

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

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NEW YEAR ADDRESS

January 1, 1960

Dear comrades and friends,

We the Korean people have seen out 1959, the year of great victory in all fields of socialist construction, and we are now greeting the new year 1960 with greater hope and confidence.

I would like, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, to extend New Year greetings to all the working people including our working class.

Last year, our working people under the leadership of the Party continued to advance with the spirit of Chollima and maintained an upsurge in socialist construction and achieved a great victory in the revolution and construction.

We carried out the enormous First Five-Year Plan 30 months ahead of schedule, in terms of the total industrial output value by June last year, and surpassed it by 13 per cent till the end of the year. This is a great victory which will be recorded for ever in our history.

Our country has now laid the solid foundations for socialist industrialization. Along with the rapid development of heavy industry, the base of light industry has been created and continually extended, while great strides were made in agriculture.

After the war which wrought havoc, we succeeded in laying the foundations of socialism in only several years. We have eliminated underdevelopment and poverty which had been handed down to us

through history and built strong material foundations for the flourish and development of the country and the prosperity of all generations to come.

Our people are now free from worries about food, clothing and housing, while everyone studies, works and leads a hopeful, pleasant and cheerful life.

Never in the Korean history totalling several thousands of years has our country been so prosperous, our people so free and happy and devoted to their country as they are today.

This bears witness to the great superiority of the socialist system established in the northern half of Korea and the invincible vitality of our Party's policy. It also demonstrates the unfathomable creative power of our people who are surmounting all difficulties, solidly united behind the Party and under its leadership.

Greeting the New Year, I offer my deep gratitude and warm congratulations to our heroic working class who have performed great services in socialist construction and are continuing to devote all their energies and talents to the struggle for the prosperity and development of the country.

I also extend my thanks and congratulations to the workers of state crop-growing and stock-raising farms and all the farmers of cooperatives who have won brilliant victories in the development of socialist agriculture and are making strenuous efforts for the growth of agricultural production.

My gratitude and congratulations also go to the educational workers, scientists, technicians, writers and artists who have achieved great successes in the fields of education, culture and public health and are making continued efforts for the blossoming and development of science and technology, national culture and art.

My thanks and congratulations go to the valiant officers and men of the People's Army, the Security Forces personnel and the interior securitymen who are reliably defending our socialist achievements and protecting the lives and property of the people and their peaceful labour.

I express my gratitude and congratulations to the workers of the Party, state and economic bodies and social organizations who are devotedly serving the country and its people.

We are immensely glad that our compatriots who have recently returned home from Japan amidst the warm welcome of all the people are now leading a happy life with us. I congratulate them on the New Year.

Comrades,

Our fellow countrymen in south Korea, who are under US imperialist occupation, are having indescribably difficult days. As the days go by, their pains and sufferings are growing more oppressive.

We can never forget our south Korean brothers who are greeting the New Year in darkness and poverty.

We should make all efforts to save the south Korean people from the reactionary rule of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique and to reunify the country peacefully.

The year 1959 saw a great victory won by the forces of peace and socialism in the world arena.

The Soviet people registered a world-amazing success in the development of economy, science and technology and are admirably carrying out the Seven-Year National Economic Plan. The brotherly Chinese people have made a great victory in a great leap in socialist construction and the might of socialist China is growing rapidly. In all fraternal countries socialism is being built with success and the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp further consolidated.

These are important guarantees for our victory.

Comrades,

Our victories in the past were great, indeed.

But we have no right to allow ourselves to be carried away by victory or become self-complacent.

We are confronted with a huge task of attaining a new higher level in socialist construction.

We must effect an epochal advance in socialist industrialization of the country and provide our people with a richer life in the period of the

Second Five-Year Plan to be carried out after the first one.

In the new year 1960 we will further improve the people's standard of living, consolidate the success in the First Five-Year Plan and prepare for a successful fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan.

We have a great deal of work to do in the new year.

First of all, we must concentrate our efforts on mechanizing agriculture.

Mechanization of agriculture will enable us to consolidate the agricultural cooperatives, quickly develop the agricultural productive forces and make farmers' work easy and pleasant.

This year we will make great strides in the mechanization of agriculture.

In the new year all industrial sectors must raise labour productivity and the utilization rate of equipment in every way.

We have immense reserves for further increasing production with the existing work force and equipment.

We should fulfil or overfulfil by far the state plan by mobilizing all reserves and potentialities for increased production and economy.

This year the great achievements of our working people in the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan will find more vivid expression in improving their livelihood.

We should meet more adequately the demand of the working people for various kinds of non-staple foodstuffs by increasing the production of vegetables and developing stock and poultry farming and fisheries and supply the people with more and different high-quality fabrics and daily necessities by developing light industry.

In order to improve the living conditions of the working people, it is imperative to build modern houses, schools, clubhouses, hospitals, nurseries, kindergartens, bathhouses and other cultural and welfare facilities on a larger scale.

The year 1960 must become a year when we will further consolidate our economic foundations, provide our people with a richer life, and will further strengthen the socialist forces of our country as a whole.

We must all study, and continue to do so to arm ourselves with the Marxist-Leninist idea and become the fine workers of a new society who are equipped with scientific knowledge and technology needed in socialist construction.

All the working people must increase production and practise economy in all fields of the national economy by displaying a higher degree of work enthusiasm and creativity and continue to advance with the spirit of Chollima.

Let all of us unite more closely behind our Party and march valiantly towards a new victory.

Victory will certainly belong to the Korean people who have stood up in a just cause.

ON THE TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH PHYONGAN PROVINCE

**Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the South
Phyongan Provincial Party Committee**

January 7, 1960

Comrades,

This time I was authorized by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee to give guidance to the plenary meeting of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee.

If this plenary meeting lasted a couple of days longer, I could give you a deeper understanding of the spirit of the December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. However, I regret to say, the time of the meeting is limited. Nevertheless, I consider that this meeting, though brief, has properly awakened you to the shortcomings in the provincial Party organizations' work in the past and to the measures to rectify the defects.

Well, I would like to speak about what I have felt at this plenary meeting and about some tasks confronting the provincial Party organizations.

1. ON IMPROVING WORK METHOD AND STYLE OF OFFICIALS

Hearing the report of the chairman of the provincial Party

committee and speeches of many comrades at this meeting I have felt many things.

My deep impression of this particular plenary meeting is that our officials regard an administrative method as “almighty” in their work.

In the past the Japanese imperialists ruled over the Korean people by referring to the police as something “omnipotent”, using it as the only means of government and handling everything by an administrative method.

But it is already 15 years since our country threw off the shackles of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. And yet total dependence on an administrative method of work still exists among our officials. This is the most serious imperfection in their work at the moment.

Working by an administrative method means substituting one’s work with ordering people about, punishing them and issuing decisions. In other words, it means recourse to powers in administration.

The struggle to build socialism and communism is precisely a revolutionary struggle. Our armed struggle against the Japanese in the past was a revolution; the establishment of the people’s committee, the agrarian reform and nationalization of industries and agricultural cooperativization, after liberation, were a revolution; and today’s struggle against the US imperialists is also a revolution.

For whom are we waging the revolutionary struggle? We are waging this revolutionary struggle to bring a happy life to the masses. In other words, the revolution is an undertaking to build socialism and communism, an ideal society where everybody is equally well provided with food, clothing and a happy life without distinctions between the noble and mean.

A revolution will not be successful if it is undertaken by a few people. It is a cause to be taken up by the masses themselves for their own benefits. Therefore, the broad masses must participate in the revolution if it is to emerge victorious; they should be mobilized for it by a political method.

Of course, this is not to say that the administrative method is not

necessary in the revolution. For example, if everyone should want to stand in the van and dislike bringing up the rear in a formation it would be impossible to form properly. In this case an instruction must be given by an administrative method, telling each person where to stand, either at the front or in the rear.

There might also be die-hards on whom education cannot have any effect. Such people are to be treated by an administrative method. So this method cannot be totally precluded.

The administrative method, however, is only a means to an end in the revolutionary work; it can never be a universal application.

But our officials are using it in all work at the moment, considering it omnipotent. This is a great mistake.

We may find different kinds of people among the masses with whom we are working for the revolution. We must awaken all of them and lead them to go forward together on the road of revolution.

As we always say, if we are to awaken the people, we must give priority to political work. This method must be used in all our work.

Giving priority to political work means explaining first the purpose and significance of a revolutionary task in hand as well as the method of its implementation to the people who are to carry it out so that they will be mobilized willingly.

Suppose you are to undertake mechanization in the countryside this year. Then you must let the people know why it should be done, what the result will be, how it should be performed, and who should take the lead. Thus you will see that the people take an active part in this work with a firm resolve to carry it out, aware of its great importance and necessity.

The purpose of our meeting here, for several days, too, is to make clear what were the shortcomings in implementing last year's national economic plan, how to correct them and carry out this year's plan with success, how to mechanize agriculture and how to improve the work of the people's committees. So this is not an administrative session but a political meeting—political work—to awaken all the people, and organize and mobilize them. Of course, this does not mean that you

should have meetings all the time because you have to give precedence to political work.

Political work can be done by means of meetings, talks, lectures, newspaper and various other media.

At present quite a few of our officials are working exclusively by an administrative method, instead of giving priority to political work. Even Party officials are doing the same thing. Thus, Party work is bending into an administrative work.

Some Party officials, instead of educating Party members, punish them for slight mistakes or brand them as useless people, finding fault with their class origin and what not. This is a harmful work style that divorces the Party from the masses.

Koreans suffer much from the remnants of Japanese imperialist ideas as a result of their past life under Japanese imperialist colonial rule. Among them are the people who served as office employees, teachers or workers in Japanese imperialist institutions to earn a living. We knew this when we were organizing the Party immediately after liberation. So we must unite all the people with the exception of a handful of collaborators with the Japanese and counter-revolutionaries who, as stooges of Japanese imperialists in the past, opposed the revolution and slaughtered the people.

It is true that there can be laggards among Party members. Otherwise, education will be unnecessary within the Party. Inner-Party education is needed because there are laggards and because they have to be remoulded to carry out the revolution with united efforts.

Education must be the main thing in Party work.

A Party organization, in its relationship with its membership, can be likened to a mother and the Party members to her children. What great care a mother takes of her children to keep them from going astray! Some of her children may be hot-tempered, some very mischievous, others good-natured and some unruly. But she loves and educates them all without discrimination. She always looks after her children lest they should be hungry or cold, and gives them advice beforehand lest they should be led astray. If they make mistakes, she feels irritated and she

educates them by rebuking them sternly. The mother loves her children dearly in this manner. That is why children do not dislike their mother.

Our Party officials should love Party members just as the mother loves her children. Loving Party members precisely means educating them. There can be no love without education.

Chairmen of the county and ri Party committees should acquaint themselves with the Party members. They should anticipate the errors which each member is liable to make and always educate him accordingly.

Our experience shows that no work will suffer failure if leading officials know well the members of their Party organizations, love and lead them properly to suit their individual characteristics.

During our anti-Japanese armed struggle, too, everything went on smoothly when commanders loved their men and gave them meticulous guidance, but otherwise they were unsuccessful.

Reconnaissance parties, for instance, always performed their mission successfully when their commanders had given them concrete instructions before their departure, explaining on the map about the road they would have to cross beyond certain hills, precautions against possible Japanese ambush here and there, and against possible spies in certain villages, and telling them how to handle certain people who might ask their way. But they always met with some accidents or failure when their commanders had simply told them to go to certain places and collect certain information without giving them instructions in concrete terms.

County and ri Party committee chairmen should give tasks to Party members in concrete terms. Doing this means education. Schools and training courses are not the only institutions giving education.

Some officials now tend to scold or punish Party members if they commit mistakes, after leaving them without any education. They should refrain from doing so.

Our Party members are revolutionary comrades-in-arms who have been united as one in the course of the difficult struggle to transform nature and society and in the bloody struggle against the enemies for

15 long years since liberation. Immediately after liberation they all struggled together to establish the people's government and carry out the agrarian reform, nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms; during the Fatherland Liberation War they fought shedding their blood against the invasion of the US imperialists; in the postwar period they struggled to reconstruct factories, enterprises and houses from scratch and, at the same time, organize agricultural cooperatives and set up a socialist system. The Party officials must know how to value these revolutionary comrades-in-arms, educate and unite them.

If a mother should scold and beat her son whenever she meets him, he would grow to dislike her even though she is his own mother. But if she heartily loves her children and gives them kind advice if they make mistakes, she will be respected and loved by all her children. Our Party officials must do Party work with the same care of a mother.

We must strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party.

This problem was emphasized as important at the December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. Only when we strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party, will we be able to carry out our huge revolutionary tasks with success.

We have done a great deal of work, but we must work more in the future. The Korean communists have the heavy tasks of vigorously speeding up socialist construction in the northern half of Korea to consolidate the material and technical foundations of socialism, reunifying the country and building socialism and communism in the whole of Korea. Our tasks are colossal and there are many ridges to cover. If we are to pass over the high ridge of socialism and the great ridge of national reunification, we must unite the one million Party members as one and fortify the unity and cohesion of the Party.

The task of strengthening Party unity and solidarity does not prevent the need for the class struggle and the inner-Party ideological struggle. If there were no ideological struggle, capitalist ideas and other evil thoughts would infiltrate into the Party. We must combat evil thoughts without any compromise.

There are two forms of class struggle in the socialist society. One is

to educate while the other is to combat. We must educate and remould the people who can be remoulded through education. We must beat the hostile elements who cannot be remoulded even by education. We must expel from the Party the heterogeneous elements who have hostile thoughts and try to destroy the Party from within. But we must trust, unite, educate and remould the people who committed errors in the course of their work and people with involved social and political backgrounds.

As I said to the Party information and motivation workers, we had nothing to depend on but our unity during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. We fought only on the strength of the unity of ideas and will and solidarity among the revolutionary ranks.

If they had been forced into the revolutionary struggle by someone else, the anti-Japanese guerrillas might have deserted us in the difficult days. But they were all revolutionaries who had volunteered for the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army with a determination to fight the Japanese imperialists, so that they fought at the risk of their lives, trusting and helping each other. If any of the anti-Japanese guerrillas had not wanted to fight on our side, they could have run away with rifles when they were on duty. But we fought the enemies by firmly trusting in all our men and helping each other. Because we trusted in the revolutionary comrades and were firmly united with them, we were able to fight for 15 years and defeat the Japanese imperialists. The experience of the anti-Japanese armed struggle shows us that when we trust and love and unite with our comrades, we can emerge victorious in the revolutionary struggle.

Today our Party members are people who have all accepted the Programme and Rules of the Party and volunteered for its membership to build socialism and communism.

Had we rejected everyone for some reason or other when we were building the Party immediately after liberation, we would have been unable to do the great work we have done until now. If our Party members had not trusted and united with each other, it would have been impossible to do the great work—to set up the people's

government, carry out the agrarian reform, nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms, repel the invasion of the US imperialist aggressors, reconstruct the destroyed national economy and establish the socialist system.

Today our Party is powerful and militant because the Party's unity and cohesion is strong and all its members are closely united behind its Central Committee.

Our Party's history is one of struggle in which its unity and solidarity has been consolidated. You must know well the history and policy of our Party.

We must further strengthen the Party's unity and solidarity in the future. Cadres and other Party members might commit errors in the course of work. If they make mistakes, you must not compromise or tolerate them; you must criticize them promptly so that they can correct their mistakes. Imprudent punishment or expulsion from the Party does not do any good. Even though they have committed errors, you must educate and remould them, treat them magnanimously and unite with them.

Party work is precisely educational and political work. Party organizations should educate cadres and other Party members, awaken them and help them to improve their political and practical qualifications so that all of them may carry out their revolutionary task successfully.

Not only Party officials but also officials of administrative and economic bodies must do political work, instead of using administrative work method as if it were omnipotent. Politics, not administration, is omnipotent.

At present administrative and economic officials seem to think that they are at liberty to dictate to people in their work because political work is the duty of Party workers and administrative and economic work is their own responsibility. This is a mistake. Administrative and economic officials, too, must work by the political method rather than the administrative method; they must mingle with the masses, make them conversant with the Party policies, teach them how to implement

these policies and organize and mobilize them in their implementation.

When issuing a combat order in the army, the commander lets his men know first what kind of enemy they are to engage, why they should attack him, what is the enemy strength and his disposition and how to destroy him. Administrative and economic officials, too, must give priority to political work over all other affairs.

The leading officials of administrative and economic bodies are all members of the Workers' Party. Our Party members must without exception do political work. Economic work, too, can be successful only when it is handled by a political method.

At one time in the past the Minister and Vice-Ministers of Metal Industry visited the Hwanghae Iron Works day and night to give guidance, but there was no improvement in its work. So we went down there to find out why. We called a Party meeting and heard the opinions of Party members. There were many core elements among the Party members of the Hwanghae Iron Works. At the works' Party committee meeting they explained the reasons one after another why production was not going well. We found many things interesting. To look into the matter deeper we carried on with the Party committee meeting for three days and then held meetings of shop Party organizations.

I attended the meeting of the steel shop Party organization. Many of the Party members at this shop were enthusiastic. They expressed their opinions on various shortcomings giving advice as to which was or was not a proper thing to do. After putting their sound opinions together, we called again the works' Party committee meeting and took measures to correct the shortcomings. Consequently, production is now increasing at the Hwanghae Iron Works.

What does this mean? It means that political work is essential in any work, if it is to be successful.

