisions and instructions without reservation, adhere to Party and class stand everywhere all the time and combat the enemy mercilessly.

Some officers and generals, however, either implemented in a twisted way the Party's strategic and tactical policies and the Supreme Headquarters' orders and instructions or neglected their implementation. This was intolerable. From its experience and lessons of the war, our Party put forward the policy on employing high-angle fire extensively to suit the terrain conditions in our mountainous country. Contrary to the Party's policy, however, some commanding officers withdrew their guns to the rear from the forward area, alleging that they were unnecessary, and requested for more light weapons and hand grenades in place of the artillery pieces. A commander imbued with Party spirit and the knowledge of the characteristics of modern war, would not have acted in this way.

The lack of Party spirit among officers and generals was also manifested in their irresponsible management of their units and in their bureaucratic and warlord-like practices.

Bureaucracy and warlordism represent the anti-people method of unit administration of reactionary armies which champion the interests of exploiting classes. So, these can never be tolerated in our People's Army. The People's Army is the heir to the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. Commanders of the guerrilla army used to treat and love their men at all times like their own brothers. And when their men made mistakes, they convinced them of their faults kindly and re-educated and remoulded them through practice. That was why the unity and solidarity of the ranks based on revolutionary comradeship was always ensured in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. But some commanding officers of the People's Army scold their men at random and punish them without discrimination, instead of being kind to them like their own brothers.

Unfaithful attitude of officers and generals towards the Party's organizational life and their violation of Party discipline also showed that they were lacking in Party spirit.

There can be no special category of members in our Party. Every Party member must work and act in accordance with a single organizational discipline. The officers and generals who are Party members should not regard themselves as special beings but observe Party organizational discipline more voluntarily than anyone else and set examples in Party life. But some officers and generals, thinking as if they were privileged beings, are reluctant to participate in Party cell meetings, suppress just criticism made by their fellow Party members, and regard Party organizational guidance and control as a nuisance. If a Party member does not participate in its organizational life in good faith in violation of its organizational discipline, he will not be able to strengthen his Party spirit and therefore will not fulfil his Party duties.

Some officers and generals consider such guidance and control something unwelcome partly because political workers infringe upon the one-man military management system. Political workers in the army should not meddle in military commanders issuing orders, but should help them to give orders correctly and get these orders implemented thoroughly. We have already criticized the workers of

the General Political Bureau of the People's Army and other political organs at different echelons for their violation of the one-man military management system. But this error has not yet been corrected.

The next shortcoming in the work of the Party and political organizations in the People's Army is that they do not give proper ideological education to soldiers for cultivating in them the noble political and moral qualities of a revolutionary army.

A high sense of responsibility towards their duties and the spirit of strictly observing discipline are noble political and moral traits which must be acquired by the soldiers of a revolutionary army. But the Party and political organizations in the People's Army failed to adequately educate the soldiers, the commanding officers in particular, to perform their military duties in a responsible way, to be alert in and out of work, and to observe discipline to the letter. In consequence, some commanding officers, instead of striving to properly perform the combat missions of their units, are carried away by peaceful sentiments in seeking an easygoing life. They are reluctant to resolve in a responsible way the problems raised by the men fighting on the firing line.

Another major shortcoming in the work of the Party and political organizations in the People's Army is that the level of ideological education of soldiers is low and that political workers do not penetrate the reality.

At present, quite a few political workers are engrossed in unnecessary paperwork in their offices instead of going among the soldiers and doing political work among them, living with them. Even when they do political work, they substitute it with general appeal or emphasis. The level of talks with individual soldiers is also very low.

These shortcomings in the work of the Party and political organizations in the People's Army, hamper the growth of the combat power of the army and obstruct the effort to win battles at the front.

Today the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee has again discussed the question of strengthening Party political work in the People's Army with the aim of increasing the combat power of the

People's Army, the armed forces of the Party, in view of the military and political situation in our country.

The war appears to be drawn out. The situation at the front line at the present stage is characteristic of both sides preparing superior forces with which to overwhelm the other side in the showdown to come. In order to forestall the enemy in creating the conditions for the ultimate victory, our Party is striving to improve the military equipment of the People's Army and, at the same time, increase the political and ideological awareness of soldiers and their military and technical efficiency and raise still higher the military and political qualifications of the commanding officers.

The Party and political organizations in the People's Army should strengthen Party political work in accordance with its policy so that all the soldiers participate zealously in military and political training and in making their units fully combat ready and boldly launch vigorous military actions to destroy and weaken the enemy ceaselessly, bearing deep in mind the importance of the tasks entrusted to them by the Party, the country and the people.

Before all else, ideological education of the soldiers should be intensified.

The Party and political organizations should imbue every soldier with infinite loyalty to the Party, fervent love of their country and people, hatred for the enemy, and firm faith in victory. In particular, they should teach every serviceman to have the correct idea of armistice and to be on the alert all the time.

Ceasefire never means a durable peace. An armistice literally means stopping fighting for a time; it does not guarantee a lasting peace. Even if a truce is effected some time in the future, the US imperialist aggressors will persist in their moves to stay on in south Korea and attain their aim of aggression against the northern half of Korea. Worse still, they are now preparing for another massive offensive while delaying the armistice negotiations. So, the People's Army should never be lured by the armistice negotiations now under way into weakening its combat power. The Party and political

organizations in the People's Army must clearly teach every soldier our Party's stand with regard to the armistice negotiations. Besides, ideological struggle should be intensified to prevent the soldiers from harbouring any illusion about the armistice negotiations, and from becoming weary of the war, indolent and lax. In this way each and every soldier would be on the alert in everyday life with a high degree of revolutionary vigilance.

The Party and political organizations should eliminate formalism and dogmatism from their ideological education of the soldiers and conduct it effectively in the close context of the combat missions of their units. In particular, motivation work should be forceful and convincing and should fit the occasion. Only then can the soldiers be roused vigorously to carry out their combat missions.

If you are to improve the ideological education of the soldiers, you must build the ranks of motivation workers and raise their level. Political organs should organize short courses for motivation workers in a planned way and provide them with proper material for their work.

Next, you should strengthen the Party life of the members.

For this purpose, you should organize Party life properly and guide and control it carefully. This is the way to enhance the vanguard role of Party members and get them to carry out the combat missions of their units successfully.

The Party organizations should run Party meetings efficiently so that the meetings have educational value and should encourage the members to take an active part in discussing issues. They should regularly give Party assignments to all the members and get them to carry out the Party assignments and decisions in good faith. Dual standards of discipline must not be permitted in the Party; all Party members, regardless of rank, be they officers or generals, must obey the rules of Party life.

Inner-Party criticism should be intensified. Criticism is very effective in tempering the Party spirit of its members and in developing its work. Criticism should be strengthened so as to wipe out all non-Party and unhealthy trends such as reluctance to attend Party

meetings, negligence in the implementation of decisions and assignments of Party organizations, immoralities contrary to Party discipline, the neglect of study, etc. In order to intensify criticism, you should give full play to inner-Party democracy so as to create a free atmosphere of criticism and prevent the tendency to suppress criticism.

Strengthening Party cells is very important in organizing and guiding Party life of its members. The Party cell is our Party's basic organization which directly arranges and guides Party life of the members. Only by strengthening the Party cell, therefore, can Party life of its members be organized properly, guided and controlled effectively. The Party cell, to be stronger, must have its committee made up of Party members with a strong Party spirit, raise their levels and train many hard-core elements in the cell.

The Party organizations should strictly observe the Party Rules in recruiting members and devote much effort to the systematic education and training of the recruits.

To continue. The Party should pay deep attention to raising the leadership and other qualifications of the commanding officers and improving their work method.

The Party and political organizations should ensure that the commanding officers study regularly to improve their military and political qualifications, constantly acquire the tactics applicable to our specific conditions, and employ them widely in military action. In addition, advanced military knowledge and technique should be disseminated among commanding officers, and valuable combat experience gained in the Fatherland Liberation War should be generalized extensively.

Re-educating the officers on the active list is of tremendous significance in improving the leadership and other qualifications of the commanding officers. The Party's policy on giving refresher training to these officers has proved its advantages in practical life. Political organs should carry out this policy of the Party so that every officer undergoes the training as an obligation.

The basic criterion of the commanders of the People's Army is a

high degree of Party spirit, class spirit and the spirit of service to the people. If they lack these qualities, commanding officers will not only be disloyal to the Party, but will be deaf to the voice of their men, indifferent to their life and indulge in bureaucratic and warlord-like practices, violating the revolutionary discipline and order of their units. The political organs should educate military commanders well in Party spirit, class spirit and the spirit of service to the people so that they cultivate noble qualities as the commanding officers of a revolutionary army.

The political organs should see to it that military commanders run their units efficiently with a high sense of responsibility to the Party and are always deeply concerned with the education of their men. Constant replacement of combat personnel by recruits in the course of war is inevitable. Accordingly, if the combat power of a unit is to be maintained at all times, the education of the men should not be suspended even for a moment. However difficult and complex be the situation, commanding officers should pay profound attention to proper education of their men, the recruits in particular.

Next, the company should be made the base of Party political work in the People's Army.

The company is the primary organization and basic combat unit of the People's Army. In the company are organized the Party cell and the primary organization of the Democratic Youth League. The soldiers perform military service with the company as the unit. We have often stressed the need to strengthen the company in view of its very important place and role in the People's Army and we have already taken the necessary measures.

In order to make the company the base of Party political work in the People's Army, it is necessary to enhance the role of the Party cell, the primary organization of the Democratic Youth League, and the junior motivation workers, and allocate the Party force properly among the platoons and squads. In addition, the nation-building room in the company should be fitted out and used properly. It should be provided with newspapers, books and various other educational material and

also with amusement instruments so that soldiers may hold meetings, study, listen to the radio and amuse themselves there.

The movement to create model companies should be developed actively. The political organs should correctly organize and guide this movement, and widely disseminate the valuable experience gained in it, and steadily expand the ranks of model companies.

If the role of the Party and political organizations in the People's Army is to be enhanced, political workers must improve their work method and raise their levels.

Political workers should acquire the habit of working among the rank-and-file soldiers at all times, instead of getting preoccupied with paperwork and arrangement of meetings. They should also improve the method of guiding and inspecting the work of lower political organizations. The aim of inspection is not to find fault with subordinates and accuse them of mistakes and punish them. Its aim is to set the errors right and help the subordinates in their work. Political workers should conduct inspection in keeping with the aim and truly help their subordinates in their work.

Political workers should raise their own level constantly. Quite a few of them are now at a low level of political and military knowledge and also lack work experience. With inadequate political and military knowledge, they cannot politically ensure the fulfilment of the military tasks of their units. They must strive to raise their political and practical level and acquire military knowledge. Short courses for political workers and exchange of experience among them should be arranged according to a plan, and they should be settled on a job for a long time, instead of being transferred often. Only then will they be able to raise their political and practical level and master their jobs.

The sense of responsibility and the role of the military commissars should be enhanced to strengthen Party political work in the People's Army.

A military commissar is a plenipotentiary of the Party and the Government. He has the responsibility to guide and control the Party political and military affairs of the unit concerned. He should,

therefore, guide and control the relevant unit so that it carries out Party line and policy, the Party's strategic and tactical policies. Military commissars should hold military commission meetings every month to analyse Party political work of their units, their combat readiness and training, unit management and the political and moral state of the soldiers, and take appropriate measures. They should help military commanders well so that they can perform the combat missions of their units with credit.

To strengthen the Party organizations in the People's Army, the work of the leading bodies from the company Party cells up to and including the regimental Party committees should be reviewed and new leading bodies elected in August and September this year. The General Political Bureau and other political organs should make proper arrangements for this from now on.

Today, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee has deliberated on important questions arising in improving Party political work in the People's Army. The General Political Bureau should give effective organizational guidance to thoroughly implement the decision of today's meeting.

I firmly believe that there will be a new change in Party political work in the People's Army in the future.

WE ARE SURE TO WIN

Report at the Pyongyang City Meeting to Celebrate the Seventh Anniversary of the August 15 Liberation

August 14, 1952

Dear comrades,

Today we are greeting the seventh anniversary of August 15, the date on which our country was liberated from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism.

Since last August 15 there has been no great change at the front, and fierce positional warfare has been going on between us and the enemy. In this period, the enemy had launched many offensives, including the “Ridgway offensive” and “autumn offensive.” But they all ended in failure.

In an attempt to recover from these reverses the enemy is resorting to the most barbarous and cruel methods of warfare and using even chemical and bacteriological weapons. But they brought them nothing. Pests, cholera and other epidemics spread by the enemy were of no help to them.

In the past year the Korean people have scored great successes both at the front and in the rear. The units of the Korean People’s Army and the Chinese People’s Volunteers have not only defended their positions stubbornly but have also dealt heavy blows to the enemy.

The successes we achieved during the last one year are clear proof of the inexhaustible vitality of our Republic and people’s democratic system.

1. THE SUCCESSES WE ACHIEVED IN THE WAR

Comrades,

We are defending the northern half of Korea—a base of democracy and a powerful political, economic, military and cultural stronghold of our revolution built by our people themselves over the five years following liberation—against the encroachment of the US imperialist invaders and are safeguarding the independence, freedom and honour of the country with flying colours. We have stopped the enemy along the 38th parallel where they had started their invasion against the Republic on June 25, 1950, and thus put them on the defensive. This is a very great victory for us and an irretrievable military defeat and humiliation to the enemy.

Through our heroic struggle we have defended the people's democratic system and the base of democracy, the gains of our people, thereby further strengthening our revolutionary forces in all the political, economic, military and cultural spheres. We have rallied the people firmly and strengthened the Party, the state power, the People's Army and social organizations. This has enabled us to possess a strong force capable of defeating the enemy and provided us with conditions for achieving the complete reunification and independence of the country, the most cherished desire of our people.

One of the successes we achieved in the Fatherland Liberation War is that the confidence in victory and national pride have risen high and the hatred and retaliatory spirit against the enemy increased among our people and officers and men of the People's Army. Today the Korean people are devoting all their efforts to carry out the national cause of repulsing and wiping out the US imperialist aggressors from their territory as soon as possible.

At no time in our country's history was there an instance when the

political and moral unity of the people was as consolidated as it is today. The People's Army at the front and the people in the rear have been welded into an integral whole and are safeguarding the independence, freedom and honour of the country, firmly convinced of victory.

We are a people who were liberated from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism; we are a people who, during the past seven years of free life, directly experienced the superior system of people's democracy. The Korean people of today are led by the strong Workers' Party of Korea armed with the invincible Marxist-Leninist doctrine. They have become a powerful people whom no force can conquer.

In the course of the fierce Fatherland Liberation War, which is in its third year now, our people have realized more clearly which road they should take to carve out the happy future of their country. That road is precisely the road to democratic development. Our people know well that only by following this road and by driving the US and British imperialist aggressors out of our territory can they build a completely independent and sovereign democratic state and enjoy a free and happy life. That is why the entire Korean people who love their country truly, irrespective of their religious belief, political view and property status, are consumed with a great desire to repulse and wipe out the armed interventionists from their soil.

Our workers, peasants, office employees and intellectuals are performing unparalleled labour exploits. Our working class is registering tremendous results in production in spite of the difficulties caused by the enemy's continued bombing and naval bombardment. In particular, through their untiring labour efforts our glorious railway staff and workers of the motor transport and road rehabilitation corps are guaranteeing wartime transport with credit. The peasants, women peasants in particular, successfully completed sowing, rice-planting and weeding earlier than last year even under the difficult wartime conditions. Defying all hardships caused by the war, our intellectuals, too, are devoting all their energies and knowledge to the cause of defeating the enemy.

The Korean women are displaying peerless heroism and devotion at

the front and in the rear. In place of their brothers, husbands and fathers who went to the front, they are working heroically in factories and farming villages. For their military and labour services, thousands of our women have received official citations.

Our young people in the rear have come out to take the place of their brothers and sisters who are at the front annihilating the enemy and are studying and working hard at their schools and workplaces.

Our heroic men and women guerrillas who are active behind enemy lines are bravely annihilating the foreign armed interventionists and the Syngman Rheeites, traitors to the nation, and administering a heavy blow to the enemy.

Our Party organizations, government bodies and social organizations have come to work better and lead the masses of the people more flexibly than at the initial stage of the war and carry out all wartime tasks promptly, overcoming difficulties.

Another success we gained in the war is that our People's Army has accumulated rich combat experience and grown in number and quality to be powerful enough to defend our country dependably. Our men, noncommissioned officers and officers know how to annihilate the enemy and have incomparably loftier political and moral qualities than the aggressor armies. The commanding ability of our officers and generals has improved, and they are versed in mobile operations. Today the morale of men and officers of our People's Army is very high, and they are inspired with a firm conviction of victory.

The morale of the US and British imperialist aggressor troops, on the contrary, is sagging with each passing day and they are steadily disintegrating politically and morally. This cannot but lower their fighting capability. In order to bolster up the daily declining morale of their troops, the aggressors are resorting to various ways and means: introducing a system of rewarding the soldiers who participated in battles; rousing low bestial instincts such as plunder and violence among them; keeping a watch on their every movement through the military police; and trying to comfort them by invoking the "help of Holy God" through Church services and prayers.

For example, when they dispatch their air pirates to bomb our peaceful towns and villages, the Yankees are said to preach that “Holy God will fly with you to protect you.” However, our anti-aircraft artillery units, aircraft-hunting teams and fighter planes shoot down the air pirates “protected by God” every day. Such base and despicable methods employed by the enemy to shore up the morale of their troops will not prevent their being disorganized politically and morally nor will they heighten their ever-lowering morale.

Officers and men of the US and British imperialist forces of aggression are raising their voice of protest higher and higher, asking why they must die a disgraceful death on the Korean front. The power of reason and truth will finally overcome ignorance and deceit.

Discord and despair prevail in the enemy camp, whereas we are in quite a different situation.

We have conferred the orders and medals of the Republic on 350,000 men, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals, and the title of Hero of the Republic on 352, who have displayed unparalleled valour, heroism and devotion to the country and people, in the Fatherland Liberation War against the US and British aggressors. These figures are clear proof of the mass heroism and patriotism the soldiers and commanding officers of our People’s Army displayed in the struggle for the honour and freedom of their country.

Still another success we achieved in the Fatherland Liberation War is that the international prestige of the Republic has risen and the sympathy and support of the countries of the democratic camp to our people have increased.

The US imperialist aggressors calculated that they could isolate the Korean people in the course of the war by usurping the emblem of the United Nations. But the result was contrary. In this war, the Korean people were not isolated, in fact their international prestige has increased. The sympathy, support and concern of all progressive people are focussed on the Korean people. Now, all honest people in the world assist the Korean people with all sincerity in the battle for the freedom, honour and independence of their country.

When the US and British imperialists started the invasion against our country and people, the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as well as the freedom-loving people of the whole world stood by us and helped us in every way. At the critical time when our young People's Army had to make a temporary retreat on account of the enemy's numerical superiority, the Chinese people sent the Volunteers to help us.

How great this international support and encouragement has been is illustrated by the following facts: in the seed-time this spring when our country was faced with an acute shortage of food the Soviet people sent us 50,000 tons of flour as a gift; the Chinese people donated tens of thousand tons of provisions and large quantities of other supplies to assist our people; the Mongolian People's Republic gifted thousands of tons of provisions and meat and over 100,000 heads of livestock; and other People's Democracies sent us thousands of wagonloads of medicines and clothings.

In this way, a new type of internationalist solidarity and encouragement was expressed by the countries of the democratic camp and the freedom-loving people the world over in the Korean war, and its indestructible might was fully demonstrated. This solidarity and encouragement further convinced the Korean people of their victory over the US and British imperialist invaders.

One of the successes we gained in the course of the war is that we inflicted upon the enemy not only military defeats but also great political setbacks.

The invaders of 16 nations headed by the US imperialists who dream of world domination have been using various modern military technique, germ weapons, poison gases and napalm bombs over two years against the young Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Today the whole world knows that the US imperialist aggressor army is the most barbarous and brutal army, even surpassing the German fascists. The new "Generals" such as the "Pest General", the "Cholera

General” and the “Typhus General” whom the world has never known emerged from the US imperialist armed forces of aggression. All these facts have stirred up the hatred of the people of the whole world against the US imperialists and made them understand well what the American way of life is like.

Even the International Committee of the Red Cross, which is under the thumb of the US imperialists, is displeased at their germ and chemical warfare in Korea. Nevertheless, the American savages of the 20th century are not willing to sign the Geneva Convention on the prohibition of the use of bacteriological and chemical weapons. This has roused the world public still more against the US imperialist manoeuvres.

The World Peace Council has laid bare the nature of the war which the US imperialists are carrying on in Korea. Today the prestige of the US imperialists has fallen beyond retrieval and they are being cursed by the world’s people.

The Korean war further aggravates the contradictions among the imperialist countries. With a view to evading the responsibility for the criminal war, many countries involved in the invasion of our country want to break away from the US imperialists. It is because these countries know that it is disadvantageous for them to consort with the US imperialists who are suffering miserable defeats in the war against the Korean people and putting politico-economic pressure upon many countries.

The US imperialists’ war in Korea is being condemned by the peace-loving people the world over because it is an aggressive and unjust war, whereas the Korean people are conducting a just war for the freedom and independence of their country.

In our age it is impossible to threaten other peoples by means of war. The people are rising up more dynamically in the righteous struggle to defend their freedom and independence. Anti-imperialist, national-liberation wars are going on already for years in Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia, and the peoples of these countries are safeguarding their freedom and independence. At present the flames of the liberation struggle are fierce in the East. No force can put out the flames.

The development of human society can never be halted by ground, naval and air forces or chemical and germ weapons, because today all the oppressed people want to enjoy a genuinely free and happy life rid of US-led imperialism.

On the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the August 15 liberation, in the name of the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people, I would like to express gratitude to the Soviet army and people who helped our people in their national-liberation struggle.

Also, on behalf of the Government of the Republic and all the Korean people, I would like to offer thanks to the officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Chinese people.

On the seventh anniversary of the August 15 liberation, my thanks go to the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam who have given uninterrupted material and moral support and encouragement to our people since the first days of the Fatherland Liberation War.

Celebrating the seventh anniversary of the glorious August 15 liberation, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I would like to extend warm congratulations and gratitude to our valiant officers and men of the People's Army, to our brave men and women guerrillas and to our heroic working class, peasants, intellectuals and women, who are defending the freedom and independence of the country in the harsh war against the invaders of 16 countries headed by US imperialism.

2. WHY ARE THE US IMPERIALIST INVADERS DELAYING THE ARMISTICE TALKS?

Dear comrades,

The successes our people have achieved in the Fatherland

Liberation War are tremendous. These successes compelled the US imperialist invaders to come out to the venue of the armistice talks. As is universally known, the talks began in early July last year and have continued till now for a year and a month, but without any progress. This is entirely because of the moves of the US imperialist aggressors.

While continuing to obstruct the peaceful solution of the Korean question, the US ruling circles are asking us to concede to their absurd demands at the armistice talks in an attempt to recover their lost prestige and to achieve their aggressive aims which they failed to do through war.

The US imperialist aggressors are trying to hold the truce talks not on the principle of mutual understanding and equality but on the premises that they will be the “victor”. This is the so-called “honourable truce” they are clamouring for.

The United States prides itself as being the strongest country in the world. It has many colonies and satellite nations and seeks to dominate the world by force of arms. It is this country that has been carrying on a war against the tiny Democratic People’s Republic of Korea for the third year now by mobilizing not only its own armed forces but also the troops of 15 satellite countries. This fact alone is a great humiliation, unprecedented in US history. Moreover, if it concludes an armistice agreement with our country on an equal footing it will be a greater humiliation. That is why the US imperialists harbour the absurd idea of becoming “victor”, while trying to recover their lost prestige at the truce talks.

However, we cannot recognize them as victor who are no victor nor can we regard us as vanquished who are not the vanquished. We demand to conclude an armistice agreement on a fair and equitable principle.

What does a fair solution mean? It means that both sides conclude an agreement on the cessation of hostilities on an equitable and reasonable principle.

In an endeavour to recover their fallen prestige, however, the US ruling circles are delaying the talks deliberately. When the question of

the military demarcation line was discussed the US imperialist aggressors delayed negotiations for four months, trying to tear away 13,000 square kilometres of territory from the northern half of Korea. However, this question was solved by our sincere efforts. In order to interfere in the internal affairs of our Republic at the truce talks, the US ruling circles tried to stop us from building airfields. This delayed the negotiations for another five months. Nevertheless, the US side failed to attain their end.

Now, the US imperialists insist unjustly on forcibly detaining our prisoners of war. Because of this attitude, the negotiations are being stalled once again. The US side should know that they will get nothing out of the question of repatriation of the POWs.

The US imperialist invaders are now proposing the so-called “voluntary repatriation” in order to detain our POWs. However, the heroic struggle waged by them on Koje Island against the US imperialist torture, massacre and “voluntary repatriation” fully exposes to the world public the nature of this “voluntary repatriation” noisily advertised by the US imperialists.

We cannot leave in the hands of the enemy the sons and daughters of our country and our brothers of the Chinese People’s Volunteers, who were captured by them. Human morality and international law do not allow this. We will bring back the POWs captured by the enemy to their country and home at any cost.

One of the main reasons why the truce talks are procrastinating is that the US imperialists are scheming a protracted war behind the screen of the ceasefire talks. The US monopoly capitalists do not want the termination of the Korean war and the relaxation of the international situation. It is because the war brings them colossal profits and provides an excellent condition for arms race.

The US billionaires fear that the peaceful settlement of the Korean question would precipitate the capitalist world into a more serious political and economic crisis. The US ruling circles think that delaying the Korean armistice talks and keeping the international situation tense will be conducive to the rearming of West Germany and Japan which is

envisaged in their plan for a third world war against the countries of the democratic camp.

These are the main reasons why the armistice talks are being prolonged by the US imperialist aggressors.

Our attitude towards the armistice negotiations is clear. We have invariably striven and will continue to strive for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. We are ready for an armistice, but we do not fear a protracted war, either.

The success of the talks depends on the enemy side. The only pending question is that of the prisoners of war. If the US ruling circles truly want the cessation of hostilities, they should renounce their unreasonably stubborn attempt to detain our POWs against their will. Of late, while sticking to their preposterous demand on the question of the POWs, the US imperialists are bombing the peaceful towns and villages and non-military establishments more savagely. They are dreaming of attaining their evil aims by these dirty methods.

Whatever they do, the US imperialists can never subdue the Korean people and achieve their wild desire. If the US and British invaders do not give up their aggressive desires and continue to expand the war against our country and people, the heroic Korean people will certainly defeat them with the support and encouragement of the democratic forces the world over.

3. OUR TASKS

Dear comrades,

Now when the Fatherland Liberation War against the US and British armed interventionists and their henchmen, the Syngman Rhee clique, and for safeguarding the country's freedom and independence and the Republic, is in its third year, we are confronted with difficult and huge tasks.

First of all, in the political sphere, we must further strengthen the political and ideological unity of the people and consolidate the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea and the Workers' Party of Korea, its guiding force. And we should raise the level of work of state and Party organizations, bring the guidance of the superior units closer to the lower, and improve the work of lower Party organizations and sub-county and ri people's committees, so as to maintain close ties with the masses of people.

We should intensify the political and ideological education of the broad masses, the peasantry in particular, so that they may have confidence in victory and a burning hatred and hostility for the enemy. We must also educate our people to be on guard against the spies and subversive elements sent in by the enemy.

Strengthening our international solidarity with many peoples of the world is one of the guarantees for our victory.

We must further cement our internationalist friendship and solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies.

In the economic sphere, we should continue to stabilize the people's life, launch a campaign for economy and emulation drive for increasing wartime production on a wide scale and give fuller play to the political zeal and initiative of the masses of the people in order to overcome all difficulties and obstacles.

We should do everything within our power to increase production and ensure this year's harvesting and threshing in good time. In order to guarantee next year's farming successfully, we must produce compost in a big way from now because we have no chemical fertilizers.

In the military sphere, we must continue to increase the weaponry of the People's Army, further raise the commanding ability of officers and encourage all men and noncommissioned officers to master their weapons and give full play to their patriotism and heroism in the struggle for the country and the people.

We should strive to raise the fighting capability of the People's

Army, tighten its discipline and destroy the enemy's manpower and combat equipment.

By successfully carrying out all the tasks before us in the political, economic and military spheres, we should achieve the complete victory of the Fatherland Liberation War so earnestly desired by the Korean people as well as the progressive people the world over.

Today the Korean people are safeguarding not only the country's freedom and independence, the people's democratic system and the Republic they won themselves, against the encroachment of the US and British armed interventionists but also the peace and security of the whole world. Through their heroic struggle, they are foiling the manoeuvres of the US and British imperialists to unleash a third world war. Lofty and sacred are the tasks before the Korean people. We must faithfully implement them and defend the people's democratic system and the Republic won by the Korean people against the US imperialist armed interventionists, and thus repay the sincere assistance and encouragement of the socialist and democratic countries to our people.

4. WE WILL WIN

Comrades,

We have a strong conviction that we will win victory without fail. On what is this conviction based? It is based on the following two major factors.

One is an internal factor.

The Korean people have proved that they are strong enough to defend the people's power from the attack of the US imperialists and their henchmen. There is not a shadow of doubt that in the future, too, our people will frustrate every attempt of theirs to stamp out the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and will defend the Republic and their own lives.

We have the strength and possibility to achieve victory.

We have the people's power which was elected by democratic methods and which represents the people's will and enjoys the love and trust of the entire Korean people.

In the van of our fighting people stands the Workers' Party of Korea. Its members have proved by their deeds that they are the staunchest defenders of the people's interests and happiness.

The Korean people have a powerful armed force and solid military organization of their own. The Korean People's Army has shown that it can firmly defend the country's freedom and independence.

We have a strong rear and solid economic foundations capable of providing the army and country with everything necessary.

In addition, the solidarity of the entire people who have risen up to resist the US imperialist aggression and the unity of all the democratic and progressive forces are being strengthened further. The increasing unity and solidarity of the entire people under the guidance of the working class in the struggle to oppose imperialism and uphold the people's power and their rights is one of most important factors for the Korean people to win the final victory.

The other is an external factor.

On the side of the Korean people fighting for a just cause are the sympathy and encouragement of the peoples of all countries and the support and assistance of the socialist and democratic countries. The valiant Chinese People's Volunteers are fighting side by side with the Korean people.

The solidarity and indestructible unity of the peoples of the socialist and democratic countries are growing more and more with each passing day. Our people who enjoy the support and encouragement from the peoples of these countries have enough strength and possibility to carry out a protracted war while safeguarding their people's power and their own rights and lives.

Going from the capitalist system over to the socialist system, a higher type of society, that is, going over to a system free from exploitation, poverty and oppression of the masses by the

exploiters—this is a law of the development of human society. We can see this process of social development everywhere. The birth of many People's Democracies in Europe and of the People's Republic of China in Asia after the Second World War affords a fine example.

All these facts prove that it is impossible to arrest the progress of human society or stop its development at the stage of capitalism. The imperialists cannot halt the development of human society by means of war and on the strength of armies or the spread of epidemics such as pest and cholera or blackmail through atomic bombs or by any other means. This is proved by history and objective realities.

The world is divided into two camps, the democratic and imperialist. The capitalist world market has narrowed considerably. The US imperialists dream of subjugating all countries of the world and turning them into their markets. This aggressive ambition meets with resistance even from the ruling circles of other capitalist countries. The rivalry for maximum profits is a law of capitalist society, which aggravates the contradictions of capitalism.

The unrestricted imperialist exploitation and oppression of the peoples in colonial and dependent countries have led to the intensification of small nations' struggle against imperialist wars. These peoples demand equal rights and an equitable chance for the normal development of trade guaranteeing the economic development of their countries. Their demand aggravates contradictions between these countries and the imperialist powers.

The contradictions within the capitalist countries are becoming more and more acute. Within the capitalist countries not only the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie but also those between all the progressive forces and fascists at home are aggravated as the days go by.

All these facts show clearly the rottenness of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. As their doomsday is approaching, the imperialists frantically resort to the extreme means of genocide and attempt to unleash a third world war in order to prolong their remaining days even a little.

On the contrary, the might of the countries in the democratic camp is growing from day to day and their solidarity is further increasing. The peace forces are growing even in the capitalist countries. Therefore, the hour of the final fall of imperialism and of the overall triumph of the socialist and democratic camp is drawing near. The day is not far off when imperialism will be buried for good. In this way, we are provided with every condition for victory.

Victory is ahead of us. Let us march forward dynamically towards victory!

Hail the seventh anniversary of August 15 when our country was liberated from Japanese imperialist colonial rule!

Glory to the heroic Korean people and their armed force, the heroic Korean People's Army, fighting to defend the country's freedom and independence and the people's democratic system against the US and British imperialist aggressors!

Glory to the officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers fighting heroically on the Korean front against the US and British armed aggressors!

Immortal glory to the officers and men of the heroic Korean People's Army, and to the men and women guerrillas and to the brave men of the Chinese People's Volunteers, who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our country!

Long live the internationalist solidarity and friendship of the socialist and democratic camp!

Long live the Workers' Party of Korea, the inspirer and organizer of the Korean people's victory in the fight against the US and British imperialist aggressors!

Long live the glorious Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

FOR FREEDOM, PEACE AND LIBERATION OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE

August 15, 1952

The peace-loving people of Korea, one of the world's oldest countries, waited eagerly for the day when the sun of freedom would rise over this land wet with tears of sorrow and suffering generation after generation.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which had ushered in a new era of proletarian revolution and national-liberation revolution in world history, showed our people and the working people the world over the path to emancipation from enslavement, ruin and poverty. The light of the great October, Lenin's thought, exerted a revolutionary influence on Korea, too; and our people, inspired by the example of the heroic Russian working class and the rest of the Soviet people, had waged a bloody struggle against colonial oppression and for freedom.

The Korean people are overjoyed at the fact that with the help of the glorious Soviet armed forces, they drove the Japanese imperialist occupiers out of their territory and achieved the long-yearned-for national liberation on August 15, 1945.

August 15, 1945 is the day when a radical change took place in Korean history, the day resplendent with the greatest and most glorious event in the life of our people. Our people call this day a resurrection day and a national holiday.

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Today our people celebrate the seventh anniversary of liberation in the grim circumstances of the war against the US imperialist plunderers and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, who flagrantly encroached upon the freedom, independence and democratic gains of our country.

