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KIM IL SUNG

FOR THE COMPLETE VICTORY
OF SOCIALISM

PYONGYANG, KOREA

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WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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FOR THE COMPLETE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM

*Policy Speech at the First Session of
the Eighth Supreme People's Assembly
of the Democratic People's
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Comrade Deputies,

Today our revolution is pressing along the road of building socialism and communism under the banner of the Republic. As our revolution advances victoriously, all the people's support for and trust in the Government of the Republic are increasing with every passing day, and our Republic is growing stronger.

Thanks to the high degree of political awareness and great revolutionary enthusiasm of all the people including the working class, the elections to the Eighth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK were held successfully, and a new Government of the Republic was organized. As a result, our people's government has been further strengthened, and the political and ideological unity of our people who are rallied closely behind our Party and the Government of the Republic has become as solid as rock.

The new Government of the Republic will do all its work so as to fulfil the people's high trust and expectations, and will continue to fight vigorously for the happiness of our people, for the prosperity and development of the country and for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism.

The Government of our Republic is truly a people's government and a Juche-oriented revolutionary government which champions the people's freedom and rights and fights to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche.

The fighting tasks now facing this government in carrying out the revolutionary cause of Juche are to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of the Republic and to reunify the country independently and peacefully.

The Government of the Republic must carry out its honourable revolutionary tasks with credit by accelerating the revolutionary struggle and construction more vigorously under the banner of the Juche idea.

1

Comrades,

The cause of building socialism and communism is sacred and will provide the masses of the people with complete Chajusong.

It is the age-long desire and the highest ideal of the people to achieve complete Chajusong. If they are to realize their cherished desire and ideal, the people must transform the exploiting system of the old society in a revolutionary manner, and advance along the road of socialism to the end until they consummate the cause of building socialism and communism.

The road to socialism and communism is a historical course that covers many stages of revolutionary development.

It takes a long time for the working class to build a communist society after seizing the political power and taking the path of socialism. In this process the working class must carry out the revolutionary tasks in many stages, the tasks which arise in sequence.

As early as the initial period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, the Korean communists put forward their

fighting programme of liberating the nation and then building socialism and communism in their liberated country. They have been fighting tirelessly to carry out the programme.

After liberating the country, we destroyed the ruling colonial machinery of the Japanese imperialists without delay and established the people's government. On the strength of this government we carried out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution thoroughly and thus established the people's democratic system in the north. The social change which was effected by the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, enabled our Party to strengthen and develop the people's government into a socialist government of proletarian dictatorship as required by the developing revolution. This was a turning point in the history of our country's advance to socialism, and this was when our people began to perform the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The cause of building socialism which begins with the establishment of the socialist government emerges victorious and is consummated through the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. This is a period when a fierce class struggle takes place between socialism and capitalism, and a period of historic changes when socialist society is completed through the transformation of man, society and nature in accordance with the aspirations and desire of the working class. The historic tasks of the transition period are to win a complete victory over capitalism in all spheres of social life and bring about a classless society by eliminating all class antagonisms and class distinctions. If they are to complete the transition to socialism, the masses of the people who have come to power must carry out these historic tasks of the transition period.

The first task to be carried out in this period of transition is to destroy the exploiting system and establish the socialist system by reorganizing outdated production relations along socialist lines. In view of the specific situation in our country where the democratic revolution triumphed, our Party and the people's government formulated an original line of socialist revolution, carried it out successfully and established an advanced socialist system in the northern half of the Republic. The victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the socialist system were great historical events which brought about a radical change in the social position and role of our people.

After the success in the socialist revolution, our Party and the Government of the Republic set the strategic target of achieving the complete victory of socialism during the transition period and have pressed ahead with the building of socialism.

Winning the complete victory of socialism is a requirement of the law of building socialism and communism. It is a historic task that must be carried out during this period of transition.

Although the establishment of the socialist system is a historical turning point in the course of social development from capitalism to socialism, it does not mean the complete victory of socialism, nor does it imply a complete transition to socialism.