We discovered the cause of inefficient production at the Hwanghae Iron Works because we did political work there. But the Minister of Metal Industry could not do so because he met only the director and the chief engineer and went back, without doing political

work. So you must thoroughly do away with the practice of using the administrative method as something omnipotent in Party work and administrative and economic affairs. You must work primarily by the political method.

This is not to say that the people's government bodies must not do administrative work. When we say that you must work by the political method, we do not mean that you should give up the administrative work, but we mean that you should do this work by the method of mobilizing the masses by giving priority to political work.

I once more stress that education is the main thing in Party work. The administrative work method is not permissible in Party work. We must see that a great change is brought about in Party work by abolishing formalism, bureaucratism and the administrative work method and by thoroughly establishing our Party's revolutionary work method and popular work style among Party workers.

If Party organizations are to fulfil their tasks satisfactorily, the Party committees must enhance their roles.

Our insistence on the need for increased roles of Party committees does not imply that their chairmen or members are allowed to abuse authority. It means that Party committees should discuss collectively all work and give an assignment to each of the chairmen, administrative officials and members and that they should perform their assignments. Party committees of factories, counties and provinces should all work likewise.

A party is literally a political organization which consists of many people. Strengthening Party leadership and control means that the Party organizations must settle all their questions through collective discussions at their committee meetings and exercise collective leadership and control. So Party organizations must strengthen the Party committees' system of collective discussion and tighten their collective leadership and control.

Officials must have a higher sense of responsibility. This means that they must carry out their roles in the revolution. Failure to discharge their responsibilities means failure to carry out their

revolutionary duties.

An official must strive to do everything well with a higher sense of responsibility and must obey his conscience when his job is not going well. A happy-go-lucky attitude to one's duty is the attitude of those who do not care about their job. Our officials who have taken up the cause of communism must not work in this manner. All our officials must have a higher sense of responsibility and carry out their revolutionary tasks in good faith.

2. ON THE TASKS OF AGRICULTURE

The most important task of agriculture in South Phyongan Province is to effect a radical change in farming this year.

South Phyongan Province ranks among the first in agricultural production in our country. This province which embraces the capital city has done a good job by taking the lead in implementing the agrarian policy of our Party. The province was the first to accept the Party's appeal for extensive cultivation of maize and cold-bed rice seedlings, and to undertake irrigation construction in our country.

The Phyongnam irrigation project which was carried out by this province was very difficult and huge. At that time some foreigners opined that the Korean people would not be able to cope with the project solely by their own efforts because they had no means to carry out such a difficult and colossal task. Things were difficult in our country, but we carried out this project successfully and demonstrated our Korean mettle, and also have built many other irrigation works since.

Although it once scored the success in irrigation construction under difficult conditions and took the lead in every work, the province was not good in farming last year. It arbitrarily reduced the area of maize cultivation, wasted manpower and revealed various other deficiencies

last year.

The first reason for its unsuccessful farming last year was that the management officials of agricultural cooperatives did not properly control the workteams of cooperatives which had become larger in scale. This was due to the lack of their experience in the management of the large-scale cooperative economy. They acquired experience in the management of such a large cooperative economy last year, so they will be able from now on to take in hand the workteams adequately and guide them. Then they will raise good crops.

The second reason was that the leading officials were carried away by their success and neglected to give proper guidance and assistance to the agricultural cooperatives. County Party committees and county people's committees should have helped them better in view of their largeness. But they simply organized work without giving correct guidance and assistance.

Failure is the mother of success. Knowing clearly the causes of failure in last year's farming can be a factor that will facilitate success in farming this year. Drawing a lesson from these shortcomings, the province must raise good crops and overfulfil this year's grain production plan, without talking bombastically.

If it is to increase grain production, South Phyongan Province must cultivate a great deal of maize.

In 1956 we made a serious suggestion that South Phyongan Province must grow maize in large quantities. The province must not forget this.

Extensive cultivation of maize has been an important means to solve the difficult food problem in our country. Maize flour is good to eat, easy to digest and highly nutritive. Maize starch, if mixed with wheat flour, will make good crackers, bread and noodles.

Maize starch is a good source of foreign currency. Foreign demands for maize starch are great at the moment. We could sell it for rice and wheat flour.

Maize is not only easier to grow than foxtail millet but also highly resistant to draught and flood, can survive damages from blight and insects comparatively well while it is also highly yielding. Maize is

free from crop failure.

Crushed maize straws can be used as fodder for pigs and cattle, and the skin of its stalks as raw material for pulp to weave fabrics.

We must, therefore, decisively expand the area of maize cultivation. The whole area of non-paddy fields proper in South Phyongan Province should be planted with maize this year. No castor bean nor sunflower should be planted in such fields at the expense of the area of maize cultivation.

In case one reduces the area of maize cultivation as the main crop in order to plant wheat, one should make it up by sowing early-ripening maize as the after crop. Last year South Phyongan Province did not gather in maize as grain crop which they had planted after wheat harvest nor did they make silage of it. So this maize crop served no purpose in either case. Milch cows which feed on silage yield much milk. So the necessary amount of silage should be obtained from the maize crop which is planted after wheat harvest, and the remainder should be harvested as grain crop.

You must grow plenty of vegetables, along with maize.

It is one of the important tasks of agriculture to produce vegetables adequately for urban and industrial districts. We intend supplying 100 to 200 grammes of vegetables to a factory or office worker every day. Therefore, the agricultural cooperatives in the neighbourhood of Nampho and other industrial districts must grow a great quantity of vegetables for these workers.

You must cultivate tobacco well.

Doing this is of great significance in increasing farmers' income and improving their livelihood. In particular, it enables the farmers in the mountain areas to raise their standard of living rapidly.

At present the income of a farmer is lower than that of a worker. Last year we raised the prices of meat and vegetables in order to increase the farmers' income. But this is not enough to meet the purpose. You must increase grain production through mechanization of agriculture and strive to increase their income in many other respects.

For example, let us suppose three men cultivated one hectare of

land so far in the countryside, and each of them earned a distribution of 1,000 *won*. If two men do the same job by introducing mechanization in the future, each of them will get a share of 1,500 *won*. One thousand and five hundred *won* a year for a farmer is a pretty good income.

Introduction of mechanized farming will be easy in the plain areas but not in the mountainous areas. If they have to farm by a manual method till mechanization is feasible in the mountainous areas, it would be a good idea for them to cultivate profitable crops.

It is advisable that South Phyongan Province concentrates on tobacco cultivation in Yangdok, Songchon, Sinyang and Maengsan counties where tobacco grows well. This will increase the earnings of people living around the mountains.

The people in Changsong County were badly off in the past, so we tried to help them in every way, exempting them from the tax in kind and getting the state to provide them with sheep and goats. But their livelihood hardly improved. We told them to grow red pepper which thrives in that county so as to increase their income. In Ryanggang Province, too we told the people to raise their income by cultivating flax and hop which flourish in that province.

Of course, we must encourage the cultivation of grain crops where they grow well. If the people in the area where grain crops flourish did not cultivate grain crops in pursuit of a high income through tobacco cultivation, it would be impossible to solve the food problem. But extensive tobacco farming would be preferable in such special districts as the mountainous Sinyang County where it grows well. In such regions tobacco farming is better than maize cultivation and advantageous in many other respects.

If you produce great quantities of tobacco you can exchange it for wheat. At present wheat is priced at 300 rubles per ton, and you will be able to import 12 tons of wheat with the money earned by selling leaf tobacco from one hectare of land. But you could not produce 12 tons of wheat from one hectare, all you could produce is two tons at the most.

Tobacco cultivation is more lucrative than gold mining. One ton of

Songchon leaf tobacco is worth nearly one kilogramme of gold. If Songchon County produces 1, 000 tons of tobacco a year, it will amount to mining nearly one ton of gold.

At the moment the chairmen of the county Party and county people's committees are not racking their brains to provide the farmers with a good life nor are they good at running the economic affairs. It is wrong that one just tries to maintain the status quo, self-contented and working in an easy-going manner, instead of running the economic life assiduously. The chairmen of the county Party and county people's committees are revolutionaries, not people working to earn a living. It is precisely the revolutionary work to make the country rich and powerful and lead the people to a happy life.

In those mountainous counties where tobacco thrives, tobacco cultivation should be increased even if they will have to reduce the land where maize is grown but does not thrive.

Tobacco requires much labour in planting and picking seasons. Schoolchildren should be mobilized to help in the work in these seasons. In addition, tobacco farming needs correct technical guidance and also facilities to dry the leaves.

In planning tobacco production for agricultural cooperatives, they should be given the plan of production per hectare and the workteams allowed to share among themselves what they produce over and above the plan. This will serve as an incentive to them to strive to produce more good-quality tobacco by tending it in time and drying it well.

They should be encouraged to produce a large quantity of first-grade tobacco in particular. To this end a bonus should be given, and watches, sewing machines and other supplies should be sent to the agricultural cooperatives which produce quantities of first-grade tobacco.

South Phyongan Province must concentrate on tobacco cultivation in counties where it thrives, so that the farmers everywhere, in the low and high lands, attain the level of well-to-do middle peasants.

You must also increase fruit production.

For this purpose, you must first raise the per-hectare yield by fertilizing and tending the existing fruit trees well.

I was told that last year the Phyongwon Town Agricultural Cooperative picked only 16 tons of fruit from every hectare of orchard. This was due to the failure in seasonable manuring and adequate irrigation.

They say that an agricultural cooperative in Pukchong County, South Hamgyong Province, picked 1.3 tons of apples from a tree. This is indeed a remarkable success. The people in Pukchong have adopted an advanced method of pruning. They are no longer using the old method.

South Phyongan Province is still lagging behind in fruit production. The farmers must increase the per-hectare yield by following the example of Pukchong people.

In order to produce more fruits, you must plant many new orchards in addition to taking good care of the existing trees for a higher per-hectare yield.

We are struggling for the future. We must build a communist society and hand it down to the coming generations. We were handed nothing from the previous generation. We are creating everything from scratch in our time and must continue to do it. This is the only way we can be as well-off as other peoples and hand over a rich and powerful country to the new generation. If we plant many orchards, our people will become happier in seven or eight years.

An orchard has many advantages. Suppose you plant an apple orchard well and harvest just ten tons from every hectare when it is seven to eight years old, then that would be a marvellous thing. One ton of second-grade apples is worth 513 rubles at an export price, whereas one ton of maize is only worth 218 rubles. This means that 10 tons of second-grade apples from one hectare is equivalent to 20 tons of maize. It is difficult to produce 20 tons of maize from one hectare, but 10 tons of apples from one hectare is beyond all questions.

We have a plan to create 100,000 hectares of orchards during the Five-Year Plan. If we estimate an output of ten tons a hectare, the total would be one million tons. This would mean two million tons of maize

from 100,000 hectares of orchards.

I think that South Phyongan Province will be able to plant some 50,000 hectares of new apple orchards. If this province creates 30,000 hectares of orchards, and this at a moderate estimate, it will harvest 300,000 tons of apples in seven to eight years. This is worth 600,000 tons of maize. If you are to produce 600,000 tons of maize, you will need 300,000 hectares of dry fields at an estimate of two tons from every hectare. Even if you halve the estimated apple output, that is, to five tons a hectare, 30,000 hectares of orchards would be worth as much as 150,000 hectares of maize fields.

Obtaining 150,000 hectares of new non-paddy fields is not an easy task. If we are to reclaim that much tideland, we will have to overcome great difficulties while spending a large amount of funds and labour. But planting 30,000 hectares of apple orchards is not so difficult. In South Phyongan Province the low hills on the west coast should all be developed into orchards. This province has more favourable conditions for planting orchards than Pukchong County, South Hamgyong Province. South Phyongan Province is ideal for fruit farming because of the mild weather and many hillocks.

The province should manufacture machines needed for the reclamation of orchards, to pull off trees, rezone sloping lands and increase the area of orchards.

You must plant not only apple trees but also various other fruits in your orchards. If you do this, you will be able to harvest fruits in all seasons and also pocket a large income. Apricots will make good foodstuff if they are dried and salted. They are good to be tinned and you can sell their stones separately. So you should plant various fruits such as apricot, peach, plum, grape, jujube and chestnut in addition to apple trees.

All the agricultural cooperatives which produce fruits must process them well. They must not throw away fallen or wormy apples, but process them into jam, wine or something else. Fruit jam is priced several times higher than maize.

We must produce fruits both for export and domestic supply,

produce them in plenty for both children and adults. This will promote the livelihood of the people and the sound growth and health of children.

If all rural communities plant many orchards and mechanize farming, the farmers will get much more income and our country will be an earthly paradise. Then, all the people will be well dressed, well fed and well housed, and national reunification will be accelerated.

You must develop livestock and poultry farming.

Livestock and poultry farming has been passive in our country since the olden times, the situation being such that a pig and several chickens at the most were raised privately by an individual family.

True, we find it difficult to develop in our time this industry which our country has not ventured to do since time immemorial. But we must develop it by all means.

Only then can we meet the demands of the people for meat. We must provide all the people with meat. During the Fatherland Liberation War we strove to see that the people might eat their fill of maize at least. But the situation is different now. We must now provide them with rice and meat soup.

The development of stock and poultry farming is of great importance in increasing grain production, too, because this industry gives us large quantities of manure.

To solve the problem of feed is important for the development of stock and poultry farming.

If you are to resolve this problem, you must establish the double-cropping system as decided on at the June 1959 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

This autumn you must plant a good deal of rye in rice paddies previous to the planting of rice next spring. Rye grows well anywhere and develops deep roots; it fertilizes soil well and can feed domestic animals. We gathered rye seeds in great quantities last year. This year you must plant them all without fail.

You must also grow oat. It would be advisable to grow oat in rice paddies prior to rice cultivation this spring and mow it to feed domestic

animals leaving its roots to become manure. Oat can be planted on the autumn-ploughed fields and mown to feed pigs when it has grown a little.

You must use fodder fields effectively to resolve the problem of fodder.

Many of these fields you have reclaimed are not cultivated at the moment. They say they have planted fodder crops in these fields, but in fact they have planted nothing. Can our country afford to put aside fodder fields and leave them uncultivated? You must cultivate them all, without leaving them bare of anything.

From now on fodder fields must produce both food grain and animal food.

If you plant sweet potato in fodder fields, you will get some 45 tons of feed per hectare from its creepers in addition to the roots which are eatable. If you estimate that five tons of sweet potato vines are needed to raise a pig, it means that you can grow nine pigs with the vines from one hectare.

Pumpkins grown in fodder fields can be eaten by men and domestic animals, and their seeds marketed for foreign currency.

Fodder fields where grain crops do not flourish should not be left to lie uncultivated, but be used to grow girasols and grasses for domestic animals.

Girasols are very good animal food. North Hamgyong Province is producing more than 20 tons of girasols per hectare.

The dayflower is also good animal food. If you plant dayflowers in the fodder field, you can mow them several times a year and continue to use them for several years to come.

You must not fall into dogmatism in planting pasturage. Some officials do not try to find out and cultivate good grasses which are abundant in our country; they are only thinking of importing grasses from Western countries, grasses whose names are not even clear. It is a long time since we took the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture to the University and gave them the task of planting natural grasses. But this has not as yet been carried out.

Agricultural cooperatives should create fodder fields well and raise many domestic animals such as rabbits, geese, sheep, goats, milch cows and pigs.

In particular, mountainous counties must develop stock and poultry farming. Otherwise, it would be impossible for them to increase incomes for farmers and provide them with a good life.

Food for animals poses no problem in these counties because there is plenty of grasses there. They can raise a large number of domestic animals by using mountain grasses alone. But some mountainous counties have so far been cultivating only maize without developing livestock and poultry farming. Mountain folk were badly off in the past because they did not make good use of mountain grasses. In future, the mountainous counties must develop this industry on a large scale by cultivating fodder fields and making effective use of mountain grasses.

Agricultural cooperatives must not only develop communal stock and poultry farming but see to it that individual farmers, too, raise domestic animals successfully.

Farmers will be unable to increase their income if they only cling to lands. At present the area of non-paddy field for every farmer is approximately one hectare, which yields two to three tons of maize. Three tons of maize are worth only 900 *won*. If he pays off the tax in kind and puts aside his food supply from the output, he will not have much left of his income, and with this alone he will not be able to afford a decent life. So, if they are to raise their income, the farmers must grow many domestic animals in addition to crops.

Animals like rabbits, sheep and goats are easy to raise because they eat only grass. As for rabbit food, women can collect it while weeding, and take it with them when they go home. Even pupils can gather some of it on their way home. Agricultural cooperatives should distribute young rabbits to their members so that each household may breed from 20 to 30.

A goose yields five to six kilogrammes of meat and lays 20 to 30 eggs a year. If you hatch all the eggs, it will amount adequately. Goose

raising should also be widely encouraged in the countryside.

You can earn a large income by raising goats and milking them. You will benefit either by drinking the milk yourselves or selling it. Why should the mountain farmers not do such a good job?

Pigs should be also raised in large numbers. A farmer might find it difficult if he were told to rear two pigs at a time. So let him rear one and sell it and then raise another and so forth until he breeds two or three pigs a year. Agricultural cooperatives should improve brood stock and distribute good farrows to every farm household.

You must improve the guidance of state agro-stock farms.

South Phyongan Province is not giving proper guidance to the state agro-stock farms. During the arduous Fatherland Liberation War the Party and Government brought in duck eggs by air from a foreign country and started building agro-stock farms, with a view to developing poultry farming after the war.