For the northern half of Korea the five years following Korea's liberation were a period of rapid development of democratic economy and culture.

For the southern half, under the oppression of the US imperialists, however, these five years were a period of intensified fascism, destruction and plunder.

The people in the northern half of Korea who became masters of their destiny after liberation, began to build their state and life anew along the road of genuine democracy and national rebirth on the territory north of the 38th parallel.

Our people led by the Workers' Party carried out radical democratic socio-political reforms in the north. We nationalized all the enterprises, banks, transport and communications establishments which had belonged to the Japanese monopoly capitalists and traitorous comprador capitalists and turned them into all-people property. We carried out an agrarian reform to emancipate the peasants for good from centuries-old vassalage, hunger and poverty. We also enacted an eight-hour working day and introduced social insurance and paid leave for the factory and office workers; freed the women from slavery once and for all and guaranteed them equal rights with men; abolished the anti-people colonial system of education enforced by the Japanese occupiers and established a people-oriented democratic system of education. Through universal democratic elections our people further consolidated the local people's committees and formed the Supreme People's Assembly, the

highest organ of power for the whole nation.

As a result of the nationalization of industrial enterprises, banks, transport and communications establishments, our industry developed rapidly. State ownership held the leading and dominant position in our industry. By making effective use of the aid from the Soviet Union which concluded an agreement on economic and cultural cooperation with our country, we surpassed in a short period of time the industrial production level during Japanese imperialist rule and laid the foundation for the country's industrialization.

The revolutionary agrarian reform changed the picture of our countryside fundamentally.

Along with the development of the national economy, our science, literature and arts and public education began to blossom. All necessary measures were taken for the peaceful reunification of the country and the rapid advancement of the economy, science and culture to meet the requirements of our people.

But the greedy US imperialist aggressors, who do not like the successful democratic construction of our Republic, have hampered and are hampering the reunification of our country, in their desperate efforts to subjugate the whole of Korea and turn it into their logistic base to ignite a war against the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and other countries. The US imperialist rulers did not withdraw their troops from south Korea precisely with a view to turning it into their military base, unleashing a fratricidal war in our country by training the Syngman Rhee puppet army and, further, launching a direct invasion on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as they already did on June 25, 1950.

fratricidal war in our country and launching a naked invasion on the northern half of Korea?

They calculated that our people's democratic system and People's Army were weak and that they could deceive the world public and shift the blame for igniting the war on to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and isolate our people from the peace-loving people of the world. They also calculated that by mobilizing large ground, naval and air forces against the Korean people they could occupy the northern half of Korea at a stroke and enslave our people.

These calculations of the US politicians and strategists miscarried. Our people rose courageously in the fight to defend their rights, freedom and independence and dealt a decisive counterblow to the aggressors. The enemies who had unleashed the war were repulsed south of the 38th parallel on the first day, and the People's Army which went over to counterattack drove the aggressors far into a southern tip of the Korean peninsula.

By September 9, 1950, a few months after the war broke out, the People's Army with the support of the entire people liberated nearly all areas of south Korea from the control of the US armed interventionists and the Syngman Rhee puppet army.

The US imperialist aggressors, however, would not respect the will of our people who won victory and set up government organs and order as they wished. As their military adventure ended in a complete fiasco, they hurriedly threw into the Korean front massive ground, naval and air forces which they had kept already in Japan and other bases, and launched a large-scale invasion.

In mid September 1950, the US imperialist aggressors landed at Inchon by mobilizing over 300 warships and about 1,000 aircraft. As a result, the People's Army was forced to wage difficult defensive battles and, due to the enemy's numerical superiority, particularly his quantitative superiority in arms, had to make a temporary retreat in order to regroup the forces and prepare for a new offensive.

In order to characterize the military situation in the period from the

fifth to the sixth anniversary of liberation, particular mention must be made of three important periods.

The first was a period when the hordes of the brigandish US imperialist interventionists and the Syngman Rhee puppet army crossed the Taedong River and madly pushed their way deep into the territory of the Republic towards the border of the People's Republic of China. In this most difficult period for our people the Volunteers, the best sons and daughters of the Chinese people, held out a brotherly helping hand to us.

In the second period many fierce offensive and defensive battles were fought, with the result that the US imperialist aggressor troops and the Syngman Rhee puppet army suffered heavy military defeats. By March 1951 since the outbreak of the war in Korea we had killed, wounded or captured over 325,000 enemy combatants.

During the third period the enemy sustained an extremely severe political and moral defeat. Above all this was shown clearly by the fact that the world's peace-loving people, indignant at the US imperialist aggressors' barbarous acts and criminal methods of war in Korea, came out unitedly to protect the Korean people's rights and strongly demanded an end to the US imperialist armed intervention in Korea. The defeat of the US imperialist armed forces of aggression quickly aggravated the political situation in the US and brought to the fore the grave crisis of the US policy of aggression.

Having realized that by conventional methods they could not break the resistance of our People's Army, the US warlords used murderous germ weapons, poison gas and napalm bombs against our people and People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers in flagrant violation of elementary human morality and international conventions. In order to understand the scale of the most heinous crimes ever known in the history of war which were committed by the US protagonists of germ warfare, it will suffice to take one example: during the two months from January 28 to March 31, 1952, the US air force dropped germ bombs and various other objects carrying insects infected with lethal germs at more than 400 places in the northern half of our country

on over 700 occasions. US planes used germ weapons in a vast area of northeast China, too.

The US imperialist invaders used the lethal germ weapons, poison gas and napalm bombs to massacre the Korean people, and thus frighten them and break their fighting morale and will and, further, blackmail the people in Asia and the rest of the world. But this wild dream of US war adventurers was shattered completely.

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Alarmed by the indignant protest of the peace-loving people who denounced the criminal US imperialist intervention in Korea and demanded an end to the bloody war, and also by the defeat of the interventionist armed forces, the US rulers could not but come out to the armistice negotiations in July last year.

We sent our delegation to the truce talks to represent the people's invariable will for peace and entrusted them with the task of maximizing their efforts and sincerity in concluding an armistice agreement on a reasonable and fair basis, thereby making the first step towards the peaceful solution of the Korean question. The US side, however, attended the talks with a crafty plan, which was exposed as soon as the talks began. In short, the plan is to employ the tactics of procrastination, blackmail and military pressure during the talks in case we do not accept their unjust demands. In this way, the US side wants to get their unreasonable demands met. If not, they would break down the armistice talks and continue with the aggressive war by more brutal methods.

From the first day of the talks, our delegation maintained an unequivocal and steadfast stand, declaring that we did not come to bargain with them for our territory or to hand over our prisoners of war to the Syngman Rhee clique and the US imperialists as their

slaves.

As our side took a firm stand, the US Command was despicable and brazen enough to use chemical and bacteriological weapons and carry out savage bombing on our civilian hydroelectric power stations, peaceful towns and villages.

In spite of the rude and, sometimes, unbearably unpleasant acts of the US side, our delegation has shown and still shows sincerity, patience and tenacity for a fair solution of all items on the agenda. Thanks to this, the talks have made a substantial progress. In other words, in five months solutions have been found in principle for all the questions, except that of the exchange of prisoners of war. The discussion on this last item has been on already for nine months. Why is it that this problem which can be solved easily has been discussed so long? It is because the US side unreasonably rejects our fair proposal based on international conventions. The reckless US aggressors have started to resort to frauds and tricks, rejecting the Geneva Convention and disregarding and violating the norms of human morality. In this respect, they dwarf the Nazis.

On Kojé Island alone, they tortured and killed in cold blood thousands of prisoners of the People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, throwing them into the sea, putting them into a death chamber in a special ship to suffocate them. But the brutalities of the armed interventionists could not and cannot break the fighting spirit and will of our patriots who want to return to their homes as soon as possible and firmly defend their human rights and dignity.

We will not back down from the Geneva Convention come what may, nor will we leave in the hands of the enemy our sons and daughters who are faithful to their country and people. We will do our best to see that all our patriots return to their homes and engage in peaceful labour.

There is no doubt that the US side is delaying the armistice talks intentionally. Behind the screen of the talks at Panmunjom the US imperialists are trying to cover up the policy of prolonging the Korean war and the policy of expanding aggression in Asia.

A protracted war, which imposes misfortunes and sufferings upon the Korean people and causes tensions in Asia and the rest of the world, is beneficial to the US monopoly capitalists. Because, taking advantage of this situation, they expand war production and rake in enormous profits.

Another obvious fact should be stressed. It is that the reactionary US rulers delay the truce talks, hamper the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, keep the international situation strained, and thus try to expedite and accelerate the revival of the West German and Japanese forces of aggression, rig up the “Pacific bloc” and other aggressive blocs and hasten the outbreak of a third world war.

While preparing for a new war, however, the US imperialists and their henchmen fail to take reality into consideration. They do not draw a lesson from the fact that their adventure ended in a fiasco at the Korean front. The US imperialists disregard the Korean people who are fighting stubbornly for peace, fully aware that if a people strive to keep peace and safeguard it to the last, peace will be maintained and consolidated.

The Korean people, arms in hand, are defending the freedom and independence of their country: they are not only liberating their nation from the American barbarians but also fighting for the peace of Asia and the rest of the world. Our people will defend the sacred cause of peace to the last. We are united with all honest-minded people, all champions of peace throughout the world—because we are fighting for justice.

Our people have declared more than once that they will frustrate the adventure of the US aggressors, and that they will not spare their efforts and will never yield to the oppressors come what may.

The Korean people will safeguard their freedom and save their nation from the aggression of fascist US imperialism. Our people are proving their words by actual deeds and their heroic struggle. Today we warn the US and British imperialists again that if they break down the truce talks and continue to spread the war they will meet a more ignominious end than they are meeting in Korea now.

The people of the world already know a lot about the means and methods by which the US aggressors are carrying on the war in Korea. The Commissions of the Women's International Democratic Federation and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the delegates of the World Peace Council and Chinese scholars, journalists and writers, who had witnessed with their own eyes the outrageous crimes and atrocities committed by US troops in our country since the outbreak of the war, have told the people of all countries, on the basis of facts and documents, about the napalm and germ bombs of US imperialism which reduced thousands of Korean towns and villages to ashes.

The US rulers could not hide from the people the atrocities committed by their troops on Koje Island which had been turned into an American-type Majdanek.

Once Hitler the cannibal, extolling the racist theory, prattled that Germans must conquer the world by every possible means. He infused cannibalism into the minds of Germans. He said: "If we are to build the great German Reich, we must first expel and exterminate the Slav race, that is, Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians."

Today, the US racists are preaching the same misanthropic nonsense, while US generals are virtually carrying on a war of genocide in Korea by employing napalm bombs, germ and chemical weapons and rockets.

It is common to find the US soldiers and soldiers of other nations belonging to the "UN Forces" captured by our soldiers carry with them handbooks or "manifestos" issued by the US Command, which ask them to be merciless to Koreans and not to have the slightest sympathy

and pity even for a child if it is Korean.

I would like to quote a paragraph from a similar document issued by the 8th US Army Commander to the soldiers of the “UN Forces”. It reads: “Soldiers of the UN Forces, you are safeguarding the great honour of all nations in these rugged hills and forests of Korea and checking the spread of communism from Asia and across the ocean. The war is fierce. Therefore, if you want to save your lives, you must kill as many Asians as possible. Don’t let your hands tremble even when those who appear before you are children or old people. Kill them! In doing so, you will be saving yourselves from catastrophe and fulfilling your duty as the soldiers of the UN Forces.”

Such is the plan of the bestial US warlords who are following in the footsteps of the Hitler army.

5

Our people are carrying on the harsh bloody war against the US and British aggressors and their satellites for more than two years now. The valiant Chinese People’s Volunteers are helping our people in this struggle. They came to our country with the lofty aim to defend their Korean brothers’ rights to free life, block the advance of the aggressors towards the border of the People’s Republic of China, contain them and achieve the peace of Asia.

It is still too early to make the final summing-up of our struggle. But the whole world knows what our people have done in the two years of the war. The heroic and peace-loving Korean people not only checked the advance of the aggressor troops of US imperialism, the bulwark of world imperialism, who are armed to the teeth, but also inflicted a serious defeat upon them both in the military as well as in the moral and political spheres. The enemy is marking time in the Korean peninsula for two years. They have failed to win, they

have been defeated.

How could Korea, a small nation, defeat the United States, a large country which has many satellites? What is the source of our people's increasing strength and what is the source of their stamina, valour and heroism? Today, celebrating the day of the country's liberation and looking back on the road they have traversed for the last seven years, our people know too well that it was quite correct that they chose the people's power as their form of government following liberation and that they adopted as their programme the Programme of the Workers' Party, a programme of democracy, progress and prosperity. Consolidating the people's democratic system in the northern half of Korea—herein lies one of the inner sources of the most powerful, vibrant and inexhaustible strength that guarantees the victory of our struggle against the aggressors.

Another important source of the victory we have achieved in the struggle to liberate the country is the lofty patriotism of our people and People's Army inspired with a great idea of safeguarding the country's freedom and independence.

Our people's lofty patriotism finds vivid expression in the unparalleled exploits performed by the People's Army soldiers at the front and the workers, peasants and working intellectuals in the rear. Three hundred and fifty thousand men and officers of the People's Army have been decorated with medals and orders of the Republic and more than 300 men and officers have received the title of Hero, the highest honour to be conferred on the citizens of the Republic. Thanks to their devoted efforts, thousands of workers and peasants and many writers, scholars, artists and actors have won official commendations.

Our people's lofty patriotism and valiant struggle are also expressed in the powerful guerrilla movement conducted in the rear of the armed interventionists.

Particular mention should be made of the distinguished role played by our working class in the cause of national defence. The workers are the hard core and leading force of our armed forces. They are advancing in the van of the struggle for the country's liberation. The

peasants and working intellectuals are advancing, too, shoulder to shoulder with the working class and under their guidance.

Thanks to the energetic activities of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea guided by the Workers' Party, the vanguard of our working class and other working people, the great unity of people never known in history has been realized in our country. Our front and rear are firmly united as never before. This is an important source of the victory we are achieving and a major guarantee for carrying it forward.

The victory of our people and the army is guaranteed by the role as organizer, mobilizer and educator of the Workers' Party which embraces in its ranks the finest patriots from among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. The guidance of the Party is the most important factor for the victory of our people. The Workers' Party has further cemented the worker-peasant alliance and rallied all the democratic forces at home and is ceaselessly striving to strengthen the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea which unites more than 10 million people.

Our Party has paid steady attention to the development and ideological training of military cadres as well as the leading personnel of the Party, trade unions, Peasants' Union and Democratic Youth League. The Party steadily arms its ranks with Marxism-Leninism, assimilates the experience of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, strengthens its ties with the masses and mobilizes them in the struggle against the foreign armed interventionists and the Syngman Rhee clique.

What is basic in the Party's education of the people is their education in patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Patriotism and proletarian internationalism are the militant banner of the working class and the entire working people striving for peace, democracy and progress. Our people who are deeply conscious of their lofty internationalist duty entertain great love and respect for the Soviet people who have shown an example in carrying out the true internationalist duty by helping the national-liberation struggle of the

oppressed peoples of the world.

The Korean people will neither forget the role played by the Soviet people in the cause of emancipating our country from colonial yoke, nor will they forget the assistance given us in accordance with the agreement on the economic and cultural cooperation concluded between the DPRK and the USSR.

What is of great significance for our people is the fraternal aid of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the assistance of the entire Chinese people. The friendship between the Korean and Chinese peoples is as firm as a rock. The imperialist aggressors are breaking and will break finally against this rock.

The Korean people continue to receive the unreserved moral support from the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, the Mongolian People's Republic, Albania and the German Democratic Republic as well as the peace-loving people the world over. On our people's side stands the powerful camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

Here lies a sure guarantee for the Korean people to defend their freedom and independence, build a unified, independent and democratic state, restore their towns and villages from ruins and reconstruct their peaceful and happy life.

ON CARRYING OUT THE RECLAMATION OF NORTHERN PLATEAUS

**Speech at a Conference of the Cabinet of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea**
September 20, 1952

Today I am going to talk to you about carrying out the reclamation of our northern plateaus.

At present the situation at the front is developing in our favour. The US imperialist aggressors have suffered a miserable defeat beyond retrieval at the powerful hands of the valiant People's Army and are now doomed like a setting sun. The Fatherland Liberation War will end definitely in our people's victory in the near future.

So, we are convinced of our ultimate victory and resolved to reclaim the northern plateaus. Looking at the map of our country long ago, I planned to develop the northern plateaus which were left deserted in the past, and turn them into habitable places. If we reclaim the vast expanse of the plateaus up in the north which had been untouched by man for centuries and set up large state crop and stock farms, it will be a solid base to supply the front with provisions and meat for the present and, in the future, a great asset in the rehabilitation and development of the devastated economy after we win the war. This is one of our objects for reclaiming the northern plateaus despite the wartime conditions.

Reclaiming these plateaus is also necessary for settling down the war victims. At present, there are many of them in Pyongyang,

Hamhung and other cities and in the villages of the frontline areas, and they are not yet able to lead a stable life. Therefore, they should be evacuated to safe areas and settled down as soon as possible. Once we reclaim the northern plateaus, we can guarantee them stable living conditions.

Further, the development of the northern plateaus will enable us to stabilize and improve the living standards of the local population quickly. Unable to endure the exploitation and oppression by the Japanese imperialists and the landlords in the past, those people left their loved homes and led a hard life in the remote mountains for a long time. If we organize and develop large state crop and stock farms there, they will enjoy a better life under the solicitude of our people's power.

We have already taken measures to set up such farms on the northern plateaus and made arrangements to survey the natural resources in that part of the country.

Some time ago, we dispatched a team to survey the resources of North and South Hamgyong Provinces. It has successfully completed the work far ahead of schedule, overcoming all sorts of difficulties and obstacles.

Through this survey, the team found over 60 000 hectares of arable land and pastures and gained valuable data and experience to make effective use of the nation's natural resources in the future. This will be of great help to the development of the country's economy and to stabilizing and improving the people's livelihood and reclaiming the northern plateaus.

The survey was successful because the team was formed rationally. It was composed of University teachers and students, and technical personnel from different specialities, such as agriculture and stock raising. This enabled them to conduct an overall investigation of the resources with success for developing agriculture and animal husbandry. In particular, the inclusion of University students made it possible not only to carry out the investigation more efficiently, but also enabled them, in practice, to consolidate their knowledge and gain experience necessary for their work in the future.

The investigation into the resources of the northern plateaus has shortcomings as well as successes.

The investigation failed to analyse the soil composition accurately. I was told that the team tested the soil only at a spot per a hundred hectares of area. You cannot get correct results that way. A hundred hectares is a very large area; there may be hills, ravines, swampy zones and pumice strata. Therefore, in order to know the soil components accurately, we must analyse the soil at places every ten hectares at the least.

Another shortcoming is that they only investigated the resources for agriculture and stock raising and did not survey the forest resources. We should make a separate survey of the forest resources in the future to supplement the data already obtained.

On the basis of the successes and experience we have gained in the investigation into the northern plateau resources, we should conduct more extensive firsthand surveys in the future to reclaim the vast area of tidelands on the west coast, the virgin soil in the inland regions, mountain slopes and riverside zones to get more arable land. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, basing itself on the investigation data on the northern plateau resources, should step up the work to build state crop and stock farms.

At present, however, some people hesitate to set up such farms on the northern plateaus. They think that agriculture and animal husbandry can only be developed in the plains which have favourable climatic conditions, and not in highland areas where the climate is unfavourable. Some officials make a fuss about the soil of the northern plateaus, but they should not do so. If we are so choosy, then, we cannot farm properly anywhere in our country, because it has many mountains and limited arable land. There is no particular kind of good land. If we improve bad soil we can turn it into good one.

It is true that there are a lot of swamps and pumice strata in the northern plateaus. But the swamps can be turned into a good farmland if we dig trenches and drain off the water properly, and we can cultivate crops on the pumice stratum if we carpet it with soil.

Reclaiming the northern plateaus is advantageous in many respects.

If we develop them we can get lots of new land with a small amount of investment. If we are to reclaim tidelands, we need large funds, equipment and materials, and a certain period of time to produce crops there. If we develop the northern plateaus, however, we can get a vast area of arable land with not much equipment and money and reap harvest from the very year we reclaim them.

And if we develop those plateaus, we can raise many slaughter animals with a small amount of capital. On the Paengmu and Kaema plateaus there is a wide area of grazing lands to raise cattle and sheep on a large scale.

Therefore, we should push ahead energetically with the work to set up crop and stock farms on the northern plateaus.

Developing these plateaus and setting up such farms under state ownership there is a far-reaching project for a great transformation of nature to create an excellent agricultural production centre on the highlands for our coming generations. Therefore, we must map out a comprehensive plan and work well in a far-sighted manner from the outset.

First, we should do a good job to build Farm No. 5.

This farm should be organized around the Sindok district on the Paengmu Plateau. The district has relatively good soil and a vast area of highlands so that we can keep expanding and developing the farm in the future.

It is advisable to set up Farm No. 5 in three stages.

This year is the first stage of the project, and we should direct our efforts to reclaiming arable land to get more than 3,000 hectares of new land.

The reclamation should begin with the area where vegetation is comparatively sparse. As the soil of that region consists mainly of pumice stratum, it is not hard to root out trees. Therefore, we can reclaim it easily with a few tractors.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry should quickly transfer to Farm No. 5 some of the equipment and materials for land reclamation,

including tractors and trucks, belonging to the Phyonggang State Combined Farm and Singye State Stock Farm, and also assign technicians to the farm.

Houses should be built to accommodate war victims and stabilize their livelihood. They should be log cabins built with timber that is abundant there. They are easy to build and good to keep out cold. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we used to build log cabins and live there. They are very good.

Some storehouses and production and public establishments should be built, too.

In the second stage, the arable land should be extended to more than 5 000 hectares by next spring and spring sowing should be done in good time so as to make the first year's farming a success.

In order to farm well in the first year we must plant high-yielding potatoes and wheat and barley in the main on the principle of the right crop on the right soil, while at the same time sowing sugar beet, flax and hop and the like. It is advisable to plant 2,000 hectares each to wheat or barley and potatoes. If we plant about 2,000 hectares to wheat and barley and reap a ton per hectare, we can produce 2,000 tons of wheat and barley. With this amount, we can solve the food problem for the population there and deliver large quantities of provisions to the state. If we plant 2,000 hectares to potatoes and reap eight tons per hectare, we can produce 16,000 tons in all.

Domestic animals should be raised in large numbers. We should plant 1,000-odd hectares to oats and other feed crops and create natural grazing lands so as to raise cattle, sheep and pigs in a big way. Thus, we will produce over 2,000 tons of meat next year.

Efforts should be concentrated on housing construction. Since the number of workers will increase, house building should be continued in the second stage, too. To this end, we must estimate construction ability and materials correctly and combine the building of permanent dwellings properly with that of temporary ones.

In the second stage, capital construction projects should also be undertaken in a far-sighted manner. Production establishments,

cultural and welfare facilities and public buildings should be built well stage by stage under a perspective plan.

In the third stage, Farm No. 5 should be developed into a large farm with over 10 000 hectares of arable land. From next year on, we should supply tractors and other farm machines to the farm preferentially and build it into a mechanized modern farm and a model farm of the state economy in the near future.

Along with Farm No. 5, the construction of crop and stock farms should be stepped up vigorously at Phothae, Hwangsuwon and Yangphyong. These farms, like the former, should also take measures to carry out the work of construction in stages to suit their specific situation.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry should conduct a long-range training of technical personnel needed to run the state crop and stock farms. National or provincial organizations will select and allocate experienced and able people as managers of big state crop and stock farms in the future, but as for the technicians, the ministry should train them by itself. Therefore, the ministry should open training courses for people on the job at large crop and stock farms and develop large numbers of junior management officials such as book-keepers, planners and statistical workers as well as specialists in agricultural production, pomiculture, sericulture, veterinary science, etc. In the peasants' slack season, short courses should be organized to train tractor drivers.

I am sure that you will successfully carry out a gigantic transformation of nature to reclaim the northern plateaus in the spirit of today's conference.

OUR RIGHTEOUS JOINT STRUGGLE IS VICTORIOUS

**On the Occasion of the Second Anniversary
of the Chinese People's Volunteers Coming
to Fight on the Korean Front**

October 25, 1952

It is two full years since the Chinese People's Volunteers, the precious sons and daughters of the brotherly Chinese people, came to our country in the just cause of helping the Korean people in the war of liberating their country and of repelling the US and British imperialist aggressors, the common enemy of the two peoples and the enemy of freedom and democracy.

The Chinese People's Volunteers arrived at the Korean front when the Korean people were facing greatest difficulties in their struggle against the US and British imperialist invaders.

The US imperialists had launched an atrocious invasion against our country and people, but suffered an ignominious defeat under the fierce counterattack of our heroic People's Army. In an attempt to retrieve their lost prestige and also subjugate our Republic at one stroke, they had thrown all their Pacific forces in an offensive and, despite heavy losses, advanced across the 38th parallel up to the area north of the Chongchon River. Confronted with the enemy numerically and technically far superior, our People's Army had been waging hard-fought battles to defend every inch of their land with blood. In this adverse situation, the brotherly Chinese people offered a helping hand to the Korean people

and sent a powerful volunteer force to the Korean front.

The participation of the Chinese People's Volunteers in the Korean war changed the entire situation at the front in our favour. In cooperation with them, the Korean People's Army dealt crushing blows at the enemy who had advanced up to the area north of the Chongchon River and drove them back to the south of the 38th parallel. As a result, our democratic base was completely freed from the enemy's temporary occupation, and we became much stronger. The enemy has been pinned down and put on the defensive for two years along the 38th parallel from which they started the invasion against our people on June 25, 1950.

The officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers who came to our country to fight a just war against the US and British invaders, the common enemy of the Korean and Chinese peoples, have fought heroically for two years, sharing life and death, sweets and bitters, with the Korean People's Army officers and men and performing immortal service which will ever remain bright in history. That is why the Korean people show immense respect and gratitude to the brotherly Chinese people and the officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers on the occasion of the second anniversary of their participation in the war to resist US aggression and aid Korea.

1

The Chinese People's Volunteers' coming to fight on the Korean front is a manifestation of proletarian internationalism and as such is of great significance in furthering the age-old friendly relations between the Korean and Chinese peoples, defending the security of China and safeguarding peace in the world, the Far East in particular.

Since the emergence of states in human history, state relations have taken many forms.

Just as “everyone is a wolf to everyone else” in the relationship among individual capitalists, so the relationship among the states and nations dominated by them is inevitably antagonistic. True, we can see a sort of “friendly relations”, such as “mutual aid”, among capitalist countries which are expressed in the form of different blocs and alliances. But this is only a transient relationship formed to attack other opposing forces.

Capitalist states can cooperate temporarily in their pursuit of plunder, but each of them is always on the lookout for a chance to swallow another. If they find an opportunity to attack their opponents, they tear at each other, resorting to any perfidy without a second thought. This is the invariable basic relationship among capitalist states.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia resulted in the birth of a new relationship not only between men but also between states—the relationship of mutual aid based on proletarian internationalism unprecedented in human history. This internationalist relationship of mutual aid is showing its greater effectiveness today when the camp of socialism and democracy has grown into a mighty force.

The might of this camp consists first of all in the fact that the relationship between states and nations is based on complete equality, mutual understanding and mutual aid and that these countries are closely united behind the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Chinese People’s Volunteers’ entry into the Korean war and the aid to Korea by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries are precisely the embodiment of this new relationship between states.

Such an internationalist relationship of mutual aid among the countries of the socialist and democratic camp is possible only when state power and the basic means of production are in the hands of the people, not a handful of exploiters.

The working people are not disposed to exploit others nor do they want to conquer others. The people have common interests and

aspirations, consider exploiters and aggressors their common enemy and regard the misfortunes of other peoples as their own. That is precisely why the Chinese people aid the Korean people today.

The US imperialists hate the Korean and Chinese peoples who have become masters of their own countries. They want to enslave these peoples and, further, to dominate the world. They hate the historic events that have taken place in Europe as a result of the defeat of Hitlerite Germany by the Soviet armed forces, the historic developments in the East ensuing the destruction of imperialist Japan in the Second World War and also the triumph of the great people's revolution in China. They are making frantic efforts to blot them out. They are also trying to repress and stamp out the liberation movements of peoples in the East who have stood up to win freedom and independence. The joint struggle of the Korean and Chinese peoples against the US imperialist invaders, therefore, constitutes a struggle to defend peace and security in the world, the Far East in particular.

The participation of the Chinese People's Volunteers in the Korean war means a selfless proletarian internationalist aid of the brotherly Chinese people to our people who are invaded by the imperialists; it is an expression of internationalist solidarity between the two peoples in their cause of defending the peace and security of the world, the Far East in particular. This internationalist solidarity is imparting great strength in the Korean war against the US and British imperialist invaders.

2

Since the Second World War the United States has been the centre of international reaction, and its military power is the main force of world reaction.

The Korean war is the direct product of the aggressive foreign policy of the United States. Already during the Second World War, the

US imperialists manoeuvred to seize all military strategic bases on the earth in preparation for a new world war against the camp of socialism and democracy. They regarded Korea as a major base for the invasion of China and the Soviet Union. That was why they pursued the policy of colonial plunder towards our country ever since the day when they stationed their armed forces in south Korea, frustrated the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and launched a burglarious invasion against our country and people.

But this aggressive policy has failed, and the US imperialists have suffered political and military setbacks. The myth about American “strength” has been shattered. At the initial stage of the war, the young Korean People’s Army dealt fatal blows at the American forces and the Syngman Rhee puppet army and pushed them almost off our land.

A commentator of the newspaper *Observer* pointed out in its July 15, 1950 issue that the peace camp is a witness to how the powerful US armed forces are engaged in a hopeless, fierce and miserable war and how the smallest north Korean army has repelled the Americans and is forcing them into the sea.

More than once the US imperialists were on the verge of a debacle in the Korean war. As everybody knows, the US imperialist aggressive forces were beaten back to the south by the Korean People’s Army and the Chinese People’s Volunteers in November 1950 and from January to February 1951.

The war has clearly shown that the predatory American soldiers, steeped in utter selfishness, are miserable cowards. The American GIs shirk battles, and when they retreat, they run away leaving their wounded behind. The American officers usually send their foreign colleagues, the British, Greek, Turkish and other satellite troops, on the most dangerous missions. When they retreat, they get these satellite forces to cover their retreat. As a result, the Turkish Brigade on the Korean front has lost approximately half the strength and the British Division 30 per cent of its troops. It is not accidental that the US imperialists are trying to increase the strength of the Syngman Rhee puppet army in order to fend off their own loss.

The war has also laid bare the brutality of the American troops all the more nakedly. Even according to the preliminary data, these invaders dropped some 200,000 medium and heavy bombs, 15 million napalm bombs and fired 200 million rounds of ammunition plus some 400,000 rockets in Korea during the two years since the start of the war. Every day 700 to 1,000 enemy planes are flying over Korea, each on at least two regular daily sorties. Our special technical devices have confirmed that only 15 per cent of their total sorties were on close air support missions, and the rest, i.e. 85 per cent, were for the destruction of peaceful towns and villages and for the massacre of the inhabitants. All the towns including county and sub-county seats in our country have been destroyed. The enemy even used chemical and bacteriological means of war in an attempt to exterminate the Koreans.

But no matter what kinds of brutalities they resorted to, the enemy was not and will not be able to break the morale of the Korean people, the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers who are fighting for liberty and peace.

At the Korean front, in addition to their huge manpower losses, the Americans lost heavily in their weapons and equipment—planes, tanks, artillery pieces, naval vessels, etc.—a tremendous loss the like of which has never been suffered in their history, and they also lost several thousand qualified airmen. The war has also exposed the weaknesses inherent in the American strategy and technique and the military leadership of their generals.

The US imperialists calculated that they would win the war simply on the strength of the superiority of military technique. But the Korean war proves that technique is not everything that brings about victory. The world's people are clearly seeing the ineffectiveness and failure of American military technique against the heroic struggle of the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers. The Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers have shown that men, not technique, are the decisive factor in war and that technique can be mighty only when it is in the hands of the people fighting in the cause of justice.

The American imperialists looked down upon the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers and underestimated them, while overestimating their own forces. The events of the war, however, proved that the Americans cannot defeat us. It showed instead that the Korean people, rallied closely around their Government and Party, are defending their independence and liberty more firmly and more effectively, hand in hand with the Chinese People's Volunteers.

If they frustrate the armistice negotiations at Kaesong, the American imperialists will suffer a more ignominious defeat.

What was the mistake of the US imperialists and what did they fail to reckon with?

First, they failed to calculate the lofty will and determination of the Korean people to defend their liberty and independence; second, they were blind to the powerful socialist and democratic camp standing behind the Korean people. In particular, they failed to see such a new type of proletarian internationalist aid as given to Korea by the fraternal Chinese people when they sent their Volunteers to help the Korean people in difficulties and trials.

The Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers in close cooperation have foiled the aggressive plan of the US imperialists and laid the foundations for our people to win an ultimate victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

3

Militant solidarity and fraternity between the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers are being further cemented in their joint struggle against the American imperialist invaders. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers are displaying unparalleled courage, determination and heroism in battles. The field of difficult battles is a

true witness to their noble spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and their lofty political awareness has won everyone's admiration.

At the Korean front the Chinese People's Volunteers have shown that they are a liberation army fighting the enemy of the people and that they are a revolutionary army of a new type equipped with invincible Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. Scores of thousands of officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers have displayed peerless courage and heroism in the two years of the Korean war. Their bravery has rendered powerless the much-advertised American technique and American generals' leadership.

The Korean people highly commend the battle results of the Chinese People's Volunteers who have produced 139 Heroes in battles against the US imperialist invaders. The Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already awarded decorations of the Republic to scores of thousands of officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers in commendation of the distinguished service they have performed in the struggle for liberty and independence.

The Korean people see the sons and daughters of China educated by the Chinese Communist Party in the officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers fighting at the Korean front, and in them they see the genuine qualities of noble, purehearted men of a new type who are dedicating their all to the Korean people's cause of liberty and independence, regarding the latter's hardships and sufferings as their own.

Comrade Luo Shengjiao, the excellent son of the Chinese people, saved a Korean boy from drowning by sacrificing himself.

In his "Resist-America Diary" he said, "Everything in sight stirs me to indignation. I will not return home until I have wiped out the American marauders!"