Even after the establishment of the socialist system, the society retains a great deal of ideological, technical and cultural backwardness left over from the old society. Because of this there are differences between towns and rural communities, between the industrial working class and the peasantry and various other differences; the material and tech-

nical foundations of the society are weak in comparison with the advanced social system; and the working people's material and cultural standards are not as high as they should be. When the socialist system is established, the exploiting classes cease to exist in the society, but the corroding actions of their outdated ideas continue, and so do the ideological, cultural infiltration and destructive and subversive manoeuvres of hostile outside forces which are opposed to the socialist system. A society where the socialist system has been set up but socialist construction has not been completed and where the exploiting system has been destroyed but where the danger still remains of capitalism being restored, cannot be called a completely victorious socialist society.

A completely victorious socialist society is a consummated socialist society the whole of which has been working-classed and in which all the people, as equal masters of the state and society, lead an independent and creative life. The completely victorious socialist society is a classless society, a developed society where all its members are provided with complete social and political equality and with decent material and cultural lives. It is a society which, from the point of view of social progress, coincides with the end of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and in which the lower stage of communism becomes a complete reality and the gradual transition to the higher stage of communism gets under way.

The complete victory of socialism is another epoch-making event in the people's struggle for Chajusong; it is an important milestone in the course of building socialism and communism.

Of course, the complete victory of socialism does not

mean changing to the higher stage of communism all at once. When socialism is completely triumphant, the class distinctions will disappear, but the differences between mental and physical labour and some distinctions in material standards will continue to remain, and the productive forces of society will not reach such a high level as to permit distribution according to need. In order to overcome the transitional character of a socialist society completely and move on to the higher stage of communism, it is necessary to go through a historical stage where the completely triumphant socialist society is consolidated and developed until communism has been built completely. The law of building socialism and communism is to win the complete victory of socialism through the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and to reach the higher stage of communism through a complete socialist society.

The achievement of the complete victory of socialism is now a real requirement of socialist construction in our country.

Nearly 30 years have passed since our people began to perform the tasks for the complete victory of socialism on a full scale after the triumph of the socialist revolution. During this period our people have made big strides in their struggle for the complete victory of socialism.

Guided by the correct policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic for socialist construction and under their correct leadership, our country successfully carried out the task of socialist industrialization over a short period of history, and laid solid foundations for an independent national economy. These material and technical foundations of the socialist independent national economy have been strengthened and its structure further improved

through the fulfilment of a number of plans for the development of the national economy.

In recent years our people carried out the Second Seven-Year Plan successfully. As a result, all sectors of the national economy have been solidly equipped with modern techniques, and the nation's economic power has further increased.

We have also achieved great success in the transformation of man by pressing ahead with the ideological and cultural revolutions.

The remnants of the backward, outdated ideas and culture handed down through history are very small elements now in our society. The people are developing fully in the communist way, acquiring the advanced ideology of the working class and attaining high technical and cultural standards. This quality of the people who are the masters of society shows the high level of development of our society as well as the maturity of the basic conditions for the complete victory of socialism in our country.

The socialist system in our country has become further consolidated and developed on the basis of the brilliant successes in socialist economic construction and in the transformation of human beings.

Ours is the best social system which provides all the people with genuine political freedom, democratic rights and material and cultural well-being. In our country all the people are united in mind and purpose solidly behind our Party and the Government of the Republic, and the whole society has been imbued with the collectivist way of life, with the spirit to help and lead each other forward. The Party and the people, in solid unity and cohesion, constitute the mighty, Juche-oriented force of the revolution, and all the people place their unreserved trust in the Party and the

Government. This is a sure guarantee for the durability of our socialist system and the decisive factor for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism in our country.

All these successes in the struggle for the transformation of man, society and nature show that we are near to the line which marks the complete victory of socialism.

Indeed, the Korean revolution pioneered by us communists has advanced a long way under the correct leadership of our Party and the Government of our Republic. But we still have to do more work in all fields of human, social and nature transformations if we are to win the complete victory of socialism. We must struggle more vigorously in order to win the complete victory of socialism in keeping with the mature requirement of our developing revolution and with our people's revolutionary aspirations.

2

Comrades,

The fundamental question in winning the complete victory of socialism is to transform people and social relations on the pattern of the working class so as to eliminate class differences and establish a classless society.