The duck farms in Sunan and Ryonggang were built during the Fatherland Liberation War, but our officials are not giving correct guidance to them. We have already showed the ways and means to improve the work of agro-stock farms, but they have not been implemented.

It is better to raise ducks than pigs. Pigs need more time and feed to grow, and they easily catch the swine disease. But ducks grow faster and are sturdier. A duck grows up in 50 days, it lays many eggs and does not require much feed. The duck meat is tasty and highly nutritious, too. It is considered a choice variety of food in foreign countries.

But the anti-Party factionalists made a mess of duck farms, saying that the duck meat was reeky. So we had to rearrange them. If we had continued to develop duck farms since the wartime, we would have been able to mass-produce duck meat on a fairly solid technological basis.

Our officials are little interested in rabbit raising either. The Party has stressed it as an important matter but our officials gave it up halfway.

If they work in this manner, they will be unable to carry out the revolution. If they work halfheartedly for the revolution, they will not be able to build communism.

Our officials are lacking in the spirit of endurance with which to push forward to finish the project they have undertaken. They have not got rid of the habit of abandoning the task given by the Party by surrendering to small obstacles and difficulties, instead of studying and striving to carry it out.

They should resolutely defend Party policy and carry it out unconditionally. They must improve their guidance to the state agro-stock farms and bring about a great change in their work.

State agro-stock farms must lower the production cost of meat.

To this end, they must mechanize all their work, to such an extent that a worker can handle at least six hectares of fodder fields and do with machinery all the work including fodder crushing, feeding of domestic animals and cleaning of stables.

In cities shops should be set up where agricultural cooperatives can directly sell their livestock and agricultural products.

The Yanggok Agricultural Cooperative of Ryonggang County, for instance, must have such a shop in Nampho. It should produce plenty of cow's milk and sell it to the working people in the city through the shop. The Nampho City Commercial Management Office and the Yanggok Agricultural Cooperative should make a contract under which the former takes the responsibility for the arrangement of shop facilities and salesmen and the latter ensures the daily supply of prescribed amount of milk and gets paid for it. This type of shops will also facilitate the sale of eggs, vegetables, potatoes and other products from agricultural cooperatives. The salesmen should receive their wages from the state.

The aim of setting up the joint direct sales shop is to improve supply activity for factory and office workers. So the state must give the cooperatives all the money from the sale, without any strings attached.

This type of shops will dispense with the need for agricultural

cooperatives to keep their own salesmen. They have only to produce the monthly prescribed amount of milk, eggs, vegetables, potatoes, and chickens under contract with the shop which is to fetch these goods for sale. The contracting agricultural cooperatives have only to pay the transport fees, without diverting manpower.

If every agricultural cooperative were to have such a shop, it would require too much labour. So that would be unnecessary. Three to four shops of this kind will be enough for Nampho. These shops will keep a constant flow of vegetables, eggs, milk and similar goods from the countryside, and the agricultural cooperatives will have favourable conditions to increase the production of vegetables and other farm products and animal products.

You must use the land more effectively.

One of the major defects in agriculture at the moment is the ineffective use of land. Farmers are trying to obtain new land on the one hand, and on the other hand they are leaving land uncultivated.

A sizable area of land was uncultivated in South Phyongan Province last year. If that was not irrigated land where rice cultivation was impossible because of the severe drought, they should have planted at least fodder crops there to develop stock farming. But they did not do even that.

Some officials seem to regard the policy of intensive farming as something to encourage per-hectare yields in fertile lands and tolerate the practice of leaving bad land uncultivated. This is a mistake. The policy of intensive farming does not require high grain yields from fertile lands alone; it implies increasing grain production by using all available lands and taking good care of them.

We must use land economically and take good care of it. Our farmers shed much of their blood in the fight for land in the past. They fought against the landlords at the time of the agrarian reform, and they battled under the slogan "Don't leave even an inch of land idle!" during the Fatherland Liberation War. And why should we leave land uncultivated today when conditions are favourable? It is very wrong to handle the land carelessly and leave it uncultivated today when

agricultural cooperation has been completed. It was a serious crime to have left so much precious land of the country to become unproductive.

The rate of land utilization in South Phyongan Province is lower than that in Jagang Province. As I saw it in Chosan County, Jagang Province, all ridges between rice fields were planted with beans. The roadsides between Chosan County and Manpho were planted with sunflowers in large quantities. They also added to the beauty of the landscape. But in South Phyongan Province they do not cultivate beans on the ridges zealously nor do they plant sunflowers on the roadsides.

Widespread cultivation of sunflowers not only improve landscape but also provides favourable conditions for bee-farming and the production of cooking oil. Therefore, you should widely cultivate sunflowers on roadsides and waste land. If you plant them on roadsides and let schoolchildren weed and take care of them, the crop will grow very well.

You must prevent the loss of farmland from rural housing construction on cultivated land. Houses should be built in valleys or on hillsides.

Farm machinery and small implements must be put to effective use.

There are now 700 tractors in South Phyongan Province, but the rate of their operation is very low. We intend to give you more tractors this year, and you should use them effectively. This requires timely inspection and repair of machines and procurement of spare parts and other materials used for repairs.

At present there is a tendency among people in the agricultural sector to depend totally on large machines and neglect small implements such as hoes and sickles.

Agricultural cooperatives are not forging hoes and making oxcarts. But the leading officials in this sector are not taking any steps to see that this is done. Chairmen of the county Party committees are also blind to this shortcoming although they say they are inspecting agricultural cooperatives every day. They must acquaint themselves

thoroughly with the situation in rural communities by going among the farmers in work clothes and weeding with them, instead of driving along highways.

Agricultural cooperatives should make quantities of hoes and other small farm implements and use them effectively.

They should organize and manage labour well.

Now there is a great turnover and waste of labour in the rural areas because of inefficient organization and administration of manpower.

The state is assisting the countryside even by mobilizing students. But agricultural cooperatives are wasting a great deal of labour by arranging football matches and amateur artist group activities in May and June, the busy farming season. Sport and amateur artist group activities should be conducted after the harvesting season.

Agricultural cooperatives must not spread out construction projects in a busy farming season. A certain agricultural cooperative in Chongdan County, South Hwanghae Province, diverted a great deal of manpower to tile production in the busy rice-transplanting season, while clamouring for labour.

Houses and schools, for instance, should be built after the weeding season or when the crops are ripe. Animal sheds, too, should be built before the ploughing season in spring or after the harvesting season but not in the farming season. In rice-transplanting and weeding seasons you must concentrate all work hands on farming.

In ploughing and rice-transplanting seasons, even chairmen of the management boards should go out to fields in work clothes and do manual work. When the ploughing season sets in, county officials must not summon management personnel but they should go down to the lower units and meet them, if necessary.

Meetings and short courses should be organized as much in winter and as little as possible in the farming season. County Party committees must keep the rural communities under strict Party control so that no meetings and short courses are arranged in the countryside between May and July. We should make it a rule to concentrate all

rural manpower on farming, not on any other work, during the farming season.

We must strictly implement the socialist principle of distribution.

There will be no loafers, and everyone will work willingly at some time in the future when everyone's ideological consciousness has been reformed on communist lines and when the distinctions between heavy and light labour, and between mental and physical labour are abolished. At that stage, productive forces will be highly developed, and the level of production will be such as to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people. Then, the communist principle of distribution will be realized—from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

But we have not yet reached such a communist society. At the moment we are developing the productive forces with all our efforts and laying material foundations. The remnants of outdated ideas are stamped in the minds of people and also the differences between difficult and easy labour exist at the present stage when we are building socialism and communism. Who would want to perform difficult work if equal remuneration is given both for easy and difficult work under the present circumstances? On the socialist principle of distribution, we must treat well those who do difficult work and give more remuneration to those who perform more work. Strict observance of this principle has an important effect on the people by giving them material stimulus and increasing their productive enthusiasm at a time when their ideological consciousness has not yet been remoulded on communist lines.

But some officials do not strictly observe this principle and try to apply equalization, thinking as if a communist society had been set up. Equalization will not work when agricultural cooperatives have only been formed and the level of consciousness and living standard of peasants are low. It obstructs the consolidation and development of agricultural cooperatives.

Agricultural cooperatives must wipe out equalization and correctly assess the work-points of their members. Difficult work must be

assessed as such, and easy work evaluated otherwise. Only then will farmers' work enthusiasm rise and agriculture develop faster.

Agricultural cooperatives must introduce the premium system for their workteams. Workteams should receive production targets for every hectare of their cultivated lands, and when they have produced over and above the targets they must be allowed to divide the extra income among themselves. This will encourage the cooperative members to strive to increase crop yields.

Tractor drivers, too, must be encouraged to have interest in production at the crop-raising workteams in their charge. They must share equally the extra distribution for the workteams' overfulfilment of the assignments under the state plan, in addition to the basic pay they receive from the state. This will stimulate the tractor drivers to plough better and strive to mechanize farm work.

The system of individual responsibility for fields must not be adopted. If it was introduced, the members of cooperatives, for the most part, would work separately. This might revive egoism and liberalism in their minds. You must introduce the sub-workteam responsibility system, not the individual one, and organize cooperative members to lead a collective life. Only then will they emulate each other and raise their agro-technical level quickly, helping and controlling each other. It would be advisable that a sub-workteam of the crop-raising workteam be of a moderate size, consisting of six or seven members.

Agricultural cooperatives are now putting aside a large amount of grain under various names such as fixed stock, cultural stock, and supporting stock for the dependents of the People's Army soldiers. This will reduce the shares of the cooperative members.

Joint saving is necessary to ensure extended reproduction and systematically improve the standard of living of the cooperative members. But one must not put aside too much as joint saving from the outset. Joint saving must gradually increase in keeping with the growing ideological consciousness and improving living standard of the farmers.

3. ON INTENSIFYING PARTY GUIDANCE OF CENTRALLY-RUN INDUSTRY AND IMPROVING THE WORK OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

Provincial Party committees are not giving efficient Party leadership to the centrally-run industries in their provinces nor have they put them under proper Party control at the moment.

If the decision of the December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee is to be implemented correctly, the provincial Party committees must take the responsibility for the affairs of all sectors of the national economy in their provinces. In other words, they must assume the responsibility not only for the work of agriculture, local industry, commerce, education, culture and public health but also the management activities and the implementation of the national economic plan at the industries in their provinces, which are centrally run under the direction of ministries.

The South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee must bear the responsibility for the management activities and the fulfilment of the national economic plans at the factories and enterprises such as the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, the Kiyang Machine Factory, the Tokchon Automobile Plant, the Kangson Steel Plant, the Nampho Smeltery, the Songhung Mine and the Nampho Glass Factory.

In the future the State Planning Commission must give every province the plans for the centrally-run industries located in the province as well as the plans for its agriculture and local industry. In other words, the State Planning Commission must give the plans for the centrally-run industries located in respective provinces both to the ministries and provinces concerned. In this way the provinces will be regarded as having fulfilled their assignments under the national

economic plan only when the centrally-run industries in their areas, too, have carried out their plans.

The centrally-run industries must work both under the direction of the ministries concerned and under the guidance and control of the Party committees of the provinces in which they are located.

In the past the provincial Party committees were not in a position to guide and control the centrally-run industries in their provinces and administrative leadership and control of these industries were exercised by the ministries concerned. As a result, the provincial Party committees could not take measures to correct deviations from Party policy committed by the centrally-run industries in their provinces.

The provincial Party committees, as well as their executive committees, must enhance their function and role if they are to give correct leadership to all provincial affairs on their own responsibility. The provincial Party committees and their executive committees must discuss and solve all problems arising in the work of their provinces including the work of the centrally-run industries.

If they are to perform their function and role properly, the provincial Party committees and their executive committees must have competent staffs capable of skilfully directing and controlling the work of the centrally-run industries. Thus, in the future, the provincial Party committees will discuss, shall we say, the plans from the State Planning Commission at their plenary meetings or enlarged meetings of their executive committees and strengthen the guidance and control of the implementation of these plans.

Of course, the provincial Party committees are not authorized to change the indices of the state plans even when they are discussing the national economic plans. They will have to discuss how best they should carry out these plans.

The county Party committees should also do the same. Only then will they be able to ensure efficient management of all the centrally-run industries and local industry factories in their areas.

The main thing for the provincial Party committees to do in their guidance and control of the centrally-run industries is to enhance the

function and role of factory Party committees.

Factory Party committees must become the supreme leading bodies of their factories and guide all factory affairs on their own responsibility. They should be responsible both for political and economic work.

The director of a factory should do administrative and economic work and the Party committee chairman the Party work, according to the decision of the factory Party committee. In the past the director was reluctant to come under Party control under the pretext of one-man management system. But, in the future, he must work under Party control and thoroughly implement the decisions of the factory Party committee.

Factory Party committees should be directed by provincial Party committees, and administrative leadership of factories should be given by ministries. Factory Party committees must discuss the decisions and instructions of the Party Central Committee and the provincial Party committees and implement them. Directors should report the assignments they have received from ministries to their factory Party committees, which in turn discuss and decide on them, and then get the directors to issue orders in accordance with their decision. This is the way to have everything under the leadership of the Party.

We are planning to set up a provincial committee for national economic guidance in each province at the convenient time in the future.

This committee will be chaired by the provincial Party committee chairman. The committee may include the representatives of the ministries which have many enterprises in that particular district, representatives who are equivalent to vice-ministers or higher ranking officials of these ministries, as well as scientists, engineers and some directors.

The provincial committee for national economic guidance should play the role of a permanent body of representatives who are resident in that province with full Party and state authority. In other words, it

must perform the function of a control committee or something to that effect.

This committee must control and help the provincial people's committee, factories and enterprises in their implementation of Party policies and report the problems that arise in the province to the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet. This will prevent the ministers from issuing unnecessary orders and reduce red-tape and eliminate bureaucracy and departmentalism accordingly.

We must improve the work of local industry.

Our Party's policy for the development of local industry is to get production started before everything else with the use of available space at people's houses, build up funds step by step for necessary preparations and, on this basis, undertake capital construction.

But in Onchon County they received a large sum as loan from a bank and built a large silk mill at the outset, instead of starting production with small buildings and equipment by tapping locally available raw materials and reserves so as to save funds and expand factories. If they are to build large factories at the expense of state funds like this, we would rather include the projects in the state budget than take the trouble of telling them to build them with the use of local efforts. If state funds were to be used for the construction of local industries it would be more economic with the expenses on factory management and more profitable and beneficial to consolidate the funds allotted to different counties and build and operate large factories through the efforts of the state.

The purpose of getting counties to build local industry factories is to help the state to develop the centrally-run industries and at the same time to improve the people's standard of living by having more daily necessities produced without state investments through the mobilization and use of locally available raw materials. Large factories built by local authorities with loans from the state would not help the state at all.

Of course, local industry factories might get short-term loans from the bank to make up for the shortage of funds needed for obtaining raw materials. But building large factories with long-term loans does not

conform with the Party's policy for the development of local industry.

Diversion of a great deal of state funds and materials to construction for local industries, not planned and budgeted by the state, considerably affected the centrally-run industries and capital construction and also hampered, to a certain degree, last year's farming. Worse still, the quality of construction was not good enough because it was undertaken by inexperienced builders and without blueprints, either.

These shortcomings revealed in the local industry sector are due to the lack of officials' study of the Party's policy for local industry, and more importantly to the banks' inefficient control by means of *won*. If the banks had strengthened such control, so much state funds would not have been disbursed haphazardly.

After the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, local industry made a good start, but deficiencies soon began to appear in the work of this sector. Although large factories have been built, production is not going well.

Local industries must quickly correct their defects and improve their work.

They must use equipment more effectively, increase productivity and eliminate waste of labour, in accordance with the decision of the December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. In addition, the local industry factories must increase the variety of their products and improve their qualities and thus carry out the tasks put forward at the National Conference of the Activists of Local Industry and Producers' Cooperatives.

4. ON DEVELOPING THE FISHING INDUSTRY

There is an old saying in our country; "Make good use of mountains in mountainous areas as well as sea in regions bound by sea". We can

be well-off only when we make effective use of natural conditions. We would be unable to live well should we hang on to our small land to get livelihood from it like the peasants in the feudal age.

South Phyongan Province must develop the fishing industry to catch quantities of fish, as well as large-scale fish breeding and other culture. This is the way to improve the people's standard of living in a short time.

In order to make a good catch of fish in the sea, it is necessary to make an effective use of angle-net boats.

An angle-net boat is very convenient for fishing in the West Sea. Foreigners, too, say out of a great envy that such boats would be able to land a great deal of fish.

These boats are designed to stay off the coast with pitched nets to catch the fish which swarm in and out with the tide. But nowadays they frequently put in at the port and so they fail to land much fish. There is no need for this to be done. They must fish, staying at sea for a long time. For this purpose, carriers must play their part better, hauling in the catch promptly and carrying water, vegetables, food and firewood to the fishing boats. Service ships furnished with bathing, hair-cutting and shopping facilities should be sent to the fishermen so that they can get everything provided to meet their daily needs.

The angle-net boats must be furnished with medicaments for the treatment of possible cases, and with loud speakers and gramophones so that the fishermen can be entertained. This will make them healthy and cheerful and help them to catch quantities of fish in decent living conditions.

If you are to land large quantities of fish, you must improve the fishing method.

For the purpose of developing the fishing industry, we took steps to reconstruct the destroyed shipyards and build fishing boats immediately after the war. Now we have thousands of fishing boats which have been built by ourselves. But not much progress has been made in fishing. The reason why fishermen are not landing much fish with good boats and nets is that the fishery officials, affected by

mysticism and empiricism, are still using outdated methods.