And here is a stanza from his poem:

Comrades,

*Do not halt by my body,
Even if you find me fallen,
Hit by an invader's bullet!
Go ahead bravely
For the millions of Koreans
To destroy the enemy of your fallen comrades!*

This is the common determination of all the officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers who have participated in the Fatherland Liberation War of our people today.

When they were departing for the Korean front, the Chinese People's Volunteers pledged to their country and people, to their Party and leader, that they would respect the custom and convention of the Korean people and prize every single mountain, every single drop of water, every single tree and every single blade of grass in Korea, and that in firm unity with the Korean people and the Korean People's Army they would destroy the US imperialist troops of aggression completely and thoroughly. They are excellently putting this solemn pledge into practice. They are defending every height and every inch of our land at the cost of their blood, and truly with a deep attachment to them as they would their own. They are heroically fighting ceaseless fierce battles at the front, withstanding all hardships, and also helping with brotherly affection the Koreans who are undergoing misfortunes and sufferings because of the US imperialist atrocities.

The Chinese People's Volunteers throw in their lot with the Korean people. That is why the bond of friendship has been sealed between the soldiers of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers at the front, a bond of friendship closer than between one's own brothers.

The Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers are sharing life and death with each other, saving and helping each other at the risk of their lives. Even at critical moments under enemy fire, under a hail of bullets and shells, they come to rescue each other's wounded comrades from the danger. They share ammunition with each other

when it runs out; they share food rations with each other when they are in short supply. No force can ever break the bond of militant fraternity and solidarity sealed between the officers and men of the two countries.

Every act of the officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers is clear evidence of their warm love of the Korean people. Last spring they saved several thousand tons of food supplies and gave them to our people who had run out of food, and in the intervals of battles they ploughed more than ten thousand hectares of farmland for our peasants who are short of hands. While fighting the enemy, they repaired irrigation canals and dikes, planted plenty of trees in our land and reclaimed a large tract of barren land for us. They helped the Korean people at the cost of their blood and lives and strove with all their hearts to alleviate the sufferings of our people. This is a noble moral quality unique to the army truly of the people, the revolutionary army solidly equipped with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Such an ennobling moral trait is the pride not only of the Korean and Chinese peoples but of all people in the world who aspire to justice, conscience and progress.

The heroism of the Chinese People's Volunteers and their warm love of the Korean people are rooted in the 500 million Chinese people's movement to resist US aggression and aid Korea. This is not a transient movement; it is a movement developed as a political slogan for the consolidation of the victorious people's revolution in China and for political, economic, cultural and military progress.

Mrs. Zhang Jiang, the mother of peasant Zhang Haiqing living in Dayi County, Sichuan Province, China, said to her son taking the field as a volunteer: "You must go to Korea and take revenge for your father's death." She said this because her husband had been beaten to death by his landlord for his failure to pay the rent under the rule of Jiang Jieshi. She tore off a piece from the bloodstained clothes of her murdered husband and gave it to her son departing for Korea.

When the delegations of the Korean people and the Chinese

People's Volunteers visited China last year, the people in Tengchong in Yunnan Province, China, finished the road-building project which had been under way, more than ten days ahead of the schedule, paved it with white sand brought from over a mile's distance and adorned it with flowers all over to meet the delegations.

The Korean people boundlessly love, respect and wholeheartedly help the officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers, their comrades-in-arms and brothers.

When a unit of the Chinese People's Volunteers back from their battle at the front stopped at a village in the rear for a short rest, all the villagers, men and women, young and old, welcomed and comforted them as they would their own brothers back from the front, the Women's Union members washing all their clothes in the intervals of their farm work, and the Children's Union members gathering wild vegetables on their way back from school and offering them to the Volunteers. The villagers invited the Volunteers to the democratic publicity hall and gave them a colourful artistic performance for their entertainment. People from every home brought meals to the wounded and comforted and nursed them.

When leaving the village, the Volunteers unit put up a motto: "a village exemplary in supporting the army" in the democratic publicity hall. This is one of the everyday occurrences in the relations between our people and the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea at present.

The Korean and Chinese peoples are sharing life and death, the sweets and the bitters, sealing a close bond of brotherhood, because they are led by the Marxist-Leninist parties—the Workers' Party of Korea and the Communist Party of China—and united solidly under the banner of proletarian internationalism and also because they are fighting a righteous war against US imperialism, their common enemy.

Today our people loudly voice their firm faith to the world people, a faith they confirmed with blood in the raging flames of war they are waging with their destiny at stake: "Raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism! Consolidate further the socialist and democratic camp with its tremendous vitality! This is the only road to

freedom and happiness for all nations and humanity—the road to victory.”

* * *

During the two years of war, our People’s Army and the Chinese People’s Volunteers have grown into indestructible forces. Our units have become stronger, and our men and commanding officers have acquired richer experience and greater abilities. We can say confidently that we shall be victorious.

Our true friends, the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the rest of the world, are standing on our side and giving us support and encouragement.

The Korean people know well that they are not afraid of any violent enemy so long as such devoted friends as the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China stand behind them.

Our people will fight on determinedly under the leadership of the Workers’ Party of Korea for the freedom and independence of their country.

Our people, together with the Chinese people, will continue to fight till they annihilate the enemy and win a complete victory, braving all difficulties and sacrifices. They will defend the freedom and honour of their country without fail.

At the armistice negotiations in Kaesong, the Americans are now resorting to fabrication, deception, threats and all sorts of trickery. But it is a gross miscalculation and absurdity for them to try to make us surrender in such a way. If the ruling circles of the United States turn down our just proposals and thwart the Kaesong armistice negotiations, the enemy will not be able to avoid a more miserable defeat in the Korean war.

ON WIPING OUT USURY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

**Speech at the 21st Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

October 30, 1952

Today I would like to speak briefly on wiping out usury in the countryside to improve the livelihood of peasants.

As you know, our peasants are facing extreme hardships. The US imperialist aggressors' brutal bombing has shattered the foundations of agricultural production and impoverished the peasants to the utmost. To make the matter worse, the damage caused by the flood and drought last year further worsened their living conditions. At present, the peasants are in great need of decent clothes and bedclothes and also are short of draught animals, seeds and food grain.

We must stabilize the living of the impoverished peasants as soon as possible. If not, we shall be unable to consolidate the home front nor shall we be able to mobilize the peasants vigorously in the struggle to increase the wartime production of cereals and to win the war.

In order to stabilize their living conditions, this year the state not only loaned food and seed to the poor peasants who were suffering from food shortage, but took a series of measures such as reduction of or exemption from the tax in kind, and writing off the grain loans. These measures helped them to a considerable degree.

If we are to stabilize and improve their livelihood, it is necessary, over and above these state measures, to eradicate usury in the countryside.

Usury is a pre-capitalist form of exploitation based on the private

ownership of the means of production. Usurers squeeze peasants cruelly by lending money or cereals to them at an exorbitant rate of interest. Such an exploitative practice, therefore, cannot be tolerated under our social system where the people are masters of the country.

Nevertheless, there are conditions giving rise to usury, since still now the rich farmers' economy and private farming exist in the countryside as well as dishonest merchants and private entrepreneurs in towns. Rich farmers and well-to-do people are ready to practise usury and exploit the peasants whenever they have an opportunity.

Rich farmers, profiteers and private entrepreneurs lend money or cereals to poor peasants at extortionate interest rates, taking advantage of the latter's hard plight, and they buy the future crops on the fields where they are sown. Such transactions grind down the poor peasants. We must, therefore, strive to eliminate usury in the countryside.

To wipe out usury, we must, of course, abolish private ownership, the economic basis of usury, by cooperativizing individual farms in the countryside and by transforming urban handicrafts and capitalist trades and industries on socialist lines. But this does not mean that it is impossible to stamp out usury in the countryside before a socialist reorganization of the relations of production. Now that state power is in the hands of the people in our country, this can be done even under the present circumstances, if the state gets down to the struggle against loan-sharking.

In order to stop usury in the countryside, the state must, before all else, tighten its legal control over this practice. This is one of the major means of doing away with usury.

The state should keep rich farmers, profiteers, and private entrepreneurs in check legally lest they should exploit peasants by means of usury. For the present, it should take legal steps to settle fairly the peasants' debts to them. All the extortionary contracts between them should be cancelled, and the loans in cereals or cash declared free of interest. In the case of cash loans to be repaid in cereals, the obligatory quantity of grain to be delivered will be calculated on the basis of the market price at the time of the deal. If the

loan has to be repaid in cash, the amount should be the current price of the amount of cereals which the loan could have fetched at rates prevailing at the time of borrowing. Cereal loans to be returned in cash should be paid back in money worth of the amount of the borrowed cereals at the current market price. The crops which profiteers or private entrepreneurs bought in advance at the time of sowing should all be returned to the peasants.

Next, the Peasant Bank should radically increase its role.

Legal control of the state alone is not enough to wipe out usury in the rural areas. To do so, while the state tightens legal control, the Peasant Bank should also increase its activity and provide the peasants with necessary funds for farming and subsistence.

The main reason for the continued prevalence of usury in the countryside at present lies in the inadequate functioning of the Peasant Bank. Had it worked properly and loaned necessary funds for farm work and subsistence to peasants, it could have prevented loan-sharking.

We set up the Peasant Bank, the peasants' own cooperative credit society, in order to provide farming funds to the peasants who became masters of land thanks to the agrarian reform after liberation and to free them from usurious exploitation. At that time the usurers used to lend money to peasants at an exorbitant rate of interest, but the Peasant Bank loaned to them farming funds and also some money for subsistence at a negligibly low rate. This freed the peasants from usurers' exploitation.

Nowadays, however, the Peasant Bank is not playing its part properly. The bank officials, oblivious of its basic mission, are sidetracking the bulk of its loanable funds to institutions and enterprises. The bank is allocating 60 per cent of the loanable funds to state bodies, enterprises and cooperative organizations and only 40 per cent to the peasants. Peasants are the sole shareholders of this bank, but at present it works not for the peasants but for institutions and enterprises as if it were a state-owned bank.

The bank officials say that they are lending money to institutions

and enterprises because the peasants have nothing to spend money on and do not want loans. This is not true. If they do not need money, why, then, should they borrow from usurers at a high rate of interest? Peasants are reluctant to get loans from their bank because the bank officials are using wrong methods of work.

At present, the bank officials do not hold even a meeting of shareholders to settle the account, although there are hundreds of thousands of shareholders. Loans are only handled by the branch offices at county seats and, on top of it, peasants are required to go through inconvenient and complex formalities to get loans, and the savings are drawn in by means of allotment. This has given the peasants a misconception of their own bank, and some of them even have an erroneous idea that it is a tax-collection agency.

The bank officials should correct this mistake as quickly as possible and increase its role in every way in keeping with its character and mission.

If it is to play its part better, the Peasant Bank must first and foremost draw the peasant masses widely in its work. Only when the peasant masses, the shareholders of the bank, take an active part in its work, can it work properly according to their will and in their interests.

The bank must radically activate the delegate conferences of shareholders at all levels and in particular form a board of their representatives at every ri and enhance its role so that it will inform the peasants correctly of the significance and mission of the Peasant Bank. In this way, the broad sections of peasants will voluntarily participate in the management of the bank.

The Peasant Bank should correctly handle the work of loaning funds to the peasants. In order to perform its mission as it should as cooperative credit society for the peasants, it must always lay the main stress on lending money to the peasants.

The Peasant Bank should provide the peasants with adequate farming funds and also with the money for subsistence as far as possible. In this regard, priority must go to the poor peasants who need the financial aid most.

In order to carry out the main job of providing funds to the peasants, that part of its transactions with state bodies, enterprises and cooperative organizations which rightly belongs to the Central Bank, should be handed over to the latter.

If it is to function satisfactorily, the Peasant Bank should tap a wide range of sources of loanable funds. Without these sources it would be impossible to offer adequate financial aid to the peasants.

In order to increase the resources, it is necessary to enrol more shareholders and encourage saving. It is especially important to organize saving efficiently among the peasants. The bank should convince the peasants to save, bring deposit counters closer to villages and encourage saving. This is the way to draw in all the idle money in the countryside.

In giving loans to the peasants, the bank should pay special attention to meeting their convenience to the maximum. Loans should be handled at all village branches, and the formalities of getting loans and paying them back should be simplified to the utmost lest the peasants feel the slightest inconvenience.

Guidance of the Peasant Bank should be improved, to increase its role. The Ministry of Finance should strengthen inspection and control of the Peasant Bank and regularly guide and help its officials to do their jobs well. The people's committees at all levels, too, should actively help the Peasant Bank in its work.

For the present, it would be advisable for the Peasant Bank to postpone the deadline by which peasants are to pay back their loans. Otherwise the peasants will have to sell their rice to settle their debts. Then the profiteers will buy rice cheaply, taking advantage of such an opportunity. We should not allow this to happen by all means.

Peasants should not charge interest on loans to fellow peasants. Helping neighbours in difficulty is a long-established excellent tradition of our people. This tradition should be further developed so that the peasants refrain from charging interest on each other's loans.

I expect that you will strive to wipe out usury in the countryside and improve the impoverished living conditions of the peasants.

ON REORGANIZING THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM AND DIVISION

**Concluding Speech at the 24th Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

November 27, 1952

Revising the local administrative system and rationalizing the local administrative division are of tremendous significance in raising the function and role of the local government bodies. Local government bodies are organized into units each with a specified number of inhabitants and a definite area. Government bodies at different levels function in close relations between higher and lower bodies. So, only when the administrative districts are divided rationally and the administrative system is proper, can the local government bodies perform their function and role satisfactorily.

But the existing local administrative system and division are irrational in many respects.

The present local administrative system is ineffective in developing agriculture and educating rural inhabitants.

A look at this system shows that there are large staffs of officials at provincial, municipal, county and sub-county levels, whereas there is only one official, the people's committee chairman, at the ri, the lowest unit which actually implements the decisions and instructions from higher echelons. He has to handle everything single-handed. If he is competent, there will be no big problem; if not, he will make a mess of the job. However good a decision adopted by the state is, it will be

useless unless he is able to grasp and implement it correctly. It is impossible for him alone to cope well with the tasks of developing agriculture and educating the people in his area.

In the existing chain of local administrative echelons, the sub-county people's committee, to say nothing of the ri people's committee, is not playing its proper part. The former is just relaying to the latter the decisions and instructions from the county people's committee without clear knowledge of the actual conditions at the ri level. So quite a few decisions and instructions from the sub-county people's committee do not suit the specific conditions of the ri. The existing local administrative ladder has so many rungs that sometimes it takes even one month for state decisions or its instructions to go down to the bottom, some of them too late in consequence. The excessive rungs also hamper the wishes of the masses reaching the Party and Government swiftly and accurately.

The irrationality of the local administrative structure and division shows all the more glaringly in the present conditions of wartime when difficult and complex tasks present themselves one after another and it is required to cope with all matters promptly and correctly.

We noticed their ineffectiveness a long time ago and have ever since studied how to eliminate it, discussing the matter on a number of occasions and making necessary preparations. This has led to the step we are now taking at this Cabinet plenary meeting to reorganize the local administrative system and division so as to eliminate their irrationality and improve the function and role of the local government bodies. Needless to say, it is no easy job to reshape them in this difficult wartime situation. It is a big reform. But we must do it now; we cannot put it off any longer.

As for the existing local administrative units, the proposed scheme envisages abolishing the sub-county unit and retaining the province, county and ri units. There will be an overall reform of administrative division along the lines of dividing the county into smaller units, enlarging the ri a little and newly instituting townships and workers' districts where necessary.

The change in the local administrative system and division is of great significance in improving the work of the ri people's committee.

The current reform of the local administrative division is aimed mainly at improving the work of the ri people's committee, which is the lowest government body of our country. Only when this unit is strengthened and the level of its work raised, can the people's government be consolidated and Party and Government policies carried out promptly and correctly.

As a result of the change in the local administrative system and division, the sub-county will disappear, and the ri will become larger with five to six full-time officials on its people's committee. Then, the work of this committee, which has been handled so far by the chairman alone, will be discussed collectively, and the tasks raised before the ri will be performed satisfactorily, and Party and Government decisions and instructions implemented more thoroughly.

This reorganization will strengthen the staff of the ri people's committee. Formerly, good workers on the ri people's committee used to be chosen for assignment to the sub-county people's committee, so the ranks of the ri committee were weakened. This time, competent workers on the sub-county people's committee to be phased out will go down to ri, two of them to each ri on the average, and then the ranks of the ri people's committee will become stronger and its work will go better.

The reform proposed is also significant in that it enables the county people's committee to raise its function and role and the local government bodies to keep swifter contacts with the masses of people.

Since the administrative reform is to eliminate the sub-county playing an intermediary role between county and ri and to bring the county to work with the ri, the workers on the county people's committee will be in a position to go down to the ri directly, organize and implement work to suit the specific conditions there, by joining efforts with the workers there, imbue the masses with Party and Government decisions and instructions for their prompt and correct implementation and strengthen the ties with the masses. The new local

administrative system will also enable the ri people's committee to contact the masses more swiftly.

The reorganization of the local administrative system and division is also important in developing agriculture.

Each and every worker must clearly understand the aim and significance of this reform and strive to ensure the implementation of this task.

It is necessary to set up a committee for organizing the ri people's committee.

This organizing committee should consist of cadres from political parties and social organizations and play the role of the ri people's committee pending its election. It would be advisable to hold this election in the autumn of 1953 and in the meantime study how many members will be needed on the ri people's committee through a year of practical work.

At the same time, the regular number of personnel of the ri people's committee to be newly formed should be fixed properly. It should have a chairman, a secretary, an instructor in charge of production and some two instructors in charge of tax payment, financial affairs or the like and also a person in charge of the democratic publicity hall. All this will run to five to six full-time officials on the ri people's committee. There should be a few vice-chairmen on this committee, but not on the pay list.

The chairman of the new ri people's committee should be selected mainly from among the persons equivalent in grade to the section chief of the county people's committee and also from among lower graders to be trained on the job. The rest of the staff should be chosen from among competent workers now on the sub-county and ri people's committees. The chairmen of the ri people's committees should be paid as much as the section chief of the county people's committee, but there should be slight differences in their salary according to the number of households under their care.

The local administrative reorganization should not involve any change in the educational and health establishments and some other

organizations under the present wartime conditions.

In the sphere of education, the redistribution of primary schools will have to be done when the war is over, but for the time being there should be no change. At present, there are approximately 3,800 primary schools at the village level, excluding those in urban districts, or one for every ri on the average.

Health establishments, too, will have to be redistributed on the basis of ri at some time in the future, but they should not be touched for the present.

It is also premature to redistribute among the ri the interior security organs, banks, consumers' cooperative shops and state-owned shops under the present circumstances. So the security organs and the shops should be where they are. The interior security substations, for instance, can remain at their present sub-county seats, their officials taking charge of every ri. The shops, too, should remain at their present locations, and in the future new ones can be set up in villages which are far away from shops. The matter of banking organizations should be discussed separately.

Next, in connection with the change in the administrative system and districts, the handing over of documents and property should be correctly done.

The land, forests and other common property of the state and society may be misappropriated by officials, if they are handed over without correct registration. So all of them, without exception, should be correctly registered before their transfer.

Further, measures should be taken to ensure contacts between the county and the ri.

This requires means of transport. Horses or motorcycles can serve the purpose. The chairmen of the county Party committee and the county people's committee too, should be provided respectively with a motorcycle for official use.

Documents, newspapers and mail should be delivered properly at each ri. I discussed this matter with communication workers. They say that each ri must have a correspondent to undertake this task. If we are

to assign a correspondent to each ri, we shall need a large work force for the whole country, and then there will be a budgetary problem. The State Commission for Fixing the Number of Personnel, therefore, should investigate whether to post the correspondent to the ri or whether to form a correspondence network on a rotation basis and then propose the appropriate solution.

The reorganization of the local administrative system and division should be undertaken on finishing the collection of the current year's tax in kind and completed as quickly as possible. The new local administrative system should thus function from January next year.

A central guidance committee for the reorganization of local administrative division should be formed to ensure the reshaping of the local administrative system and division.

This central guidance committee should be composed of 13 members, and it would be appropriate for the Chief of the Cabinet Secretariat to work as vice-chairman of the central guidance committee.

This committee should assume the responsibility to direct all the affairs related to the reorganization of the local administrative system and division. In particular, it should guide and control the provincial bodies to correctly select and assign officials to the local government bodies to be established newly as a result of the administrative reorganization, and also the local government bodies to register documents and property correctly and work out accurate statistics thereabout. It should organize courses on the registration of documents and property and on the handing over to ensure accuracy.

I expect that you comrades will make every effort to ensure the reorganization of the local administrative system and division and contribute greatly to strengthening the local government bodies and enhancing their function and role.

WARM CONGRATULATIONS ON THE INAUGURATION OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

**Congratulatory Message to the Academicians,
Associate Academicians and Other Scientists
on the Inauguration of the Academy of Sciences**

December 1, 1952

Dear academicians and associate academicians,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Republic and on my own, I extend warm congratulations to you, dear academicians, associate academicians and the rest of scientists, on the inauguration of the Academy of Sciences of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the first of its kind in the history of our country.

Our nation, celebrated for its long history and brilliant culture, has contributed a great deal of scientific creations and inventions to the treasure house of human culture since the ancient times. This is an excellent tradition of our nation.

But our people's freedom of scientific pursuit and their chances of creative activities were restricted to the utmost and even blocked by the feudal system of exploitation and the evil colonial rule of Japanese imperialism.

It was not until the country was liberated from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism that our people, guided by the correct policy of the Workers' Party and the people's government, became able to display their scientific talents and creativity to the full.

Since liberation, our scientists, together with the rest of the people, have made considerable advances in science and education, braving all difficulties and obstacles, both in the period of peaceful construction for the country's development on democratic lines and during the Fatherland Liberation War against the US and British imperialist invaders. But our achievements in science and education since liberation are only the first step towards the bright future of our country.

For the lasting prosperity and resplendent future of the country, we must intensify scientific research still further and zealously introduce the achievements of scientific advance made by humanity. This requires an organization to give comprehensive and coordinated guidance to scientific research. Precisely from this necessity, the Academy of Sciences of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is founded.

Through its scientific activities, the Academy of Sciences will add to the unlimited strength of our people and help the working people in every way to implement the national economic plan successfully, and thus contribute greatly to winning an ultimate victory in the righteous Fatherland Liberation War against the US and British imperialist aggressors.

With the historic inauguration of the Academy of Sciences today, our country and people expect, indeed, a great deal from it and pin an immense hope on it.

Convinced that our Academy of Sciences organized with the elite force of scientists in our country will fulfil its honourable mission, I wish you, dear academicians, associate academicians and the rest of scientists, more brilliant successes in your scientific pursuit.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY IS THE BASIS FOR OUR VICTORY

**Report to the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

December 15, 1952

1

Comrades,

One year has already passed since the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. The past year has been radiant with the great successes which the Korean people achieved in their just struggle against the US imperialist invaders and their lackeys, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.

This period witnessed many changes in the international arena and domestic life. In the international arena, the might of the socialist and democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union has increased and, in contrast, the general crisis of the world capitalist system has become more serious.

Encouraged by the decisions of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the wise leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet people have embarked upon their magnificent programme for the building of communism. While carrying this plan into effect, the Soviet Union pursues the policy of

peace and friendship among nations.

Comrade Stalin's work *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* is a new contribution to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. This work has provided the people fighting to build a new life with a powerful weapon and enriched our knowledge of the laws of development of capitalism and the contradictions between capitalist states. Comrade Stalin has developed the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the objective laws of development of modern society and, by reviewing the course of World War II and all the events that followed, made it clear that world capitalism has entered on the second phase of its general crisis.

A number of countries in Europe and Asia broke away from the capitalist system and formed People's Democracies, with the result that a world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union came into being. This has greatly strengthened the forces of peace and democracy and markedly weakened the reactionary forces of war and imperialism headed by the US imperialists.

Having taken the path of socialism, the People's Democracies, together with the Soviet Union, have won great successes in building a new life in the past year. The working masses of these countries have become convinced through their own experience that only the road of socialism can bring steady economic advance to each country. They have come to realize that socialism turns the once oppressed and exploited labouring masses into complete masters of their own destiny, into conscious creators of history.

The results of the economic development of the People's Democracies show that the US imperialist economic blockade policy directed against the socialist and democratic camp has come to grief. This blockade has only backfired. As for the socialist and democratic camp, its countries have answered the imperialists' blockade by strengthening their solidarity and economic cooperation and forming their own world socialist market in opposition to the world capitalist market.

With the world capitalist market dwindling, the struggle between

the imperialist states for markets and sources of raw materials has become more acute. Today, US imperialism, the most aggressive and brutal of imperialisms, not only plunders the peoples of the underdeveloped countries but is also frantically trying to gain control of the economies of other capitalist countries. So, contradictions between the United States and Britain, between the United States and France and other European countries are growing sharper with every passing day, and the struggle between West Germany and France, between Britain and Japan, and between other capitalist countries is also fierce.

The cracks in the aggressive Atlantic military bloc, which was whipped together by the US imperialists, are becoming wider and wider because of the contradictions between the United States and Britain, the United States and France and other member states. Despite the fact that the United States is resorting to all possible means in the hope of covering up the serious differences within the bloc, the governments of other member states, because of pressure from the masses of the people and economic difficulties, are more frequently voicing their discontent at the undisguised high-handedness of the United States.

In an attempt to find a way out of this crisis in the capitalist system, the US imperialists began to prepare for a new world war. To that end, they are carrying on a hysterical arms race, militarizing the economies of their dependent countries, inciting war psychosis, stepping up propaganda against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other People's Democracies, and are trying to ignite war wherever possible. The invasion of our country by the United States is itself a product of the policy of aggression and war provocation long pursued by the US imperialists.

Since they launched their invasion of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the US imperialists have more openly revealed their true colours as aggressors in the eyes of the people the world over. The invaders, headed by the US imperialists, have wantonly destroyed peaceful towns and villages in our country and slaughtered innocent

people, including the aged and children, thereby evoking the hatred and indignation of not only our people but of all the peace-loving and honest people of the world. Thus, the voice of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world is growing louder every day demanding an end to US imperialism's aggression in Korea and protesting against the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons by the US savages.

To justify their policy of war and plunder, the US imperialists and the scholars in their pay advertise the reactionary theory of overpopulation and sing the praises of atomic and bacteriological weapons designed for the mass slaughter of human beings. Pendell, an American Malthusian, published a book entitled *Population on the Loose* in 1951, in which he openly claimed that some 700 million people, or about one third of the world's population, must be wiped off the globe.

Our Korea has become an experimental ground for the US gangsters to try out their techniques of murder and put their man-hating ideas into practice. Why the US generals have delayed the ceasefire talks for one and a half years and sought by all means to break them off is no secret.

On September 4, 1952, Eisenhower, the recently elected US President, stated, "Today our initiative, illusions and productive system are all gathered into the war and prospect of the war. Our economy is a war economy and our prosperity is a war prosperity." This clearly shows what shameless, deceptive and empty talk the US propaganda about the "love of peace" is.

As is universally known, the war has brought fabulous profits to US billionaires. They have earned a stupendous amount of dollars from the blood and suffering of the Korean people. Insatiable US big business is attempting in every way to expand the Korean war and turn it into a war of aggression against the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. They are trying to break off the ceasefire talks by turning down our reasonable proposals unconditionally.

As all of you know, the Soviet delegation put forward a new proposal on the Korean question at the Seventh Session of the UN

General Assembly. This was that military action be halted at once and the work of repatriation of all war prisoners handed over to the Commission for the Peaceful Settlement of the Korean Question in accordance with the draft Armistice Agreement already reached by both warring sides. Nevertheless, this time the US imperialists again used their voting machine in the United Nations to vote down this reasonable proposal aimed at the cessation of the war in Korea.

The US and British interventionists have been carrying on their war of aggression for over two and a half years now in an effort to conquer our freedom-loving people by force of arms. During this period the invaders lost hundreds of thousands of men and officers and a vast amount of weapons and war materiel. As a result, all their attempts to conquer the Korean people and strangle the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have each time ended in ignominious failure.

In their fresh attempt to strangle our young Republic by any means, the US generals are now hatching a sinister plot to replace their troops with Japanese and Jiang Jieshi mercenaries. But there is no doubt that this intrigue, too, will fall through and end in disgrace for its engineers.

Our people, who are in the third year of the war, are receiving wholehearted aid from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mongolia and many other countries, and friendship and solidarity between our Republic and these countries have been further consolidated. The fraternal peoples of the socialist and democratic camp are assisting our people in every way possible in their hard struggle against the US aggressors. The aid given to the embattled people of Korea by the peoples of the fraternal countries is a tangible expression of the true internationalist friendship among the peoples of the socialist and democratic camp.

With the tremendous assistance from the peoples of the fraternal countries and the unanimous support of the peace-loving people throughout the world, the Korean people will undoubtedly rout the aggressors and emerge victorious from their just war of liberation for

the freedom and independence of the country.

All these events in the international arena inspire us Korean people with firm confidence in final victory and indicate that the day is drawing near when the US imperialist aggressors and the Syngman Rhee clique will be expelled from our soil and wiped out for good.

2

The situation at the front in the past year has been characterized by the fact that both sides, standing fast face to face in the vicinity of the 38th parallel, continued to wage fierce offensive and defensive battles.

Our valorous People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, while strengthening their defences, successfully beat back the enemy's local attacks by active defence and inflicted a tremendous loss in manpower and military materiel on the enemy.

The units of the People's Army and the Volunteers have become more tempered and accumulated rich experience in the course of the protracted defensive battles. They have also achieved great successes in improving themselves both qualitatively and technically.

Making use of the leisure from battles, we re-educated the commanding officers of the People's Army so that they might sum up their experience and master advanced military theory and technique. A wide-scale movement to create model companies was launched in the units and each unit was urged to concentrate its main efforts on reinforcing its technically weak branches. Supply work for the units at the front has been greatly improved and the armament and transport capacity of the units have also been strengthened considerably. Thus, the People's Army units have grown both in quantity and quality. Our People's Army is now doing its utmost to become a powerful army, even more modernized and regularized.

Upholding the slogan "Everything for victory in the war!", all the

people in the rear have continued a persistent struggle to consolidate the rear and firmly defended the freedom and independence of the country.

The road our Party has traversed in leading the people amid the fierce flames of war has certainly not been a royal one. It has been beset with countless grave difficulties and obstacles. But, successfully overcoming them all, our Party has always emerged victorious from the fierce struggle against our enemies within and without.

In the course of war, we have demonstrated to the whole world the soundness and indestructible vitality of our social system. Under the guidance of our Party, our people, full of ardent love for their country and with an unshakable determination to safeguard the people's democratic system with their blood, have been fighting at the risk of their lives to drive the US imperialist army of aggression from the soil of their country as soon as possible. They displayed unrivalled heroism and an indomitable fighting spirit. The great feats of the brave soldiers of our People's Army at the front and of the working people in the rear will shine for ever in the history of our country.

Our people have achieved considerable success in all fields of the national economy between the Fourth and the Fifth Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee. Thus, we have been able to keep up the production and supply of weapons and all kinds of war materiel to the heroic People's Army and stabilize the livelihood of the people in the rear to a certain degree.

In the past year all branches of industry, transport and agriculture in the Republic have shown an uninterrupted growth. In 1952, the total output value of state and cooperative industrial organizations increased by 19 per cent as against 1951, the output value of the latter scoring an 18 per cent increase.

Thanks to the growth of production registered by the state light industrial factories and the cooperatives and to the aid from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies, the retail commodity turnover of the state and cooperative trading organizations increased by 132 per cent over 1951.

In 1952 our Party and Government have taken a series of financial and economic measures to stabilize the currency and eliminated deficits from the state budget. The currency stabilization played a big role in improving the planned management of the wartime economy and in stabilizing the livelihood of the labouring masses.

Our transport workers have ensured swift goods transport in the teeth of the enemy's frantic bombing by promptly restoring damaged bridges and roads and repairing locomotives and cars. In 1952, the railway freight turnover rose by 13 per cent over 1951, and the amount of rolling stock also markedly increased.

Our peasants have been waging a titanic struggle to supply the People's Army and the working people with more food. Though irrigation facilities were destroyed, the supply of electric power and chemical fertilizer stopped and labour and animal power ran short owing to the barbarities of the US imperialists, the peasants who struggled without yielding to enemy bombing and strafing, finished all work this year ahead of schedule, from spring ploughing to sowing, rice transplanting to harvesting, and scored a big success in increasing grain production. In 1952 the total grain output rose by 13 per cent over 1951, and livestock has also increased steadily.

This year's successes in all branches of the national economy have provided favourable conditions for the rehabilitation and development of industry and agriculture in the future.

Next year the total output value of our state and cooperative industrial organizations will be 23 per cent bigger than this year; railway freight turnover, 18 per cent; total grain output, 5 per cent; and the number of cattle, 14 per cent. The retail commodity turnover of the state and cooperative trading organizations will be 17 per cent larger than this year. We have no doubt that these difficult tasks will be successfully fulfilled in the coming year.

The successes achieved in industry and agriculture have enabled the Party and the Government to take a series of measures to improve the material conditions of the working people.

At the instance of our Party Central Committee, the Government of

our Republic has exempted the poor peasants from the tax in kind and repayment of the grain loaned out by the state and increased the food rations for the families of workers, technical personnel and office workers. This is aimed at improving the life of the working masses. Steps have been taken to supply winter clothes and shoes to factory and office workers and college and specialized school students, and to provide the working people with dwellings. According to a special Government decision, free medical care for the working people has been introduced. All these measures have stabilized the living conditions of the factory and office workers and toiling peasants to a considerable extent and inspired them in their struggle against the US imperialist aggressors.

As the result of the successful implementation of the Party and Government line of continuing educational work even under the grim war conditions, most children of school age now go to school regularly and all institutions of higher learning in the Republic which were closed for a time have been reopened to train cadres.

We are immensely proud of the fact that the Academy of Sciences, which is the highest institute of science in our country and whose mission is to organize and direct all scientific research work in a unified way, has been established amid the flames of war. Considerable success has been achieved in literature and art, too, in this period. Many fine works have been created that truthfully depict the life and heroism of the Korean people fighting against the US imperialist aggressors at the front and in the rear. They encourage the people to be more valiant in struggle and to greater feats of patriotism.