A socialist society is, in its proper sense, the society of the working class. A full-fledged, complete socialist society is a society in which all spheres have been working-classized, in other words, a classless society in which everyone has been working-classized and all social relations have been reformed on a working-class pattern.

Eliminating class antagonisms and class distinctions and abolishing classes themselves is the basic condition which will provide the masses with Chajusong. The emergence of classes caused domination and subjugation between people and, accordingly, the struggle for Chajusong meant the fight for class liberation. In previous historical periods, however, no class ever raised the slogan for the abolition of classes except the working class which alone put up this slogan and has struggled to build a classless society ever since its appearance on the scene of history. The abolition of classes and the building of a classless society is the historic task which the working class itself put forward; this is the important goal of building socialism and communism.

The socialist revolution marks an important turning point in the struggle of the working class to abolish classes. The liquidation of the exploiting classes by the socialist revolution results in the elimination of class antagonisms which are the root cause of all social miseries, and in a socialist society the only classes which remain are those of the workers and the cooperative farmers. Therefore, the abolition of classes in a socialist society boils down to the question of eliminating the distinctions between the working class and the peasantry by solving the rural question; only when this question is solved can the historic task of abolishing the classes be finally carried out, and a classless society be established.

Because of the class distinctions between workers and farmers there exist a number of distinctions in the social life as well as some non-working-class social relations in a socialist society. For this reason, the elimination of these class differences is the central task of social transformation in the period after the socialist system has been established.

In order to eliminate the class differences between workers and farmers, it is imperative to turn cooperative property into all-people property and establish an undivided sway of the all-people ownership of the means of production.

The ownership of the means of production is the basic factor in defining classes. The two classes—the working class and the farmers—exist in a socialist society because there are two forms of socialist ownership—all-people property and cooperative property. It is only when the means of production are brought under undivided ownership by all the people through the transformation of cooperative property into all-people property that the farmers are working-classized and the class differences between workers and farmers disappear.

The conversion of cooperative property into all-people property is a requirement of the law of the development of a socialist society.

A socialist society is a society based on collectivism, and both cooperative property and all-people property are socialist property which constitutes the economic foundation of our society. Collectivism requires that all social relations including ownership should develop steadily in conformity with the communal interests and requirements of the whole of society. Cooperative property, a lower form of socialist ownership, must develop towards the higher standard of its socialization and ultimately into all-people property which is a higher form of socialist ownership. When cooperative property is transformed into all-people property so that all working people are embraced by a single economy under the ownership of all the people, the communist principle of “One for all and all for one” can be applied satisfactorily.

We must consolidate and develop cooperative property

into all-people property in line with the lawful requirement of the development of a socialist society.

Cooperative property exists side by side with all-people property in a socialist society because the farmers' standards of ideology, technology and culture are lower than those of the working class and because the material and technical foundations of agriculture are weaker than those of industry. So the basic way to convert cooperative property into all-people property is to eliminate the ideological, technological and cultural backwardness of the rural communities.

If we are to put an end to this backwardness and make cooperative property all-people property, we must carry out the theses on the socialist rural question published by our Party.

The theses are the action programme of our Party to solve the rural question finally and win the complete victory of socialism by consolidating and developing cooperative property and changing it into all-people property.

In accordance with the principle laid down in the theses, we must first accelerate the ideological and cultural revolutions energetically in country areas and raise the farmers' level of ideology, technology and culture quickly.

The ideology of the working people has a very important effect on the development of ownership. We must intensify the ideological education and organizational life of our farmers and harden them steadily through communal labour and collective activities so that they will hold the interests of the society and state dearer than individual interests and work honestly for society and the collective and for the country and the people, with a high degree of awareness of being masters of the revolution and construction.

A modern, developing agriculture requires a radical

improvement of the farmers' technical and cultural standards. We must train the new generation to be dependable builders of socialist rural communities as required by the developing realities and, at the same time, improve adult education and dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge in country areas so that every farmer can handle modern farm machinery skilfully and attain high standards of knowledge and skills for scientific and technological farming.

We must also press ahead with the technical revolution in rural areas and industrialize agriculture.