Some time ago I was told that the Sinpho Fishing Station could not catch the pollacks, which teem in the mid-depth of the sea, in the daytime because they had no nets available for the purpose. So I sent an official there, telling him to go to the sea with the fishing workers and have a try at the mid-depth with the nets they were using at the time. The result was that they caught six tons of pollacks in one netting. If they had repeated it in daylight, the result would have been still greater. We told them to do away with mysticism and empiricism which insisted on only night operations for pollacks, and we encouraged them to fish day and night. The result was enormously greater.

We must intensify ideological education among the fishery officials and eradicate mysticism, empiricism and all other outdated ideas so that they will improve the fishing method zealously with the attitude of masters.

It is important that the fishing industry strictly abide by the socialist principle of distribution. As we said at the Meeting of Active Party Members in the Fishery Sector of Kangwon Province, those who do not work are not entitled to remuneration. Give what is due to those who work so much and give less to those who shirk work, and everybody will work hard.

Fish breeding and other culture should be developed along with fish landing.

South Phyongan Province is seabound on one side, and it has many rivers, reservoirs and tidelands—very favourable conditions for the culture of fish and other aquatic food. You will be able to produce several tons of fish if you breed them in a pool of your salt fields. Let the officials make a little effort and they will be able to breed fish and similar things everywhere. But they are not organizing these things properly.

At the moment officials say that they are doing this but most of them are only paying lip service. Officials are supposed to push forward their projects with consistency and patience once they have

started them, but a big shortcoming is that they soon give them up after a bombastic start.

It is necessary to breed shellfish on a large scale in the shallow sea and tideland. Shellfish can yield three to four tons from every hectare after two to three years' growth. If you breed them in the 90,000 hectares of tideland in South Phyongan Province, you will produce 270,000 tons at a conservative estimate of three tons a hectare, which means 30 kg, preserved in salt, for every inhabitant of the province. If you are to produce that much pork for them, a great deal of labour and feed will be required. But if you organize shellfish culture properly, you will be able to produce delicious salted shellfish for the people without using much work force.

You should breed plenty of fish in ponds and reservoirs.

Fish culture is now widespread in foreign countries. They say that in a certain country every family has a small pond to breed fish in large quantities. The income from the pond is said to be larger than that from land. They are reportedly breeding different fish at different depths of water—at the bottom, in the mid-depth and near the surface. The feed is said to be obtained by breeding plankton through the supply of compost into the pond.

Fish culture is not a difficult job. A little effort and everyone will be able to do it. All that you need is to learn how to incubate spawn, how to breed plankton and how to feed the fish, which is simple knowledge.

You should raise grass carps on a large scale. They quickly breed and grow well. Raise their fry in a reservoir, and each of them will become 0.5 to 1 kg in a year. As they live on grass, it is easy to raise them.

Crucian carps, carps, cornetfish and gray mullets, too, are good. These should also breed in fishponds abundantly.

We must encourage fish culture in rice paddies. Rice-paddy fish breeding has many advantages. Fish eat the spawn of harmful insects, and prevent damage by such insects. They also stimulate the growth of rice ploughing about their roots. All agricultural cooperatives should widely raise crucian carps, carps and similar fish in rice paddies.

It is necessary to incubate much spawn of sweetfish and dump them into the Chongchon and Taedong rivers. Then, these fish will go in the sea and come up again in rivers to spawn. Then you can catch them with nets.

Historically, sweetfish teemed in our waters. But the Japanese imperialists almost extinguished them and even after liberation no one has bred them in the rivers. So there are not many nowadays. In the future, we must incubate them in a big way and put them into the rivers.

If you are to succeed in breeding fish and other aquatic food you must supply necessary materials in good time and popularize techniques well. If you build good nurseries and fishponds at the outset, you will be able to catch seafood continuously. From now on, therefore, you must supply in time the materials needed for these projects and widely disseminate techniques.

We must educate the working people not to catch young fish. You should put an end to the practice of using chemicals to fish in ponds, killing even the young fish, or drying the ponds to catch them.

Fish breeding and sea culture is also a revolutionary undertaking to provide the people with a decent life. Therefore, chairmen of agricultural cooperative management boards and ri Party committees should read a lot and learn from scientists the know-how of fish breeding and sea culture. On this basis, they should correctly organize these activities. Thus, the seaside agricultural cooperatives will use the shallow sea and tideland to do culture, the riverside ones will breed fish in rivers and the ones with reservoirs, ponds and water pools will use them to raise fish on a large scale. If the agricultural cooperatives breed fish and develop sea culture well, our farmers will be able to eat seafood all the year round.

We are making a revolution and building communism to provide the people with a better life. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, in the past, we studied and thought of a method of killing as many Japanese imperialists as possible. Now we should study how to transform nature and provide the people with a better life. This is an

important revolutionary task facing us. All our officials must always think and work hard to lead the people to a happier life.

5. ON IMPROVING THE WORK OF THE PLANNING BOARD OF THE COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE AND KEEPING MATERIALS IN RESERVE

If the county people's committee is to function properly, it must improve the work of its planning board.

Without correct planning, the county people's committee would be unable to perform its organizational leadership function properly in economic construction. In the people's committee the planning board must perform the role of its staff.

If it is to perform such a role properly, the planning board must, above all, plan correctly.

A plan must be worked out in conformity with the actual conditions. The planning of county work must involve the participation of the officials from different sectors, instead of being the exclusive concern of the county people's committee or the planning board chairman. They should make a correct estimate of available equipment, materials, funds, seeds, labour and all other factors through field investigations, and then draw up a plan in concrete terms. The plan thus drawn must be realistic and scientific.

The next thing for the planning board to do is to supervise the implementation of the plan in all sectors. The planning board must keep the chairman of the county people's committee informed of how the plan is being implemented so that necessary measures can be taken. The chairman of the county people's committee must work by drawing on his information obtained from the planning board, technicians and specialists. If a new problem arises in implementing the plan, they should discuss the matter and take measures accordingly.

There is an old saying that “a general without an army is no general”. The county people’s committee chairman, no matter how intelligent and competent he may be, will be unable to cope with everything single-handed. At the moment some county people’s committee chairmen are bustling about without deep study of their work. So they do not know whether fields are left uncultivated or not and whether the plan is correctly implemented or not. This is not the proper way. If they are to work efficiently, the chairmen of the county people’s committees must improve their work method and strengthen the work of the planning boards.

We must have materials in reserve.

Before the war we had stored up more than 50,000 tons of grain every year and thus we had had 300,000 tons of provisions in reserve. But we could not afford it after the war on account of postwar reconstruction. Our situation, however, is now much better, and it is high time that we put aside goods in reserve in our economic management.

Our country has not yet been reunified. The US imperialists will be unable to stay long in south Korea just as the Japanese imperialists who had occupied Korea were annihilated. If they are driven out from south Korea, peaceful reunification will be attained. When the country is reunified, we will have to save the poorly dressed and starving south Korean people; it would be necessary to send to them rice and other goods. To this end, we must have a large stock of goods in reserve.

Moreover, our fellow countrymen in Japan are now returning to the northern half of Korea, and they are expected to do so in the future, too. Their repatriation to the northern half of Korea means a great victory of our socialist system and our Party’s policy. World people describe it as a massive migration of people from the capitalist to the communist world, without precedent in history. It is only natural that the Koreans in Japan return to be embraced by the Republic.

They are returning to our Republic because our socialist system is good and we have assets. We must keep more rice and other goods and materials in reserve in view of their homecoming.

We must also be prepared for any contingency. We might be plagued with natural calamities. Without any reserve to provide against such event, we would find ourselves in a difficult situation.

We must build up adequate reserves of provisions. We must intensify the struggle to use provisions more economically in all sectors of national life and, in particular, combat the waste of rice in rural communities.

We must also store up other goods and gold in reserve. If you have gold, you can buy cereals and other goods from foreign countries.

The Party organizations and officials must intensify education for the Party members and the working people so that all the people will make a concerted effort to build up the reserves of goods.

6. ON STRENGTHENING THE GUIDANCE OF EDUCATION AND IMPROVING SANITARY AND HYGIENIC WORK

Chairmen of county Party and county people's committees are not giving proper guidance to the education of youth and children. Their guidance of school work, if it is ever given, is limited to the inspection of school buildings to see if the rain is not leaking in or how the preparations of the new school year are being worked out.

They should frequently go to schools and explain Party policies. However good teachers may be at lecturing on Party policies, it would be improbable that they are better informed of Party policies than the chairmen of the county Party or county people's committees. County Party committee chairmen might be better than teachers at lecturing on the revolutionary traditions of our Party and the history of its struggle.

If they often visit schools, the county Party or county people's committee chairmen will be able to see if teachers teach correctly Party policies to their pupils and properly guide their sanitary and hygienic

activities.

Officials are not inspecting schools frequently at the moment apparently because they consider school education something of a mystery. There is nothing mysterious about it. All that they have to do is to inspect schools to see if the education programme is correctly implemented and if schoolchildren are educated in accordance with Party policy, and then give them guidance. The leading officials of the county must frequently visit schools and guide educational work in concrete terms.

Sanitary and hygienic work is one of the problems to which they should give attention in the guidance of school education. They must ensure that the teachers set an example in hygienic rules and give proper guidance to sanitary and hygienic work among their pupils.

At present some teachers are neglecting hygienic rules. Unless they are exemplary in their observance, they will not be able to fulfil their duty as educators. Teachers must set personal examples before they teach their pupils. They must also be highly demanding with their pupils in sanitary and hygienic work.

Sanitary and hygienic work must be pushed forward as a movement involving all the people.

Today the living standard of our people is much higher than it was before, and our country is developing rapidly. Our people are building socialism as masters of their own country, and as such they ought to live in sanitary and hygienic conditions. But sanitary and hygienic work is not being done properly at the moment.

This is due mainly to the remnants of outdated ideas lingering in the minds of people.

The outdated habit of leaving houses in bad shape without repairing them, when necessary, is still persisting in rural communities. Some farmers do not renew the thatches of their roofs even when these are worn out nor do they mend their crumbling walls. Women do not take good care of their children.

It is already fifteen years since the liberation of our country from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and seven years since the end

of the war. It is high time we were living in proper sanitary and hygienic conditions. Socialism is more advanced than capitalism, so in the matter of sanitation and hygiene, too, socialist countries must be more enterprising than capitalist countries.

In order to improve this work, it is imperative that people correct their outdated habits of life.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle the guerrillas bathed regularly and shaved frequently, though the conditions were very difficult. Even when they had a short break in the march, the men used to improvise latrines in good shape.

If they live in sanitary and hygienic conditions, people will feel attached to life and have a clear spirit. But people cannot have a clear spirit if they do not have their hair cut properly, dress themselves carelessly and do not keep their bodies clean.

One day soon after liberation I dropped in at O Ki Sop's office and found him slovenly, with shaggy hair and moustache. He was reading a book, sitting sideways at his desk which was dusty and littered with crumbs of bread he had been eating. I reminded him that even Confucius and Mencius in ancient times had said: "he who cannot take care of himself will neither be able to lead his family." And I advised him that he, a professed Marxist-Leninist philosopher, should not be so careless about hygiene. He answered that he had meant to live like the proletariat. So I criticized him: Do not insult the working class; the working class are the most cultured people; and your words amount to what the capitalists say to insult the working class.

Our people must keep their bodies and houses clean. Railways and stations, too, must be put in good order.

We must tirelessly conduct sanitary and hygienic education among the people and intensify the struggle against insanitary and unhygienic practices.

Sanitary and hygienic work is an important revolutionary undertaking that must be carried out without fail this year, an adjustment period. The purpose of this plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee is to provide the people with a rich and

cultured life. So there must be improvement in sanitary and hygienic work, too.

Particularly, the Women's Union organizations must enhance their role in rural sanitation and hygiene. The Women's Union organizations must combat the neglect of washing children's clothes and of having children washed and bathed in good time. It is important for the Women's Union to do such things.

After this the chairmen of the agricultural cooperative management boards should more strongly demand that the cooperative members be neat in their appearance at meetings, for instance, and keep hygienic rules strictly.

During the years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle we made it a rule to inspect the men's morning and evening formations. We got unbrushed shoes brushed and shaggy hair cut there and then. And we would get the men to wash their hands cleanly before they had their meals. Our officials, too, should be so highly demanding that everyone will acquire the habit of sanitary and hygienic way of life.

In conclusion, I would like to touch on a few tasks in hand.

Industry, agriculture and all other economic sectors must work out this year's plan correctly and make it known to all Party members and working people.

Today our task for economic construction precisely constitutes our revolutionary task. The Party organizations should correctly draw up the plan for this year and inform the Party members and working people about it, so that they can work with a clear understanding of their assignments this year. The agricultural cooperatives must see that their members understand how many hectares of rice paddies each member should cultivate, how much rice he should produce per hectare and how many hoes and other small farm implements he should have at his disposal this year. Factories and enterprises should get the workers to know how many machines they should construct and how far they should lower the production cost this year.

You should make good preparations for this year's farming. The agricultural cooperatives should forge hoes and sickles, make straw

ropes and prepare good seeds. In particular, they should produce quantities of good manure.

An important immediate task for the rural communities is to end quickly the account settlement and income distribution. The agricultural cooperatives which have not yet finished it should wind it up during January.

Agricultural cooperatives can say that they have fulfilled their last year's farming plan, only when they have carried out all the tasks including the assignment for food grain procurement. The duty of the farmers is to produce provisions and industrial raw materials for the country. All agricultural cooperatives should rapidly finish the grain procurement work.

After this plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee all of you must immediately return and organize an efficient dissemination of the decision of the December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee among all Party members and working people.

I hope that South Phyongan Province will lead the rest of the country in all sectors of socialist construction by improving Party work and administrative and economic work.

FOR CORRECT MANAGEMENT OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

**Speech Delivered at a General Membership Meeting
of the Party Organization of Chongsan-ri, Kangso County**

February 8, 1960

While attending this general membership meeting of the ri Party organization, I have been listening to the work report and your speeches. You have had a lot of discussion with a view to correcting the errors committed in the work done in 1959 and doing a better job in 1960.

Many constructive opinions have been advanced at this meeting with regard to making adequate preparations for farming, and good criticism has also been offered on the many defects previously found in the work of the management board. You are highly justified in having criticized the defects in the management of the cooperative from the ideological point of view at this general meeting of the Party organization, instead of focussing your discussion on technical matters such as the insufficient application of fertilizer, failure to do close planting last year, and so on.

There are many problems to be discussed at the general membership meeting of the Party organization. However, it is most important to discuss from the ideological viewpoint what has gone wrong with the leadership work and what is amiss in management and Party work. Such criticism must be made first in order to ensure effective preparations for farming, too.

It is a very good thing for us to find out defects, criticize and correct them in our work. It is difficult to do a good job at all times. You may commit errors sometimes. The thing is to correct your mistakes promptly.

Regularly criticizing defects in our work is like washing our faces every morning. If we do not wash our faces every day, but leave them dirty, they will become crusted with dirt, covered with rashes and, in the end, will be utterly spoiled and disfigured. The same is true of our work. If the defects manifested in our work are not promptly corrected through criticism, they will become greater and greater and, in the end, become irreparable. Just as we wash our faces clean every morning, we should always wash out the defects from our work.

We cannot continue to advance our work unless we constantly criticize the defects in it. I am very much satisfied that you have thoroughly criticized your work at this meeting.

It would be good, even after the general membership meeting of the ri Party organization, for both the primary Party organizations and the workteams to make criticism and for each person to review his work and criticize his errors.

To sum up, the opinions expressed by the comrades who spoke at the general membership meeting reveal that there were some serious defects in your work last year.

The first defect was that you did not concentrate all your efforts on farm work. This was the chief defect in your work last year.

What is the main job on an agricultural cooperative? It is farming. Therefore, the cooperative should concentrate all its energies on farming.

Nevertheless, you did not concentrate on farming but dispersed your forces over many other kinds of work. As has been revealed in your speeches, many workteams were formed such as an oil-extracting team, a fish-breeding team and what not.

Your cooperative is neither an oil-extracting nor a fish-breeding cooperative, but precisely an agricultural cooperative. The chairman was elected chairman of an agricultural cooperative, not an

oil-extracting cooperative. Why then does he not attend to his proper job but engross himself in other things?

On an agricultural cooperative all work should be subordinated to farming. Machines are repaired to be used in farming and manure is also produced for the sake of good farming. Only when farming is successful will there be a large grain harvest and will much straw be obtained. And only then can many cows and pigs be raised.

According to a study of the distribution of labour force on this cooperative last year, only about 50 per cent of the manpower was allocated to the grain-growing teams which are of the utmost importance. All the rest was employed in other jobs.

I do not mean that the mechanization and construction teams should be abolished entirely. You had better repair farm machinery before or after the farming season. The construction team, too, should concentrate its efforts on doing a lot of productive construction, rather than building houses during the farming season. There are a lot of things for the construction team to do. It should readjust the fields, build good levees to prevent flood damage, and dig more ditches to bring the poorly irrigated paddies under full irrigation.

Once we have become well-off through the completion of all such productive construction and the introduction of mechanization in farming, it will be a good thing to build houses and erect a club and the office building for the management board. But what good is it to build a fine office for the management board now and hold many conferences? The essential thing for us today is productive construction to facilitate our work and increase the harvest yields. Indeed, it is necessary to build modern houses and schools, too. But you had better use the spare time in the off-season to undertake this kind of construction work. Such work should not be undertaken during the rice-planting or weeding seasons.