Our public health establishments, too, are successfully carrying out their assigned tasks. Our health workers promptly and successfully got rid of the serious consequences of the use of bacteriological weapons by the US imperialist aggressors.

In the northern half of Korea where the people are the masters of the government and economy, industry and agriculture have been restored in spite of harsh wartime conditions to the point where supplies to the front and the livelihood of the people in the rear are firmly ensured. But

the situation is quite different in south Korea which is under the rule of the US imperialists and their lackeys, the Syngman Rhee clique.

The US imperialists who rave about “democratic freedoms” have set up a ruling system of fascist police terror in south Korea and cruelly suppress even the slightest manifestation of popular discontent.

Even when “electing” their so-called “legislative organ”, the US imperialists and the traitor Syngman Rhee arrested and jailed all their opponents by using both the military and police forces, and herded the people to the “polls” by threats and blackmail. As a result, all posts in the state organs are occupied by traitors to the Korean people who have sold out the independence of the country and the interests of the nation.

Owing to the predatory colonial policy of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique’s policy of selling out the country, the national economy of south Korea is going bankrupt and its people are living in dire poverty and hunger.

The so-called “agrarian reform” introduced by the Syngman Rhee puppet government in 1951 has accelerated bankruptcy among the peasants. The puppets have extorted 65-80 per cent of the harvest from the peasants under the name of the “land acquisition tax” and levied 265 different exacting taxes. In South Jolla Province alone, 10 000 million *won* was collected under an item called the “operational secret service fund”.

Such harsh exploitation and plunder forced the peasants to quit their villages and go wandering to the towns, and this caused agricultural production to drop rapidly. Consequently, grain harvests in the southern half, known as the granary of Korea, have decreased sharply, causing a food shortage of over one million tons this year alone.

Industry has also been dislocated in the south. The national industries are not supplied with the necessary equipment and raw materials, and find it barely possible to compete with the flood of US and Japanese goods. In consequence, factories and enterprises have been closed down one after another.

The production of daily necessities has dwindled to next to nothing. Even according to the watered-down data officially released by the

traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, in 1952 the textile industry which was said to be the most developed branch in south Korea declined sharply, output being 63 per cent lower than in the prewar years, and the food industry declined by 70 per cent.

The bankruptcy of the national industries and the decline of agriculture have caused a constant increase in the number of unemployed. At present those fully unemployed number 1,000,000 in south Korea, and the semi-unemployed and war victims, numbering 14 million, are left without any protection, 5 million of them living in misery in special camps. Even the starvation wages were so sharply reduced after the outbreak of war that employed workers find themselves hardly able to scrape along. By September this year, the wage index in south Korea had fallen by 33.3 per cent compared with June 1950 and the price index had gone up 15 times during the same period. Today the number of suicides is markedly on the increase all over south Korea owing to the hardships of life.

In spite of the savage police terror, the south Korean people support our Republic wholeheartedly and are fighting valiantly against the US imperialist policy of aggression and the Syngman Rhee clique's treacherous policy for selling out the country, which have spelled disaster and suffering for them. The activities of the "League of the Anti-Imperialist, National Salvation Struggle" to expose and condemn the barbarities of the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys and arouse the people in the just struggle are daily gaining in scope and strength, and so is the guerrilla struggle of the people in the southern half who have risen in arms for the freedom and independence of the country.

All the patriotic people in the north and the south are united firmly around our Party and the Government of the Republic and are heroically fighting against US imperialist aggression to defend the country's freedom and honour.

All the changes in military, political and economic life at home vividly show that the Korean people will certainly win final victory in their just struggle against the aggressors for national freedom and

independence.

Comrades, in 1952 we have achieved great successes in all fields of the national economy, including industry and agriculture, but we still have grave shortcomings.

Many ministries and bureaus fail to turn out goods which are entirely possible to produce even under present wartime conditions. In the past year, they have stuck only to the state plans, not so much as thinking of producing goods not listed in the plans. If they had been creative and active, a large quantity of varied products could have been turned out in excess of the state plans. No doubt the State Planning Commission is also responsible for this, for it did not calculate correctly the production capacity of the enterprises under the ministries and bureaus.

I should like to make a few remarks on the activities of each economic body.

The Ministry of Heavy Industry not only has failed to produce the war supplies stipulated in the state plan satisfactorily, but totally fails to produce certain kinds of munitions and turns out a very small quantity of daily necessities to meet the people's demands. Iron produced by the state flows into private enterprises and is used by individuals to make household articles and various kinds of daily necessities which they sell in the market at speculative prices. But none of these goods can be seen in our state stores or in the consumers' cooperative shops.

The Ministry of Chemical and Building-Materials Industries is very sluggish in its preparations for the production of cement, hydrochloric acid, nitric acid, fertilizer and other materials urgently needed by the state. Its leading officials say that the work does not go well because the ministry has not been in existence long. But half a year has already passed since it was set up. If the officials of that body had shown some enthusiasm for activity in keeping with wartime circumstances, they would already have put their work on the right track.

The Ministry of Light Industry fails to produce enough cotton cloth, silk goods, rubber shoes, paper, etc.—things essential for the people's life—and has fulfilled no more than 60 per cent of its plan.

Nevertheless, its leading officials, too, are working in an easy-going manner without struggling to eliminate the shortcomings of the enterprises under their ministry. At the local textile mills not only is much cotton wasted, but also a considerable amount of raw materials is stolen, production costs are rising and rejects are increasing. Nevertheless, no one will bear the responsibility for all this.

In particular, officials in every ministry and bureau do not take good care of the imported machines and equipment and are little concerned to see that they are used effectively. Consequently, many machines are rusty, damaged or out of order and do not work as they should.

A major defect of the Ministry of Railways is that many freight cars are running empty. Eighty per cent of them are run back and forth empty, while there is no end of goods lying about waiting for transport. It cannot be regarded as an accident that mountains of salt lying in the western areas are not carried to the eastern areas as required.

The Ministry of Agriculture has not yet restored the cultivated area to the prewar level. At present as much as 70 000 hectares of land are lying fallow. This is really intolerable. Yet, some of the leading officials of the ministry have the wrong idea of reducing the land under cultivation pleading the difficult wartime conditions as their excuse, and have gone so far as to back the suggestion of officials of local people's committees to leave the land idle.

In agriculture, the poor yields of quite a few crops, such as wheat, barley, soy beans and vegetables, are also due to the fact that the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture are not sufficiently active and do not give enough leadership, and advanced methods of farming have not been widely propagated. Also, the ministry has not taken measures to increase the profits of the state crop and stock farms. In particular, the officials of the ministry and of the local organs of power have not taken exhaustive measures to improve and stabilize the livelihood of the petty peasants.

The Ministry of Finance still falls below the mark in ensuring strict observance of financial budgetary discipline and inspecting and

controlling the financial and credit establishments. Because it did not do its inspection and control work satisfactorily, the Peasant Bank forgot its basic duty to provide loans to the peasants and committed the grave error of lending 60 per cent of its funds to institutions. Taking advantage of this misconduct, the usurers bound the poor peasants everywhere with debts. Thus, the Government of the Republic was compelled to take measures to properly settle the debts the poor peasants had incurred by adopting a Cabinet decision.

The Ministry of Public Health does not take good care of the medicines imported or received as relief from foreign countries. As a result, they are spoiled in the ministry's drug warehouse while local hospitals go short. That is not all. Medicines worth tens of millions of *won* are stolen from the warehouse. And hospitals, too, are poorly managed.

The Ministry of Education has not taken measures to reorganize the educational system and manage the schools well to suit the difficult wartime conditions. Many orphanages are badly managed and the children are in poor health.

The producers' cooperatives are still turning out goods of low quality and also goods which the people do not want. Without paying due attention to this, the central organization of the producers' cooperatives and the organs of people's power have left the work of the cooperatives to follow its own course.

All ministries and bureaus have common shortcomings. Their work lacks planning and collective consultation. They have not established a strict system of compiling statistics, doing accounting and making reports. The selection and allocation of personnel are unsatisfactory and so is their training. They do not insist that decisions and instructions are fulfilled nor do they strictly verify that this is done.

All Party organizations and state and economic bodies must quickly eliminate these defects and mobilize all efforts and stimulate initiative for the successful fulfilment of the national economic plan for 1953.

Comrades,

Holding high the banner of national independence and sovereignty, our Party is fighting in the van of the Korean people against the US imperialists and their running dogs, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. The destiny of the Korean people depends wholly upon the issue of this struggle.

The struggle is, on the one hand, an anti-imperialist national-liberation revolution, with the task of defending the freedom and independence of the country against the foreign imperialist aggressors. On the other hand, it is a democratic revolution involving the entire people, with the task of throwing out the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique—the gang of traitors to the nation, landlords and comprador capitalists, all of whom are allies and running dogs of the US imperialists—and of safeguarding our Republic and uniting our territory under its banner. The enemies of the Korean people are the US imperialist aggressors and their minions, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique—pro-Japanese and pro-US elements, traitors to the nation, landlords and comprador capitalists. So, the task of our revolution at the present stage is to destroy our two enemies, the internal and the external, defend the freedom and independence of the country and bring about its reunification under the banner of the Republic.

The two tasks of our revolution are interrelated. For unless the foreign imperialist forces are driven out of our territory, neither can the task of national liberation be accomplished nor can the people be freed from the oppression and exploitation of the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation, landlords and comprador capitalists, who are under the patronage of the imperialists. We must concentrate all our efforts on crushing and wiping out the US imperialist invaders and their stooges—the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.

The struggle of the Korean people against the US imperialist

invaders is a struggle for the complete liberation and independence of our country and, at the same time, a struggle for world peace and security, one which serves as a banner for the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. This is because US imperialism is today the chieftain of the international reactionaries and of the incendiaries of a new world war, and is playing the role of international gendarme to prevent the emancipation of the working people and national independence.

As the vanguard of the Korean people who are fighting heroically against the US imperialist invaders, the Workers' Party of Korea bears the destiny of the country and the people on its shoulders and has the sacred internationalist duty of contributing to the people's common cause of peace and progress. Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, our Party must wage a more resolute struggle and acquit itself well in the honourable mission entrusted to it.

For final victory in the struggle to oppose the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges—the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique—and to defend the country's independence and the people's democratic system, we must consolidate our Party organizationally and ideologically and unite all the patriotic and democratic forces in the country closely around it.

As you all know, the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held in November last year was a meeting of great significance for correcting the “Left” errors found in the Party's organizational work and for consolidating its ranks. Since then, our Party's organizational work has markedly improved and its ranks have grown rapidly both in size and strength.

First, the closed-door tendency displayed by many Party organizations in recruiting was rectified, with the result that by October this year hundreds of thousands of fine comrades were admitted to our Party from among the servicemen, workers, toiling peasants and working intellectuals who had shown patriotic zeal and devotion at the front and in the rear. Our Party has today grown into a mass-based political party with over a million members, a mighty party

with 48,933 primary organizations. In our country there is no village, workplace or army unit without a Party organization or outside its influence. This means that our Party's prestige has risen as never before among the broad masses and shows that they are actively supporting its lines and policies.

Here is a table analysing the growth of our Party membership with respect to its composition.

COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP
(in percentages)

	July 1, 1950	November 1, 1952
Workers	21.2	22.2
Poor peasants	54.7	57.4
Middle peasants	7.5	3.9
Office workers	11.4	12.5
Students	1.0	1.4
Rich farmers	0.3	0.1
Tradesmen, entrepreneurs, handicraftsmen, professionals and others	3.9	2.5

As you see, the composition of our Party has improved since the outbreak of the war. In this period, the proportion of workers increased by one per cent, poor peasants by 2.7 per cent and office workers by 1.1 per cent. In contrast, the proportion of middle peasants decreased by 3.6 per cent, rich farmers by 0.2 per cent, tradesmen, entrepreneurs, handicraftsmen, professionals and others by 1.4 per cent.

Second, the Party organizations have rectified the error of issuing penalties at random, an error committed in re-registering members.

In the course of re-registration our Party organizations committed the error of arbitrarily meting out unwarranted penalties to many

members. This brought about very serious consequences in which the Party organizations were weakened and the members' enthusiasm and initiative were paralysed.

The Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, therefore, decided to cancel, rectify or remove the penalties mechanically meted out by the Party bodies and organizations at various levels. As the result of carrying out this decision, by the end of October this year 29.8 per cent of the members expelled from the Party were re-admitted, 62.1 per cent of the members demoted from full membership to candidate membership reinstated, 69.2 per cent of those penalized rehabilitated. This clearly shows what a grave error our Party organizations committed while re-registering their members and what serious damage it would have caused to the strengthening and development of our Party if this error had not been corrected in good time.

But because this error was rectified in good time, the Party members have grown more active in Party life and Party work and more conscious in observing discipline. Thus, our Party has become more united and cohesive, organizationally and ideologically.

Third, since the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the role of the Party organizations has been enhanced, Party members are taking an active part in Party work, criticism and self-criticism within the Party has become lively, and inner-Party democracy has been brought into fuller play.

The bureaucratic and formalistic styles of work found in many Party bodies and Party workers are being rectified and the bonds between the Party and the masses of the people have been strengthened.

What is especially noteworthy since the Fourth Plenary Meeting is that undesirable facts in the work of the Party and state organs which were overlooked, connived at and concealed before have been detected and laid bare. This means that the work of the Party organizations has been strengthened, and that the Party members' enthusiasm and initiative have been heightened.

Thus, since the Fourth Plenary Meeting, the bodies, organizations and leading workers of the Party have in the main rectified the “Left” errors they committed in the course of implementing its organizational line, and expanded and strengthened our Party. Today our Party has become a more reliable force for giving leadership and guidance to the embattled people of Korea.

Comrades, the rapid growth of the Party ranks following the Fourth Plenary Meeting has resulted in a certain discrepancy between the quantity and quality. During the war, our Party ranks absorbed nearly 450 000 new members. The vast majority of these are green both politically and in experience, and about half of them are barely literate. This makes it imperative to consolidate the Party qualitatively and, in particular, to intensify political education among the members recently admitted.

It is necessary to raise the level of the Party’s organizational work and decisively strengthen its work of ideological education in order to consolidate the Party ranks.

4

Organizational work holds a very important place in Party work. It has considerably improved since the Fourth Plenary Meeting, but the level is still low. It falls short of the level needed to fulfil the Party’s political duties and fails to ensure the prompt and correct implementation of Party decisions.

What, then, are the shortcomings in our Party’s organizational work and what should we do to rectify them?

1. In recruitment there are not a few instances where Party organizations only concerned themselves with numerical growth, paying no attention to quality, and carried on recruiting like a shock campaign, in violation of the procedure of individual admission, with

the result that they gave chance and hostile elements an opportunity to sneak into the Party ranks. Examples of this were found in the Party organizations of some mountain and coastal areas in South Hamgyong Province.

There was even this instance: in a place where the revolutionary vigilance of the Party organizations was relaxed, the enemy bribed cadres at the ri level and used them in sabotage activities against the people. This is a very dangerous thing. We must draw a lesson from it for our future work.

Some Party organizations in North Hamgyong Province dealt with the admission of people to the Party haphazardly, and of those applicants turned down by the county Party committees, nearly 70 per cent were politically untrustworthy. This means that the primary Party organizations lacked revolutionary vigilance and constantly violated repeated instructions from the Party Central Committee to observe the procedure of individual admission in recruiting to the Party.

We will continue to increase the membership, but must strictly prevent spies, provocateurs and speculators from sneaking into the Party ranks. At the same time, we must concentrate our efforts on heightening the class consciousness and the ideological and theoretical level of the Party members and tempering them politically so as to improve the quality of the Party. If we fail to give political education to the recruits who have joined the Party during the war and do not temper them through their Party life and practical work, it will be impossible for our Party to play the role of vanguard detachment of the working people and increase its fighting capability.

2. The role of Party bodies as organs of political leadership and the role of Party officials as political leaders should be enhanced.

Many of our Party's leading bodies are now doing their organizational work in an administrative way, failing to bring Party leadership closer to the lower units.

Many Party organs still take upon themselves functions that belong to government bodies. This is a practice most inimical to our work. When Party organs do this they not only become unable to fulfil their

own role, but paralyse all sense of responsibility and initiative in the government bodies and, in the end, undermine the work of the Party organs themselves as well as that of the government bodies.

In certain localities, for example, the Party organs took so much of the work of government bodies into their hands that the latter could not manage independently, even in such a matter as mobilizing a few oxcarts to transport supplies to the front, without the approval of the Party organs. This is very dangerous. We must see to it that the authority and role of the organs of people's power are enhanced and that government bodies have autonomy and initiative.

The mission of Party organs consists of giving political leadership to government bodies in their work of fulfilling economic tasks, not taking over the work themselves, and of properly deploying Party forces so that each Party member plays a vanguard role in carrying out these tasks.

Moreover, the leadership given by our Party and government bodies and their officials is still on a very low level. It can be said that a wide gap exists between the officials' positions and their qualifications. Yet, many leading workers do not endeavour to raise their political and professional levels, do not try to acquire the professional knowledge and techniques needed in their branch of work or analyse and sum up their work, and they do not properly employ the method of collective leadership in their work.

One of the important tasks confronting our Party today is to raise the political level and professional ability of the leading officials of Party and state organs. We must direct profound attention to this matter.

We fail to give sufficient living guidance to the local Party organizations, and higher Party bodies do not satisfactorily give the organizations below them concrete and careful assistance in carrying out the Party's policies. Some Party organs still have a harmful armchair, bureaucratic style of work and formalism in many ways. This has bred conceit, ostentation and flattery among some officials in Party work and, furthermore, individual heroism, a typical feature of

bureaucracy, has even given rise to attempts to replace the Party Central Committee's line with one's own line, so-called.

We can see examples of this in the work of the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee. On the "initiative" of Comrade Pak Yong, who suffered from individual heroism, it sent down to the lower units an appeal drafted under Pak's own name, instead of propagating among the people the appeal of the National Peasant Congress sent by the Party Central Committee, and it displayed a special "initiative" in launching a "movement to double production", instead of carrying on the struggle for increased production as instructed. Thus, they left a considerable area of farmland untilled and hung on only to a limited area to conduct the "movement to double production". The upshot of all this was that yields fell by half instead of doubling. Also, they did not provide poor peasants with fertilizer, but supplied it exclusively to those who participated in the "movement to double production" so that only they could increase production. The result was that the livelihood of poor peasants went from bad to worse. Moreover, they organized ox-sharing teams, a move which favoured the rich farmers, thus "providing" conditions, on the authority of the Party, for the rich farmers to exploit poor peasants.

We must resolutely fight this tendency to individual heroism. All Party organs must conduct their work of leadership strictly in accordance with the line of the Party Central Committee.

3. Another shortcoming in the organizational work of many Party bodies and organizations is that they do not check up satisfactorily on how decisions are carried out and do not properly select and allocate personnel.

The aim of Party work does not lie in the adoption of decisions but in the correct execution of these decisions and the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks. This cannot be done without checking up strictly on how the decisions are carried out. Checkups on the execution of decisions, therefore, are one of the basic forms of our Party's organizational work.

A checkup should not be made for its own sake. It must be closely

combined with organizational work for the implementation of decisions. Those who do checkups should not confine themselves to finding fault, but help the Party organizations to rectify errors promptly. Checkups should always be conducted in a planned way, with definite aims, and by qualified, leading cadres, and in such a way that the causes of the defects are revealed and the way to correct them is clearly indicated.

As Comrade Stalin has said, what is important in a checkup is, first, that it must be conducted systematically and not spasmodically; second, that it should not be entrusted to second-rate people, but to really experienced and competent authorities; third, that it should not be confined to recording events, for it is intended to render concrete, on-the-spot guidance and assistance so that the defects revealed can be corrected quickly.

But successful work cannot be fully assured only by a checkup.

The selection and allocation of cadres are of great importance in ensuring the implementation of the Party's decisions. Cadres constitute the decisive force in Party and state leadership, and the fate of all work depends upon them.

After a correct political line and policies are laid down, there must be personnel who accept them wholeheartedly, defend them firmly and know how to carry them into practice. Without the proper selection and allocation of competent cadres faithful to the Party, any line and decision, however good, will remain a scrap of paper.

In order to allocate a cadre properly, it is necessary to study his good points and shortcomings carefully and know what kind of work will best suit his ability and talents.

Once a cadre has been placed, it is essential to educate him patiently, to help him deal with everything on his own, to check up on his work, to help him rectify his shortcomings and to clear bottlenecks in his work in good time. All upper leading bodies must make this a rule.

With the development of our country, the demand for personnel is constantly growing, and the problem of educating and training cadres and raising their professional qualifications presents itself as an ever

more urgent task. Our work is far from satisfactory in this respect.

A major shortcoming in personnel administration is the frequent transfer of cadres. This causes enormous harm both to the activities of our Party organizations and our institutions and enterprises and to the progress of the cadres themselves.

We must exert every effort to rectify all shortcomings in personnel management, firmly build up the cadre ranks and train and bring them up in a revolutionary way.

4. The Party spirit of members should be heightened, and an unyielding struggle waged against liberal tendencies and the survivals of factionalism.

By heightening Party spirit we mean that each member of the Workers' Party should be boundlessly loyal to the Party and active in its work, regard the interests of the revolution and of the Party as his life and soul and subordinate his personal interests to them, defend the interests and principles of the Party at all times, anywhere and in whatever conditions, fight uncompromisingly against all manner of anti-Party, counterrevolutionary ideas, be conscientious in his life in the Party organization and strictly observe Party discipline and always strengthen the bonds between the Party and the masses. Only such a person can be called a Party member with Party spirit—a strong Party spirit. Such is the criterion for appraising the Party spirit of each of our members and his attitude towards the Party. As the great Lenin said, we must see to it that Party spirit is expressed not in word but in practical work.

Though young, our Party has achieved considerable success in tempering the Party spirit of its members, the overwhelming majority of whom are loyal to the Party. In particular, they are fighting in the Fatherland Liberation War, ready to lay down their lives and give the last drop of their blood for the Party, for the revolution. Tens of thousands of our Party members have already sacrificed their lives for the country and the people.

But there are cases where some Party members lack Party spirit and are politically corrupt. Once promoted to responsible positions in state

and government bodies or Party organs, these elements more often than not become blinded with material privilege, estrange themselves from the masses by carelessly infringing upon their interests, lose sight of Party work and revolutionary tasks and only concern themselves with their own personal, selfish interests, thus committing serious crimes before the Party and the state. In particular, there are some leading Party officials who, at a time when the country and the people are going through difficulties, do not faithfully carry out the tasks assigned to them by the Party but make unprincipled complaints about the Party. They go so far as to grumble about this and that among the discontented elements who flock together, make abusive remarks behind the scenes instead of giving their opinions to the Party organizations or speaking at meetings or bringing things up in the presence of the persons concerned. They do not submit to Party decisions or to the interests of the revolution but think their own opinions are best. They use the allocation of cadres as a pretext for ignoring the Party's organizational discipline and recklessly play with words. There are also self-preservationists who care little about their duties, assume an air of indifference even when they see something wrong, are only concerned with looking after themselves and muddle along from day to day. There are also elements who care only about high positions. They totally lack any sense of responsibility for their work but put on airs about their revolutionary past and do not care to take on minor jobs in spite of their inability to tackle big ones. We also notice that some try to draw people close around them in an unprincipled way only because they are their relatives, classmates or friends or because they come from the same native place or locality, from south Korea or north Korea. Even when these people commit errors, they are overlooked.

All these are very harmful, liberal tendencies. Such liberals are men lacking Party spirit. Swayed by the egoistic ideas peculiar to the petty bourgeoisie, they do not subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the revolution. We must fight with determination against these liberal tendencies.

Though our Party is free from factions, survivals of factionalism are still to be found in it. These can harm the unity and solidarity of our Party.

Survivals of factionalism find expression in persisting in the old habit of unprincipled factional strife, in mustering elements with a tendency towards provincialism, those discontented with their positions and those penalized by the Party, and bringing Party members of relatively impure social origin over to one's side by agitating them with groundless remarks, such as "The Party does (or does not) trust you."

The vestiges of factionalism in a person are also manifested in the fact that he displays a keen interest when it comes to the appointment and allocation of cadres while remaining quite indifferent to other matters. He tries indiscriminately to appoint to high office people with whom he is intimate or who once belonged to his group, in disregard of their level of ideological consciousness, social origin or ability, and even makes zealous attempts to appoint renegades from the revolution to high posts. Consequently, those whose past political career is not clean and those who have not been given high office on account of their social origin, hang on to the factionalists in the hope of somehow securing a good position in Party or government organs under their patronage, instead of endeavouring to win the confidence of the Party by strengthening their Party spirit and devoting themselves to the Party and the revolution in the actual struggle. Those who have not discarded the survivals of factionalism take advantage of this and engross themselves in bringing these people over to their side.

The remnants of factionalism are also manifested in keeping dark the unsavoury facts in each other's past "revolutionary career" and in logrolling and shielding each other in order to obtain a good position in Party or government organs, and in driving a wedge between cadres by taking advantage of their differences or any discord in the hope of getting something out of it.

Another expression of the survivals of factionalism is the practice of supporting the Party line and the Party Central Committee

outwardly but opposing them behind the scenes, agreeing to everything in word but thinking otherwise, pretending to be faithful to people in their presence, but playing underhand tricks behind their backs. We must wage a resolute struggle against such double-dealers.

If this factionalist behaviour is overlooked, it could grow into factional action. Today, we can no longer let such elements go unchecked. They had better make a clean breast of it before the Party and stop their anti-Party activities. All our Party members must raise their revolutionary vigilance and Party spirit and keep a sharp watch on the movements of these elements, and prevent the factionalists from moving even an inch in our Party. Particularly now, when we are waging a fierce war against the US imperialist invaders, we cannot tolerate factional activities in the slightest degree.

As is shown by the experience of all revolutionary parties, factional elements, if left alone, will eventually turn into enemy agents. This we must bear deeply in mind.

Moreover, some Party members have a tendency to believe in individuals and depend on them instead of relying on the Party's lines and organizations. This may, in the long run, play into the hands of those infected with individual heroism.

In order to overcome all these wrong tendencies, it is necessary to temper the Party spirit of the members persistently, tighten the Party's organizational discipline and strictly observe the principle of democratic centralism in Party life. Only when the Party is united as one and acts with iron discipline on the principle that the Party member submits to the Party organization, the minority submits to the majority, the lower Party organization to its higher body and the entire Party to the Central Committee, can we lead the people to victory in the protracted, complex, hard revolutionary struggle.

A major attribute of Party spirit is fidelity to principle, which is expressed in resolutely defending the interests of the Party and the revolution, and intransigency towards defects in work and towards all manner of anti-Party or other hostile tendencies. Therefore, when we evaluate the work of each senior official in the Party and state organs,

and of each military cadre, we place importance on whether or not he possesses such a revolutionary fidelity to principle, intransigency towards defects, a high degree of Party consciousness and revolutionary vigilance.

5. We have the sharp, tested weapon of criticism and self-criticism to use in the struggle to temper Party spirit. Wielding this weapon, we must sweep away all tendencies that run counter to Party spirit and expose and rectify defects and errors in our work and thus improve it constantly.

Comrade Stalin has said, “Should we fail to recognize or to bring out into the open, in all frankness and honesty, as behooves Bolsheviks, the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, we will be barring ourselves from the road to progress. But we want to advance. And precisely because we want to advance, we must pose to ourselves, as one of the most important tasks, the task of honest and revolutionary self-criticism. Otherwise there will be no advance. Otherwise there is no development”.

Criticism and self-criticism is still inadequate in our Party. It is not that there is nothing to criticize but, it seems to me, that some comrades in leading posts do not like criticism and self-criticism, and the Party organizations do not pay due attention to this work, either.

Our Party has never classified, and cannot classify, its members into junior members and senior members, the latter being “immune” from the Party Rules or Party obligations and enjoying some sort of “privilege”. Party discipline is equally binding on all members. No one is allowed to violate it, no matter what his position. If any senior official or military cadre does not endeavour to raise his political level but leads a dissolute life or neglects his Party duties, he must be severely criticized by the members at Party meetings. This criticism will make him aware of his error, help him rectify it and preserve his prestige as a Party member.

Principled and open-minded criticism and self-criticism is the motive power for our Party’s development. There are, however, some Party officials, cadres in particular, who think that their “prestige” will suffer if they make a self-criticism, and they try to evade it in every

way. Only conceited and incorrigible bureaucrats can think that way. An official who frankly admits his errors and makes up his mind to correct them will boost his prestige rather than lower it.

The self-criticism we require is not a confession of empty words. What is important in self-criticism is not that a person merely admits his errors and shortcomings in words but that he corrects them promptly and actively improves his work.

To recognize the validity of criticism in words only is, in reality, to evade criticism and conceal and camouflage one's errors and shortcomings. By criticism and self-criticism, we mean criticism which is always conscientious, bold and practical, words corresponding to deeds. To encourage this kind of criticism, every Party organization and every senior official should create an atmosphere conducive to the development of criticism and self-criticism and fight resolutely against those who hinder it.

Criticism must be concrete. It is advisable that criticism is not confined to pointing out shortcomings but to show clearly how to correct them. Only then will criticism be more effective.

Criticism and self-criticism is of great significance in preventing a Party member from becoming conceited and arrogant and from lapsing into a bureaucratic style of work, and in keeping him from relaxing his revolutionary vigilance. Linked with the creative activity of the broad working masses, criticism and self-criticism will prove a great force in promoting the political, economic and cultural development of our country.

Our Party should educate its members and cadres in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and see to it that every member cultivates the habit of critically checking and summing up his day's work every evening for himself, not limiting himself to making a criticism only at meetings.

A specific feature of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party is that it is uncompromising towards shortcomings and errors and educates its members and cadres in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism so that they will be in the habit of making open and principled criticism and

frank and honest self-criticism. This is an important requisite for strengthening our Party and making it vigorous and militant.

6. To intensify the activities of the primary Party organization, the basic unit of our Party, and to increase the vanguard role of the Party members, is a more urgent question than ever. Many of our Party organs, however, give far from satisfactory guidance to the cells.

What is of first importance in strengthening a Party cell is to foster the cell nucleus and to choose the right person as chairman of the cell. Since many Party organs did not pay deep attention to the selection of cell chairmen, as many as 79 were expelled from the Party in the first half of this year alone, some of them having been bribed to become spies of the enemy. Also, quite a number of cell chairmen were relieved of their office because their ability and political level were too low. Moreover, Party organs frequently change cell chairmen, thus allowing them no time to acquire experience and skill. The Pyongyang city Party organization, for instance, changed 37.3 per cent of its cell chairmen in the first half of this year. This kind of thing must be rectified.

Implementation of all our Party's policies depends on the work of the Party cells that make the policies known to the masses and directly carry them into effect. Unless the cells are consolidated, our Party cannot be strengthened nor can the revolutionary tasks be performed successfully.

To consolidate a Party cell, it is necessary to foster a nucleus fully capable of building up the cell. This question has been emphasized time and again for years now, but it has not yet been satisfactorily solved.

We are now making preparations to change the administrative divisions so that the guidance given by the higher organs will reach closer to the lower units and so that Party and state policies will be put into effect more quickly. These preparations are proceeding along the lines of dividing the county into smaller units, abolishing the sub-county and reinforcing the ri. Our Party, therefore, is now confronted with the task of training a great number of cadres to work in Party and government bodies at the ri level. We must lose no time in

taking measures to train these cadres through various short-course systems, provincial Party schools and cadre-training schools under the provincial people's committee.

Fostering the cell nucleus alone is not sufficient for strengthening the cells. We must also give full scope to inner-Party democracy and give Party assignments properly so that all members take an active part in Party work. We must also raise the political and ideological level of Party meetings so they become schools for educating the members.

The enemy is making every attempt to harass our rear and is desperately trying to stretch his crooked tentacles into corners where the activities of our Party cells are at a low ebb. Recent information from different localities shows that the enemy has bribed ri cadres in such places and used them for their sabotaging activities. This is a very dangerous thing.

Party organs at all levels, therefore, must pay close attention to selecting and training cell chairmen properly, fostering cell nuclei and consolidating the primary Party organizations.

7. An important matter in the organizational work of our Party is to maintain close bonds between the Party and the masses. The wellspring of our Party's strength is its bonds of kinship with the broad masses. So, strengthening these bonds is essential for making our Party an invincible revolutionary party.

The work of strengthening the bonds between the Party and the masses has markedly improved since the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. However, we have not yet eliminated the bureaucratic style in our work with the masses.

Bureaucracy is a method of work which arises when matters are dealt with in isolation from the masses, without heeding their creative opinions, when plans are drawn up in the office behind closed doors, when decisions and orders are imposed on the lower levels, and only bluster is used with the masses. This method of work is bound to make the masses dissatisfied, estrange the Party from them and do enormous harm to Party and state work.

We must do away with this style of work, listen to the voice of the

masses, thoroughly defend their interests and work faithfully as their servants under all circumstances. We must persuade, educate and lead them to accept the Party's slogans wholeheartedly and to consciously rise to the occasion in carrying out the tasks set by the Party. It is precisely in this way that every Party organization and member should work and deal with the masses. We must always bear in mind the principle, "Teach the masses while learning from them."

Any slogan put up by the Party expressed the interests and earnest desires of the people, and so is sure to have the support of the masses and rouse their inexhaustible creative powers. We must understand this clearly and, instead of ordering the masses about, should discuss everything with them, awaken them politically and get them to devote all their energy and zeal to bringing the revolution to final victory.

Persuasion and education is the basic method for acquainting the masses with the Party's lines and policies. The Party should always explain its policies to the working masses and convince them of their correctness. This is indispensable for getting the working people to fight devotedly to implement them. There should be no one who says, "Why should we waste time giving explanations when there is a war going on!" The more difficult our wartime situation, the more persistently the Party should persuade and educate the masses so as to arouse their conscious enthusiasm, and the deeper the roots it should sink among the masses to unite with them as one for crushing the enemy.

5

Comrades,

Improving organizational work alone is not enough to strengthen our Party. Ideological work has to be strengthened, too. Ideological work always figures large in our Party work, and, especially today, is of vital importance. This is because we are now in the midst of an

unprecedentedly grim war against the US imperialist aggressors and the new recruits in our Party ranks account for more than 40 per cent of the total membership.

As the great Lenin said, small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. In our country, where small production is of big proportion, bourgeois ideas breed at all times.