The industrialization of agriculture means effecting irrigation, electrification, mechanization and a wide application of chemicals in the rural economy and developing agricultural production into a modern technical process. When agriculture is industrialized, we shall be able to develop it into a large-scale economy based on modern machinery and thus increase agricultural production rapidly, obliterate the distinctions between agricultural and industrial labour and free the farmers from backbreaking work.

Since the irrigation and electrification of agriculture have already been effected, we must consolidate the success and, at the same time, mass-produce different kinds of modern farm machinery including tractors and harvesters and supply them to country areas in a planned manner. We must also produce and supply to the rural communities greater quantities of various kinds of high-quality fertilizers and agricultural chemicals which suit our soil conditions and the characteristics of our crops, and work hard to adopt advanced farming technology and methods along with the latest achievements of agricultural science in order to put farm production on a highly scientific basis.

In order to transform cooperative property into all-

people property, we must combine the two organically by continuing to enhance the leading role of the latter in relation to the former.

An important task in their organic combination is to strengthen the direct production ties between the two. These ties are established through state enterprises which serve agriculture directly. We must further strengthen the material and technical means of the farm machine stations, irrigation administration offices and other state enterprises which serve agriculture and thus steadily enhance the role played by the material and technical means of all-people property in the agricultural production of cooperative farms.

Another important task in transforming cooperative property into all-people property is to improve constantly the direction and management of cooperative agriculture.

Economic management is closely related to ownership, and it has a great effect on the change and development of ownership. Unless the direction and management of the agricultural cooperative economy are improved, we shall be unable to speed up the process of transforming cooperative property into all-people property. Today because the level of technical equipment of the agricultural cooperative economy is rising, and because farm production is becoming modernized with the passage of time, we are required to improve the technical guidance of agricultural production and to plan and organize all the managing activities thoroughly.

We must strengthen further the agricultural leadership bodies and enhance their functions and role in order to give full play to the superiority of the Juche-oriented system of agricultural guidance, thereby radically improving the industrial method of guiding cooperative agriculture. We must

enhance particularly the role of county cooperative farm management committees which are directly in charge of guiding local cooperative farms so that their technical guidance will be effective enough to carry on agricultural production as required by the Juche farming method and so that the material and technical assistance by the state to the cooperative economy will be offered satisfactorily.

When cooperative property is converted into all-people property as a result of the thorough implementation of the theses on the socialist rural question put forward by our Party, the class differences between workers and farmers will disappear and, therefore, all social relations will become reorganized completely into those of the working class.

3

Comrades,

Pressing ahead with socialist economic construction is an important task in achieving the complete victory of socialism.

Socialist economic construction is a worthwhile effort to harness nature and create conditions for the independent and creative life of the people; it is also a sacred undertaking to strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism and capture the material fortress of communism. Successful economic construction is essential for the accomplishment of the building of socialism and communism and for providing the masses with complete Chajusong.

The socialist system which is established through the

socialist revolution, can only be steadily consolidated and developed, demonstrating its superiority and might to the full, when it is based on the material and technical foundations which are commensurate with it. The socialist system can only become really strong and durable and the complete victory of socialism be attained when, through efficient economic construction, the solid material and technical foundations of socialism are laid and when all the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, fully enjoy an independent political and ideological life and a prosperous material and cultural life. Countries like ours, which had not passed through an industrial revolution and so carried out the socialist revolution in a backward economic situation, must devote particular efforts to economic construction after the establishment of a socialist system.

Pressing ahead with economic construction is an important function of a socialist state. The function of a socialist state as the organizer of the economy comes to the fore as the building of socialism and communism makes progress.

Whether or not the complete victory of socialism is achieved at an early date, as required by our revolutionary development and as desired by our people, depends largely on how economic construction is carried out.

We must create powerful material and technical foundations commensurate with a complete socialist society by stepping up socialist economic construction.

The goal we must attain in the sphere of economic construction for the complete victory of socialism is to build a Juche-oriented national economy which is highly modernized in all its branches and perfect in its structure. We must industrialize agriculture and raise the level of all the technical equipment of the national economy to a considerable extent