Even in the days of individual farming the farmers probably did not build or repair their houses during the busy farming season. So why do you organize work which has no direct bearing on farming when farm work is at its height, on a cooperative where there are many Party

members and a Party organization and where all cooperative members think and work collectively? It is because the Party organization has directed the farm work in a perfunctory way.

It is said that more than 40 persons were allocated to the mechanization team. This is quite a lot. In south Korea a factory which employs 40 workers will probably rank among the large factories. The factories in south Korea today are mostly small handicraft shops employing seven to eight workers.

What on earth do these 40 persons have to do in the mechanization team? They do not invent any new types of machines; they must be engaged mainly in machine repair. Repairs should be finished in winter, and in summer everyone should participate in farm work, except for two or three persons left on the repair team to fix machines and implements which might break down. Likewise, the construction team should throw itself into repairing houses in winter or spring and, in summer, its entire crew should take part in farm work.

They say that the so-called oil-extracting team presses oil and sells it. I cannot understand why you have a liking for this sort of enterprise as if you were petty bourgeois. You have let your fields lay fallow for the sake of extracting a few kilogrammes of oil. What a great loss! Isn't it far more profitable for all of you to go out to work and produce even one ton more of grain than to press a few kilogrammes of oil?

Even if you do not extract oil to display your "cleverness," there are many people engaged in oil extraction in the township of Kiyang. You should do farm work and should concentrate on it. You should not lose sight of your proper work.

The second big defect in your work is lack of planning.

Even in the days of individual farming, good farmers had their own plan. They worked according to plan as regards when to plough, when, what and how much to plant, how much money to spend on what, and so forth. What is more, how can you run a big economy involving as many as 700 families without planning? It is impossible to run a cooperative without a plan.

The need to work out sound plans increases in proportion to the

gradual growth of agricultural cooperatives in our country. When the cooperatives were first organized, they were small in scale and included no more than 30 or 40 peasant families each. But now they comprise more than 100 families at least and 300 as a rule, and some big cooperatives comprise as many as 1,000 families or more. It is hardly possible to manage such big cooperatives by rule of thumb as in the past.

There is nothing special about planning. It means deciding what should be done in the cooperative and calculating beforehand the funds, materials and manpower to be distributed in order to carry it out.

First of all, a grain production plan should be drawn up, since the cooperative is engaged in farming. You should fix the gross tonnage of grain output for this year, planning how much rice, maize and wheat to produce, and then work out a plan for animal husbandry, foreseeing the number of pigs, cows, rabbits, and so on to be raised.

Besides, you must have plans for the seed grain, compost, feed, and so on, needed to carry out the grain production and animal husbandry plans.

Then you should allocate manpower—so many hands to the grain-growing team, so many hands to the stockbreeding team, and so on—to carry out the plans.

In using the common funds of the cooperative, it is also necessary to draw up a plan of expenditures that envisages, for example, the amounts of money to be spent on the purchase of farm machinery, construction of cattle sheds, and so forth.

True, you drew up plans, but your plans were quite inconsistent with reality, and so you worked, as it were, without a plan. You should draw up a plan, and a correct one without fail.

To map out a correct plan you should accurately take stock of the manpower, work tools, fertilizers, fodder and everything else needed in farming. It is a senseless fantasy if you merely decide to attain such an ambitious goal as the production of tens of thousands of tons of grain and the raising of 1,000 pigs and 500 cows, simply motivated by

a wishful desire to produce far beyond your capacity. A plan of this sort is utterly infeasible.

It is necessary, first of all, to take your capacity into full account. Yet, as I see it, up to now the plans made on the cooperatives have been drawn up in a haphazard way on the basis of an estimate that so many tons of grain will be produced just because there are so many hectares of dry fields and rice paddies. When farming is actually started based on such an estimate, you may find that fertilizer is not available and so seeds have to be sown without applying it, or that even though there is fertilizer, you may not be able to cart it out for lack of oxcarts or, worse still, you may find that you have even run short of simple farm implements.

You should form a plan after having correctly determined whether it is quite feasible or whether the goal should be lowered in view of the need for and availability of manpower, compost and chemical fertilizer, oxcarts and lorries.

When the plan is fully mapped out, it must be brought up for collective discussion. It should be discussed by the ri Party committee, by the primary Party organizations and at a general membership meeting of the ri Party organization as well as among the cooperative members to hear their opinions.

The meeting where the plan is discussed should not become a mere bombastic gathering. You must verify, by concrete figures, the aim of the plan you have worked out and the basis on which you can carry it into effect.

Even the state is very careful when it draws up a plan. The Party leadership discusses it carefully on the basis of many data, and consults many technicians, scholars and then workers about it before it is submitted to the Supreme People's Assembly for consideration and adopted as a law. In spite of this, there may be a slip and a drawback from time to time.

The same principle applies for the economic life of the cooperative as for that of the country. Correct planning is a prerequisite for success in production. The discussion of plans is one of the most important

tasks in the cooperative. Party members, therefore, should take an active part in this work.

Whose fault is it that the management board has no plan? Indeed, the chairman is largely to blame. But the Party committee chairman and all the Party members are also to blame. The Party is not just the committee chairman's but a party of all the members. Party members should all work actively for the proper management of the cooperative and bear the responsibility for the work of the cooperative whether it is done well or not. What is the use of talking about pros and cons after things have all gone wrong, if you keep quiet while the plan is being mapped out?

The Chinese character for "party" symbolizes "group". That is, the party is literally not one man's organization but the organization of a multitude of party members who fight in a group. The management of the cooperative should be guided through the Party organization.

Once a plan is worked out, no one is allowed to revise it at his own discretion. Everyone should work according to this plan.

For all persons to carry out the plan, each should have his own individual plan. The management board should draw up both quarterly and monthly plans. For example, detailed plans should be mapped out to indicate which workteam should apply how much manure in what month; which workteam should select how much seeds; which projects should be finished by the construction team by what month and from what month they should be enlisted in farm work, and so on.

The chairman should make a work plan for himself besides that of the management board. Namely, he should have a work plan which specifies when he is to meet someone to discuss certain problems, when he is to go out and size up the situation at a given place of work, when he is to check up on a certain matter, and so on. This kind of work plan cannot be drawn up on a long-term basis. Such plans should be drawn up to cover ten days or so. The workteam leaders, too, should have their own work plans.

All the management board members should be given specific assignments and each of them should map out his own work plan

according to the given assignment. All these plans should be well coordinated one with another. This is indispensable for all work to go smoothly.

When we run the economy in a planned way, we can save a great deal, make efficient use of manpower, eliminate fluctuations in our work and exercise unified control over all the branches of the economy.

Our country has made rapid progress thanks to the planned economy which we have put into effect since liberation. Without a planned economy, it would have been impossible to restore and develop our country's severely war-ravaged national economy in a brief span of time as splendidly as it is today.

Planned management of the cooperative is of paramount importance in ensuring a rapid development of our cooperative countryside. A major defect in last year's work was that things were done without plan. Therefore, the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee stressed the planning of agriculture as important.

The third grave defect in your work is manpower wastage, which is due to irrational distribution of manpower. You must not think that the labour force has greatly multiplied just because amalgamation has increased the size of the cooperatives. As they have grown larger in scale, the work has increased accordingly.

As you have talked a lot about this in your speeches, I would like to touch upon it briefly, citing a few instances.

First you planted red beans in the wheat field as a late crop, then the field was ploughed up and converted to fodder, and then it was again turned over and planted to vegetables. How much labour was wasted on this? It is also wasting manpower to attach 30 or 40 persons to the mechanization team to make small devices. So is it for as many as 66 persons to be on the stockbreeding team. Also, too many people are assigned to the fish-breeding team. Why are as many as eight persons needed for hatching fish spawns?

The labour wastage caused by the improper organization of sports

and amateur art activities is likewise great. A good many young men were taken away from farm work for a long time because football matches were organized during the height of the farming season. They had training for 16 long days in preparation for the matches, to say nothing of the fact that they could not work for four days during which time they were playing in the football tournament at the county seat. All in all, for 20 days the vigorous young men were completely kept away from farm work.

Why should such a game be organized during the busiest season? In the hot season, both the football players and the spectators will have a hard time.

Amateur art activities should also be conducted preferably in winter when farm work is slack and the nights are long. Yet, when weeding is at its height, girls and women are mobilized for art activities without sleep at night. As a result, only the old people are left to work regularly.

It is no good either to summon people frequently for meetings, short courses and the like in the busy farming season. It also causes a great labour wastage when the cooperative chairman calls together workteam leaders whenever he likes and keeps them sitting for three hours or so each time.

The countryside is said to have a manpower shortage, but a great deal of reserves will be obtained if labour is organized well. The countryside has no small number of workers and office employees' dependents who are potential labour force. The whole country is now rushing forward in the saddle of Chollima. Why, then, should we not mobilize those dependents for farm work?

If we direct all our efforts to farm work by properly mobilizing and saving manpower, farming will go well this year and our living conditions will improve further.

The fourth defect in your work is the violation of the socialist principle of distribution. From the on-the-spot talks I have had with you here this time and from the report I have heard from the guidance group, it has become all the more obvious, just as I thought before, that

you do not observe the socialist principle of distribution. It is a very serious defect that the socialist principle of distribution is not observed in the socialist economy. Without remedying this shortcoming it will be impossible to bring into play the advantages of the cooperative economy of socialism.

A socialist society is the first phase of a communist society, but socialism should be distinguished from communism. True, we are striving for the ultimate goal of building a communist society which is ideal for mankind. But communism can come into being only through socialism.

The transition from socialism to communism requires a further development of the productive forces, the production of goods in ever larger quantities and also communist remoulding of people's consciousness. To make communism a reality goods must be abundant enough to fully gratify the desires of the people. If products are to be very abundant, technology should be further developed and labour productivity raised still higher, so that it becomes possible to turn out an abundance of goods.

In a communist society production will be completely mechanized and automated, and the distinctions between skilled and unskilled labour, between mental and physical labour will also disappear. Therefore, it will become possible then to distribute goods equally to everybody according to his needs and his wishes.

In a socialist society, however, the productive forces have not yet developed to such a degree. Since mechanization has not yet been fully realized, many distinctions still remain in labour, too. In the first place, the disparity between easy work and hard work is very great. Ploughing is harder than raising chickens, and working in the mine-pit is harder than surface work. It is also a fact that physical labour is harder than indoor clerical work. There is also a wide gap between the levels of working skills. Some people turn out 100 pieces of some kind of product in an hour as they are technically skilled while others turn out only ten.

If we were to distribute goods equally to everyone in spite of such

differences, who would ever offer to do the hard work, who would acquire technical know-how, show creativity and take pains to produce more goods? Production can develop rapidly only when there is a differentiation in distribution, because there is disparity in labour.

What is important for us now is to use all means to develop the productive forces quickly and step up mechanization and automation. Thus, when the production processes are all mechanized and automated, the disparity between hard and easy labour will disappear by itself and the difference between skilled and unskilled labour will likewise vanish. Then the communist principle of distribution can be put into operation.

We still have a lot of survivals of capitalist ideas. The characteristic feature of capitalist ideas is that a person is only awake to his own advantage, but indifferent to the interests of society. If equal distribution is introduced for those who have not yet shed such capitalist ideas completely, many people will emerge who seek to live an idle life. This will cause productivity to fall and make our lives harder. The socialist principle of distribution must therefore be in force until all production is automated and people's minds become totally free from capitalist ideas.

When you are asked what the socialist principle of distribution is, you answer that it means distribution according to work done. That is correct. The socialist principle of distribution means distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done. In plain words, it means receiving according to what you have worked and earned. A big share is allotted to a person who has worked hard and earned a lot, and a small share to a person who has worked a little and earned a little. This is the socialist principle of distribution.

You said in your speeches that some Party members received big shares though they did little work. Such Party members should be stung by their consciences. To be paid without working is tantamount to living at the expense of the workers and peasants. Originally, the socialist principle, "He who does not work shall not eat," came into being against the exploiters. There is no need to pay able-bodied

people who try to loaf on the job and live on the labour of others.

Should such people be paid, everybody would try to lead an idle life instead of working. Who would take pains to work if those who work and those who do not could all eat and live alike? It is obvious that everybody would try to take a little longer sleep and do as easy a job as possible. If things went on this way, we would not be able to build factories, farm well and move ahead towards communism.

For a thorough application of the socialist principle of distribution it is necessary to make a correct assessment of work done. In assessing labour it is essential to distinguish between hard and easy jobs, between jobs which require technical skills and those which do not.

The blast furnace workers and miners draw the highest wages in our country because their jobs are very tough.

The cooperative should also give more to those who do difficult work. The work of those engaged in oil extraction and of the mechanization team crew is rated as 1.5 work-points every day, while the toilsome labour of those engaged in weeding is assessed lower. All this is against the socialist principle of distribution.

The county people's committee and the management board should seriously discuss work norms and draw up a table of standards. This should not be decided by any one person sitting at a desk. It should be discussed at a general membership meeting of the Party organization and decided on at a meeting of all the cooperative members. The workteam leaders, using the norms as a yardstick, should appraise correctly the work of the cooperative members.

Along with this, we should take active measures to increase incentives for production among the cooperative members in strict accordance with the socialist principle of distribution. It is necessary to plan the introduction of a system of giving a special bonus when the production plan is exceeded.

Suppose that a 50-member workteam has been given the job of cultivating 50 hectares of rice paddies and 50 hectares of dry fields, and the state has a plan to turn out 4.5 tons of rice per hectare of paddies and 2 tons of maize per hectare of dry fields. Now, if the crew

of this workteam displayed enthusiasm and creativity in work and produced 5.5 tons of rice and 3 tons of maize respectively per hectare, thus surpassing by far the per-hectare yields planned by the state, their tax in kind and irrigation fees should be levied only on the crop yields planned beforehand, and the extra output of 50 tons of rice and 50 tons of maize should be divided among the workteam crew. This will enable the efficient workteams to receive more pay in proportion to the amount produced over and above their plans, in addition to the shares they get from the cooperative. This will encourage the workteams to emulate one another for increased production, thereby increasing output.

I have long since been entertaining this idea, and instructed the Ministry of Agriculture to work out a regulation for it, but the ministry still has not done so. It would be a good thing to try it out in practice first before racking your brains trying to draw up the regulation. It is advisable for you to take the initiative and work out a written regulation later on this basis.

Then, the cooperative chairman may possibly insist on stepping down from the chairmanship and joining a workteam. If, however, he fulfils his responsibility well and all workteams surpass their plans, the state can reward him for it.

Some people ask how the state will benefit by doing this. The state wants the peasants to be well-off. When the peasants become affluent, it immediately means that the nation is becoming wealthy. When the peasants become well-to-do and our country has an abundance of food grain, it will greatly benefit the state.

To proceed, one thing I should like to advise you is that you had better reduce the number of workteams somewhat.

You have 16 grain-growing teams, three vegetable-growing teams and two cotton-growing teams, which add up to 21 workteams, and if the stockbreeding, fish-breeding and mechanization teams, etc., are counted, the figure far exceeds 20. I think it is reasonable to reduce the number of workteams to somewhere around nine or ten and, instead, form more sub-work teams.

Of course, this needs further consideration, but, in my opinion, one workteam is enough for each village. If the chairman wanted to meet every one of the 20-odd workteam leaders and talk, just for an hour, with each of them, it would take him all 24 hours of the day. Then the chairman would not have any time to eat or to sleep. This is probably the reason why the chairman has earned himself the nickname of “motorcycle”. “Motorcycle”, it seems, implies that he is both busy on the run to deal with problems and is running about here and there to dodge his work. If he merely continues to run around like this, things will not go at all well. It is wrong, however, to leave the direction of the workteams to the vice-chairmen. This is tantamount to setting up another unnecessary echelon of leadership. The chairman himself should directly guide the workteam leaders.

It is not advisable for the chairman to summon the workteam leaders frequently, instead of going out himself, just because there are many workteams, thus keeping them away from the masses. It is also wrong for the cooperative’s statistician to call in the workteam leaders in order to collect statistics. Now that the chairman has won the nickname of “motorcycle”, it would be a good idea for the statistician to go to the work sites often to collect statistics so that he can be labelled as “bicycle” at least.

It seems to be the best policy to cut down the number of workteams, if it is very hard for you to give them direct guidance because of their excessive number.

As for pig breeding, this may be done by the grain-growing team rather than the stockbreeding team. If a bumper crop is harvested and an abundance of feed is obtained this year, it would be preferable for each workteam to raise its own pigs rather than do this collectively.

The stockbreeding team only has to raise sows, breed them, raise the piglets until they are weaned and then distribute them among the grain-growing teams. There is no need for separate grain-growing and stockbreeding teams. While weeding and harvesting, the grain-growing team may send some of its members out to cut grass on their way home, so that they can also raise pigs in their homes.

Sixty-six persons are too many for the stockbreeding team. This is close to the number of workers on a small state agricultural or stockbreeding farm.

The fish-breeding team is not necessary. I think you do not have to set up a separate cotton-growing team, either. It will be enough to have a sub-workteam specializing in cotton growing within the grain-growing team. This will be both advantageous to the rational use of manpower and conducive to the introduction of a bonus system on a workteam basis. I do not exactly know the situation in other counties, but it seems to be a good idea for Kangso County to try it out.