At the same time, we should not fail to take into consideration the specific situation created in our country by US imperialist aggression. Already in the period of peaceful construction, the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique were constantly sending spies and saboteurs into the northern half of Korea with the aim of wrecking our people's democratic system. After they unleashed the war, the US scoundrels extended the scope of their despicable and dirty sabotaging activities. The spies of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique are attempting to use some unsound elements who waver in the face of wartime difficulties in their subversive activities. The US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique have mobilized all their propaganda media to fill those elements with reactionary ideas. Under the circumstances in which we are fighting a grim war, the hostile influence of bourgeois ideology cannot but penetrate even our Party. Therefore, we must not fail to strengthen ideological work, and the entire Party must concentrate attention on this work.

The fundamental thing in ideological work is to arm our working people with revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Korean people underwent revolutionary training and largely got rid of the remnants of bourgeois ideology and bourgeois habits during the protracted national-liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism and in building a new life after liberation. But it is especially in the course of the just war of liberation to beat back the invasion of US imperialism and to defend the liberty and independence of the country that the national awakening of our people and their class consciousness have risen to a high level. Displaying lofty patriotism and boundless loyalty to the Party and the revolution, the Korean

people have fought valiantly without yielding in face of severe trials. This has been an important factor in frustrating the US imperialists' aggressive plan to occupy our country and conquer our people.

Communist ideology is gaining ground and getting the upper hand in many countries of the world. Communist ideology was born as the ideology of the proletariat, the most advanced class, and it represents the fundamental demands of the development of modern society.

The triumphant advance of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology has made the moribund capitalism savagely desperate. The imperialists are doing everything possible to instil their corrupt ideas into the masses of the people and paralyse their revolutionary consciousness.

The vicious enemy calls himself a "champion" of liberty and democracy. He employs every possible means to hoodwink the people, dull their consciousness and foster meanness among them. In particular, the imperialists are bent on infusing youth with corrupt ideas.

The US imperialists are now trying to contaminate the masses of the people and the armed forces with the mediaeval hatred of man for man so as to make it easy to unleash a new world war. In the course of the present war, the Korean people have experienced the mediaeval barbarities of the US imperialists to the full. Their savage bombing of our towns and villages and their brutal slaughter of women and children are a direct expression of this hatred of man for man.

Never before has the imperialist ideological "offensive" against democracy and socialism been so vicious as it is today. So without waging an uncompromising struggle against reactionary and rotten bourgeois ideas and intensifying education in revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, we cannot defend our people against imperialism's ideological invasion and win the arduous revolutionary struggle.

We have many shortcomings in our ideological work.

It is still conducted in a formalistic way and is not taken deep among the Party members and the masses.

Information and motivation work has failed to produce the desired effect because in many cases it has been done without aim or centre of gravity, detached from the specific realities of our country. The senior officials who hold responsible positions in Party and government bodies seldom take part in this work.

The Party political schools and study sessions are also conducted poorly and the allocation and reorientation of teachers and instructors are far from satisfactory. Many leading cadres of Party and state organs show little concern for raising their own ideological and theoretical level, and those Party members who study by themselves are left almost without control.

The work of putting out the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is not yet satisfactory and the ideological content of our regular publications—magazines and newspapers—leaves very much to be desired.

Work with writers, poets, composers, artists and actors is also inadequate, and there has been no upsurge in literary and artistic creation to match this era when our people are putting up heroic resistance in the struggle for freedom and liberation. As a result, at present we have very few good literary works, songs, paintings, plays, films, etc.

Such shortcomings in our ideological work cannot be tolerated any longer.

The enemy is trying to capitalize on the survivals of old ideas in the minds of our people, in particular, on the colonial slave mentality left over from the days of the Japanese plunderers. The US imperialists attempt to take advantage of all our shortcomings in ideological work, however minor, in order to sap the united strength and patriotic fighting spirit of our people. So, we must rectify all the shortcomings as soon as possible and raise ideological work to a level commensurate with the revolutionary tasks required by the present situation.

We must stop underrating ideological work, fight decisively against the liberal tendency to overlook ideological errors and exert every effort to heighten the class consciousness and revolutionary awareness

of the working people by arming them with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The significance of Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it indicates definite aims for struggle and the way to attain them to the Party members and the working people and increases their revolutionary will and confidence in victory. The routiners who have no knowledge of theory and pay no heed to raising their theoretical level, cannot have any confidence in their work.

Lenin taught us that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice and that a revolutionary party will be able to play its role as the advanced detachment of the working class only when it is equipped with Marxist theory. Comrade Stalin has said that if the party wants to lead the people to victory in the revolution without going astray and suffering big losses, it must master Marxist-Leninist theory and use it as a compass, and that a party without theory is no better than one groping in the dark.

We must intensify ideological education in the Party to give our members a clear perspective of the revolution and to bring them up to be Marxist-Leninists capable of correctly analysing all events from the class point of view and carrying out their revolutionary tasks with precision.

Intensifying education in Marxism-Leninism does not mean making Party members read aimlessly whatever works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin they can lay their hands on and learn isolated propositions from them by heart. It means seeing that they acquire the Marxist-Leninist ideological viewpoint and method and become able to apply these to the actual situation in our country, and that they learn to analyse the military, political and economic situation in our country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and correctly understand not only the present but also forecast the future.

But there is still very much to be desired in our study of Marxism-Leninism in context with the concrete practice of our revolution. We have very few theoretical writings or treatises which give a Marxist-Leninist analysis of our country's problems. This is a serious shortcoming in our ideological and theoretical work that must

be rectified without fail.

In our universities and colleges, Party schools and Party educational system, the study of Marxism-Leninism and of the fraternal parties' advanced experience should be aimed at rectifying those shortcomings. Newspaper, magazine and other publishing establishments should widely publish articles, books and educational material on the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory in our country.

Meanwhile, in our ideological work some people still tend to cast away our precious cultural heritage, instead of endeavouring to inherit it and develop it from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. Some even go to such extremes that they think all foreign tales and songs are good and nothing of our own is good.

We must realize that we can assimilate the advanced culture of other countries properly only on the basis of inheriting and developing our own precious national cultural heritage.

Party organs at all levels should radically improve the work of the Party political schools and study network, pay deeper attention to the selection of teachers and lecturers and take measures to raise their theoretical level. To this end, we should above all raise the quality of the winter classes for Party study instructors and core elements of the cells, and theoretically qualified Party cadres should give lectures to these classes.

We should further develop socialist culture and art and make all our means of information and motivation work, including the radio and publications, serve the purpose of raising the politico-ideological level of Party members and heightening the political awareness of the workers, peasants and intellectuals.

We should be vigorous in oral information and motivation work and ensure that the senior officials personally take part in it in order to raise its quality. We should bring the policies of the Party and the Government of the Republic home to the masses and run the democratic publicity halls, the bases of mass political work in the rural areas, effectively.

Guidance to all organs and organizations concerned with ideological work should be radically improved and great attention should be directed especially to the work of the General Federation of the Unions of Literature and Arts. It is necessary thoroughly to crush the narrow-minded parochial and sectarian tendency now expressed in the grouping of southerners, northerners and what not within the federation. Cultural workers without exception should thus be imbued with the lofty idea of serving the Party and the revolution and devote all their energy and talent to winning the Fatherland Liberation War.

Party organ or organization should not take upon itself the administrative functions that belong to government bodies, but should concentrate its efforts on ideological education in the Party and mass political work so as to build up the Party ranks firmly and rally the masses around the Party.

If their politico-ideological level is raised, Party members will naturally do their work better and the Party will be strengthened. The work of government bodies, too, will improve as a matter of course, not to mention Party work. Only when education in Marxism-Leninism and mass political work are strengthened will the iron unity of thought and purpose be assured in the Party and its members and the masses of the people display a high degree of political zeal and initiative.

Our Party should mobilize all forces on the ideological front to struggle for the great cause of defending the country's freedom and honour against the aggression of the US imperialists, the most ferocious enemy of the Korean people, and their lackeys.

We are confronted with the historic task of achieving the independence of the country and national reunification under the banner of democracy. Only by improving and strengthening the Party's ideological work can we be successful in this glorious task of the Korean revolution.

Comrades,

Victory in the present liberation war of the Korean people, a war which will decide the fate of the country, depends entirely on the

united power of our Party and its guiding role.

In order to defeat and wipe out the US imperialist invaders and their stooges and bring about the freedom, reunification and independence of the country, we must, above all, consolidate our Party.

What does consolidating our Party mean?

It means that our Party should be equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the all-conquering revolutionary theory that points the way to the overthrow of capitalism and the emancipation of the working people.

It means establishing iron discipline in the Party, defending the unity of its ranks, not tolerating the slightest factionalist tendency, firmly protecting the Party from the infiltration of bourgeois ideas and tempering it politically and ideologically.

Strengthening the Party also means imbuing the Party members with the idea of serving the Party, the country and the people in all loyalty, of devoting themselves to the cause of the emancipation of the labouring masses, of remaining faithful to the principle of proletarian internationalism, of hating the class enemy, of sharpening revolutionary vigilance and of waging an uncompromising struggle against the slightest expression of bourgeois ideology.

Consolidating the Party means strengthening the bonds between the Party and the masses of the people, fighting staunchly against the bureaucratic and formalistic style of work that divorces the Party from the masses and establishing the revolutionary style of work in the Party.

Consolidating the Party means permitting no conservatism, stagnation or indolence within the Party, cultivating in its members a lively creativity and an indomitable fighting spirit so that they overcome all difficulties and struggle selflessly to win victory.

Today, the situation is turning in favour of the Korean people, who have risen in the just Fatherland Liberation War against the imperialist invaders and their lackeys. Our Party, the organizer and inspirer of all victories of the Korean people, confidently leads the entire people to victory in the war by rallying them rock-firm around itself.

Let us exert every effort to consolidate our Party organizationally and ideologically for ultimate victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, for the freedom and bright future of the Korean people!

Let us all march forward valiantly for the victory of our just cause!

THE PRESENT MILITARY SITUATION AND SOME PROBLEMS IN STRENGTHENING THE PARTY, ORGANS OF POWER AND THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

**Concluding Speech Delivered at the Fifth Plenary Meeting
of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

December 18, 1952

Comrades,

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee convened amid the fierce flames of the Fatherland Liberation War has proceeded with success.

As pointed out in the report and in your debate we are now in a favourable situation internally and externally.

During the period between the Fourth and Fifth Plenary Meetings of its Central Committee our Party was trained through struggle and grew both in number and quality. The activity and creativeness of Party members were greatly enhanced.

As a result of the stubborn struggle to eliminate the bureaucratic style of work in the Party, the ties between the Party and the people were strengthened considerably. Economic measures taken by our Party and the Government played a great role in rehabilitating the devastated economy and stabilizing the people's standard of living worsened by the war.

The brave soldiers at the front and the entire people in the rear, united as one around our Party, are fighting heroically with all devotion and energy to repulse the aggressors and safeguard the

freedom and honour of the country.

All these facts clearly show that our Party can lead our people to victory in the sacred war for the liberation of the country.

At this plenary meeting many comrades have participated actively in the debate and unanimously pointed to the correctness of our Party's lines and policies.

So I am sure that you will stand firmly by the lines of the Party Central Committee and work to the end to put them into effect. I should like to touch briefly on some problems raised at this meeting.

First, let me tell about the armistice negotiations.

As you all know, the negotiations have been adjourned indefinitely. The enemy took the question of the Korean armistice to the UN. The UN General Assembly rejected the Soviet delegation's reasonable proposal to end the Korean war, that reflected our people's will. The enemy put his voting machine in motion and compelled the UN to adopt the so-called Indian proposal which is a replica of the US proposal.

We have tried patiently for 17 months to attain a ceasefire. The armistice negotiations have not yet broken down completely, but they cannot be considered otherwise than on the verge of breaking down. We will continue to make every effort for an armistice but we will never agree to the unreasonable and unfair US proposal.

We will not submit to the enemy's threats and blackmail or pressure. The enemy side has made unwarranted demands in the course of the armistice negotiations, because the US which boasts of being the "strongest" in the world was put to great shame in the war against tiny Korea and, therefore, it wants to gain a so-called "honourable truce" by emerging as "victor" at least from the negotiations. Because, otherwise, the US imperialists cannot keep up their appearance before their colonial nations and satellites, and it may gravely affect their future domination over these countries.

However, we cannot give them part of our territory or allow them to interfere in our domestic affairs just because the US imperialists are in a difficult situation. Much less can we recognize them as victor when

they are not victor or acknowledge ourselves as the vanquished when we are not vanquished.

We have dealt a counterblow against the enemy's invasion and driven them south of the 38th parallel and in so doing have won great victory in battle.

The US imperialists proposed holding armistice negotiations because they were in a predicament. In the light of both their predicament and of our strength, we can never agree to the unreasonable ceasefire they try to impose on us. No matter how they may blackmail us, it will be of no avail. Whether an armistice is reached or not does not matter to us. Our basic aim is to achieve the reunification and independence of our country; so, if the armistice comes true, we will rehabilitate the economy and make full preparation for the country's reunification. Even if the truce talks are torpedoed, we are not afraid in the least. We are strong enough to shatter the enemy's attack. And if the enemy drags on the armistice negotiations indefinitely, let him do so. If he drags them on, we will do the same. But we will not be the first to frustrate the negotiations.

The delay in the negotiations also gives us certain advantages. In the meantime we can do a great deal of work; training the People's Army, building up defence positions, ensuring smooth logistical supply and constructing underground as many factory installations as possible.

If the enemy puts off the negotiations, we will do the same; if the enemy fights, so will we; if they sincerely want a truce, we will agree to it. However, we will never accept unreasonable armistice conditions. This is our principle as regards the armistice negotiations. In accordance with this principle our delegation to the talks will continue with its work and will never compromise with the enemy, endeavouring to satisfy our side's demands.

This year the bellicose newly-elect US President Eisenhower visited south Korea and had talks with the top brass there. It is obvious that he is going to launch a new military adventure. We have already experienced many similar schemes of US imperialism. Last year the

enemy carried out several military offensives such as the “summer offensive” and “autumn offensive”. But we repulsed each offensive and smashed their scheme. Since Clark replaced Ridgway they have exerted military pressure on us with savage bombing. But in north Korea, already destroyed, there is nothing more to destroy. We have not succumbed, cannot and will not succumb to any frenzied atrocity of the enemy.

The frantic efforts of the enemy rather served to inflame our people’s greater hostility to and hatred for him, further united them and raised their fighting spirit. What is more, they evoked only sympathy and support among the world’s people for the fighting Korean people and brought no benefit to the enemy.

Even if Eisenhower launches a military adventure, he will not be able to mobilize large forces in the present situation. In fact the enemy has not enough reserves; they cannot mobilize more than two or three US divisions and three to four puppet Syngman Rhee divisions. Although they are using some of the vanquished Japanese army and Jiang Jieshi’s armed forces, they cannot scare us with such a trifling force.

Our People’s Army of today is different from what it was in June 1950, at the beginning of the war, or in October 1950, during the period of retreat. Through the war it has further strengthened both in quality and quantity; it has become a strong army trained in battle and equipped with abundant experience. The Chinese People’s Volunteers are now well versed in Korean geography and terrain and have a good grasp of the enemy; and their technical equipment has been further reinforced. Now, all the officers and men of our People’s Army and the Chinese People’s Volunteers are fully convinced of their victory and their morale is sky-high. On the contrary, as the war drags on and the truce talks are delayed, the enemy’s morale gets lower and lower.

Taking into account all these conditions, it is quite obvious that with a few reinforcement divisions the enemy cannot deal us a sizable blow and gain any effect.

However, it is important to get ready ideologically and make all

preparations against the enemy's possible attack. Our aim is not just to attain a ceasefire but to achieve the country's reunification and independence, so our revolutionary cause will not be completed even if an armistice is concluded. We must make every preparation to attain this aim by all means. We must not have an "armistice mania" and must strengthen our forces in every possible way.

Since the armistice negotiations began we have strengthened the Party and government organizations and rallied the people closely around them and stabilized their lives and reinforced the People's Army in quality as well as in quantity. We have achieved notable success in the political, economic and military spheres.

Since the armistice negotiations started, we have educated the officers and men of the People's Army. We have always told them: "Don't worry about the outcome of the armistice negotiations; the members of our delegation are taking care of the negotiations, so you must knock down as many US imperialist aggressors as possible; this will turn the armistice negotiations to our advantage and enable us to reunify the country quickly." Then, our units took positive defence actions and seized the initiative all along the front, launching an energetic movement of assault parties, aircraft- and tank-hunting teams and sniper teams. Meanwhile, we stepped up the education of cadres in the army, overcoming many hardships. As a result, we re-educated 45 per cent of them above platoon leaders and improved the qualifications of our military cadres.

Beyond all doubt the more the enemy drags on the armistice negotiations, the more our political, economic and military forces will be strengthened and the further factors of our victory consolidated. Therefore, whatever adventure Eisenhower may try to launch, we have nothing to fear. If our army and people join efforts and simultaneously carry out political offensives and military operations, we can smash the enemy at a stroke wherever he may land.

If we give a telling blow to Eisenhower's first scheme, politically, it will be a slap in the face for the president-elect, aggravate contradictions within the enemy camp and accelerate the reunification

and independence of the country; militarily, it will open a decisively advantageous phase for us on the Korean front and give the US imperialist army of aggression a fatal setback.

So, even if the truce negotiations are frustrated we need not be disappointed; we will keep on fighting resolutely a valiant and victorious battle for the country's freedom and independence and for the liquidation of all the aggressors on our territory.

The war has become protracted since the US imperialists openly intervened in the Korean war. This is because the US is large and technologically advanced, and our country is small and technologically backward. If we are to be strong, we need time. So the war cannot but be protracted.

Then can we fight a protracted war? Of course, we can. Our advantages for a protracted war have been enumerated in the report to this plenary meeting, so it is quite clear that our people will be able to win the war.

We are fully capable of winning a protracted war because we are receiving huge amounts of aid from the socialist and democratic camp and have the support of peace-loving people the world over; the valorous sons and daughters of the Chinese people are fighting hand in hand with us, and our people themselves have been trained and grown in strength.

As you know, we are receiving large quantities of goods needed at the front and daily necessities from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal countries.

The war we are waging is not confined to Korea but is closely associated with the interests of the socialist and democratic camp as a whole, and with the peace and security of the world. That is why the peoples of the fraternal countries and peace-loving people throughout the world continue to extend warm assistance and sympathy to the Korean people who are in the forefront of the fight against the imperialist aggressors. Through the Korean war, the solidarity of the socialist and democratic camp has further increased, and it has demonstrated to the world the united, invincible might of the peoples

who are advancing towards the same goal under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The socialist and democratic camp is strengthening and developing each day, whereas the imperialist, reactionary camp is steadily on the decline. Contradictions among the imperialist countries are aggravated more and more while the labour and national-liberation movements are surging up further all over the world. All these conditions are turning decisively in favour of our people's cause.

There is no room for doubt that US imperialism will be defeated. As regards the atom bomb, at first some people were simply scared of it, but now they know what it is, they are not afraid of it. When the US imperialists were the only ones to have the atom bomb and bragged about it, it seemed dreadful. However, now that it is also made in other countries, we have no reason to be afraid. Of course, we do not want a war of devastation; we advocate peace. We are fighting to smash the US warmongers' scheme for the extension of the war and safeguard our country's freedom by ourselves. Our people are certain to win this war.

In the course of the war we have received a great deal of training and accumulated much experience. We gained valuable experience when we fought an armed struggle against Japanese imperialism with a small armed force and poor arms. In this Fatherland Liberation War we have also accumulated a wealth of experience. In two and a half years of modern warfare against such a formidable enemy as the US, we attacked, retreated or defended, and all the commanders, officers, noncommissioned officers, soldiers and the whole people obtained really great experience.

This experience is a priceless asset which we cannot barter for anything. If we make effective use of this experience, we can attain victory. Now our People's Army is prepared ideologically and militarily to deal any enemy fatal blows with presence of mind, and our Party and government bodies have been strengthened incomparably.

We must give close attention to popularizing and enriching along Marxist-Leninist lines the valuable experience accumulated by our

Party and organs of power, army and people in the course of the hard and complicated struggle against the US imperialist aggressors and their henchmen.

In the course of the Korean war the US lost its prestige completely in the eyes of the people of the world. The US imperialists used various weapons in a desperate attempt to recover their prestige, but they could not conquer the Korean people. We must take into account the fact that the new President Eisenhower may launch more vicious military adventures to show his “skill”. We must always keep an eye on the enemy’s moves and fully prepare ourselves politically and ideologically, and in military technique. And if the enemy perpetrates any adventure we should deal him an annihilating blow.

The central task confronting our Party at present is that of strengthening the Party, the organs of power and the People’s Army. As to the solutions to this problem they were detailed in the report and debate, so I should like only to touch on some other problems raised in your debate.

The report referred to factionalists and liberalists but did not specify who they were, and their names were not revealed in the debate either; so, many of you seem to be dubious about it. Some comrades thought that the factionalists have committed grave errors in the Party, and in the debate they demanded that they come forward and criticize themselves.

Of course, it is true that this problem was raised because there are remnants of factionalism and liberalistic tendencies in our Party. Obviously, if these factionalist tendencies did not exist, the problem would never have been raised.

The factionalist tendencies find expression in various forms. Some comrades think only the old M-L and Tuesday groups are factions, but they are mistaken.

In the debate, a comrade criticized nepotism existing among some railway transport officials. It is also a manifestation of such tendencies.

As was pointed out in the report, either talking at random about the Party’s lines and policies or grumbling at them covertly is also a

factionalist tendency. This tendency still remains in our Party to a considerable extent. Since our Party is armed with Marxism-Leninism, it is true that a handful of factionalists cannot exert great influence on it and, accordingly, you need not be scared. But the fact is, such elements within the Party do bother us like fleas which cause our bodies to itch. In order to get rid of the bothersome insects we must have a bath or wash. We must all of us increase our vigilance and give the factionalists no chance to be active.

At this meeting we criticized factionalism and liberalism with a view to informing all the Party members of what they are like and preventing them from being influenced, even if factionalists and liberalists are active. We did this also with a view to encouraging the waverers to sever connections with them and come back into the Party's fold and warning the factionalists and liberalists to desist from their sectarian and liberalistic moves in the Party and stop acting in factions.

If the factionalists give up such activities and sincerely try to make up for their errors, our Party will be lenient and accept them back into its fold at any time, and will welcome them.

In the debate many comrades put forward stern demands that the factionalists and liberalists confess their crimes honestly to the Party, but none of them was bold enough to take the floor. They seem to think they had better keep silent in the light of the atmosphere of the plenary meeting; they know that at a time when the whole Party and the whole people are fighting the US imperialist invasion at the risk of their lives, it is obvious that they will be struck dead, if they confess their factional or liberalistic behaviour.

We are not proposing to struggle against the factionalist tendencies because the Party leadership or the Party has any great trouble. However, we cannot just leave malevolent factionalist survivals alone, though they are not serious.

We must criticize and correct the factionalist survivals and properly educate those who are affected by them, so that the whole Party will unite as firm as a rock with one ideology and will.

If we are to liquidate the survivals of factionalism, it is of paramount importance to tighten discipline in the Party. Only when strict discipline is established in the Party and all norms of Party life are strictly observed, can we nip factionalism in the bud, defend the Party's unity and easily triumph over the enemy.

Next, we must pay all-Party attention to strengthening the People's Army.

The People's Army is our Party's and our people's armed force which is fighting the enemy with arms. Without strengthening the People's Army we cannot repulse the aggressors and win victory in the Fatherland Liberation War. Furthermore, as the war drags on, the necessity of strengthening the People's Army becomes more urgent than ever before.

However, it is regrettable that there have been many defects in the work of strengthening the People's Army.

First, local Party organizations have not worked efficiently in aiding the dependents of servicemen in the People's Army, nor has the Party Central Committee given adequate guidance to this work. Party organizations at all levels must fully convince the dependents of the People's Army personnel that being wives and mothers of officers and men of the People's Army is something to be proud of, an honour, thus encouraging them to render distinguished service on the job in place of their husbands and sons at the front. A widespread campaign must be developed among the people to care for, respect and aid them materially and morally.

Serious Party attention should be paid to recruitment into the People's Army. It is necessary to educate the eligible youth all the time to have a correct understanding of the People's Army. Party organizations at all levels should attend to the proper ideological education of the youth, so that the finest among them are enlisted in the People's Army.

Next, I would like to deal with the struggle against espionage.

At present we are fighting against enemy troops at the front, and in the rear against enemy spies, subversive elements and saboteurs who

have sneaked in our ranks. The anti-espionage struggle is an important one to which our Party organizations must pay regular attention. This work cannot be done successfully by the interior service personnel alone. It must be carried out by means of a nationwide movement.

Therefore, the interior service personnel must teach Party members and the entire people how to expose spies. In the past, some interior service personnel, spurred on by ambition, were not willing to let Party members and the people know how to expose spies: they knew it for themselves. They were wrong. Only when we teach the people how to expose and combat spies and enlist the entire working people in this struggle, will the spies be unable to work freely and be laid bare easily.

There have been many exemplary facts in the anti-espionage struggle, but some cadres think that if the people are informed of the facts, they may be frightened of spies, so it would be better to reveal as few examples as possible in the press or oral information work. This is wrong. We must let the people know the facts as they are, instead of keeping them back from them. Only then, will everybody hate the enemy, sharpen their vigilance and come out as one in the struggle against spies. Through the papers, novels and films, we must widely propagate the excellent examples of the anti-espionage struggle carried out by the people.

Some officials only cry hurrah; whenever they open their mouths, they shout slogans like “Let us all rise!” and “Let us unite!” and conduct inconsequential political work. This tends to paralyse the people’s vigilance and fighting spirit against the enemy. The result is that spies have even sneaked into our Party.

If we are to expose the spies who smuggle themselves into the Party, we must first tighten the Party-cell life. The cell must give specific Party assignments to its members and check up their implementation; when the assignments are not carried out properly, the cell must find out whether this is intentional negligence or not. It must make sure that, while trusting and uniting with each other, the Party members establish the habit of strictly checking up and criticizing each other. This will prevent bad elements from hiding themselves within

the Party to do mischief and enable us to expose it promptly.

Secondly, we must intensify the class education of Party members. We must raise their political awareness and arm them with noble patriotic ideology and hatred for the enemy, and in this way make the spies, who have stolen into the Party, expose their true colours and confess of their own accord.

Further, we must continue to promote the struggle against bureaucratism.

Strengthening ties with the masses is our Party's basic line in organizational work. Therefore, we must wage a tireless struggle against bureaucratism. Some comrades think that the decision of the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee on improving the Party's organizational work has no effect any more and the struggle to carry it out is over. This is wrong. Even after the Fifth Plenary Meeting we must continue to carry through the decision of the Fourth Plenary Meeting, instead of throwing it overboard.

Next, Party attention should be paid to work in rural localities.

We must stabilize the living conditions of the peasants who are short of land or till barren land. The poor peasants who are exempted from tax in kind but still short of food occupy 15 to 20 per cent of the total number of peasant households. Of course, we also exempted them from agricultural tax in kind this year, but we cannot say this has solved their problem.

Though we are fighting a war, we must take various measures to stabilize the lives of the poor peasants.

First, it would be a good idea to transfer some of the poor peasants to areas with surplus tracts of land.

Secondly, we must encourage them to increase their income on the side by raising pigs, cattle, chicken, sheep and ducks. Therefore, we should lend funds to the poor peasants.

Thirdly, the state must allow the peasants with little land to plant the most productive crops instead of giving them uniform sowing plans and, as far as the same kinds of work are concerned, must guide the peasants to heighten work efficiency through cooperative labour,

instead of doing it individually.

Comrades,

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee progressed successfully on a high level with you comrades participating in it enthusiastically. Party organizations at all levels and all Party members should carry out a persistent struggle to strengthen our Party organizationally and ideologically, upholding the decision of this plenary meeting.

LET US STRENGTHEN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Speech at the Meeting of High-Ranking Officers of the Korean People's Army

December 24, 1952

Comrades,

This is already the third year of the great Fatherland Liberation War which the Korean people have been fighting against the US and British armed interventionists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. With a firm confidence in victory in the righteous liberation struggle, they are successfully defending the people's democratic system which they already secured by a fierce struggle.

The past year was a year of historic significance in the life of our people and their armed forces. It marked brilliant successes in our struggle for peace, liberty and independence.

This is a highly representative military conference which is of great significance for taking measures to increase the combat power of the People's Army, our armed forces, after the outbreak of the Fatherland Liberation War against the US and British imperialist invaders.

The US imperialists refuse to accept our reasonable conditions for an armistice. Our conditions are in the basic interests not only of the Korean people but of the American people themselves. As a consequence, the armistice negotiations are going to be suspended for a long time, and we are now facing a new stage of the war.

1. THE ESSENCE AND CHARACTER OF THE KOREAN WAR

The present international situation is characterized by the frantic efforts of the US and British imperialists to impose a new world war on the humanity.

All the policies followed by the ruling circles of the United States in the postwar years have led her along the road of bloody adventure. Two and a half years ago, the policy of threat and blackmail pursued by the American warmongers culminated in the policy of direct aggression. The Korean people were the first target of that policy.

The apologists on the payroll of the bourgeoisie are trying to hide the real cause and class character of war and are making every attempt to prove and justify the “need” of war.

Marxism-Leninism is a powerful ideological weapon which exposes the reactionary nature of modern bourgeois theory of war. Marxist-Leninist theory alone clarifies the real causes of war and shows the correct way to eliminate all these causes and wipe out war itself.

A war, in essence, is the continuation of the policy of a class by special means, by force.

Lenin said, “With reference to wars, the main thesis of dialectics is that ‘war is simply the continuation of politics by other (i.e., violent) means’. And it was always the standpoint of Marx and Engels, who regarded any war as the continuation of the politics of the powers concerned—and the various classes within these countries—in a definite period.”

Amplifying this proposition, Stalin said, “The question of war should not be handled independently of political problems. War is an expression of politics.”

If the real essence of a war and all its causes are to be understood, the internal and external policies followed by the ruling classes prior to

the war, the policies which led to the war, should be clarified.

What is most important in looking into a war from the Marxist point of view is to clarify what the war is waged for, what historical and economic conditions have brought it about, and what classes are engaged in it.

The study of the policies of classes and states, therefore, enables one to define the character and class content of a war and determine which are the classes whose economic and political interests have brought about the war.

If a war is caused by an imperialist policy, the war is an imperialist war of aggression; if a policy of national liberation is involved, that is, if a war reflects the struggle to champion the interests of the people and oppose national oppression, that precisely is a national-liberation war.

Wars are classified as just and unjust wars, as wars of progressive classes and wars of reactionary classes, and as wars for liberation from class and national oppression and wars for consolidating such oppression.

An unjust war of aggression waged by the reactionary exploiting classes arrests social progress. By unjust war is meant a war waged among imperialist states for the re-division of the world, for markets, raw material hinterlands and zones of investments. An unjust war is a war fought by the bourgeoisie against revolutionary movements of working masses and against the peoples of colonies and dependent countries who are fighting for their national liberation and the independence of their countries.

The liberation war of a people against imperialist aggressors is a just war. A just war accords with the interests of social progress. Such a war, whatever forms it may take, always weakens or wipes out the reactionary classes and their ruling machinery which block social development, liberates oppressed peoples from capitalist slavery, frees colonial people from imperialist oppression, and creates conditions for all peoples in the world to develop their countries and nations independently.

The Marxist-Leninist theory about war enables us to have a

profound understanding of the greatness of the Korean people's Fatherland Liberation War, a war which is quite typical of just wars in the present times.

Today, the Korean people have won the warm sympathy of the world's progressive humanity because they are fighting a just war for the independence and freedom of their country against the US and British imperialist invaders.

The Korean people's armed struggle against the US armed interventionists is a struggle for peace and security of the whole world as well as the liberty and independence of their country.

Our struggle serves as the advance guard of national-liberation struggle of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries. It is so because we are fighting against US imperialism, the prop and inspirer of world reaction, the chief igniter of a new world war and the strangler of the oppressed people who are fighting for freedom and national independence.

The US imperialists have looked on Korea with a covetous eye for a long time. As early as 1920 Lenin said, "...the Americans want to seize this attractive land of Korea." They have desired Korea's natural resources and her advantageous strategic location.

The military strategic significance of the Korean peninsula has already been defined by the Japanese aggressors in the notorious "Tanaka's report to the emperor". The "report" reads in part, "To dominate the world, Asia must be conquered. To conquer Asia, China must be occupied. And to occupy China, Korea must be subjugated."

The US imperialists who occupied south Korea in 1945, set about realizing their long-cherished design of aggression on our country. They dreamt of using the Korean peninsula as a communication zone for moving their troops from Japan to the Asian continent through Korea's convenient harbours and her railways linked to the railway network of China. In order to implement their plan of aggression, the US military rebuilt harbours in south Korea as their bases, constructed many new air bases, and massed their troops near the 38th parallel.

At the outset of their occupation, the US imperialists started

building the “National Defence Army”, with police forces and terrorist groups as its backbone, in preparation of their invasion on the northern half of Korea.

At the end of 1946, the US military administration set up the south Korean military organization, with its army, navy and air force departments, and this was soon followed by the establishment of military schools for the training of commanding officers.

By 1950, the US imperialists had completely built south Korea into their base of aggression in the Far East, their military strategic base, and, in June that year, they unleashed the war by launching an invasion on our country.

Their major objective in this war was to conquer the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, occupy north Korea, and advance to the Chinese and the Soviet borders.

But the US imperialist aggressors completely failed in their attempt to turn our country into their colony, into a base from which to launch a war against the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union. The invasion gave rise to a burning hatred for them among all our people. Our people stood up for the liberty and independence of their country and are now in the third year of the righteous Fatherland Liberation War, fighting stubbornly against the invaders, and laying the foundations of ultimate victory.

2. THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE’S ARMY

Defeated by the Soviet army in Asia, the Japanese militarist-occupiers fled from our country. The people took over state power for the first time in the history of our country, and Korea was declared a Democratic People’s Republic.

Liberated from long years of Japanese imperialist oppression, the Korean people strove to establish their own government. The Workers’

Party of Korea, the only guiding and leading force of the Korean people, guided and is guiding their struggle to reunify the country into a democratic state.

Democratic reforms in our country laid the material foundations for the consolidation of the people's democratic system and the flourishing and development of our national culture, science and arts. They also had a powerful impact on the people in the southern half of our country and encouraged them to struggle against the ruling system of Syngman Rhee, the system of starvation and enslavement. The working masses in south Korea did not want to live as they lived in the past. Instead, they demanded the reunification of the country and the establishment of the people's democratic system.