Now I would like to deal with compost production and the mechanization of agriculture in connection with this year's farming.

An important task confronting us now in farming is to produce compost and carry it out to the fields. Our country is not yet capable of turning out diverse chemical fertilizers in large quantities. Moreover, it is impossible to make the land fertile enough with chemical fertilizers alone. That is why compost which contains organic matter must be produced.

An important thing for the production of compost in quantity is to develop livestock breeding. If every household raise two pigs a year, they will obtain six tons of manure. According to some experts, four tons of good fertilizer can be made by adding a small amount of limestone and apatite to one ton of pig manure, which is then mixed with soil and decomposed. If fertilizer is produced in this way, 24 tons of good organic fertilizer can be obtained from two pigs.

All the land is arable. If a lot of manure is applied, the land will improve and per-hectare yields will also increase. The point is, therefore, to lay the foundation of livestock breeding quickly. If many pigs are raised and cows and rabbits are bred, making it possible to apply a large quantity of manure to the rice paddies and dry fields, this year we can have a large grain harvest and the problem of feed will also be solved. Animal husbandry, once it thrives, will give us meat and manure, will help to make the land fertile and, as a result, increase crop yields.

Fodder bases must be created to advance stockbreeding. It is very difficult to obtain feed in the mountains. Two-crop farming can be introduced in rice fields and fodder crops can also be planted in cotton fields as early catch crops, in accordance with the line already laid down by the Party.

You should plant the rice paddies to wheat and barley as early catch crops and reap them while they are still green, prior to the rice-planting season, to use as feed. It was decided at the plenary meeting in June last year to introduce two-crop farming in order to develop animal husbandry, but the Ministry of Agriculture has failed to put this into effect. A decision, once adopted by the Party, must be carried out without fail.

Livestock breeding and crop farming are inseparable. Stockbreeding must be further developed in order not only to produce meat but also to obtain manure needed for farming.

I should like to say a few words once more about the mechanization of agriculture though I have stressed its necessity time and again.

Our peasants lived in dire poverty at the time of individual farming. We organized the cooperatives to create prosperity in the end. To become prosperous we must produce a great deal. To produce a great deal, further growth of the forces of production or the productive forces is indispensable. This growth requires the mechanization of agriculture.

The mechanization of agriculture cannot be carried out in one day. It is beneficial for you to do anything according to your possibilities. Even if you try to make such heavy machines as tractors or combines today, you will never succeed. This kind of heavy machinery should be produced and supplied to the countryside by the state.

It is advisable that the provincially-owned farm-machine factory produces trailer implements to be coupled on to the tractors and lorries, animal-drawn weeders, planters, threshers, etc. It is preferable for the county farm-machinery factory to produce simple animal-drawn farm machines and farm implements such as ploughs, shovels and long-handled spades.

And the cooperative had better direct its efforts mainly to repairing hand tools and simple farm machines. Of course, if possible, it may produce its own small farm implements like hoes and sickles. However, the farm implements needed by the cooperatives had better be produced and supplied to them by the county. At any rate, the cooperatives should place stress on repairing farm implements and making simple tools by reclaiming the materials at hand.

Promotion of mechanization at a faster rate calls for the production of a large amount of animal-drawn weeders and harvesters, oxcarts and other medium and small animal-drawn farm machines, in addition to large modern farm machines.

Besides, it is necessary to steadily improve farm implements. Improved ploughs should be made in large numbers. Even minor improvements in old-fashioned farm implements can bring about a marked increase in labour efficiency, let alone the introduction of animal-drawn farm machines. As you said in your speeches, good inter-row cultivation will save a lot of labour for weeding, dispensing you from onerous toil, and will also enable you to increase crop yields.

Without increasing labour productivity you cannot increase the harvest, and without earning a great deal you cannot improve your standard of living. According to my recent calculation, your average earnings are about 1,500 *won* each a year. The average sum that a worker earns for the state is something like 3,000-3,500 *won*. Even this is very small in comparison to the per-worker output value in the developed countries.

Last year you earned only half the sum made by our workers. You will be able to catch up with the workers only when you double last year's output value.

The Party policy for the current year is that we should produce more by efficient utilization of the existing labour power and equipment. What is important in the countryside, too, is to earn more by raising labour productivity. To this end, it is necessary not only to handle production in a planned way and organize work rationally so that

labour is not wasted, but also to improve farm implements and speed up mechanization.

The cooperative will do well to allot as much funds as possible for the purchase of farm implements such as animal-drawn weeders, threshers and ploughs; and hand-driven weeders, hoes, sickles and the like should be made available in sufficient numbers.

It was decided at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party to introduce mechanization first in South Phyongan Province. The state will give you preference in supplying tractors and lorries. Your task is to rezone the fields well so that the tractors may be used effectively, and to raise their operation rate.

You must further increase the operation rate of lorries and oxcarts. You must not only produce manure but also take it out to the paddies and dry fields in time.

Now, I would like to dwell on the work of the management board. Many comrades criticized it. Of course, the board has many defects in its work.

The greatest defect is the lack of the sense of responsibility on the part of the management board members.

The Party and the state have entrusted the chairman and all the other cadres of the management board with the weighty task of stimulating the peasants to thorough implementation of our Party's policy. The state has placed the management board in charge of the cooperative property and a large number of machinery and trusted it with all the responsibility of organizing production well and improving the people's standard of living. Whether or not the cooperative members will be wealthier, whether or not the rural areas of our country will turn into a rich and cultured socialist countryside in a short span of time depend largely on the efforts of the management personnel. But they have lost sight of this great responsibility resting upon them.

The people elected the chairman and members of the management board with great expectations. The management personnel must therefore study their work with a high sense of responsibility as true

servants of the people and deal with all matters in a responsible way.

But they only dictate to the masses in a bureaucratic way, and take a very incorrect attitude towards their work, shifting the blame on to their superiors or subordinates when things go wrong in the cooperative. Senior officials read books and study their work without rest because they are aware of the weight of the responsibility they assume before the people. Once they have assumed responsibility before the Party and the people, they must study and carry out all their work with a sense of responsibility.

The members of the management board lack a sense of responsibility and they are quite bureaucratic and formalistic. If you want to work responsibly rather than perfunctorily, you must first of all be well acquainted with the economic life of your own cooperative. If you always think carefully and are concerned about your work and make a study of it, you cannot help knowing it well.

At present, however, the management personnel do not even know how many hands and tools their cooperative has. Without looking into the records, they cannot tell how many cows they have or how much tax in kind they have paid. This being the situation, it is needless to say that they know little of how the work is going at present and who are working and how.

If you want to have a thorough knowledge of your work, you must maintain contact with the masses and listen to what they say. If you talk with the workteam leaders, meet those who work properly and ask their views, and talk with still more people, thus always endeavouring to listen to the voices of the masses, you will get fully informed of who works properly and what difficulties the masses have. You lose touch with the real state of affairs, because, when attending a meeting, for example, you do not bother to listen to what others say and just hold forth all the time; and you take no heed of your people's views, just force your own opinions on them.

Things cannot go well with the management board because it works in such a subjective manner without consulting with the masses. Subjectivists, in the end, will fall into bureaucracy because regardless

of what others may think, they only impose their subjective idea, no matter whether it suits the objective realities or not.

Indeed, management workers may come up with a new idea and put it into practice. But they must check whether it suits the actual conditions. To do so they must discuss the matter thoroughly with their subordinates and study how things stand with them before going to work. Bluntly dictating to people down below is a bureaucratic method of work which is fettered with the outworn pattern of the past.

The chairman of this cooperative still does not seem to have got rid of the bureaucratic style of work which he acquired when he was a sub-county people's committee chairman before. He must overcome this. All his comrades must actively help him to remedy this bureaucratic style of work.

To become an agricultural cooperative chairman you must be at home with farm work. If the chairman merely stands on his dignity, things will not work out properly.

A man who does not know how to fight cannot become an officer even though he puts on a military uniform with stars on his shoulder straps. If an officer does not know how to fight, the soldiers will be the first to refuse to recognize him as an officer. Likewise, it is unreasonable to ask the peasants to recognize a chairman and workteam leaders who are ignorant of farming as such. It is no accident that a stranger to farming like the chairman here is called a "school master", just as an officer who does not know how to fight is called a "felt hat" by the soldiers. It is a far cry from being a school master to being a cooperative chairman.

To be a cooperative chairman, you should have a knowledge of soil science which tells you what kind of fertilizer is suitable for which agrotypes and how to ameliorate a certain type of soil when it contains mainly such and such elements; you should have a basic knowledge of plant and animal growth and a knowledge of the efficiency of farm machines such as tractors and combines. You should also learn how to organize work and how to lead the masses.

No one is an expert from the beginning. Everyone has to learn. You

will become experts if you learn from each other. There is no hard and fast rule that only a farmer can become a cooperative chairman. Anyone can become one if he learns.

How do you learn? You should learn from the masses. Without going among the masses, you cannot learn. All of you present here are masters of farming. The chairman should open-mindedly learn farm work from the peasants, while passing on to them what he knows.

It was not because they knew about industry and technology from the beginning that the cadres who had been engaged in the revolutionary struggle in the past gave guidance in industry. None of them had any experience at running a factory. But we have run the factories and the nation's economy, starting from scratch.

Just because cadres should learn from the masses, this does not mean that everyone may draw his own conclusions, which would lead to a state of anarchy. The conclusion should be drawn, after all, by the chairman. To do this correctly, he should be well acquainted with farming and stockbreeding and should have the real state of affairs in his cooperative at his fingertips. To get to know the situation in his cooperative well, he should listen to the opinions of the peasants willingly and learn a great deal from them.

After the discussions the chairman should make a scrupulous analysis of which views are correct and which are not, which views have won general approval and which views have been generally disregarded, what good points the approvers have found and what faults the objectors have detected. If all he does is to hold forth without listening carefully to other people's opinions, there is no need for discussion at all. Needless to say, decisions cannot be left to others. The chairman himself should make a decision on the basis of the Party's policies, after carefully weighing all the views expressed. This is the way to lead the masses while learning from them.

In order for the management board to do a good job, its members and the workteam leaders should actively help the chairman in his work. The chairman cannot and should not work all by himself. You should consult with and help each other. Things will get nowhere if

they are done in such a way as all the responsibility for failures falls on to the chairman and he, in turn, passes all the blame on to the workteam leaders. The chairman should have regard for his subordinates' opinions and guide them kindly in their work; and those below, on their part, should help and advise him so that he can do a job properly. It is wrong for a chairman to shout at his subordinates for no reason instead of feeling affection for them and pointing out to them their faults. It is likewise wrong not to give the chairman ready help in his work, regarding him as a horrible man. Up to now the chairman here does not seem to have become such a horrible man. Of course, it is wrong to connive and compromise with each other's errors. Yet, it is also wrong to weaken the unity of the people. The important thing is to achieve unity in a comradely spirit of mutual assistance and love.

The ri Party committee is largely to blame for the poor show made by the management board in its work. First of all, the chairman of the ri Party committee is as lifeless as frostbitten leaves, and as bewildered as a man who has just been saved from drowning. He acts in a spiritless way, though he has been given concrete instructions by the deputy director of the Organizational Department of the Party Central Committee and the provincial Party committee chairman to deliver the report at the general membership meeting of the Party organization today.

If the Party committee is weak, it can neither back up the work of the management board nor exercise control over it. If the management board fails to work well, the Party committee chairman should call a meeting where he should criticize the shortcomings and set the right course for its work. But the ri Party committee, trailing after the management board, is muddling about together.

Figuratively speaking, the county or ri people's committee chairman is the oarsman in front while the county or ri Party committee chairman is the steersman placed at the stern. What will happen to the work if the steersman dozes off at the helm, leaving the management board alone even when it fails to hold the right course and goes astray.

The chairman of the ri Party committee is not the only one to blame. Its members have also done a bad job. There is no reason why the Party

organization as a whole should run aground because its chairman fails to do his work properly. If the Party committee members faithfully carry out their assignments and, when they find an error in the work of their chairman, criticize him severely at a committee meeting to correct his error in good time, the Party committee can do its work properly despite poor work on the part of the chairman. The original reason why the Party committee is organized and its members elected is that they should lead the Party organization by displaying collective wisdom, through mutual cooperation, because the chairman, working alone, may commit errors.

A serious defect in your work is that the Party committee plays an inadequate role as an organ of collective leadership. Though you held a number of committee meetings every year, you dealt mainly with disciplinary matters and failed to discuss the work of the cooperative in a concrete way and give definite assignments to the committee members.

It seems necessary for the committee members to put their heads together and discuss matters at least once a week, so that the Party committee may understand everything that takes place in the ri and give concrete guidance to the work of the management board.

You take meetings so seriously that you think it is indispensable to prepare reports and resolutions. You need not be so formal. The important thing is to get together promptly to discuss all matters and give proper assignments. Discussions should be held on practical matters such as what is needed for good farming this year, what is most important in making adequate preparations for farming, etc., and concrete tasks should be assigned to all committee members, specifying who is to take charge of helping to repair farm machinery, who is to help carry manure out to the fields, and so on. If you only hold discussions and do not give assignments, no one will feel any sense of responsibility.

You must carry out the assignments given by the committee. Party work is revolutionary work. You cannot become a revolutionary if you would not make revolution without remuneration. It is wrong to

approach Party work as something you will only perform if you benefit from it and will not do it if you gain nothing from it. To carry out the tasks assigned by the Party, you should work without resting even though others take a rest when the day's work is over.

You should not just give assignments and then neglect to check up whether they have been carried out or not. As for checking up, you should not think that some sort of inspection group has to be organized and sent out to do it. When you have assigned some kind of task to be done by a set time, you should find out how the committee members are carrying them out, and should give proper guidance if they are not being done correctly. For example, when a committee member has been entrusted with the task of giving guidance to a comrade who has failed to observe organizational discipline strictly, you should ask the member how often he has talked personally with the comrade and what kind of guidance he has given him; when you have assigned a committee member to the task of directing the blacksmith's work to complete repairing farming machines by a given date, you should ask the member whether he has done it and, if not, you should see whether there are any bottlenecks, and the committee members should get together once again to discuss what measures should be taken. In this way the 13 members of the committee should put their heads together regularly to hold discussions, give assignments, check up on and sum up the completion of these tasks in good time, and, on this basis, hold further discussions to give out new assignments. This alone will make it possible for all committee members to bring their wisdom into play and for the committee to fulfil its role,

The primary Party organizations should also work in the same way as the ri Party committee.

We are now regularly taking part in general membership meetings of the primary Party organizations; in the past when we were waging the guerrilla struggle, we used to participate in meetings of the company Party organizations. A guerrilla company was made up of 70 to 80 men, and yet it had no more than 6 or 7 Party members. When a company had instructions from higher up to get ready for a battle

which was to take place in about a week or 10 days, the chairman of the company Party organization would call a Party meeting.

At the Party meeting all matters related to the preparations for battle were discussed and tasks assigned. The Party members were given detailed assignments—one comrade was to assume the responsibility for giving guidance to a certain guerrilla who lagged behind and became a burden to his comrades whenever a battle took place; another comrade was to undertake the task of guiding and helping a certain recruit, cleaning his rifle and twisting strings for his knapsack; yet another comrade was to bear the responsibility for provisions, making parched-rice flour by such-and-such a method; and still another comrade was to take the responsibility for treating a sick comrade so that he would be able to take part in the battle to be fought by the company; the last comrade was to tell stories to the guerrillas from novels based on battles fought by the revolutionary armies and stories about the old-time generals who had fought courageously, organize discussions among the guerrillas based on these novels and stories about the guerrilla struggle of the revolutionary armies. Then, the Party members went without rest to carry out these Party assignments, while all of them carried on their military duties—some standing guard and others going out on scouting missions.

The preparations for battle and for farming are both tasks set forth by the Party. So, there can be no difference in the method of discussing them at the general membership meeting of the primary Party organization. Every Party member should be given concrete assignments: when there is a man who is work-shy, a certain comrade should be given the assignment of educating him to work conscientiously; another comrade should be given the task of introducing the experiences of other workteams in the preparations for farming; and yet another comrade should be assigned the task of organizing a talk for the cooperative members to discuss the experiences in the preparations for farming introduced in newspapers. All Party members should thus carry out the tasks assigned to them by the Party organization while doing their farm work in an exemplary way.

The Party is an organization. If you merely call on the Party members to play an exemplary role at a meeting, the Party organization will not rise to the occasion. It will only become active when organizational work is conducted in such a way as to give assignments to every Party member so as to awaken him to activity, and to take stock of the fulfilment of those assignments. The Party Rules state that the Party member should publicize the Party's policies and become a model in the struggle for their implementation. Concrete tasks should be assigned to Party members so that they can carry out the Party's policies. If they all strive to implement the Party's policies, the Party organization will become a dynamic, living organization.

Another defect in your work is inadequate education of the Party members.

It is of paramount importance to raise the level of Party members' communist consciousness. You laid stress on communist consciousness in the course of your conversation with me yesterday. And your speeches at today's meeting have shown me that many comrades have a low level of political consciousness.

I should like to emphasize briefly only a few points on communist education, since I have talked about it before.

One of the most important questions in communist education is to educate people in the spirit of love for work.

A man who does not like to work cannot be a communist. A man who likes to live an idle life is a man imbued with the ideas of the exploiting classes. All precious things such as food, clothes and houses are the products of man's labour. Without working we cannot even subsist, not to speak of building a good society. As a rule, a man must eat and use what he has earned by his own work. Those who seek to live on the earnings of others are, in the final analysis, people who would like to exploit others.

Why do we hate the landlords and capitalists? Because they live a life of idle ease without working, by exploiting what the workers and peasants have produced by the sweat of their brows. The communists are opposed to such an idle set of people, and struggle to overthrow the

social system where the exploiters rule the roost and to build a society where everyone works and everyone is well-off.

Some comrades think that in a communist society everybody will live idly because everyone will be well-off, but this is a completely wrong idea. True, in a communist society people will be prosperous in a way we can hardly imagine now, but even then there will be no one who eats the bread of idleness. That we will all come to enjoy a life of abundance in a communist society, does not mean that we will be able to live without working, but that when everyone works, the workday will be shorter and work will become easier and, furthermore, joyful, thanks to technological progress. To hasten the building of such a good society, we should now work even harder.

The woman workteam leader who spoke a little while ago was right when she said that we should work harder since we still have to reunify the country. As we are still backward and have much work to do, we should work harder than others.

We should become a people who hate the ideas of the exploiting classes who despise labour and are averse to work, a people who think it a great shame not to work, who regard work as sacred and most honourable and enjoy work. Only such people can be said to possess a communist ideology.

Our people are industrious by nature. No end of fine examples can be found of our diligent and patriotic people's love for work.

Some time ago when I went to the Sangyang Agricultural Cooperative with the provincial Party committee chairmen, I met an old woman there from the bereaved family of a person who had been killed by the enemy. She was a model farmer working on the cooperative. She said that the bereaved families of those killed by the enemy had to work harder than others. After returning, I told people about her.

Revolutionaries always emerge from among the fine working people who love work. The families of revolutionaries are ideologically more resolute, and the more ideologically staunch they are, the more they become unassuming and love to work.

As I told you once, Grandma Ryom Po Bae is now well over seventy. Her husband was killed by the enemy while helping the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army; her eldest son who took a direct part in the guerrilla struggle fought bravely and fell in battle; and her nephew was arrested and killed by the Japanese bandits on the charge of having acted as guide to our guerrilla unit on the way to Changbai County, Hyesan and other places on the Amnok River, when the unit moved from north to east Manchuria. She herself helped us guerrillas wholeheartedly, and during the past Fatherland Liberation War she cooked rice for our temporarily retreating People's Army men in spite of the danger posed by the enemy who was expected to move in at any moment. Indeed, the state should support such a grandmother in a proper way.

She has never once asked for an old age pension or made any complaint. She brought up all her three remaining sons by herself and sent them into the People's Army. When I went to Ryanggang Province in the spring of 1958, I met her and suggested that she quit work and retire. Her answer was that she would continue to work until the day she died.

What should we learn from this sort of people? We should learn their thoughts. Theirs is precisely communist thinking.

Work is hard, and this is true for everyone. But if nobody works because it is hard, who would ever build socialism for us? It is impossible for strangers to make our country rich and strong.

We cannot give up revolution because it is difficult. When the men and officers of the People's Army defend blizzard-swept heights without sleep, it is not that it is an easy job. Though it is a very hard task, they do it for the sake of the people, the Party and the country.

When we were waging the guerrilla struggle, the Japanese rogues slandered us by calling us "crazy" people who were wandering about undergoing hardships for over ten years, uselessly taking along with us a large number of young people when there was no hope of achieving national independence. Indeed, when we did so, we were aware that it would have been nice to have enjoyed a peaceful family life in a

well-heated home. But we were thinking of restoring the country and saving the people at all costs. That was why it was not painful for us to undergo hardships.

Why had we had a hard time of it for nearly 40 years under the Japanese imperialist oppression? It was because our ancestors had failed to make our country rich and strong. If instead of building socialism through hard work now we hand down outdated things to posterity, our descendants will face hardships generation after generation. We have a lot of more work to do not only to enjoy a better life ourselves but also to bring happiness to our posterity.

Work not only brings us a new, bountiful life but makes us competent and staunch builders of socialism. Through work, man can accumulate precious experiences in the transformation of nature, and develop his talents. While working we can be educated in the collective spirit of helping each other to overcome difficulties, get rid of the survivals of the old thinking of the exploiting classes who hate to work, and we can arm ourselves with the ideas of the working people who love to work.

Another important aspect of communist education is to teach people the spirit of protecting state and common property.

You still have the bad habit of not taking good care of state and cooperative property as you do your own. As was revealed in your speeches, you never feel bad about how much your chickens might peck at the grain of the cooperative, considering it all fair for them to eat their fill. This is proof that you do not care about the property of the cooperative after all.

The landlords and capitalists bled the workers and peasants white only for the sake of their own affluent life with no regard for others.

But our purpose is to make everyone equally well-off, not just a few individuals. Therefore, we own all paddy and dry fields in common and work them jointly and have all our property including cows, horses and farm machinery under common ownership. The common property of the cooperative is not the property of any individual, but is the property owned commonly by all the cooperative members. If every

cooperative member cared only for his own property and handled the cooperative's property carelessly, and if he were not at all concerned about how the cooperative farm work is going, because he is not the only one to make a living from it, it is obvious that the cooperative's property could not increase and farming would not go well.

The man who does not care what will become of state and cooperative property as long as he himself is well-off, is, in the last analysis, a man ingrained with the selfish thinking of the exploiter classes. This selfish thinking is wrong, and quite contrary to communist ideology. As selfishness grows, it may make a man go so far as to betray the Party, the country and the people, not to speak of misappropriating state and cooperative property for his own interests, and, in the end, degrade into an enemy agent.

This selfish thinking has very deep roots, for it was nourished in the society of exploiting classes over thousands of years. We must continue to wage an ideological struggle against selfishness, if we are to build socialism and completely remould people's thinking along the lines of communist ideology.

Another important thing in educating the cooperative members in communist ideology is to repudiate conservative idea of clinging to outmoded things and actively cultivate in them the revolutionary idea of caring for new things.

We are now living in an era of revolution. We have cast off all kinds of outworn, rotten ways of life nursed for ages and are building the most progressive society of a new type. Unless we boldly cast away the old things, we cannot create the new. Unless we abandon the old system, old ideas, old methods of work and old customs that stand in the way of our progress, we cannot build a new, socialist society.

At present, cooperatives have been formed all over the rural areas and agriculture is operated on socialist principles. We must boldly improve all farming and management methods to suit the advanced socialist cooperative economy, and do away promptly with old ideas and customs. We must fight ceaselessly to create the new against the old that hinders our onward march. The revolutionary spirit of striving

for continued innovation and uninterrupted advance represents precisely the communist idea suited to our social system.

While intensifying communist education, we must endeavour to develop beautiful morals and manners among the people. Some people think that a communist is a person who knows nothing but revolution, but they are greatly mistaken. The communist has a higher morality and has a greater regard for the fine customs of his people than anyone else.

The communist loves his parents, wife and children, loves his comrades, respects the aged, leads a simple life and is always modest in his behaviour. Disrespect and impertinence towards the aged is an attitude totally incompatible with the moral traits of the Workers' Party member. Some comrades, instead of kindly looking after the families of soldiers and the bereaved families of those killed by the enemy, behave badly, even insulting the women of those families. This happens because they lack respect for the people and love for their comrades; it is an expression of the survivals of the old ideologies of the exploiter classes. This is a shameful behaviour contrary to our communist morality.

All such immoral deeds weaken the unity of our people and impede our advance. An uncompromising ideological struggle should be waged against such tendencies and the moral education of the masses should be further strengthened.

All ideological education must be carried on in combination with education in our Party's policies. They indicate the path to be followed by our Party and our people. Figuratively speaking, the Party's policies may be compared to a light that illuminates a road at night. A person who is ignorant of the Party's policies is like a man travelling in a dark night; he cannot tell if there is a path ahead or not, which path is rough and which is even, and so may possibly stumble or fall into a dangerous pit. If he carries a lantern or a flashlight with him, he can find the path and pick his way along a smooth shortcut without going astray into a rugged path.

Our Party's policies are clearly set out in the Party's documents:

decisions of the Party congresses, of the Party Central Committee and the Party Presidium.

The study of Party policy is obligatory to every Party member. Our Party's policies, based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in our country, define the path we must follow. The study of our Party's policies and Marxism-Leninism will enable you to fight on courageously without losing hope for a happy future and confidence in victory under any adversity.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, many people were quite hazy as to when the Japanese rogues would be defeated and Korea would achieve independence. People who failed to make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation could not foresee the defeat of Japanese imperialism, nor could they have faith in victory.

But those who possessed a Marxist-Leninist understanding could see the doom of Japanese imperialism and our people's victory as clearly as if looking at a panorama. Those who lacked foresight and vacillated became depraved, while those who continued with the struggle looking ahead into the future with faith in the truth of Marxism-Leninism emerged victorious.

If everyone fully studies the essence and correctness of the Party's policies in relation to their own actual conditions, and goes on fighting along the path indicated by the Party, he will surely be victorious.

In conclusion, I would like to tell you that the Party members should further strengthen their unity. The Party members must consciously unite because they adhere to the same ideas of communism and struggle for the same goal. We should surmount a multitude of difficulties in order to build socialism and advance to communist society. Difficulties cannot be surmounted unless the Party members trust each other and are firmly united. The one million Party members must all unite, and in the Party organization, all the Party members must also have an identical thought and purpose.

When a shortcoming is revealed, it must be criticized and rectified in time and when there are differences among the Party members, you should overcome them promptly by waging a day-to-day struggle

through education and persuasion, whether by calling a committee meeting to discuss them or by having individual talks. If shortcomings accumulate and differences grow bigger, they will become difficult to solve, thus making it hard to ensure unity.

The Party committee and primary Party organizations should always strengthen criticism and self-criticism in the Party and thus rectify shortcomings in time and overcome differences, and should direct great efforts to ensuring the ideological unity of the Party members.

The Enlarged December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee set forth an important task of bringing about a fresh, greater upsurge in socialist construction. Now, more than ever, our cooperative members are confronted with the important task of turning out larger quantities of grain, meat and vegetables and raising the living standard of the people. Just as we achieved a great upsurge in socialist construction in the course of the all-people struggle to carry out the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting, we must also win a great, new victory in the struggle for implementing the decision of the Enlarged December 1959 Plenary Meeting.

I believe that all of you, united more closely around the Party Central Committee, will carry out with honour the tasks set out for our peasants by the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting.

ON IMPROVING THE WORK METHODS OF THE COUNTY PARTY ORGANIZATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES

**Speech Delivered at a Plenary Meeting
of the Kangso County Party Committee**

February 18, 1960

Authorized by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, I have participated in reviewing the work of the Party organization of Kangso County, South Phyongan Province.

I had already attended a general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization, and also attended a general membership meeting of the primary Party organization of the Kangso County Party Committee some time ago. I also had a conference with those comrades who had been out giving guidance to the ri Party organizations. During this time, we have learned a lot about your work and, particularly after hearing your report and speeches at the plenary meeting of the county Party committee today, have become better acquainted with the work of the county Party organization.

According to what we have found so far, the Kangso County Party Committee has united the Party organizations and members under it firmly around the Party Central Committee, and is actively struggling to carry out the Party's lines and policies. All the working people in Kangso County are advancing with the spirit of Chollima riders and are achieving notable results in socialist construction.

Special mention should be made of the great deal of work you have done in rural construction.

Following the completion of socialist cooperation in the countryside, our Party set forth the tasks of irrigation, electrification and mechanization of the rural areas. The Kangso County Party organization has mobilized a lot of manpower for the Kiyang irrigation works undertaken by the state, and has carried out many irrigation projects including the construction of the Haksong reservoir and the Jamjin irrigation projects. Particularly after the September 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, big reservoirs and many pumping stations were constructed, which are sufficient to irrigate an area of over 5,300 hectares. Thus, 60 to 70 per cent of the total cultivated area has now been brought under irrigation in Kangso County. This is a very great achievement.

In electrification, too, you have achieved a great success. All cooperatives in the county have electricity, so that threshing, water-lifting, etc., are carried out by electricity, not to mention the use of it for lighting. Electrification has enabled every farmhouse to have a wire-broadcast receiving set installed, and this is greatly conducive to the cultural revolution in the countryside.

In the struggle for farm mechanization Kangso County has also achieved a considerable success. At present a farm machine station has been set up in Kangso County, and it will have available approximately 150 tractors this year. You will be working about 82 per cent of the area under cultivation with modern farm machines this year. And a struggle is being waged for animal-driven mechanization where power-driven mechanization is impossible. This struggle has also yielded impressive results. Within the current year, outmoded conventional farm implements will be replaced by modern or animal-driven farm machines. It must be said that this is a great innovation in the work of farm mechanization.

In this way, the task of the rural technical revolution has been well in progress in Kangso County since the completion of agricultural cooperation.

In farming, the per-unit-area yields indicate a steady increase annually. Animal husbandry has also developed considerably in comparison with the past. This is a result of the successful struggle, which all the peasants in the county, upholding the Party policy, have waged to develop agriculture to a higher level.

You have achieved great successes in building local industry as well. Following the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, local industry has made rapid progress. In Kangso County there are now provincially-run factories such as a ceramic works, an integrated machine-building plant, a chemical works and a knitted-goods mill; also, nine county-owned factories including a foodstuff plant, a knitted-goods mill, a building-materials factory, an ironware factory and an honoured disabled veterans' factory for daily necessities. Such local industry factories turn out various daily necessities and thus greatly contribute to the people's well-being. Further, many housewives entered the factories and joined the ranks of the working class, and are developing into fine socialist builders.

As mentioned above, you have registered great successes in your work in the past, but you have also had quite a few shortcomings. You have many shortcomings particularly in the guidance of agriculture.

As I said at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization, much manpower and money have been spent on various tasks of secondary importance, whereas in agriculture today, all energies should be concentrated on farm work including grain growing.

Moreover, both the operation of the cooperative economy and the guidance of work are not planned. It is a well-known principle that the socialist economy can be operated only in a planned way. But owing to the unplanned, haphazard operation of the cooperative economy, much labour and money have been wasted.

Even more serious is the fact that the socialist principle of distribution has not been strictly observed. The work done by the cooperative members has not been accurately assessed. Equal shares have been distributed to all regardless of whether the work was

performed or not, which has given incentive to many loiterers on the job. With idle people ever on the increase, even those who used to work well have come to shirk their work, and quite a few persons have developed a desire to go where the job is easy and yet earns them many work-points. As a result, less manpower has been assigned to farm work which is toilsome and, consequently, plans for agricultural production have not been carried out properly.

Although per-hectare yields have risen annually, many cooperatives and workteams have not weeded in time and not faithfully carried out the Party policy on giving priority to grain in allotting crop areas, which has resulted in a failure to produce more grain even though this could have been done.

Why have things come to this? Is it because our peasants did not have enough zeal? No, it is not. The principal reason is that the county Party committee has not properly directed the county people's committee which is responsible for the guidance of agriculture. The county people's committee has not carried out its work properly because the county Party committee has failed to give it correct guidance.

At present the county people's committee bears the responsibility for directly organizing and guiding the life of the cooperatives. Previously the county people's committee guided the cooperatives and individual peasants through the ri people's committees. Last year, however, the cooperatives were amalgamated into one for each ri and the ri became a unit of production. True, the ri people's committee as a form of power organ remains, but the chairman of the ri people's committee at the same time holds the post of chairman of the cooperative, and the ri has practically become a production unit. It is therefore wrong for the county people's committee to try to give guidance in production through the ri people's committees. Just as the ri people's committee did before, so should the county people's committee organize and guide production directly.

The county people's committee, however, has not directly guided the ri people's committees which are production units, but instead,

conducted its work by sending down resolutions and written orders and urging them to submit statistics. This is an outmoded way of guidance ill-suited for the new, changed circumstances.

The county people's committee should not think that there is another intermediary echelon under it. You should know that at present the county is the terminal unit which is administratively responsible for production. The officials of the county people's committee should personally go down to cooperatives and help them draw up their farm production plans, guide them in technological matters, and give specific guidance from the standpoint of assuming responsibility for their production.

The county should directly answer for whether a cooperative thrives or not, or for whether the work of its management board functions well or badly. The county should hold itself responsible for the development of the productive forces at the cooperatives and for increase in the peasants' incomes. For this purpose, farm machinery should be replenished, and guidance should be given so as to improve the farm machinery and soil and to organize labour rationally. And the county should also give concrete guidance in making correct distribution to the peasants and boosting their incomes.

It was already suggested at an enlarged plenary meeting of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee in March last year that the people's committee should perform its work in conformity to the new, changed circumstances. Nevertheless, the county Party committees have not taken measures for strengthening the work of the county people's committees. So, this problem was taken up again and definite measures were taken at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee some time ago. If the issue had been ignored and had not been considered at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting, even more serious shortcomings might possibly have appeared.

A bureaucratic and formalistic style of work still persists in the guidance of the countryside because outmoded work methods have not been discarded. Plans which are someone's own brainchild are

imposed upon the peasants without the slightest regard for their interests. A field was planted to red beans, then it was ploughed up to plant maize on the pretext of turning it into a fodder field, and then once again it was ploughed up to plant vegetables, with the result that neither red beans nor maize nor cabbage was harvested. Moreover, how much manpower and seeds must have been wasted and how much inconvenience it must have caused to the peasants because the field was ploughed up as many as three times.

All this labour, seed and material are funds of the cooperatives and common property of the cooperative members. And though they caused great losses and suffering to the peasants by so doing, the officials of the county or provincial people's committee seem to have no regrets. This is a wrong attitude, feeling no sense of responsibility for whether the peasants are well-off or not.