In view of the existence of the aggressive forces opposed to our country and people, our Party needed its own armed forces to defend the country. It organized the Korean People's Army in February 1948.

Our People's Army was formed with the true Korean revolutionaries as its backbone, the revolutionaries who, under harsh repression by the Japanese imperialists, had dedicated their all to the anti-Japanese armed struggle for liberation of the country and the people, on the basis of their rich experience in fighting.

In building the People's Army, the Workers' Party and the people's government were guided by the proposition of Lenin who said, "A new social class, when rising to power, never could, and cannot now, attain power and consolidate it except by...gradually building up, in the midst of hard civil war, a new army, a new discipline, a new military organization of the new class."

The war unleashed by the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique on June 25, 1950, and the armed intervention by the US imperialist marauders, confronted our young People's Army with the complex task of defending the democratic achievements of our people and the freedom and independence of our country from the flames of the war.

Brutal US imperialist aggression rallied our people more closely around our Party and further strengthened their spiritual unity at a time when the destiny of our state and nation was at stake.

This spiritual unity was prompted by their bitter hatred for the enemy and by their high degree of awareness of the righteousness of the liberation war. It serves as an impetus to the soldiers at the front, the working people in the rear, and the guerrillas in the enemy-occupied area.

Under the leadership of the Workers' Party, our People's Army has acquired excellence in military art and has tempered itself in the war. From its experience of the great Fatherland Liberation War, our Party has constantly educated and trained the soldiers to acquire courage, swiftness in action, and the capability for defeating the enemy in every situation.

Today, our People's Army has grown into a powerful military force capable of defeating any hostile force of aggression. The struggle for the just cause and the freedom and independence of the country is the source from which the officers and men of the Korean People's Army derive the heroism they have displayed. The edifying awareness of the men that they are fighting a just war for the freedom and independence of the country, has made our young People's Army brave and indestructible and enabled it to deal fatal blows at the US imperialist invaders by its devoted and heroic struggle against the enemy.

Our People's Army is an army of a new type, an invincible army, which defends with lives of its men the freedom and independence of the country and the people's democratic system established in our country.

What is the source of the strength of our People's Army, an army of a new type, and what are the characteristics of this army?

The People's Army is fundamentally different from capitalist armies which are tools of the exploiters who oppose and oppress the working people.

The US armed forces, for example, were and are, as Lenin pointed out, "the tool of reaction, the minion of capital in its struggle against labour and the strangler of the people's freedom". US imperialism has shown that it has long been playing the role of an international gendarme by means of its armed forces and has become the most

shameless oppressor and strangler for the weak and small nations.

The US monopoly capitalists are carrying on false propaganda on a massive scale that they “love peace” in an attempt to dull the vigilance of the people and enslave them.

In the name of “aid”, they are also pursuing the policy of stifling others to death and tightening the noose of starvation around the necks of those people who refuse to yield to them.

The US, British, French and other imperialists always use their armed forces directly to enslave other peoples by bloodshed.

Diametrically opposed to imperialist armies, our People’s Army is the army of the liberated workers, peasants and the rest of the people in our Republic. In contrast to bourgeois armies which have no ties with the people and are opposed to them, our army is the army of the people in the true sense of the word. This is one of the essential characteristics of the People’s Army.

Our people and the People’s Army are linked as an integral whole and as a family by community of their interests and aims and also by the common task of defending the independence of their country.

Not only in point of defending the interests of the people but also in its composition, our army is fundamentally different from capitalist armies. In our country where state power belongs to the people, the soldiers of our army come from among the people, and excellent representatives of the workers, peasants and the rest of the working people in the army are promoted to become officers.

The People’s Army as a true army of the people, is heir to the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. It further develops these traditions.

In the sacred, just war against the aggressor armies of the US imperialists and their conspirators, the People’s Army, together with our people, is legitimately upholding the banner of national independence and sovereignty.

The indomitable will of all the officers and men of our People’s Army to destroy the aggressors and their noble determination to defend the freedom and independence of their country, have made the US

imperialists desperate in their adventure.

The US imperialist army is an army opposed to the people and as such does not and cannot win the love of the people. The history of the US armed forces is replete with crimes and atrocities.

The US army had participated in as many as 114 brutal wars of plunder by the beginning of the 20th century. The extermination of the American Indians, the natives of the land, marked the first and most shameful page of the bloody history of the US army. The massacre of the people in the Hawaiian Islands, Mexico, the Philippines, Argentina, and in many other countries fully illustrates the dirty history of this army.

In this way the US army has been a tool for putting down the progressive democratic movements since the first day of its existence. And pursuing an aggressive policy by using this tool, the US imperialists have squeezed away capitalist profits to the maximum. It is not accidental, therefore, that the military clique has become the most active political force in the United States and has almost monopolized government posts including diplomatic jobs to direct all the US policies of aggressive militarism.

Comrades,

All the Korean people know well the atrocities committed by the US imperialist aggressor army in our country. The American invaders are using the most barbarous, most brutal and mediaeval methods of warfare in our country. They have devastated all our peaceful towns and villages, have burnt our fields with napalm bombs, and are slaughtering the peaceful inhabitants, men and women, young and old, without discrimination. They are using bacteriological and chemical weapons both at the front and in the rear, and are killing our soldiers who were taken prisoner in cold blood.

The Americans calculated that they could threaten and subdue our people and other Asian peoples in that way, and break their will to fight for liberty and independence.

But the US imperialists, instead of isolating our people and other Asian peoples, have roused more intense resentment and hatred for

themselves among peoples throughout the world.

All the successes our people have achieved in the just cause of defending the freedom and independence of the country are closely associated with the correct leadership provided by the Workers' Party. These successes are also closely associated with the active aid of the People's Democracies.

Our Party leads our people in the struggle to consolidate the people's democratic system and reunify the country. The Workers' Party founded the People's Army, armed it, and organized its political education and military training.

All the conditions are present for the success of our People's Army in the struggle against the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, in the struggle for the independence and reunification of the country.

First, there is the Workers' Party, the leading and guiding force of the entire Korean people, a party which is steel-like in unity and cohesion and possesses a strong revolutionary spirit.

The Workers' Party is advancing at the head of the entire patriotic and democratic forces in our country. The might and firmness of the Workers' Party, equipped with Marxist-Leninist ideas, are the most important guarantee for our victory.

Second, the policy of the Workers' Party and the Government of the Republic, which give day-to-day guidance to all activities to strengthen our People's Army, is absolutely correct and agrees completely with the interests of the people. The People's Army soldiers are struggling for the happiness and freedom of their parents, brothers, sisters and children, and for the independence and freedom of their country.

Third, the People's Army is boundlessly faithful to the people, and the latter loves, supports and trusts the former as kith and kin.

Our entire home front is devoted to satisfying the needs of the battle front, for triumph in the war.

Fourth, the People's Army has been tempered in the flames of the war and has competent commanding officers equipped with the ability

of leadership to win the battles. There are political and Party organizations in the army. They have rich experience in political education of the soldiers and for ensuring the performance of combat missions, strengthening of military discipline, promotion of heroism, and for military and political training of the units at different echelons. Besides, the entire People's Army is now equipped up to date.

Fifth, in its heroic struggle against the US aggressors, the People's Army is receiving support and aid from the peoples of the People's Democracies, and has won the sympathy of the peace-loving people throughout the world.

3. GROWTH OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY IN THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR AND ITS STATE

The Korean People's Army which is struggling to defend the independence and freedom of our country and the rights of the working masses, adheres in its organization and all its activities to the Marxist-Leninist principles of building armed forces and military science.

The outcome of a war is not decided by any contingency but, as Stalin said in this regard, by the permanently-operating factors, namely, stability of the rear, moral qualities of the army, quantity and quality of the divisions, weapons and equipment of the army and organizing abilities of the commanding officers.

Foremost among the permanently-operating factors in contributing to the outcome of a war is stability of the home front which constitutes the basis for the military power of a state and the combat capability of its armed forces.

Stalin said, "No army in the world can be victorious...without a stable rear. ...it is from the rear, and the rear alone, that the front obtains

not only all kinds of supplies, but also its manpower—its fighting forces, sentiments and ideas. An unstable rear, and so much the more a hostile rear, is bound to turn the best and most united army into an unstable and crumbling mass.”

Stability of the rear, one of the permanently-operating factors in the destiny of a war, is the basis governing other permanent factors.

Imperialist states are always threatened by crises and are based on moribund socio-political systems. They cannot have stable home fronts in their unjust war of aggression against socialist and people’s democratic countries.

The superiority of our stable home front has not come into being by chance or spontaneously. The stability of our rear derives from our internal resources, from the activities of the Workers’ Party and also from the relations of friendship with the People’s Democracies.

In the war years, the home front of our country has been strengthened markedly. Today, our People’s Army has an organized and stable home front. Our home front is ceaselessly replenishing the army with highly conscious soldiers and increasing the production of weapons and other military equipment to satisfy in time the demand of the battle front. As a result, we are now able to deal heavier and fatal blows at the enemy.

The lofty moral qualities of the People’s Army have daily grown in the three years of the fierce war. This is inseparable from the overall increase in the political awareness of the working masses. The increased awareness of the army and the masses enables every officer and man to understand clearly the socio-political character of the war and its true aim.

And, at the same time, the tense, difficult and drawn-out war requires the officers and men of the People’s Army to withstand a serious moral trial.

A clear understanding by every officer and man of the righteous character of the war and its aim and their awareness of the close relationship between the aim of war and the interests of the people—all this is of great significance in enhancing the moral qualities of the

People's Army.

The political and moral preparedness of an army has a special importance in battles. The experience of all triumphant wars shows that Party political work plays a great part in ensuring victory in war. The major content of Party political work, therefore, should consist in giving each and every soldier the understanding of his mission, imbuing in him the conviction that success in battles depends on the role of each soldier fighting heroically and self-sacrificingly at his post.

Increase in the educational role of the military and political cadres, widespread Party political work in the army, and the self-sacrificing example of every member of the Workers' Party in battles promote the unbreakable fortitude and militancy of our People's Army.

It is of great significance for improving the political and moral qualities of our People's Army that burning hatred for the US and British imperialist aggressors who have stretched their bloodstained claws to deprive our country of its freedom and honour, should be cultivated in the minds of the soldiers.

As you see, the lofty moral qualities of our army depend largely on political education conducted by the Party organizations in the army.

Our army derives its morality also from the struggle for world peace. The World Congress of Peoples for Peace held recently in Vienna was a serious warning to the aggressors.

All this strengthens the moral qualities of our army and enables it to cope with the complex task of defeating the imperialist aggressors.

The quantity and quality of divisions, one of the permanently-operating factors deciding the fate of a war, are basic for strengthening the armed forces. The superiority of our forces in their effort to win victory is certain, and an army preponderant in quantity and quality is always victorious. A division with its basic arms can perform tactical missions independently. It thus constitutes a basic combined tactical unit, and its quality depends on the scientific nature of its organization, its combat capability, the composition and quality of its organization, its combat capability, the composition and quality of weapons and the degree of training of each officer and man.

Precisely for this reason, the quantity and quality of divisions represent the quantity and quality of an entire army.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, the People's Army has trebled in numbers. In 1952 the firepower of each of its infantry divisions was 60 per cent greater than in 1951. This alone is enough to show how much the capability of the People's Army has increased. If we take as 100 per cent the amount of ammunition for various types of weapons which could be fired per minute by a division in 1951, the rate increased to 140 per cent in 1952. Such a qualitative change in the People's Army was brought about by its reinforcement with powerful means of combat—artillery pieces, mortars, machine guns, submachine guns and other weapons.

The struggle by armed forces is one of the decisive factors in determining the possibility of developing the military art. An essential change in the military art is effected by the change in the socio-political conditions and by the advent of new means of struggle. This shows that military art depends on production by the medium of military technique.

Our army is reinforced with new military technique and is growing ceaselessly both in quality and quantity. The rate of growth in our armaments in 1951-52 is as follows: submachine guns 44 per cent, machine guns 24 per cent, artillery 28 per cent, mortars 40 per cent, anti-aircraft guns 118 per cent, and tanks and self-propelled guns 82 per cent. The firepower of automatic infantry weapons increased by 41 per cent. All units are provided with munitions sufficient for a long-drawn war. We ought to thank the working class which supplies arms to our army. The level of army's mechanization has also increased in a marked manner. If we take the horse power per soldier in 1951 as 100 per cent, the rate increased to 300 per cent in 1952.

In an army, commanding officers play a very big role. Their qualifications are important elements in determining the quality of the army. So, our Party is paying great attention to their training.

The organizing ability of commanding officers constitutes an important factor in winning battles. It does not come of itself.

The organizing ability and military skill of commanding officers are cultivated in the difficult battlefields, in military schools, and in other educational establishments. During the war, our commanding officers have grown noticeably both in quantity and quality.

Our army has comparatively well-qualified commanding officers and has reserves of officers for constant reinforcement. In 1952, 45 per cent of the commanding officers were re-educated in officers' courses and other educational establishments. They enriched their knowledge of military theories and combat experience and are capable of organizing and conducting battles excellently.

Our commanding officers must win battles by correctly leading the soldiers entrusted to them by the Party and the people and by effectively using the weapons and equipment in the battlefield.

The staff knows how to lead the armed forces and becomes true assistants to commanders in their military actions.

4. OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

Our immediate tasks for 1953 are defined by the objective of the sacred Fatherland Liberation War of our people against the US imperialist invaders and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.

The struggle of our people to defend our freedom and independence requires the People's Army to continue to strengthen its combat readiness to cope with a long-drawn war and large-scale battles, without being deceived by the hypocritical manoeuvres of the US and British imperialists at the UN and at the Kaesong armistice negotiations or dulling its vigilance.

What, then, are the tasks of our People's Army?

First, all the officers and men should be imbued with the justness of our cause of defending the freedom, independence and honour of the country, and should be prepared to fight a protracted war with

determination. They should make firm ideological preparations not only to repel the enemy, if they venture a desperate attack or a landing operation, but inflict on them fatal blows, thus turning the tide of the war decisively in our favour.

All Party political work must be directed to strengthen the one-man management system, thoroughly establish discipline and order in the units, inculcate burning hatred for the US armed interventionists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique in the mind of every officer and man, strictly guard military secrets and educate them in the spirit of taking good care of their weapons and equipment. Where there is no discipline and organization, there can be no victory.

Second, the operational and tactical employment of various arms and their coordination in battles should be improved.

Our front lines, both on the ground and on the coasts, should be strengthened and defended firmly. The enemy must not be permitted to attack and land. Our People's Army units should be more active in defence, wear out the enemy in every way, and destroy more of their troops, weapons and equipment.

Our anti-aircraft artillery units must increase the rate of their hits.

Third, the commanding officers and their staff should improve the quality of their operational and tactical exercises radically. The work level of unit staff should be enhanced so that they can ensure the command of their units and help their commanders dependably.

You should improve all sorts of reconnaissance, remembering that without reconnaissance you would be unable to strike the enemy properly.

You must get yourselves ready to strike the enemy tirelessly and with determination.

Fourth, the combat training of different arms units should be directed to teaching what is needed in the war, in battles.

Tactical training and firing practice should be increased. All training should be conducted in mountains and fields in conditions most similar to real combat situations, and more than 40 per cent of the training should be given at night. The units should be trained to be able

to break through natural barriers and enemy defences swiftly, and to withstand forced marches in daylight and at night.

It is imperative to master weapons and equipment and know how to take good care of them.

Fifth, you should raise the level of the army's supply work as required by modern warfare, bearing in mind that success in combats and operations depends on the timely supply of sufficient amount of ammunition, provisions and other munitions to units.

We must resolutely combat the practices resulting in waste, loss and misappropriation in all areas.

We must improve medical service for the soldiers and also the veterinary and epizootic-prevention work.

I am convinced that our commanding officers can cope with these tasks.

Our people expect very much from the People's Army and hold a firm belief that it will win.

ON STRENGTHENING POSITIONAL DEFENCE

**Order No. 00841 of the Supreme Commander
of the Korean People's Army**

December 30, 1952

The war unleashed by the US imperialists in Korea has been going on for two and a half years already. They do not intend to terminate it but are trying to expand it so as to rake greater profits. As a result, in spite of the sincere efforts of our delegate, the armistice talks adjourned indefinitely due to their manoeuvres to retard and disrupt the talks.

By delaying the Korean armistice negotiations deliberately, they are aggravating international tensions, expanding their war industries and reinforcing their armaments.

Over the past year, scores of times they attempted to break through our defence line and on a number of occasions menaced our coasts. However, all their schemes miscarried. Having suffered repeated setbacks, the enemy is now trying to throw in massive armed forces and carry out landing operations on the east and west coasts, while, at the same time, breaking through the front, so as to open a second front behind us. By doing this, they intend to threaten China as well as the political and economic centres in the northern half of Korea directly, cut off our transport routes to the front, and isolate our frontline units.

In view of the present military situation mentioned above, I order as follows:

1. In keeping with my Orders No. 0070 and No. 00651 the

combined units at the front shall continue to strengthen tunnel-position defences and link tunnels, trenches, communication trenches and pillboxes with each other to repulse any enemy attack, and never yield even an inch of our territory.

2. The defence must not be passive. It should be active. The enemy's offensive shall be frustrated opportunely by relying on the positions already prepared and in close coordination between units of different arms to cause great enemy casualties with a small number of armed forces through successive local counterattacks.

3. The defences of the main defence zones shall be strengthened and tunnel-position defences organized for the area of Thongchon. The second defence work shall be started on January 10, 1953 and completed by February 10.

4. In accordance with my Order No. 00290, the combined units defending the coasts shall wipe out the landing enemy forces on the sea and along the coastlines, never allowing them to land, and shall completely encircle and annihilate the enemy that has succeeded in landing through counterattacks by the main units in the second defence zone.

5. In order to fight a wide-scale battle against the enemy's planes and amphibian tanks, the defences shall, on all accounts, be so arranged as to resist aircraft and tanks.

For this purpose, the Artillery Commander and the Chief of the Engineers Bureau shall formulate specific plans for my approval.

6. An independent tank regiment shall be attached to each corps (except Unit No. 324).

All commanders of the combined units shall decide the directions in which their tank units are to move and assign them combat tasks.

The Armoured Tank Commander shall formulate a specific plan for it.

7. In order to further fortify the defences on the east and west coasts and ensure coordinated command over the combined defence units;

1) Units No. 255 and No. 239 and the labour regiments on the west coast shall be separated from the components of Unit No. 276 and

subordinated to the Auxiliary Command Post.

2) The north of Unmandae which is on the demarcation line of Unit No. 195, shall be entrusted operationally to the Commander of the Navy in order to ensure coordinated command over this unit and the Naval Academy, and strengthen the coastal defences.

8. In view of the possibility of the enemy's paratroops being dropped in case of their landing operations, all commanders of the combined units shall organize and conduct a special training in the methods of fighting the landing force in pursuance with Order No. 00214 already issued, and maintain sharp revolutionary vigilance.

9. The combined frontline units and the corps defending the coasts shall keep themselves informed of the enemy's movements by conducting reconnaissance activities in every way.

10. The Artillery Commander and the Chief of the General Supply Service Bureau shall provide the frontline and coastal defence corps with three or four times the prescribed amount of ammunition and three months' food rations, and issue reserve ammunition and food specially for the zone north of Hoeyang.

11. The air force units shall step up flight training to get ready to participate in battle within three months. The flying corps which are already prepared, shall continue with reconnaissance and guerrilla activities to develop air force tactics.

12. The combat training plans already issued shall be reexamined to conduct field training on the basis of the prevailing military situation and the experience of the Fatherland Liberation War and in keeping with the present combat tasks.

13. For a qualitative improvement of the equipment of the People's Army, firepower equipment suited to mountain warfare shall be further increased. To this end, the Artillery Commander shall keep the weapons of the combined units under his command in best shape and fill up the shortage.

14. Commanders and political workers at all levels shall bend every possible effort to establish iron military discipline which is the life of an army and the source of the combat capability, and educate all the

soldiers in hatred for the enemy, boundless loyalty to the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and a firm conviction of victory. They shall wage an implacable struggle against all manner of baneful inclinations, including weariness and indolence, which result from prolongation of the war.

15. All combined unit commanders shall see to it that ammunition is saved by conducting a widespread economy campaign throughout the army and getting the soldiers well versed in different types of weapons to increase the number of their hits.

16. The Front Commander and the commanders of the corps defending the coasts shall submit to me concrete plans for the execution of this order by January 15, 1953.

17. The Chief of the General Staff shall reexamine the plan for defence operations, finalize defence works within the set date, and complete replenishment of the units.

18. The Minister of National Defence is entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out this order.

19. This order shall be conveyed down to regimental commanders.

ON THE NEW YEAR 1953

Congratulatory Message to All Men and Officers of the Korean People's Army

January 1, 1953

Dear soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals throughout the Korean People's Army,

Ushering in 1953, the year of fresh victories and struggles, I would like to offer heartiest New Year congratulations to you who have been fighting heroically for the country's independence and freedom on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and on my own.

Last year, the Korean People's Army in close coordination with the Chinese People's Volunteers succeeded in repulsing a number of enemy attacks on all fronts and inflicted great losses on their manpower and military equipment, winning a brilliant victory.

Already, the US imperialist aggressors have suffered ignominious defeats on the Korean front from the successive powerful blows of the valiant Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers. But they have not given up their aggressive ambitions and are attempting to expand the war recklessly, disrupting the armistice talks.

Since the enemy is making an insidious military attempt, all men and officers of the People's Army must not in the least become weary and lax; they must increase their hair-trigger readiness and vigilance as well as fighting capabilities and military discipline of the units.

They must staunchly defend their positions along the front and take more positive military actions while, at the same time, making every combat preparation scrupulously to inflict decisive blows and defeats on the enemy, no matter when and where they may attack.

I am convinced that in the new year 1953, all men and officers of the Korean People's Army will foil and crush every military adventure of the enemy and achieve new victories and successes by further cementing militant friendship and solidarity with the Chinese People's Volunteers and giving fuller play to lofty patriotism, heroism, bravery and perseverance.

Long live the heroic Korean People's Army!

Long live our glorious homeland!

Wipe out the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique!

ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY

**Order No. 73 of the Supreme Commander
of the Korean People's Army**

February 8, 1953

Valiant soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals of our Korean People's Army,

Brave men and women guerrillas,

Today all the Korean people and the men and officers of the People's Army are greeting the fifth foundation anniversary of the glorious Korean People's Army in the midst of fierce battle of the righteous Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist invaders and their stooges, the Syngman Rheeites.

Since the first day of its foundation, the Korean People's Army, the genuine armed force of the Korean people, has honourably fulfilled its sacred mission to defend the country's freedom and independence and the people's democratic system against the enemy's encroachment.

In the just Fatherland Liberation War it has displayed heroism, bravery and patriotic devotion unprecedented in history. It has demonstrated an invincible militancy.

Since its founding, the Korean People's Army, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, has been deeply imbued with the noble patriotic idea of serving the country and the people devotedly, and with the spirit of internationalism.

In the course of the war, the Korean People's Army has greatly developed in number and quality and has grown into a modern regular army equipped with up-to-date weapons and technique.

Along with the infantry units of our People's Army, the artillery, tank and other units of technical arms and air force units are developing rapidly. In conditions of hard-fought battles, our People's Army has been trained further and has acquired a wealth of combat experience. Our combatants are now able to use their arms proficiently to destroy the enemy. They are equipped with fighting efficiency and military skills by which to fight different kinds of battles successfully in keeping with the requirements of modern warfare in any situation

Our commanders have been trained to be competent military officers who have acquired a high degree of art of command and can lead their units skilfully and organize and carry out coordinated operations with units of different arms.

Under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, our home front has been strengthened impregnably, the front and the rear have been welded into a single military camp, and the people's living standards have been stabilized despite wartime conditions. The work of aiding the People's Army and their dependents is conducted by all the people. Under the arduous conditions of the war, the people in the rear ensure all the supply services for our victory at the front by performing miraculous labour feats and displaying patriotic zeal.

The US imperialist aggressors have already suffered serious political and military defeats from the powerful blows of the heroic Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers. But they have not yet given up their aggressive ambitions. Instead, they are attempting another military adventure to spread the flames of the war in Korea and the Far East while retarding the truce talks. However, any risky attempt of the US imperialist invaders will not escape shameful failure.

We have every prerequisite for destroying the enemy in the end and securing victory without fail. We have the powerful People's Army educated in loyalty and devotion to its country and people.

All the Korean people love the People's Army, their own armed force, and spare nothing for its strengthening and development.

The Workers' Party of Korea, the leading and guiding force of the Korean people, is playing a great role as the organizer of victory in the Fatherland Liberation War at the front and in the rear.

Under the banner of "Resist US aggression and aid Korea", the gallant Chinese People's Volunteers are assisting us in our just struggle at the cost of their blood in a noble internationalist spirit.

Many countries in the democratic camp, and the peace-loving people all over the world, are giving us sincere material and moral assistance.

Our strength is far greater than the enemy's.

While offering my warm congratulations to you on the occasion of the fifth birthday of the heroic Korean People's Army, I order as follows:

1. Men and officers of the People's Army shall build the ground and coastal defences into an iron wall, increase military actions to harass the enemy, and be ready always for a life-and-death struggle against him.

2. They shall further increase military discipline and organization, fulfil the requirements of military regulations and orders of their superiors punctually and opportunely, and sharpen revolutionary vigilance against every movement of the crafty and insidious enemy. They shall take care of their own weapons and combat equipment, be proficient in handling them and make full use of our excellent military technique.

3. In case the US imperialist aggressors undertake a new military adventure, all the men and officers of the People's Army shall never yield even an inch of our territory and shall lose no time in dealing a crushing blow on them, and thus push them to their destiny which is the setting sun, and bring about a great change in the war situation to guarantee our ultimate victory.

4. All commanders shall go on improving their art of command, guarantee closer coordination between our different arms and the units

of the brotherly Chinese People's Volunteers in battle, and further strengthen the work of the staff and logistic bodies at all levels.

5. All officers and political workers shall imbue the soldiers firmly with loyalty in selfless service to the Workers' Party of Korea, the country and the people, with hatred against the enemy, and with noble internationalist spirit, and further prepare them ideologically for a prolonged war.

6. Men and women guerrillas shall have firm faith in victory, develop and strengthen their ranks steadily, organize different types of battle suited to all circumstances to strike the enemy, and mobilize the broad masses of people actively in the liberation struggle in the areas under enemy occupation.

To celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Korean People's Army in grand style, a twenty gun salute shall be given in a volley by 240 guns in honour of the valorous soldiers and officers of our People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers today, on February 8, in Pyongyang, Nampho, Wonsan and Hamhung.

Long live the heroic Korean People's Army!

Long live the heroic Chinese People's Volunteers!

Immortal glory to the soldiers and officers of the People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers and the patriotic martyrs who fell in the great Fatherland Liberation War for our country's independence, freedom and honour!

Long live international friendship and solidarity with the peoples of the democratic camp and the peace-loving people of the world!

Long live the Workers' Party of Korea, the organizer and inspirer of the Korean people's victories!

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our glorious country!

Wipe out the US imperialist invaders and the Syngman Rheeites!

TALK TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEASANTS IN SOUTH PHYONGAN PROVINCE

March 26, 1953

Comrades,

In the difficult conditions during the bitter Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, our peasants scored a great success in agriculture last year by their selfless efforts. As a result, our food situation has improved and we are able to increase the rations for factory and office workers and their families and also make more supplies of food available to the People's Army.

Meanwhile, the state has exempted the families of the People's Army men and the poor peasants from the payment of tax in kind. Exemption has also been given from the return of loaned seeds and food grain. This will improve the livelihood of the peasants markedly and help them show better results in this year's crops.

This year, too, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic have advanced the tasks of providing the front and the rear with sufficient food, supplying necessary raw materials to industries and further stabilizing the people's livelihood. The peasants should bend all their energies to fulfil these tasks.

This is the third year that we are growing crops under war conditions. All the peasants should work more diligently for the country's freedom and independence and for the increased production of grains.

All our patriotic people—men and officers of the People’s Army fighting at the front, the workers labouring day and night in the factories, mills and mines, and the peasants engaged in the campaign to increase grain production—all are fully confident of victory.

However, victory does not come of itself; it must be won through our struggle. To win victory, the peasants should produce greater quantities of different agricultural products. The Party and Government expect that this year the peasants will produce more grain, vegetables, potatoes, cotton, tobacco, and other farm products than last year.

Spring sowing has an important bearing on the efforts for a good harvest. These efforts will be successful if we apply plenty of manure to well-ploughed fields and sow choice seeds in season, and manure and tend the crops properly.

In order to guarantee this year’s successful spring sowing in time, we have to overcome many difficulties. In the first place, we are short of draught animals, manpower, farm implements and fertilizer. The US imperialist aggressor troops will bomb villages and irrigation facilities more desperately in the attempt to hamper the peasants’ agricultural work. Overcoming these difficulties and obstacles is the only way to win victory.

With a view to ensuring successful spring sowing, all peasants should display creativity and cooperate with each other, and the rest of the people should aid the countryside in a nationwide movement.

The hard-working peasants have applied advanced farming methods and have got high yields of rice, millet, sorghum, potatoes and maize. Their experience should be popularized widely among other peasants so as to get good harvests in all the ri, counties and provinces. In particular, we should disseminate the cold-frame rice-seedling and small-cluster close-planting methods. As you said, these are good methods to increase yields. The wide-furrow millet sowing method used by many peasants is also good to increase the yield. It is necessary to encourage the use of this method. The peasants who have attained high crop yields should not keep their experience to themselves. They

should popularize it widely to their colleagues.

It is very important not to lose time in the sowing season. Delayed sowing reduces the yield by 30 to 50 per cent. This was keenly realized by some peasants in South Phyongan and Hwanghae Provinces who had failed to sow in time last year. Generally speaking, those who fail to sow seeds at the opportune time in the spring are the peasants who neglect ploughing in autumn and barely manage it in spring. If you plough in autumn, you do not worry about the delay in sowing and can increase the yield considerably. This is science. This is also truth, proved by experience.

This year, sowing must be finished in a shorter period than last year, and in all the regions every crop must be planted at the right time in the season. The peasants should always bear in mind the saying: "One day in spring decides the farming of the whole year".

It is quite necessary for peasants to help and cooperate with each other in spring sowing. In particular, oxen-sharing teams should be organized to meet the shortage of draught animals.

In order to overcome difficulties in farming the creative initiative of the peasants should be brought into full play. Provincial, county and ri people's committees should give positive support to the creative ideas and proposals advanced by the peasants for increasing yields.

A patriotic emulation drive for high yields should be carried out widely between ri, between counties and between provinces. You may say the spring seed-time is a decisive period for the peasants' emulation for increased production. The peasants who succeed in spring sowing have an ample possibility of becoming victors at the meeting to review farm work at the end of the year. People's committees at all levels should ensure that there is not one laggard among the participants in this competition.

The task of the organs of people's power and agricultural experts is that of exploring and utilizing every way and means to maximize the yield of crops. People's committees should take measures to make up the shortage of draught animals and workforce, and pay greater attention especially to aiding the bereaved families of patriotic martyrs

and the dependents of the People's Army.

The organs of people's power should organize a widespread mass movement to plough fallow lands, and also to reclaim stony lands, old sites of trenches and the lands dotted with many bomb and shell craters for sowing.

In addition, the organs of people's power and peasants should make efforts to produce compost. They should prepare as much organic fertilizer as possible. Where there is peat, they should dig it and use it as fertilizer, and where there is apatite, they should grind and mix it with compost to make assorted fertilizer containing plenty of phosphorous ingredient. Meanwhile, they should collect ashes from the kitchens and use them as fertilizer and produce much slaked lime to neutralize acidified soil. North and South Hamgyong Provinces, in particular, had better spread slaked lime over the bean fields along with compost.

The Party and the Government pay the utmost care to agricultural development and do not grudge assistance to the peasants. Every year the state provides them with tens of thousands of tons of chemical fertilizer. This year it has sent several hundred tractors and a few thousand farm machines and trucks to the countryside. At present greater numbers of tractors and other farm machines are working in our rural areas than in the period of peaceful construction.

The Party and the Government give special care to the poor peasants without draught animals or with few hands, and to the dependents of the People's Army. The state has taken various new measures to assist them, in addition to granting them privileges in the payment of tax in kind. It has loaned them money through the Peasant Bank to prepare domestic animals and farm implements and buy fertilizer. It has sold them home animals at giveaway prices through state and local crop and stock farms. They have been given priority in using the tractors from farm machine hire stations and irrigation facilities. They have been supplied with choice seeds and have been offered part of the state-owned land so that they could collect fodder and green grass.

However, this alone is not enough for the improvement of the poor peasants' economic situation. It calls for more social assistance. Since the countryside needs manpower very badly, the workers and office employees of administrative establishments and industrial enterprises, the soldiers of army units in the rear and urban dwellers should go to the villages to help the peasants in sowing and other farm work. Every factory and office worker should help them out in the fields for at least ten days or more in a year.

The peasants should repay this care of the Party and the Government with higher degree of labour enthusiasm and bend all their energies to reap good harvests. But at present there are some backward peasants who only receive the great benefit from the state but do not work hard to repay it, and continue to live entirely on this benefit, without making effective use of the help given by the state and society. The state cannot continue to help these peasants. This loafer spirit which persists in some peasants must be stamped out.

The organs of people's power should not only enable the peasants to farm independently but also educate them to always think of the state and resolve to send more food to our valorous People's Army fighting at the front.

In addition, we should strive to develop stockbreeding. We should provide the People's Army soldiers at the front with more meat as well as food grain. Good animal husbandry will produce an abundance of meat and wool. The peasants will thus be able to aid the state and also increase their own incomes. They will obtain good-quality fertilizer, too.

At present there are many possibilities for them to raise domestic animals. Straw, bran and the like can be used for feeding, and fodder crops can be cultivated on barren lands and mountains. The state has given positive assistance to the peasants so that they can raise home animals. But they are still half-hearted about raising them.

Every farmhouse should have home animals in two or three years. It is important that each province decides correctly the kind of animals to raise in keeping with its specific conditions. It will be advantageous for

mountain areas to raise sheep along with draught animals. In the plains, they should raise pigs and domestic fowl in addition to draught animals. In order to secure a large quantity of meat and industrial raw materials, main stress should be put on raising more pigs which are the most productive kind of domestic animal.

At present we are providing the People's Army with a considerable amount of meat of the domestic animals given by fraternal countries as aid. But we cannot go on relying on foreign aid, instead of solving the problem of meat supply for ourselves. It is wrong to solve it by relying on foreign aid; it is actually impossible as well. That is why all peasants without exception should raise home animals.

In order to induce peasants to raise many domestic animals, the state plans to sell tens of thousands of young pigs to them this year through state crop and stock farms and intends to make long-term loans through the Peasant Bank. But they must not rely entirely on the state; they must also try to get animals on their own and raise them.

The peasants should take measures from now on to obtain animal feed for next year. They should prepare hay and straw and plant fodder crops.

In cooperation with the Forestry Bureau of the Cabinet and the Ministry of Agriculture, local people's committees should mark out the places suitable for pastures. Also, in the summer, they should prepare the facilities for passing the coming winter. Anyhow, they should organize the work scrupulously so that notable results are attained in stock raising this year.

Lastly, I am going to touch on the problem of evacuating rural dwellings. Because of the barbarous bombing by US planes, the countryside has suffered great damage, and women, children and old people are being killed every day. With a view to minimizing the damage of rural dwellings and preventing the rural population from being killed, the houses must be built at distances of at least 50 to 100 metres. Around the houses individual shelters must be built to protect the people from strafing and bomb splinters. We should not forget that everybody's life is precious to the state and that even the effort of one

person contributes to hastening the victory day.

I am firmly confident that by overcoming all these difficulties under the guidance of the organs of people's power, our peasants will increase the yield of cereals and various other agricultural products and develop stockbreeding to provide the front and the rear with greater quantities of food grain, meat and industrial raw materials, so as to hasten the final victory in the war.

Let us all press forward valiantly for the furtherance of agriculture.

STATEMENT ON EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS OF WAR

March 31, 1953

On March 30, 1953, Zhou Enlai, Premier and Foreign Minister of the State Administration Council of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, published a statement on concluding the Korean Armistice Agreement at the earliest possible date by settling the question of exchange of the sick and wounded prisoners of war and the question of the prisoners of war as a whole.

In this connection, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issues the following statement:

The statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the question of exchange of prisoners of war was prepared in keeping with the common views of the Governments of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fully agrees with the appraisal of the political situation mentioned in the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China and with the conclusion and specific proposals described in it.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fully supports the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China, regarding it as a fair statement aimed at terminating the Korean war.

In the negotiations held between both sides at Kaesong and

Panmunjom, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has invariably been faithful to its policy of maintaining and consolidating peace and has made every effort to reach an agreement on cessation of the war as soon as possible.

Proceeding from its desire to end the sanguinary war speedily, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is ready to take measures for concluding the Armistice Agreement to stop the Korean war, on the basis of ensuring repatriation of all the prisoners of war who demand it and transferring the remaining prisoners of war to neutral nations as a fair solution of the question of their repatriation, as a new step to settle smoothly not only the question of the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners but also the question of the prisoners as a whole which still remains the sole obstacle to the signing of the Armistice Agreement as pointed out in the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the question of prisoners.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is convinced that if our new proposal concerning the question of exchange of prisoners is adopted in the light of the principle of solving the Korean question in a peaceful way, it will help to terminate the Korean war expeditiously which is anxiously desired by the peace-loving people all over the world.

We consider that the "United Nations Command" side should accept our just proposal if it wants peace sincerely.

ON MAY DAY

**Order No. 269 of the Supreme Commander
of the Korean People's Army**

May 1, 1953

Men, noncommissioned officers, commanders and political workers of the Korean People's Army,

Men and women guerrillas,

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

I congratulate you, in the name of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on the occasion of May Day, the international holiday for demonstrating and testing the militant solidarity and strength of the working people all over the world.

We greet May Day this year when the Fatherland Liberation War for national reunification, independence and freedom is going on victoriously for three years and internationalist friendship and solidarity of the working people throughout the world are being further consolidated.

The heroic Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers, in close cooperation with each other, continue, with the powerful support of the rear, their positive positional defence with success, inflicting a heavy loss upon the US and British invaders.

The Korean people enjoy an ever-increasing internationalist support and encouragement from the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies, and the

peace-loving people of the world.

The camp of peace, democracy and socialism is being steadily consolidated, whereas the reactionary imperialist forces, led by US imperialism, are being weakened.

Men, noncommissioned officers, commanders and political workers of the Korean People's Army,

Men and women guerrillas,

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

On this May Day, the international red-letter day of the working people throughout the world, we will further cement the internationalist friendship and solidarity with the working people led by the working class all over the world, and will heighten our resolve to win the ultimate victory without fail under the banner of internationalism.

The reactionary imperialist camp makes desperate efforts to deprive the people of peace, freedom and rights, and to unleash another world war. More than anything else, it is afraid of the internationalist friendship and solidarity of the working people on the globe and takes recourse to every vicious plot to undermine such friendship and solidarity.

National independence, liberty and right cannot be defended from imperialist aggression without the banner of proletarian internationalism. Nor can there be true patriotism without proletarian internationalism.

We should be more faithful than ever in strengthening internationalist solidarity by smashing all the enemy's crafty and insidious manoeuvres.

All the Korean people and the men and officers of the People's Army, firmly rallied around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, will further strengthen their fraternal friendship and solidarity with the Soviet people, the peoples of the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies and the freedom-loving people the world over under the banner of proletarian internationalism, and will do everything in their power to make our

front and rear impregnable.

The Korean People's Army will maintain closer militant solidarity and cooperation with the brotherly Chinese People's Volunteers, heighten its revolutionary vigilance against the enemy, ceaselessly increase its combat forces and efficiency, make defence positions stronger and show greater activity in defence warfare. Thus they will always be ready to smash any provocations on the part of the enemy.

Long live the heroic Korean People's Army!

Long live the valiant Chinese People's Volunteers!

Long live brave men and women guerrillas!

Everlasting glory to the men and officers of the People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers and men and women guerrillas killed in the sacred war for our country's reunification, independence, liberty and honour!

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our glorious motherland!

Long live the Workers' Party of Korea, the leading and guiding force of the Korean people!

Long live the immortal internationalist friendship and unity of the Korean people with the Soviet people, the peoples of the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies!

Curse and death on the US imperialist aggressors!

ON ENSURING QUALITATIVE CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY AND IMPROVING PARTY GUIDANCE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

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

June 4, 1953

Today's meeting deliberated on the tasks set forth by the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, particularly on measures to carry out the task of qualitative consolidation of the Party. It also deliberated on some problems arising in wartime economic construction.

Now I am going to speak on the need to consolidate the Party on a higher qualitative level and improve the Party guidance of industrial production.

1. ON CONSOLIDATING THE PARTY ON A HIGHER QUALITATIVE LEVEL

In order to strengthen the Party ranks organizationally and ideologically, our Party, following the Fifth Plenary Meeting of its Central Committee, hardened the Party spirit of its members and firmly built the Party cell, its basic organization, and, at the same time, waged

a relentless struggle against espionage agents and factionalists who had sneaked into its ranks. As a result of this struggle conducted by our Party, the Party spirit of the members has been strengthened and inner Party criticism intensified. The Pak Hon Yong and Ri Sung Yop spy clique that was stealthily working in the Party and state organs, weaving plots to wreck the unity and cohesion of the Party and overthrow our people's democratic system, in particular, was detected and purged, and its followers and factionalists were given a heavy blow. This is one of the biggest successes achieved by our Party since the Fifth Plenary Meeting.

Further, in order to intensify the wartime struggle for increased production, render greater aid to the front and wage a vigorous campaign against spies, subversive elements and saboteurs, after the Fifth Plenary Meeting, our Party convened meetings of different branches such as the meeting of production innovators, the national meeting of active peasants, the meeting of activists among state crop and livestock farm workers, the national meeting of enthusiasts of state trade and consumers' cooperatives. Following these activists' meetings, great achievements were registered in all fields. In the industrial domain, vigorous endeavours were made to produce more, and, in the commercial sphere, wartime commodity supply service was considerably improved. In agriculture, even under the difficult conditions of perpetual heavy bombing by enemy planes, spring sowing was finished in good season and dikes were built successfully.

Following the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, we successfully concluded the great work of reorganizing the local administrative system and division within a short period.

These successes scored in the course of implementing the decision of the Fifth Plenary Meeting can never be regarded as small. But we should not be content with this. Viewed in the spirit of the decision of the plenary meeting, there still are considerable defects in our Party work.

Party organizations at all levels are not strenuous in their struggle to implement the decision of the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

Satisfied that the few espionage agents and factionalists have been exposed in the process of discussions on the documents of the plenary meeting, primary Party organizations in some ministries and central organs carry out inadequate work to test and temper the Party spirit of members and cultivate in them the qualities essential for Party membership. Provincial Party organizations also consider that with the removal of some factionalists from the Party ranks they have executed the tasks set forth by the plenary meeting. Worse still, some local Party organizations think that with one round of discussions on the documents of the Fifth Plenary Meeting, they have executed the decision of the plenary meeting. They are waiting for the Party Central Committee to take another decision.

These tendencies do not reflect an attitude of thoroughly implementing the decision of the Fifth Plenary Meeting. Why were such tendencies revealed in the primary Party organizations of ministries and central organs and in provincial Party organizations? It is because they thought the decision was aimed only at removing the Pak Hon Yong and Ri Sung Yop spy clique, and because they wrongly hold as if it was all right now that they have ferreted out the clique. To expose the cloven hoof of the spy clique and factionalists and eject them from the Party ranks was only one of the tasks advanced by the plenary meeting; even that task has not been fulfilled yet. The Fifth Party Plenary Meeting made it clear that the organizational and ideological consolidation of the Party ranks is the basic duty of our Party at present, and it set forth a series of weighty tasks that could arise in discharging this duty. The tasks advanced at the plenary meeting have not yet been thoroughly implemented and the struggle for executing the decision of the plenary meeting has not yet fully been unfolded.

Of course, the tasks set forth by the Fifth Party Plenary Meeting cannot be carried out in a few months. But the tasks which it would have been possible for Party organizations to fulfil at all levels, have not been executed up to now.

Then, what in concrete terms are the shortcomings manifested in

the process of executing the decision of the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee?

First, primary Party organizations in ministries and central organs failed to conduct the struggle against factionalists on a high political and ideological level. Quite a few Party members in ministries and central organs did not sharply expose and criticize politically the machinations of factionalists and were passive in the struggle against those influenced by factionalism. The Party members subjected to the influence of factionalism were unwilling to disclose their errors by themselves till other Party members raised problems relating to them. Even when they disclosed their errors, they revealed them only extremely partially. Some elements still take it as lucky that their problems have not been raised this time and try to be composed while concealing their errors. This attitude is not faithful to the Party. If one committed an error in the past because he did not lead Party life properly, he should, of his own accord, criticize his error frankly before the Party organization instead of making self-criticism after being admonished by the Party organization and his comrades.

Secondly, some economic institutions and industrial enterprises did not properly fulfil the production plan assigned to them by the Party and the state. Now, their Party members think that, even when they failed to carry out their production plan, it was not a crime and had nothing to do with the Party spirit. This is quite an incorrect view. The Party spirit of Party members in factories and enterprises should be manifested in the fulfilment of the production plan; failure to carry it out is an act violating the state law. Yet, even when factories and enterprises have not properly fulfilled their production plan, provincial, city and county Party organizations do not take them to task from the Party standpoint; the judicial bodies and public prosecutors offices do not call them to account from the legal point of view.

Thirdly, cadres and Party members do not exercise a high degree of revolutionary vigilance. A few months ago, when the letter of the Party Central Committee was under discussion throughout the Party, stress was laid on the question of heightening revolutionary watch. These

days many items dealing with the need to sharpen revolutionary vigilance are printed in newspapers. But the matter of heightening revolutionary vigilance remains just a slogan among cadres and Party members, and is not translated into practice. In a certain factory, the machinations of espionage agents, subversive elements and saboteurs account for equipment breakdown and fire accidents occurring frequently, bringing enormous losses to the state. But leading officials and Party members there regard these as incidental instead of observing them keenly politically and do not take specific measures to detect spies, wreckers and saboteurs.

Fourthly, many Party organizations and Party officials take upon themselves the administrative and economic affairs without channelling their main efforts into Party work. Party work is the basic job of Party organizations and Party officials; only when it is done well can our Party be consolidated organizationally and ideologically, and, additionally, administrative and economic work becomes successful. However, many Party organizations and Party officials neglect Party work and take upon themselves administrative and economic affairs or trail behind administrative and economic officials.

Party organizations and Party officials do so because administrative and economic affairs are much easier than Party work. Party officials who like only an easy job and dislike a tough job are disqualified to be Party officials.

These defects which appeared in the course of carrying out the decision of the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee cannot be overlooked and have to be rectified as early as possible. Therefore, at the Political Committee meeting of the Party Central Committee today, I would like to underscore some problems relating to tempering the Party spirit of members and strengthening Party organizations. True, these matters are not new and they were all raised at the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. But these were not carried out well. Therefore, I cannot but emphasize them again today.

The question of tempering the Party spirit of members and

strengthening Party organizations is not a problem which can be solved in one or two days. It is a matter which can be solved only over a period of time and in a tireless struggle. We, therefore, should exert day-to-day endeavour to temper the Party spirit of members and strengthen Party organizations.

As you all know, the Party ranks have grown rapidly since the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. With hundreds of thousands of working people newly admitted to it in recent years, our Party has now developed into a big party with a membership of one million. But, as the Party ranks have grown speedily, some disparity has arisen between the Party's numerical expansion and its qualitative development. Among the hundreds of thousands of those who have newly joined the Party following the Fourth Plenary Meeting, the overwhelming majority consists of members who are at a low political level and lacking in practical experience.

Such being the situation, raising the Party spirit of members and strengthening Party organizations is a matter of urgency whose solution brooks not a moment's delay. To enhance the functions and role of the cell, the basic organization of our Party, and harden the Party spirit of the members so that all Party members remain faithful to the Party and perform their tasks responsibly—this is the basic condition for strengthening our Party. When this problem is resolved, provincial, city and county Party organizations will be strengthened and, then, the whole Party will be strengthened.

What then has to be done to enhance the functions and role of the Party cell and harden the Party spirit of members?

The Party cell should draw its work plan in detail, give assignments to Party members, sum up the results of their implementation and assign them to other tasks, and, thus, ensure that all Party members always remain on the move. And the Party cell should clearly tell Party members about what kind of people they are, what their obligations are, what qualities they should acquire and what they should do to strengthen the Party spirit and show fidelity to the Party, so that all the time they themselves review their work and life and overcome their

shortcomings. And the Party cell should put together information about Party life of members and their opinions on a regular basis, and report the results to the Party organ at the upper level.

Provincial, city and county Party organizations should raise the political and practical levels of the chairmen of Party cells so that they can correctly see from the political angle, deal ably with matters raised by Party members, and also carry on the cell's work well.

The documents of the Fifth Plenary Meeting should be debated again throughout the Party.

Party organizations at all levels should first of all get the members to study afresh the documents before they hold meetings for another discussion on the documents. Thus, Party meetings should be held after members have a deep grasp of the content of the plenary meeting's documents.

Party organizations at all levels should sum up the results of fulfilment of tasks mentioned in the documents, closely combining them with the results of fulfilment of revolutionary tasks confronting their units. The merits which manifested themselves during fulfilment should be fostered and developed continuously, and measures should be taken to remedy the defects as early as possible. Party organizations of factories and enterprises should discuss steps to raise labour productivity and establish a strict system and order. All work in factories and enterprises should thus be renewed. Moreover, Party organizations at all levels should carry out a resolute ideological struggle against lack of Party spirit revealed among Party members and officials. In other words, dishonesty in implementation of obligations under the Party Rules and the revolutionary tasks should be subjected to merciless criticism from Party viewpoint.

Alien elements and chance figures who are exposed in the re-discussion of the documents of the plenary meeting should be removed from the Party ranks. Party organizations at all levels should not commit Rightist and "Leftist" errors in this regard. It is absolutely impermissible to try, on this occasion, to rid Party ranks of those who do their work well at present but in whose origins and career there may

be some problems. Nor should one try to dismiss junior cadres whose practical ability is poor. A rigorous struggle should be waged against these tendencies. Since the re-discussion of the documents of the Fifth Party Plenary Meeting is aimed to strengthen the Party spirit of members, enhance their vanguard role, and increase the fighting efficiency of the Party cell, those members who acquit themselves well in their tasks at present should be kept in the Party even if their origins and career are somewhat problematic, and supersession of junior cadres who are low in practical level should not be undertaken.

The re-discussion of the documents of the Fifth Party Plenary Meeting should be held in three terms instead of trying to conduct it simultaneously throughout the Party. The first term should be set in summer, the second term in autumn, and the third term in winter. It is advisable that the first term should involve Party organizations in factories, enterprises, railway transport and communications agencies, the second term should include those in state administrative bodies, social organizations, interior security organs, educational and cultural institutions, and the third term should cover those in the rural areas.

The Party Central Committee and the provincial Party committees should send well-qualified cadres to the lower Party organizations to ensure a high political and ideological level in the re-discussion of the documents. The orientation and method of work should be detailed to the accredited members for guidance of these meetings.

The Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee should have a grip over the progress of the re-discussion of the documents of the Fifth Party Plenary Meeting; it should promptly set right the deviations which are revealed. And the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee should widely explain and propagate the content of the documents of the Fifth Party Plenary Meeting through the Party newspaper and other publications; good experiences gained in the course of the re-discussion of the documents should also be brought to light and disseminated.

2. ON IMPROVING PARTY GUIDANCE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

We began to establish the machine-building industry and the ordnance industry right after liberation, because we believed that it was impossible to defend the country and the people without our own reliable machine-building and ordnance industries. But the foundations of these industries which we set up before the war, were very weak. To cap it all, after the war started, most of them were destroyed by the barbarous bombings of the US imperialists.

In the course of the war we felt more keenly that we can hardly fight the war unless we produce the means of production and weapons on our own. So, after our temporary retreat was over, we put in efforts to rehabilitate and develop the machine-building and ordnance industries. Overcoming all difficulties, we reconstructed the ravaged machine factories and armories in a manner that they could be expanded and, at the same time, erected new ones; we are even now building numerous machine plants and arsenals. Of course, we may bring in necessary machines and equipment, means of transport and weapons, from brother countries. But we cannot simply turn to fraternal countries for aid. We must produce necessary machines and equipment and weapons by our own effort, and ensure our industrial independence.

The war may possibly spread still further in the future. The same is the case today. But in case the war extends further it would be all the more impossible for us to carry it on without our own industry. If a war breaks out on a worldwide scale, brother countries would have to wage it and they would be unable to help others.

We, therefore, should build our own reliable industrial base even underground. We should develop the automobile spare parts factory into an automobile plant and construct underground machine-tool

factories, armouries, engine plants, instrument factories, chemical factories and giant steel plants. When we build these factories, we can not only conduct the war under any situation, but also use them for peaceful construction after the end of the war. Then peaceful construction, too, can be done by our own effort.

If, as intended by the Party, we are to develop the machine-building and ordnance industries and carry on wartime economic construction excellently, we should bring about innovations in the industrial field. However, according to what we learnt in regard to the work in the industrial domain some time ago, many serious drawbacks have been revealed in this sphere.

Some machine plants and armouries do not quickly install and use machines and equipment and, further, do not take good care of them, making many machines and equipment unserviceable. They do not repair machines which can be put to use through doctoring. The manufacture of rejects is not stopped, and the production plan still remains unfulfilled.

Leading workers of Factory No. 26 merely complain of bad conditions instead of realizing their great responsibility for the failure to carry out the production plan. This is quite wrong. Factory No. 26 has no reason whatsoever for its failure to fulfil the production plan. The state delivered to this factory good installations and a sufficient amount of materials and provided manpower and funds as it asked for. The miscarriage of the production plan by this factory is entirely because its leading workers did not work and live in a manner befitting personnel of a country engaged in a war.

It is true that under the war conditions there will inevitably arise difficulties in managing a factory. But whatever their number, these difficulties are nothing compared to those which the People's Army fighters undergo at the front. The People's Army warriors are valorously fighting against the US imperialist aggressors now, for the country and for the people, getting over all difficulties. But the leading workers of Factory No. 26 lack the spirit of fighting for the country and the people.

Capital construction, too, is not now pushed ahead as it should be. Since construction enterprises carry on projects without any plan, none of those which have been undertaken has punctually ensured the date of its commissioning.

Factories and enterprises are negligent in their work of improving the material and cultural life of the workers and elevating their technical standard.

On a number of occasions the Party has already stressed the need for factories and enterprises to run subsidiary production well and improve the workers' life. But some factories and enterprises do not manage the sideline efficiently and are not concerned about improving the diet of the workers. They neither keep dining rooms and bathrooms in good shape, nor provide conditions for workers to have pass-on-technique consultation and collective study.

These shortcomings came up in some factories and enterprises because the provincial, city and county Party organizations did not give them effective guidance.

In the present composition of the ranks of provincial, city and county Party workers, the peasant origin accounts for the majority. So these workers take rural administrative work upon themselves, laying one-sided emphasis on the countryside, or eagerly tag on to the heels of administrative personnel; they do not direct attention to factory affairs and the education of workers. Party officials talk much of building socialist and communist society in our country, but, unless they are interested in factory affairs, socialist and communist society cannot be built. It can be built only when industry is developed.

Provincial, city and county Party organizations should decidedly improve their guidance of factories and enterprises to bring about a new turn in wartime industrial production.

Provincial, city and county Party organizations should conduct effective guidance for factories and enterprises.

The problems cannot be solved in such a way that Party workers go to lower units and make their round once or only pick out shortcomings to criticize. Guidance should be scrupulous and concrete on all

accounts. Through a deep study and analysis of the work of factories and enterprises, Party officials should find out merits and demerits, generalize widely the good points, and take steps to have weak points rectified. Further, they should see to it that advanced technology is introduced actively in production, labour force and reserve goods are explored and enlisted, and an emulation drive for increased production is launched among the workers extensively.

Party officials should acquire knowledge of economics to provide correct guidance for industrial production. They should arm themselves thoroughly with the Party's economic policy, and make tireless effort to acquire economic knowledge.

The work among workers should be intensified.

The composition of the ranks of workers changed a great deal after the start of the war. Most of the experienced workers, long steeled in labour, went to the front and in their place the slash-and-burn tillers, handicraftsmen, bankrupt tradesmen and manufacturers entered factories in large numbers. As a result, the newly-enlisted workers came to occupy the great majority among the workers. This bespeaks that those with working-class ideology are few and those with backward petty-bourgeois ideas are many.

Party organizations at all levels should concentrate on educating the new recruits in their work among workers. It will not do to carry on work with newcomers in the same way as is done in the work with veteran workers. By this method we cannot establish discipline among the newly-joined workers, nor can we activate them to ensure production. In the work with newly-enlisted workers, elementary education and principled education are necessary and comradely advice and criticism are required. We should let newly-enlisted workers know in full that the class playing the leading role in revolution is the working class and the masters of the factory are also workers and labour is very sacred, so that they deem it honourable to become members of the working class and take part in labour conscientiously. Thus we should help them to school themselves in labour and grow to be the revolutionary working class.

Close attention should be paid to the work among intellectuals.

At present factories and enterprises have many new intellectuals which we have trained. They are priceless assets for the development of our industry.

By the way, the trait of helping and leading each other forward is inadequately manifested between old and new intellectuals. Old intellectuals do not try to learn the latest science and technology with an open mind from new intellectuals and even ignore their constructive suggestions without examining them. In contrast, the latter are disinclined to draw on the rich experience of the former. All these tendencies cause hindrances in production, and hamper the development of our industry. Old and new intellectuals, learning from each other, should devote all their energy and talents to study and create the new. If wrong tendencies appear among old and new intellectuals, Party organizations at all levels should conduct an ideological battle to overcome them at once.

Party organizations should also pay heed to the raising of the workers' levels of technique and skill. They should arrange pass-on-technique meetings regularly and provide workers with the conditions for their self-study. If we are to let workers study for themselves, we should publish and distribute numerous technical books. All Party organizations should work well among technicians to ensure that they write on their experience and translate foreign technical books.

Party organizations should properly conduct the work among leading personnel of factories and enterprises. Bureaucratic style of work and irresponsibility in work are revealed not only among the officials of the people's power organs but also among the leading workers in factories and enterprises. Party organizations should wage an ideological battle against all kinds of tendencies which are alien to the Party and go against discipline, which are manifested among the leading workers of factories and enterprises. Examples of these are the bureaucratic style of work and the practice of shirking responsibility in work, changing production plan at will, and failing to fulfil it without

realizing that this is a crime. By this means, they should be helped to do their job in the popular style of work and with a high sense of responsibility from the Party standpoint.

The role of trade union organizations at factories and enterprises should be enhanced. These organizations are not performing their part in a satisfactory manner at present. Party organizations at all levels should ensure that trade union organizations briskly conduct mass culture work, disseminate advanced technique, and carry out an emulation drive for increased production among the workers.

Factories and enterprises should manage the sideline production well. Under war conditions, workers' life cannot be improved without efficiently managing the sideline. Party organizations should ensure that factories and enterprises secure vegetables, meat and other side dishes on their own, through successful conduct of subsidiary production. Organs of people's power should give factories and enterprises vegetable and meat production plans in order to raise the latter's responsibility for the sideline production.

We should reorganize the system of guidance to Party organizations of factories and enterprises by provincial, city and county Party committees. In future the guidance to Party organizations of big factories should be undertaken directly by provincial Party committees. And the ranks of the Party committees in cities and counties where important factories and enterprises are concentrated, should consist of cadres of working-class origin. Only then can city and county Party organizations take interest in factories and give effective guidance to industrial production.

Drawing on the experience and lessons gained in the Fatherland Liberation War, we should focus the forces of the entire Party on building an independent industry based on advanced technology.

ON THE ORIENTATION FOR POSTWAR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

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

June 5, 1953

Comrades,

Now I would like to make brief remarks on the question of the direction to be taken for reconstruction of the ruined economy when, in the future, the armistice is realized.

In the light of the present military situation in our country it is becoming clearer that the Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialists and their stooges will end in victory for our people before long. The US imperialists unleashed an aggressive war in an attempt to conquer Korea in one sweep, but from the first moment they suffered shameful setbacks one after another in the face of the heroic struggle of our People's Army and people who rose to defend the freedom and independence of the country. They have dragged on the armistice negotiations deliberately for two years, seeking to recover from their ignominious defeat through the negotiations. But today the US imperialists are no longer able to play such a crafty and insidious trick. They are compelled to kneel down before our people and sign the Armistice Agreement, and it is not far off when our people will emerge victorious in the Fatherland Liberation War.

When the armistice is effected we should reconstruct the

war-ravaged national economy and rapidly stabilize and improve the deteriorated people's livelihood. Only when we successfully undertake the reconstruction of the national economy after the ceasefire, can we further consolidate the democratic base of the northern half of Korea and hasten the reunification of the country.

Owing to the three-year war, our national economy has been severely ruined, and towns, villages, factories and enterprises have been literally reduced to heaps of cinders. So far we have mobilized all forces for victory in the war, but after the truce we should mobilize all human and material forces for rebuilding the dilapidated economy.

Of course, many difficulties and obstacles will confront us since we have to reconstruct the economy under conditions in which everything is destroyed and is in short supply. However, as long as we have the Workers' Party of Korea, the organizer and inspirer of all victories, and the heroic people steeled in the flames of the war, we can fully overcome all the bottlenecks and hardships in our way, reconstruct the ravaged economy on our own, and creditably build a rich and powerful independent, sovereign state in this land now in ruins. By striving in the same spirit with which we fought the US imperialists, we should rebuild the devastated towns and villages, factories and enterprises more excellently than before the war.

After the armistice came, we should rehabilitate and develop heavy industry on a priority basis.

In the rehabilitation and building of industry we should not restore the ruined industry merely to its original state, but restore and reconstruct it in such a way as to overcome its deformity which is an aftermath of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, and its shortcomings which were revealed during the war, and lay the foundation for the future industrialization of the country.

We should direct serious attention to the rational distribution of industry. To assure speedy reconstruction with less expenditure of money, some factories and enterprises should be rebuilt on their former sites, and those to be newly built should be distributed in reasonable zones taking into full consideration raw material and transport

conditions and the requirement of national defence and proximity to consuming areas.

Since there are many objects to be reconstructed after the end of the war, and materials, funds and manpower are scarce, they cannot be rebuilt all at once. The order of priority, therefore, should be properly fixed to start with the reconstruction of important objects. Only then will it be possible to increase the effectiveness of investment, and promote the rehabilitation and development of the national economy as a whole even with less outlay of materials, funds and manpower.

The metallurgical industry should be speedily rehabilitated and developed. Only when we produce large quantities of steel by rehabilitating and developing the metallurgical industry, can we develop the machine industry and also rebuild and develop other branches of the national economy. In the field of the metallurgical industry, the Hwanghae Iron Works, Kim Chaek Iron Works, Kangson Steel Plant and Songjin Steel Plant should be quickly restored on their former spots to produce pig iron and steel in abundance.

Without developing the machine-building industry, it is impossible to develop heavy industry itself, nor is it possible to develop light industry and agriculture and lay the basis for the future industrialization of the country. In the machine-building industry, the wrecked machine plants should be swiftly rehabilitated and readjusted to turn out machines and equipment necessary for different branches of the national economy and, at the same time, many machine factories should be newly erected. In particular, the construction of machine plants which was commenced during the war, should be accelerated and brought to an early completion to produce various kinds of machines, equipment and accessories needed for postwar reconstruction. As the foundation of our machine-building industry is still weak, we should import machine tools badly needed for the development of the machine industry, on the one hand, and, on the other, produce them at home on our own.

The shipbuilding industry should be developed. In our country bound by sea on three sides, where there are many rivers, the

development of the shipbuilding industry is of great importance for developing the fishing industry, solving the problem of transport, and strengthening defence capacities. We should rapidly reconstruct shipyards in the postwar period and build various boats in large numbers so as to satisfy the demand of the fishing industry and river transport.

We should exploit on a large scale the inexhaustible natural resources of our country and thus ensure raw materials and fuel necessary for the development of industry and greatly increase foreign exports.

When the armistice is realized, demolished and waterlogged mines should be restored and readjusted within a short space of time and a wide variety of ore and coal produced in large quantities. In the mining industry, specially, efforts should be concentrated on restoring lead and copper mines, and ore-dressing plants have to be rapidly rebuilt to boost the production of ore concentrates. In cases in which production of ore concentrates cannot be ensured because ore-dressing plants have not yet been restored at mines, measures should be taken to turn out quantities of minerals at least.

Existing mines should be rebuilt and, at the same time, geological prospecting work conducted in a big way to develop many new mines.

Fast rehabilitation and development of the power industry constitute a precondition for successfully ensuring the postwar reconstruction of the national economy as a whole. We should restore and readjust power station equipment and power transmission and distribution facilities at an early date, and supply electricity regularly to different areas of the national economy. Due attention should also be paid to the production of electric appliances and installations.

In the chemical industry, the ammonium sulphate fertilizer factory should be reconstructed and an ammonium nitrate fertilizer factory newly built to provide chemical fertilizers for agricultural production, and steps should be taken to turn out synthetic petroleum and alcohol and produce plenty of various other raw materials.

The rehabilitation and development of the building-materials

industry is an important guarantee for assuring smooth postwar reconstruction of the national economy. A wide range of building materials are much required to rebuild factories and enterprises after the war. Therefore, efforts should be bent to rehabilitate and develop the building-materials industry so as to produce a great deal of various building materials such as brick, cement, tile, glass and sanitary porcelain.

Specifically, damaged brick yards should be speedily rebuilt to produce bricks and, at the same time, small- and medium-scale ones should be constructed in large numbers everywhere through an all-Party, all-people movement. Thus we should produce 500 million bricks annually.

In transportation, railway transport should be swiftly rehabilitated and developed first of all, so that the railway plays its role adequately as the country's artery. Reconstruction should be undertaken in a way that major railway trunk lines are preferentially restored to ensure freight carriage and passenger transit and, drawing on our experience of the war, new railways are laid in some sections and railways in the sections with steep gradients are switched over to electric traction.

Likewise, river transport should be rehabilitated and developed. In river transport, water routes should be rearranged and operated between Pyongyang and Nampho, Pyongyang and Jaeryong, Manpho and Suphung.

Great attention should be paid to the development of the fishing industry.

The development of fisheries acquires a very important significance in solving the problem of subsidiary food for the people. Since a large state investment cannot be made in developing livestock farming today, the problem of side dishes can be solved satisfactorily for the People's Army and people only when the fishing industry is developed. We should mass-produce various fishing vessels and fishing tackle, and tap marine resources on an extensive scale, thereby increasing the output of seafood remarkably.

Investments in industrial field should be centred on metallurgical,

machine-building, chemical, building-materials and shipbuilding industries and much funds should be invested in power and mining industries as well.

Towns destroyed due to the war should be rebuilt into modern cities.

In urban construction, it is important to correctly fix the city-hearts in such a way as to promote the convenience of the people's life to the maximum. Streets should be formed rationally and houses, service facilities, schools, hospitals, recreation grounds and roads should be distributed properly.

After the war, we should rebuild superbly Pyongyang, the democratic capital, and provincial seats, and construct Huichon, Jonchon, Sakju and Kusong, where many new factories will be erected, into modern cities.

In rebuilding towns and cities a rigorous construction discipline should be established. In the field of construction, the construction discipline set by the state should be strictly observed, and a resolute struggle waged against its violations.

In order to carry the postwar reconstruction to success, damage should be concretely investigated. Only when we are fully aware of what was damaged and how, can we set the scale of reconstruction correctly and map out a proper plan for it. Therefore, officials of the Party, state and economic organs at all levels should thoroughly and quickly investigate the actual conditions of factories, machines and equipment. Provincial Party chairmen should responsibly examine damages suffered by factories in their provinces.

For success in postwar reconstruction, foreign currency should be obtained in plenty and saved to the utmost.

To acquire foreign currency, we should ensure more than 300 million rubles of export goods every year, of which 200 million rubles should be gained with the export of minerals and the remaining 100 million rubles with other export items. In order to get plentiful foreign currency, this work should be conducted through an all-Party, all-people movement. Party organizations at all levels should widely

explain and propagate the significance of foreign currency acquisition so that Party members and working people take an active part in this work. In every field and every unit, all foreign currency sources should be explored and enlisted and even seeds of larch, pine and acacia trees collected and exported to obtain a greater amount of foreign currency.

The struggle for acquisition of foreign currency should be intensified and, at the same time, a vigorous struggle launched to save foreign currency. In particular, gasoline and other imported materials should be economized as much as possible.

Party organizations should strengthen political and ideological education among Party members and working people.

When the war ceases, a tendency not to work as intensively as in wartime, captivated by a pacific mood, may appear among some Party members and working people who are not well prepared. That will not do at all. Armistice means to suspend the war temporarily and never signifies a complete peace.

Party organizations should intensify political and ideological education so that all Party members and working people have a correct view of the ceasefire and spur on postwar reconstruction work, always maintaining a strained and mobilized posture after the war, too, as in wartime. If slackness is revealed among officials, Party organizations should not tolerate it at all but overcome it completely, through a prompt, relentless struggle. Leading officials, People's Army men and interior security men, specially, should sharpen vigilance and successfully carry out their assigned tasks with a serious attitude.

All personnel should make energetic preparations for postwar reconstruction in the direction debated at today's meeting, firmly convinced of victory.

**SINK ALL ENEMY WARSHIPS INTRUDING
INTO THE TERRITORIAL WATERS
OF OUR COUNTRY**

**Talk to Servicemen of the 1st Company, Unit No. 648,
the Korean People's Army**

June 17, 1953

You had trouble in coming a long way from your coastal post. I am very glad to see you in a healthy condition.

Our coast artillerymen are now fighting well. In the past, many coast gunners including combatants of the Ri Tae Hun coastal battery fought heroically. Even now all those gunners on the east and west coasts are fighting a battle well.

You are reliably defending the gateway to the democratic capital Pyongyang and have greatly contributed to thwarting the enemy's new frantic offensive. You are said to have sent 12 enemy warships to the bottom of the sea, and yours was quite a good fight.

As our country is seabound on three sides, it is very important to strengthen coastal defence. In coastal defence at present, coast artillery is playing a big role and constitutes an important striking force with firepower. We will continue to exert great efforts to strengthen coast artillery forces.

To strengthen coastal defence, gunners should sweat more in combat training and conduct their training in an effective way to master artillery marksmanship without missing the mark.

Guns with which you now fight are powerful, but it is very difficult

to handle them because they are too heavy. Nevertheless, you acquitted yourselves well in your training with unbounded loyalty to the Party and a burning hatred for the enemy; you became proficient in guns and came to possess high artillery marksmanship; you thus smashed a lot of enemy vessels even with guns difficult to handle. This is a precious experience rarely to be found in the war history of other countries. We should continuously draw on this experience and develop it.

I see you are very proficient in your combat exercises. All gunners are agile and accurate in their movements. But you should not be self-complacent about this, and, instead, should undergo training more energetically in the future.

In shelling exercise it is important to do much practice in sighting. It is said that at first you were under training to take sight on naval vessels passing along the horizon and you are now engaged in the practice of taking aim on flying sea-gulls. This is a very good method of training. The practice of sighting should be conducted in such a systematic manner.

When firing on an enemy vessel in motion, you should lay the gun on the target farther ahead, instead of taking aim in pursuit of the vessel. When opening fire on a boat high in speed like a torpedo boat, you should keep the sight still farther ahead than on a boat slow in speed.

Training should be conducted not in daytime alone, but also at night. Thus, you should master a high level of marksmanship so that all your shots hit whatever be the situation, day or night.

If you are to sink a fast-moving enemy ship with a heavy artillery piece, it is not enough that only one of you performs well. All of you gunners should act nimbly and accurately like one man under the direction of the commanding officer. For this, you should normally do your training well.

You should not only give a good account of yourselves in training, but also endeavour to remodel your weapons. Guns now in your possession are very heavy and, what is more, each of them has a single leg. It is therefore impossible to move the gun barrel right and left

freely. Even if you want to change the direction a bit, you have to move the gun leg. You cannot hit a fast-moving enemy vessel instantaneously in this manner. You may as well study the way of revamping the structure of the gun to make it a little more convenient to handle. If you make gun parts movable lightly and recondition the gun barrel for turning freely to the right and left, the gun will be much more easier to handle than now and you will be able to smash more enemy boats with less use of shells.

It is important for coast artillerymen to know the weak points of enemy vessels and play on them properly.

However fast and modern the enemy vessels may be, they have many weak points in combat action. The first weakness is that they are afloat on the sea. The enemy cannot easily spot your coastal batteries when you camouflage them well, but you can easily discover enemy vessels on the sea. Therefore, when you are fully ready for action and suddenly pound enemy vessels which come in sight, they will be battered without finding even a moment to resist. Another weakness in the combat action of enemy ships is that because of the great difference between ebb and flow of the west sea of our country, and because there are many sunken rocks in it, they cannot act as they wish. You should study well the state of waterways and tidal relations on the coastal sea and thus set firepower sections beforehand in the places where enemy vessels may possibly move about. When shooting at an enemy boat, you should fire at her commanding tower or engine body first. When the vessel's commanding tower is wrecked, commanding is paralysed, and when the engine body is broken down, the vessel is unable to move. The enemy boat will be submerged if you keep striking her in succession after she comes to a stop with her engine body smashed. Turning enemy vessels' weaknesses to good account in the fight with them like this is similar in principle to the case of a hunter who, well aware of his prey's habit of life, takes advantage of the animal's weak spot and shoots it down easily.

For effective coastal defence it is important for coast gunners to make full preparations for night shelling.

Scared by our coast artillery fire, the enemy may attempt night landing. Therefore, you should prepare enough searchlights and flare bombs so that at night, too, you can see distinctly and shoot the target accurately. In future, lighting fixtures such as flare bombs and searchlights should be supplied more to coast artillery units. You should conduct an extensive campaign to make necessary lighting fixtures on your own, without waiting for their supply from the upper level.

In order to smash the enemy's landing attempt and defend coasts as firmly as an iron wall, it is necessary to put enemy vessels out of action on the distant sea before they approach the seashore.

I have heard that coast gunners fire at enemy vessels when they come near. They do this to save shells. But this will not do. You need not worry about shells, but should strike the oncoming enemy boats promptly from afar and wipe them out on the far-off sea. Only then you may suffer less damage from the enemy's naval bombardment and render it impossible for enemy vessels to show up near the coast. If you increase long-range guns and distribute coastal batteries on islands in the future, it will be better in pounding enemy vessels in the distance. The enemy boats at a spot far away where artillery fire is hardly reachable, should be hit by aeroplanes or by naval vessels.

Coastal batteries should be built more solidly. Now the US imperialists set big ships afloat on the sea and, in carrying out naval bombardment, deport themselves haughtily, but in fact the men on the ships are always petrified with fear as they are afloat on the sea, with no place to depend upon. Our fighters within gun positions which have turned into tunnels, will be secure in their minds. Fighters who feel secure are as good as they have already gone one better in a fight. Coastal batteries should be built more firmly in such a way as to convert them completely into tunnels.

Armistice would come before long. But it does not mean a perfect peace. We should continue to put effort into coastal defence even after the ceasefire. In our country which is surrounded by sea on three sides, coastal defence should be continuously strengthened even after the

country is reunified in the future.

Now the enemies are attempting to make landing almost every day on the east and west coasts of our country. If we neglect coastal defence even a little, we cannot frustrate the attempt of the enemies at once, nor can we keep the line we have already occupied. However well you may guard the battle line, you cannot maintain the front, if the defence on the east and west coasts is weak.

While safeguarding all the east and west coastal zones by continually strengthening coastal defence, we should stoutly defend the Wonsan area, and the basin in the lower reaches of the Taedong River, especially the region around Nampho, the gateway to Pyongyang.

To firmly defend our territorial waters, naval forces should be reinforced while strengthening coast artillery forces. The reinforcement of naval forces in our country does not mean that it should have many big ships like cruisers. The US imperialists would need lots of such large ships as cruisers to invade other countries, but it is not necessary for our navy to have many such big ships, as it has a mission to defend the country. We should post on the East and West Seas a large number of naval vessels high in mobility and powerful in engagement. And naval bases should be built up solidly.

If coast artillerymen and sailors fight in close cooperation, our east and west coasts will be defended firmly like an iron wall.

Commanding officers should carefully look after soldiers' life.

In a revolutionary army, officers and soldiers are revolutionary comrades and fellow fighters. They share life and death, joys and sorrows for the sake of the revolution. Commanding officers should value and love soldiers and always pay deep attention to their everyday life.

Commanding officers should direct great attention to the diet of the soldiers. They should provide them with sufficient subsidiary food and let them have warm boiled rice and soup even in tunnels. I learned that you secure for yourselves a considerable amount of side dishes including vegetables. It is a good thing. If you ensure vegetables on

your own, less burden will fall on the people. You should not lay too much burden on the people simply because you are engaged in battle. In the future, too, vegetables should be cultivated with your own hands so that you get them by yourselves.

As coast artillerymen live mainly in tunnels, commanding officers should be very careful about the health of the soldiers. Particularly because humidity fills tunnels, necessary measures should be taken to prevent soldiers from attacks of arthropathy and such like. It is preferable to arrange bedrooms in the least humid places and make their floor heated. When the floor is heated, it will remove the humidity in tunnels a great deal and will also be good for the health of the soldiers. Chill wind always blows on the seaside; therefore thick blankets should be issued to soldiers to keep them from catching cold and hot water should be kept in water tank at all times for them to drink.

Special attention should be paid to the life of army men on islands. Provisions, clothes and other supplies should be provided adequately and, if drinking water is scarce, it should be carried from the mainland. When boats are unable to ply because sea water is frozen or rain and wind are severe, necessary goods should be airlifted. As island life may be lonesome, various kinds of publications should be delivered in good time. It is advisable that when the armistice comes, servicemen out on islands should be relieved on a regular basis and officers allowed to live there with their family members.

Coast artillerymen who heroically fought in many battles and smashed a great number of enemy vessels are precious treasures of our Party. These comrades who fought the enemy, smelling gunpowder from their early years and accumulated a wealth of combat experience, should be sent to the military academy and made to serve in the army continuously in the future, too. If these comrades having rich experience in battle study and acquire the theory of modern military science, they will become fine artillery commanding officers.

The US imperialists are racing towards a final defeat; they are dealt heavier blows militarily and politically as days go by. Before long, the

war will end in victory for our people. When the war is over, we should rebuild towns and villages reduced to ashes, and build a new life in our land. You should not only crush the US imperialist aggressors who are bogged down in the pit of ruin, and hasten the victory in the war. You should also take a big share in the future postwar reconstruction.

I am firmly convinced that you will sink all the enemy vessels intruding into the territorial waters of our country and thereby firmly defend in the future also the gateway to the democratic capital Pyongyang where the Party Central Committee and the Supreme Headquarters are located.

I wish you to convey the Supreme Commander's thanks to all the servicemen at the outpost.

CONGRATULATIONS ON THE GREAT VICTORY IN THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR

**Order No. 470 of the Supreme Commander
of the Korean People's Army**

July 27, 1953

Comrade soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals of the valiant Korean People's Army,

On July 27, an Armistice Agreement has been signed between the delegates of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, on the one side, and the delegates of the aggressive armed forces headed by the US imperialists, on the other.

The just Fatherland Liberation War of the Korean people against the US imperialist invaders and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique, ended in our victory.

This fact—the signing of the Armistice Agreement—is a proof of the military, political and moral defeat of the US imperialist invaders and their lackeys, the Syngman Rhee clique.

The Korean people waged a heroic fight in the three-year Fatherland Liberation War, enjoying disinterested assistance, material and moral, from the peoples of the democratic camp who love world peace. Thus they defended the honour, freedom and independence of their motherland—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—and won the victory.

The US imperialists tried to impose upon the Korean people their

yoke of slavery in place of the colonial slavery of Japanese imperialism, reduce Korea to their colony and, further, turn it into a base of war against China and the Soviet Union. But they failed to attain their aim.

In their war of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the US imperialists themselves plainly revealed that they are the vicious enemy of both the Korean people and the freedom-loving peoples the world over.

The officers and men of the Korean People's Army fought heroically, displaying indomitable perseverance, and thereby smashed to smithereens the myth about the "technical omnipotence" and "invincibility" of the US imperialists, and compelled them to sign the Armistice Agreement.

I extend my warm congratulations and thanks to the officers and men of the Korean People's Army who, by waging a devoted and heroic struggle, defeated the US imperialist invaders and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique, and achieved a glorious victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

On behalf of the entire Korean people, I also express deep-felt gratitude to the officers and men of the fraternal Chinese People's Volunteers who were courageous and steadfast and gave us valuable help in our just Fatherland Liberation War.

Today, when the armistice is realized, the officers and men of our People's Army are confronted with the task of watching the enemy's intrigues with vigilance at all times and getting fully ready for action.

We should have the conviction that, if the US imperialist invaders and their lackeys ignite another war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we will wipe them out finally.

To celebrate our victory in the Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist invaders and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee clique, I give the following order:

At 21:00 hours today, 124 guns shall fire 24 salvos each in Pyongyang, the democratic capital of our country.

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our

glorious motherland!

Long live the heroic Korean People's Army!

Long live the valiant Chinese People's Volunteers!

Everlasting glory to the officers and men of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers who fell in the sacred Fatherland Liberation War for the freedom and independence of our country!

ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT

Radio Address to the Entire Korean People

July 28, 1953

(1)

Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,
Heroic men and officers of the People's Army, and men and women guerrillas,

Valiant men and officers of the Chinese People's Volunteers,
Dear comrades,

The Armistice Agreement was concluded in Panmunjom at 10:00, on July 27, by the representatives of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers on the one hand, and the representatives of the invading armies headed by the US imperialists on the other.

In accordance with this Armistice Agreement, hostilities between the two belligerent sides were stopped at 22:00 on July 27, and the ceasefire in Korea was realized. This is what not only the entire Korean people but the freedom-loving people all over the world hoped for so unanimously and anxiously.

The truce is the outcome of three years of our people's heroic struggle to safeguard national freedom and independence against the allied forces of foreign imperialism and the US imperialist stooges, the

traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. It is a historic victory won by our people.

When the US imperialists, dreaming of world domination, started an invasion against our country and people, they planned to make our people their permanent slaves and our country their colony and military strategic base against the Soviet Union and China.

The US imperialist invaders mobilized their ground, naval and air forces, armed with up-to-date technique, and even their satellite troops. But they failed to attain their sinister designs. They were defeated with tremendous loss in manpower and materiel. In the three years of the Korean war, the US imperialists came to know well how great the might of the Korean people is, how indomitable their fighting spirit is, and what a great vitality the people's democratic system established in the northern half of our country has.

More than once in its 5 000-year history, our nation fought heroic struggles against foreign invaders. But never before has there been an instance that the entire people united in strength to deal a decisive blow to a formidable enemy and won a shining victory as in this Fatherland Liberation War and that our people have acquired an increased international prestige and enjoy active support and sympathy from the people all over the world as at present.

The heroic Korean people and their armed force, the Korean People's Army, shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Chinese People's Volunteers, fought bravely for three years displaying unheard-of heroism and patriotic devotion, indomitable perseverance, despite all privations, while receiving unbounded support and encouragement from the peoples of the socialist and people's democratic countries and the freedom-loving people all over the world. Tens of thousands of our best sons and daughters laid down their lives in the sacred war to defend every inch of the land, and our people waged a determined struggle for victory in the war, braving all trials and making all sacrifices.

In the sacred war for freedom and independence, the blood shed by our best sons and daughters and the sufferings and sacrifices of our

people were not in vain.

By their self-sacrificing struggle the Korean people and People's Army safeguarded the people's democratic system set up in the northern half of our country, the achievements of democratic reforms and the democratic base from the encroachment of the imperialist allied forces led by the US imperialist aggressors, the ringleader of modern imperialism. As a result, the Korean people are in a position to strengthen the revolutionary forces continually in the northern half of Korea in political, economic, military and cultural fields. And they can escape the fate of being US imperialist colonial slaves and create the conditions for achieving the complete reunification and independence of the country, the greatest desire of the whole nation.

Having experienced to the bone the dark colonial rule of Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century, the Korean people know well what a people without a country is like and what the destiny of a colonial slave is.

The motherland is the most precious thing for our people, which cannot be bartered away for anything. That was why the Korean people fought a heroic struggle to defend their most precious motherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, against the encroachment of imperialist aggressors.

Thanks to their heroic efforts, the Korean people and their armed force, the Korean People's Army, enhanced the position and prestige of our Republic at home and abroad and placed our country and people in the rank of advanced countries and progressive champions for national independence, freedom, peace and democracy.

The liberation struggle of the Korean people for freedom and independence became a banner of the national-liberation movement of the oppressed people in the East; it showed that the Asian peoples, subjected to every maltreatment by imperialists, have the ability to defend their national freedom and independence with arms in hand. The freedom-loving people all over the world, therefore, called the Korean people progressive fighters for national independence and liberty, and Stalin said that the Workers' Party of Korea, the militant

vanguard of the working masses of Korea, is a “shock brigade” for national independence and freedom.

In the crucible of the three-year war, our people were further tempered; the functions and role of the Party, the organs of power, and social organizations increased; and their officials not only became skilled and trained but also accumulated rich experience.

In the flames of the war, tens of thousands of tempered cadres were reared in military, political, economic, cultural and other areas, and the Korean People’s Army, a strong armed force of our people, grew into an invincible army. Through the war our people and men and officers strengthened their faith in victory over the far superior enemy and acquired greater national pride.

The wealth of our experience, gained in the war, constitutes an asset for the construction of a prosperous independent and democratic state and a precious guarantee for quick rehabilitation and development of our war-ruined country and eternal prosperity and happiness of the country and the people.

Through their heroic struggle, the Korean people and their armed force, the glorious People’s Army, exposed to the whole world the true colours of the US imperialists, the ringleader of most savage modern imperialism.

The Korean war not only smashed the myth of US “might” but also laid bare the evil nature of the idealized American-style “democracy” which the US imperialists had tactfully kept under cover for a long time.

The US imperialists incurred the anger and indignation of the freedom-loving people all over the world and were isolated from them because of the barbarities they committed against our people during the Korean war and the criminal ways and means of warfare they employed which were unprecedented in history.

The military, political and moral defeat of the US imperialist invaders on the Korean front is a great victory not only of the Korean people in the struggle to defend liberty and independence but also of the freedom-loving democratic camp in the world.

The Korean war proved once again that the unity and solidarity of

the peace-loving democratic camp is unbreakable and its strength invincible.

The United States is said to be the strongest power in the imperialist camp, but it had to fight the war against Korea, not a big country, for three years, only to kneel down to sign the Armistice Agreement at the very spot where it started the armed aggression three years ago. This fact shows that imperialists cannot encroach upon the territory of other countries any longer as they could do before. This also proves clearly that no aggressive forces can subordinate a people when they know the value of national independence and, relying on the peace-loving democratic camp, turn out as one with a determination to combat aggressors to the end.

In the Korean war, the world peace-loving democratic camp grew in strength, whereas contradictions in the imperialist camp were aggravated and the crisis of capitalism became more serious.

The US imperialist scheme of aggression was shattered in the Korean war. This compels the war incendiaries to ponder over the consequences of a military adventure for them. The US imperialists regarded their challenge to Korea and China as a decisive step towards a third world war. Their aggressive war in Korea, however, did not bear the fruit they had expected. Our gallant People's Army and the brave Chinese People's Volunteers dealt a decisive blow at the US imperialist invaders, foiled their vicious plan in Korea, and extinguished the flames of war. In this way, they made a great contribution in preventing a third world war and defending peace and security in the world, particularly in the Far East.

(2)

Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,
Heroic men and officers of the People's Army, and men and

women guerrillas,

Valiant men and officers of the Chinese People's Volunteers,
Dear comrades,

What is the basic factor of the great victory of the Korean people in the Fatherland Liberation War for freedom and independence, and what strength enabled them to achieve such a brilliant victory?

The main factor for their victory in the war against the US imperialist invaders, is a firm alliance of our working class and working peasants and the warm support of the democratic forces of all strata for this alliance. This alliance and support represents the basis for the stability of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and for all our people's achievements.

After liberation our people built a solid democratic base and strengthened it in all fields of politics, economy, military and culture. We founded our armed force, the Korean People's Army, to defend the people's power from encroachment by the aggressors and created a stable hinterland and a strong economic foothold which could supply everything for the People's Army and the war. Our people could emerge victorious by fully ensuring manpower and materiel for the war, relying on the powerful democratic base.

When they unleashed a war in Korea, the US imperialists thought that the Korean people would not dare to match their military technique, particularly their air force. They calculated that they would conquer our people by dint of their military technique.

They, however, also made big blunders in this regard. With military technique, they could neither conquer the Korean people nor frighten them. As the Korean war shows, superior military technique is by no means the sole factor for victory in a war. Technical superiority alone is not enough to win the war.

One of the most important factors for victory in war is the political and moral state of the army and the people, and the fighting spirit of the people at the front and in the rear. This the enemy failed to see; it is their main weak point.

The men and officers of our People's Army and the Chinese

People's Volunteers displayed peerless bravery and heroism in fighting the aggressors, whereas the US and its satellite troops openly manifested war-weariness and cowardice. That was because the aggressive armies knew that the war they were waging was an unjust war and a war in the interest of monopoly capitalists. The men and officers of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers were aware that the war against the US imperialist invaders was a righteous war and that their sacred duty was to fight devotedly in the war.

When they started an aggressive war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the US imperialists also counted on isolating the Korean people from the freedom-loving people of the world. But the imperialists failed to do so. On the contrary, the Korean people enjoyed active support, aid, love and respect from the freedom-loving people in their heroic struggle against the US and British armed interventionists.

The freedom-loving people all over the world denounced these interventionists for their outrages in Korea and waged a resolute struggle to end the piratic armed intervention of US imperialism.

Many countries of the socialist and democratic camp gave us not only moral but enormous economic aid. Particular mention should be made of the movement to resist US aggression and aid Korea by the Chinese people who dispatched their Volunteers to the Korean front in the grimmest days of the Fatherland Liberation War. The men and officers of the Chinese People's Volunteers, full of noble internationalist spirit and fraternal amity, fought a heroic battle shoulder to shoulder with our People's Army on the Korean front, overcoming all difficulties.

The mental and political support and material aid to the Korean people given by the peoples of the socialist and democratic camp and the Chinese People's Volunteers' participation in the Korean front are one of the important factors that made the Korean people win the victory in their struggle against the US imperialist aggressors.

In the vanguard of the fighting Korean people stands the Workers'

Party of Korea, a new type of Marxist-Leninist party, basing itself on an ever-victorious Marxist-Leninist theory in all its activities and creatively applying the experience of revolutionary parties to our country.

In the difficult period of the war the members of the Workers' Party did not hesitate to lay down their lives for the country and the people, and always mobilized the people for victory in the van of the struggle for safeguarding national independence, freedom and honour. They demonstrated through their practical activity and struggle for the country and the people that they are boundlessly faithful to the interests of the people and that they are the staunch and consistent defenders of these interests.

Firmly rallied around the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea under the leadership of the Workers' Party, the Korean people from all walks of life—workers, peasants, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, traders and handicraftsmen—fought valiantly for national freedom and independence.

All these factors made it possible for the Korean people to win a brilliant victory in the Fatherland Liberation War against the US-led imperialist allied forces.

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Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,
Heroic men and officers of the People's Army, and men and women guerrillas,

Valiant men and officers of the Chinese People's Volunteers,

Dear comrades,

On the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement, our Party, the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people are confronted with political, economic and military tasks. These are to

rehabilitate and develop the war-damaged national economy rapidly through mobilization of every force of the country and the people, strengthen the nation's defence potential, improve the people's material and cultural standards, further consolidate and develop the people's democratic system and thus achieve the historic cause of peaceful reunification of the country.

We should always keep ourselves ready and on the alert.

The suspension of military action at the Korean front does not mean that the US imperialists have completely given up their aggressive plan against our country. The conclusion of the Armistice Agreement represents a ceasefire and a first step towards peaceful solution of the Korean question, but it never means a lasting peace.

In the southern half of our country there still remain the US imperialist aggressive troops and the anti-popular Syngman Rhee puppet regime which advocates "northward expedition".

It is no secret that the US imperialists do not want to withdraw from our country and that they are rearming Japan in an attempt to use her as a tool for carrying out their policy of aggression in Asia. The Korean people know well that in Japan there are US air bases which served to reduce our peaceful towns and villages to ashes and that Japan was used as the US army's ordnance depot and supply base during the Korean war.

Moreover, some time before the Armistice Agreement was signed, the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique committed all sorts of manoeuvres, to which we cannot but direct our attention.

Of late, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique held talks with Japan's reactionary Yoshida government to conclude a so-called "ROK-Japan treaty". The traitor was opposed to signing the Armistice Agreement and openly claimed the continuation of the war and the so-called "northward expedition". At the same time, he "set free" the prisoners of war to detain them by force in conspiracy with US imperialism. Even before the signing of the Armistice Agreement, the US imperialists promised to conclude a so-called "ROK-US Mutual Defence Pact" with the treacherous Syngman Rhee clique in order to

go on interfering in the internal affairs of Korea. And, before the ceasefire the US General Taylor had already sent instructions to his units to be ready for future action.

The recent developments within the enemy camp in connection with the Armistice Agreement show that the US imperialist aggressors are playing vile and crafty tricks to perpetuate their occupation of south Korea and make it their permanent military base and colony, keep its young people constantly at the front as cannon fodder, and continue to meddle in the internal affairs of our country. The Korean people, however, will never forgive such sinister plots of the enemy.

We should remember that the enemy may unleash another war in violation of the Armistice Agreement and, accordingly, a war may break out again in our country at any moment.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will continue efforts for a durable peace. The entire Korean people should unite more firmly to oppose the anti-popular Syngman Rhee traitors and their foreign guardians and defend peace, freedom and democratic rights.

A truce in Korea must be the first step towards easing the international tension and starting peaceful solution of the Korean question and the peaceful reunification of Korea. But we cannot but take into consideration that there still exists the danger of another war breaking out.

We should therefore strengthen the fighting efficiency of the People's Army in every way.

The men, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals of the People's Army should not become remiss even for a moment but should continue to enhance their military technique and political level, master their weapons and combat equipment, perfect the art of command, review and study rich experience in the Fatherland Liberation War and establish an iron military discipline and order to further increase the combat strength of the army. In this way they should make our glorious People's Army a more solid, reliable bulwark for national defence. All the people should do their best to

strengthen our proud People's Army, and should love and assist the men and officers of the People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, the disabled and discharged soldiers with public honour and respect.

We should heighten revolutionary vigilance and be always ready so that the enemy may not embark again on military adventure, trampling peace under their feet.

The entire people should make the rear an impregnable fortress.

We should not delay concentrating the all-people efforts even for a second for rapidly rehabilitating the devastated national economy and stabilizing the people's livelihood and increasing the defence capability.

We should put the main stress on industry in restoring the national economy.

The basic direction for industrial rehabilitation is to give priority to the restoration and expansion of heavy industry and to rapidly restore and develop light industry for the stabilization of the people's living standards with a view to eliminating the shortcomings of industry, revealed during the war, and its colonial one-sidedness, an aftermath of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, and laying the foundations for the future industrialization of our country.

To this end we should quickly rehabilitate or develop the iron, engineering, ordnance, mining, power, chemical, building-materials industries, railway transport and the textile industry.

It is of special importance to restore and develop agriculture quickly. The Government of the Republic will exert every effort for its rehabilitation and development.

In the field of agriculture, measures should be taken to stabilize and improve the living standards of the peasants with small or barren land in a short period of time. And efforts should be made to popularize advanced methods of farming widely, ameliorate land, obtain new land, and undertake irrigation projects on a large scale, lead each household to raise livestock and develop state stock farms gradually. Thus we should reach or surpass the prewar level in all fields of

agriculture within one or two years.

Great effort should also be directed to the development of fisheries and forestry.

In education and culture, not only the institutes of higher learning and specialized schools which existed in the prewar years should completely be restored but also their education improved in terms of quality. A National Economy Institute should be founded to train large numbers of workers in state management. At the same time, steps should be taken to train many new reserve cadres. And we should continue to send students to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies for study, while providing new cadres who have already finished their courses abroad and returned home with every possible opportunity to display their abilities to the maximum. An all-people movement should be launched to reconstruct primary, junior and higher middle schools so that education may attain the prewar level in the coming two or three years.

To stabilize and improve the people's living standards we should take measures to develop state enterprises and producers' cooperatives in every way in the field of light industry, adjust the market prices, prevent inflation and recover the value of *won*.

For the successful implementation of the huge tasks of postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy, we should not in the least slacken our strained and mobilized posture of the wartime, but should direct all effort to the work of peaceful construction and enlist every available resource for this purpose. A nationwide campaign should be conducted to establish iron discipline in labour and order in production, quickly increase production and augment state accumulations.

In factories and mines, in the reconstruction of railways and towns, in villages and in all other areas of postwar reconstruction and development of the national economy, the entire people should unfold a widespread drive for increased production and new inventions and wage a vigorous struggle to overcome obstacles in their way of postwar economic reconstruction. We can and must overcome them on

all accounts, for they are not for stagnation and retrogression but for growth and development. Our people should be deeply aware that the only way to victory is to tide over all difficulties and trials standing in their way of advance, and should courageously break through them.

All the people should strive for increased production and work for reconstruction and turn out as one on the labour front in the same spirit as they wiped out the enemy in the Fatherland Liberation War. We must consider sweating more for the country and the people to be the greatest honour, pride and sacred duty.

Deeply conscious of the fact that they are restoring the country devastated by the war, the entire people should build it faster and better. They should not waste, but economize on every penny, every grain, every nail and every piece of thread, and allocate all the human and material resources to the rehabilitation and development of the national economy including industry and capital construction.

State discipline should be tightened so that people may execute all state laws, decisions and instructions voluntarily and thoroughly, and an implacable struggle should be conducted against even the slightest degree of idleness and laxity.

We should understand clearly that a counter-espionage struggle is of special importance in the postwar period. And we should see that the broad masses of people sharpen revolutionary vigilance and an all-people campaign is launched vigorously to detect and expose the spies and subverters whom the enemy sent into our ranks taking advantage of wartime confusion or may send in during the postwar period of peaceful construction. Every one of them should thus be prevented from playing mischief among us.

The victory of the Korean people today is a victory common to the international democratic camp fighting for freedom, peace and national independence; it is a brilliant victory of lofty internationalism.

At present, internationalism serves as an important banner for the patriotic-minded Korean people. In the fierce flames of the war for freedom and independence, the Korean people very keenly felt how great was the might of the socialist and democratic camp, united under

the banner of internationalism, and how closely it was connected with the freedom, independence and happy future of our people.

The internationalist support and encouragement of the fraternal peoples for the Korean people will continue to be a great inspiration to them in their struggle to rebuild our war-devastated economy, consolidate the democratic base, and achieve territorial integrity and the peaceful reunification of the country.

We should continue, in the future too, to strengthen friendship and cohesion with the peoples of the democratic camp and uphold the banner of internationalism.

All the people in the southern half of Korea should wage an unremitting struggle against the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique who are selling out our country and people to the US imperialists so that they should be isolated thoroughly from the masses of the people. They should expose continuously the colonial enslavement policy of US imperialism towards Korea and prevent it from interfering in the internal affairs of our country, and fight more resolutely for the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

We should continue our struggle for the territorial integrity and the peaceful reunification of the country in the postwar years, too.

Korea is one, the Korean nation is homogeneous, and Korea belongs to the Korean people. All the patriotic political parties, social organizations and people in the north and south of our country who do not want fratricide but desire territorial integrity and national unity, can and must join hands for national reunification and independence, irrespective of their past actions and difference in political views and religious beliefs. All the personages, parties and groupings with a national conscience should cooperate with each other and unite closely under the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea to attain the cause of peaceful reunification of the country without fail.

To solidify the democratic base of the Republic by rapid rehabilitation and development of our national economy after the war is a patriotic task of the whole people for hastening the territorial integrity and national reunification. All the people should rise up under

the slogan “Everything for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy to strengthen the democratic base!”

Everybody must have a sturdy faith in the ultimate victory of our just cause for peaceful reunification of the country, and fight bravely to secure the final victory.

In order to accomplish the cause of peaceful reunification of the country, the entire Korean people should rally more closely around the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, a true people’s government, and around the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea led by the Workers’ Party of Korea, an advanced detachment of our working class and the rest of the working people.

Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,

Heroic men and officers of the People’s Army, and men and women guerrillas,

Valiant men and officers of the Chinese People’s Volunteers,

Dear comrades,

We won the great historic victory in the three years of righteous Fatherland Liberation War.

Our historic victory means precisely that the policy of the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and the line of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea centring around the Workers’ Party of Korea, the leading and guiding force of our people, were correct and enjoyed support from all people because they represented the fundamental interests of the Korean people.

I offer my thanks to all the Korean people for their confidence in the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, the Workers’ Party of Korea and the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea.

On behalf of the entire Korean people, I extend my thanks to the Soviet people and all the revolutionary people of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism for their active support and fraternal aid to our people during the Fatherland Liberation War.

I express my thanks to the Chinese people who sent the powerful

People's Volunteers, made up of their best sons and daughters, to help us directly in the grim days of the Fatherland Liberation War.

Warm congratulations and thanks go to the heroic men and officers of the People's Army and men and women guerrillas, who defended with honour the people's democratic system of our Republic and our people's freedom and independence from the encroachment of the US imperialists, and to the men and officers of the Chinese People's Volunteers who helped us in our Fatherland Liberation War at the cost of their lives.

I pay my respect and congratulations to all our workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, traders, handicraftsmen and people of all strata who ensured victory in the war by braving all hardships and obstacles to fortify the rear in the difficult times of the war.

Glory to the men and officers of the People's Army, the men and women guerrillas, the men and officers of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the patriotic martyrs who died in the sacred war for our national freedom, independence and honour!

Korea belongs to the Korean people. Korea to the Koreans!

Let all of us march forward against the US imperialist intervention in our internal affairs and for the early materialization of peaceful reunification of our country!

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the glorious motherland of our people!

Long live the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea!

Long live the glorious Workers' Party of Korea, the leading and guiding force of our people!

Long live the unbreakable internationalist friendship and solidarity of the peoples of the socialist and democratic camp!