What on earth have the bureaucrats gained from such haphazard guidance of the cooperatives? Waste of labour, waste of cooperative property, no crops—nothing. There is one thing, though, that the bureaucrats have earned at the expense of the people's interests. It is the fact that they were able to report to the Minister of Agriculture that the area planted to vegetables was brought up to the mark. In other words, they earned personal distinction for themselves.

At the Yaksu-ri Cooperative there were unpaid taxes in kind carried over from the time of individual farming, and at present nobody even knows the whereabouts of all the defaulters of the taxes in kind. Yet, the county demanded unreasonably that the cooperative pay the taxes in kind in arrears. This is like demanding compensation for a lost donkey from the person who had come to pull out the pole the donkey was tied to, simply because the man who stole the animal cannot be found. It is all very well for the chairman of the provincial or county people's committee to collect all the arrears of taxes in kind carried over from the past and receive a letter of thanks, but does he not have to think of the hardship it causes to the people?

Bureaucrats do not care about people, law or democracy. To draw up a plan of agricultural production, wide democratic discussions must

be held among the cooperative members, and the projected plan should be approved by the county people's committee and passed at a general meeting of the cooperative members or at a general membership meeting of the ri Party organization. Then, the plan becomes a lawful document. No individual can change the plan at will. The bureaucrats, however, change the agricultural production plan as they like and arbitrarily force the cooperative members to do what is not provided for in the plan, causing them great losses. This is a flagrant violation of democracy and a disorderly act running counter to the law.

They instruct the peasants to plant industrial crops, and then do not purchase them in time, and so sugar beets, for example, are used for cattle feed. Since olden times, the cattle of our country have not been fed on sugar beets. There is no need to plant sugar beets just to feed cattle. In that case, it is only the peasants who suffer the loss, after all.

The county people's committee has no right to take manpower away at will from the agricultural cooperatives to use it haphazardly. The county people's committee chairman, however, acts like a king who ignores the law. He is always mobilizing manpower at will for constructing a school, building roads, and what not.

Mobilization of the labour force must also be done according to plan. For example, if the Chongsan-ri Agricultural Cooperative is supposed to send out 50 work hands this year to some other branch, then some compensating measures should be taken, either by taking this fact into account in mapping out the production plan, or by socially mobilizing an equivalent number of people to help with the farm work in lieu of the absent 50 persons. What will become of agriculture if you simply take away work hands at will while taking no responsibility for production? You assign huge production quotas, and keep on taking away work hands. And how do you expect them to fulfil the plan? If you mobilize manpower, you should do so when farm work is off season, or else you should take some sort of measures to make up for the mobilized work hands.

We have not formed agricultural cooperatives for the county to do what they like with them in this way. Unless a decision is made by a

general meeting of the cooperative members or a general membership meeting of the ri Party organization, nobody is allowed to change the cooperative's plan.

The question of thoroughly eliminating bureaucracy was already raised long ago. As early as February 1952 when the war was on, we energetically propounded this question, and later, at the April 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, we again discussed this question. Since then we have continued to struggle against bureaucracy. And why does the county Party committee tolerate such bureaucracy? As long as bureaucracy is in excess as this, you cannot say that the county people's committee is working as a genuine people's power,

A genuine people's power should, first of all, bear responsibility for the socialist economy. And why does the county people's committee fail to endeavour to increase the profits of the cooperatives, to raise the standard of living of the peasants and enhance their ideological consciousness?

Individuals were responsible for the economy at the time of individual farming, but in the socialist cooperative economy the management board and the county people's committee should bear the principal responsibility. There is no need for the county people's committee if it is not going to work responsibly to augment agricultural production and raise the standard of living of the peasants.

There must be definite improvements in the work of the management board, as well as in the work of the county people's committee. As I have already mentioned this at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization, I will not go through it again. In improving the work of the management board, too, it is important to do away with bureaucracy, cast aside the habit of doing things haphazardly by rule of thumb and strengthen the collective leadership of the management board.

It could be said that working without a plan is a big fault of the county people's committee and the management board. The county people's committee and the management board are working for the

most part without a plan. If there is a plan, it is no more than one devised subjectively by a few persons. It is not a plan formulated on the basis of a correct calculation of the means of production and manpower, but one drawn up on the basis of a subjective desire of the county people's committee chairman or a few other persons.

In his speech a little while ago, the chairman of the county people's committee said that the county imposed upon the ri the plans forced upon it by the province, but it should not be forgotten that the county had also submitted subjectively prepared plan estimates to the province. Of course, there are second bureaucrats sitting at the province, who not only fail to verify carefully what has been submitted by the counties, but also make further additions to it according to their own subjective desire and then send it down to the counties. Working under plans drawn up in this way is in no way different from working without a plan at all.

Not only in agriculture, but also in local industry work is done without a plan. In constructing a factory, calculations should also be made, to begin with, of the amount of money needed, of the amount of materials and manpower required, and detailed plans should be formulated as to where and how to get the materials and manpower.

Nevertheless, you try to build a factory without such a plan and, consequently, a host of problems arise. When the county people's committee chairman says he wants to build a local industry factory, the bank may advance a loan of money. Now, what is to be done with money only, if materials are not obtainable? Because materials are not available, the timber intended for making carts is all used up and the bricks supplied for the construction of another factory are diverted to it.

The country has a limited supply of materials and labour. If materials specified in the plan are diverted for another purpose, the result is that work cannot progress according to plan. If you build houses with the timber intended for carts, it becomes impossible to make carts and, consequently, the transportation plan which has been drawn up in anticipation of the carts cannot be fulfilled either. As for

manpower, too, you have no alternative but to take it away from the cooperatives, for you cannot go anywhere else to ask for it inasmuch as it is not included in the plan. Consequently, farming goes astray. Since plans are all drawn up on a coordinated basis, if one target is not fulfilled, other work will be impeded to a great extent.

Thus, you have failed to make carts as instructed, making it impossible to settle the question of transportation, and you left the fields unattended, causing a great loss to grain production. This is what it cost to build a local industry factory. How, then, can it be said that you have done the right thing?

If you want to construct a local industry factory, you should plan it in advance. You should have an accurate plan and layout as to where manpower and materials will be obtained from, on which site and on what scale and how it will be built.

Even when the state builds a factory, the State Construction Commission examines whether the factory site is suitable or not, if the plans relating to materials, manpower and funds have been drawn up accurately, if the layout is correct, if work is done according to the layout, and so on.

In building a local industry factory, too, a careful investigation should be made, a detailed plan should be drawn up to build it well, and there should be inspection and control over the execution of the plan.

Under socialism, it is impossible to operate the economy without a plan. The county should naturally have plans for everything, such as for agricultural production, for local industry and for capital construction.

Those plans should be worked out not according to any individual's subjective thinking, but on the basis of mass discussions. Agricultural production plans, for instance, should be drawn up through broad discussions at general meetings of the agricultural cooperative members; then they should be coordinated at the county level; finally they should be discussed and passed at the county Party committee and the county people's committee. And those plans which need the approval of the province should be submitted to the province, and

those which are subject to approval by the central authority should be submitted to the central authority. A plan mapped out in this way is lawful and it should be obligatorily carried out.

Organs and officials at all levels should have work plans. Because you work without any plan, you call meetings even at night whenever you feel like it and make a hue and cry as if something serious has turned up.

The county should draw up its own work plans, and should communicate to the ri what concerns the ri officials in the plans. Everybody should know what he is supposed to do, and when. Only then will he be able to make advance preparations and have the time to think it over. If you wake up people from their sleep at night for a meeting, how can the meeting be successful? Is there not an old saying that the year's plan should be formulated in the spring and the day's plan, in the morning? Furthermore, how can we, who are living in socialist society today, work without a plan?

The plan the county has at present is one that has been prepared for the sake of showing people who come down from above for inspection. What good is it? We should resolutely combat the tendency to work without a plan in this way.

Our Party entrusted the county people's committee with the task of responsibly guiding the national economy in the county. The county Party committee, therefore, should naturally help and control the county people's committee to guide agriculture responsibly.

The county Party committee, however, has failed to give the proper guidance needed to correct the bureaucratic work style of the county people's committee officials through strong criticism and to improve the work of the people's committee in conformity to the new circumstances. Although the Party should play the leading role in all work, the county Party committee has failed to discharge its guidance function. This, I think, is a great weakness in the South Phyongan Provincial Party organization.

Of course, there have also been notable achievements in the work of the county Party committee. That is, the county Party committee under

the guidance of the Party Central Committee has formed the ranks of the cadres with the nuclei of the Party. It is not because the wrong people are thrust in the county Party committee or in the county people's committee, or because the Party committee chairmen, cooperative chairmen, primary Party committee chairmen or workteam leaders are the wrong people, that various shortcomings are revealed at present. Their records, too, show that they are mostly comrades who have been faithful to the Party in the past and have long been fighting for the implementation of the Party policy. In other words, it can be said that the ranks of Party nuclei have been formed with good comrades. We judged this from the talks we had with cadres of the county Party committee for a few days, and also got acquainted with the same thing in the course of attending a general membership meeting of the Party organization.

The county Party committee, however, has failed to work properly with the nuclei who have been united in this way. The departments of the county Party committee have not been roused to full activity, and the work with the county people's committee and with the social organizations such as the Democratic Youth League and trade unions has not been conducted in a proper manner.

Like the county people's committee, the county Party committee, too, has failed to reorganize its work in keeping with the new, changed circumstances.

What are the new circumstances? The county Party committee's guidance is concerned primarily with rural Party organizations, and since the countryside has been entirely transformed on socialist lines, all peasants have become collective, socialist working people and all Party members in the rural areas have come to work in a collective, socialist agriculture. In other words, all peasants have become builders of socialism, and our Party members are now working among the peasants who are working and living in a socialist way.

Unlike the time of individual farming, everything is now being done collectively. Particularly, the peasants, like the workers, have for a long time participated in collective labour for the realization of

irrigation and electrification, and thus have got trained. And as the tasks of irrigation, electrification and mechanization are successfully carried out, a great change is taking place in the labour and entire life of the peasants. The technical standard of the peasants has reached a high level as well as their level of consciousness.

The merger of the cooperatives with the ri as the unit has brought about a still greater change in the life of the peasantry. With the extension of the scope of the cooperative economy, the scale of cooperation of people in production has become greater and the economic life of the cooperative has become more complex.

The whole life of man changes primarily with the change in his working life. Since such a great change has taken place in the peasants' working life as compared with the time of individual farming, the consciousness of people has changed and so has their way of life. Accordingly, the methods of leading these people should also be changed.

What, then, is the change the new circumstances specifically call for in the work of our county Party committee? First, from the viewpoint of the Party organizational system, the county Party committee should become the terminal leading body under the present conditions where the ri, merged into a cooperative, has become a production unit, even though our Party's terminal leading body was at the sub-county or ri level before. After the Party Central Committee, the provincial Party committee, and the county Party committee there is only the production unit.

The ri Party organization has the character of the primary Party organization at the production unit. Therefore, the county Party committee should not just send down decisions and directives to the ri Party committees and remain collecting statistics. Its officials should personally go down to the ri Party committees and organize work for them, and directly conduct educational work, too.

The county Party committee, asserting its own importance as a leading body, wants to create a large number of departments. That is wrong, however. Now it requests the establishment of industrial and

agricultural departments, pleading that it is short of departments, and for some time has even been suggesting that a department for cooperative organizations be created. The Presidium of the Party Central Committee, however, has not approved it.

In my opinion, this seems unnecessary. It will do well for the organizational department to take care of all personnel affairs. If the agricultural department of the county Party committee deals with the rural cadres, the organizational department will have nothing to do. The county people's committee will take care of the work of directly organizing and operating the economy. What is the use of industrial and agricultural departments as long as they do not take upon themselves the job of the county people's committee? It is advisable to select and allocate three economic instructors at the county Party committee, one with economic knowledge enough to deal with finance and planning, another well versed in industry and yet another familiar with agriculture, and let them work directly under the county Party committee chairman to assist him in technical and economic matters.

What is the important task of the county Party committee? It is to build firmly the ri Party organizations at the production units, constantly educate the Party members in Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary traditions of the Party, and drive the Party policy home to the Party members, so that the ri Party organizations and Party members zealously take part in socialist construction. Thus, the Party committee should see to it that all the Party members lead Party life in accordance with the Party Rules and faithfully carry out the tasks assigned to them in the struggle for the implementation of the Party policy.

You should not try to work only with the ri Party committee chairmen without awakening all the Party members to activity. The county Party committee summons only the ri Party committee chairmen, and even when its officials go down to a ri, they meet only with the ri Party committee chairman. Since they work exclusively with the ri Party committee chairmen in this way, they are unable to learn the state of the Party members and the broad masses, and since

the ri Party committee chairman deals only with his superiors, he has no time to attend to his own job. This will not help the work of the ri Party organization in the least.

For the county Party committee to aid in the work of the ri Party organization, the officials of all the departments of the county Party committee including the organizational and information departments should all go down to the ri, and go among the masses together with the ri Party committee chairman, know about their work, organize it and educate the masses.

The chairman is the only full-time official of the ri Party committee. The most important revolutionary task in the countryside today is to assure good production at the cooperatives. Is it proper to leave this important revolutionary task simply to a full-time official? The whole county Party organization should tackle this task with full responsibility.

The organizational or information department of the county Party committee should not summon incessantly the workers of the ri Party committee. The members of the organizational department should go down to the ri Party committee to direct meetings or assign tasks to committee members, and the information department comrades should also go down and meet the motivation workers and, together with them, organize reading sessions and give lectures to the masses.

Only by doing so will they be able to get a clearer idea of the level of the masses and effectively conduct educational work in a language intelligible to the masses. If they fail to do so and simply call up the ri Party committee chairmen or summon the motivation workers to give them instructions or short courses and send them back, things will always be done perfunctorily and the Party policy will not reach the masses. In guiding the local industry factories, too, the county Party committee instructors will do well to go down personally and conduct work just as in the case of guiding the ri Party organizations.

This alone will enable the county Party committee to know the cadres of the ri Party organizations well enough, through work, educate them and have the core elements in hand.

At present the ri Party committees do not know well how matters stand with the workteams in their own ri, and the county Party committee is even more ignorant of the affairs at the ri.

The county Party committee should have full command of the cadres of the ri. Each instructor of the organizational department should take charge of a definite number of ri and guide them at all times. Suppose the organizational department has five instructors and the county has 20 ri, then each instructor should be responsible for the guidance of four ri. If the organizational department does not have enough instructors, it would be wise to enlist instructors from the information department.

Suppose a ri has 15 to 20 cadres who are Party members, such as the ri Party committee chairman, the cooperative chairman, the primary Party committee chairmen and others, then their number for four ri is no more than 60 to 80. If the instructor meets three comrades every day to have talks and give them education, he can give concrete guidance to all cadres of the ri once a month. Then, the county can have the cadres of the ri at its fingertips and take the ri affairs in hand correctly.

Each instructor of the information department should also take charge of several ri, always meet the information workers of the ri and know and educate them, and endeavour to steadily raise their political level.

If the county Party committee does its job in this manner for 3 to 4 years, it will be well acquainted not only with the cadres but also with all Party members of the ri, and will be able to develop more nuclei from among them.

If the number of core Party members grows in every ri and they play a vanguard role among the masses, a great change will take place in the work of the ri Party organizations as a whole, and the masses as a whole will become active.

The keystone of Party work is work with the cadres. It is of prime importance to know and educate the cadres all the time and develop large numbers of nuclei.

At present, however, the county Party committee takes upon itself

the administrative work that properly belongs to the county people's committee, and its organizational and information departments play the role of a documents section whose function it is to compile statistics and prepare reports.

We should ensure the work of the county people's committee by bringing its Party members into action. How can the county Party committee, which has a much smaller staff than the county people's committee, take upon itself the work of the latter? As for compiling statistics, it is also beneficial to compile only those which essentially belong to the Party's functions and to leave the others to the county people's committee.

There is no need at all to prepare many kinds of statistics and reports. It is necessary to give practical guidance so as to be able to grasp the actual conditions at lower units without reading the reports. At present, however, the province harasses the comrades at lower units by incessantly urging them to make reports which it does not even glance at, leaving them no time to attend to their proper jobs. I have heard that last year you worked out and submitted 63 reports and 24 kinds of statistics to the provincial Party committee. That is all unnecessary. All that is required is to submit statistics on Party members once a year; matters that need to be reported regularly, too, primarily concern inner-Party affairs such as admission to and expulsion from the Party; and the rest will be cases when something especially serious has happened and you need to inform the upper body about it. There is no need to report in writing all such things that could just as well be communicated verbally or telephoned.

The unnecessary paperwork should be dropped. However hard one may try it is impossible to increase production with the stroke of a pen sitting at a desk. The thing is to give concrete guidance to stir the masses to action. Perfunctoriness should be debarred and work should be done in a substantial manner.

To strengthen the work of the county Party committee, it is essential to give precedence to political work in every matter. Precedence for political work is always required in carrying out an important

revolutionary task, be it the development of agriculture or of local industry.

Quite a few comrades take the precedence of politics merely to mean holding conferences or organizing lecture meetings when a task is raised. Indeed, holding conferences to discuss the task and organizing lecture meetings to explain the Party policy to the masses are all political work and important ways of giving priority to politics. But this alone is not enough.

To keep politics ahead of other things, it is necessary, first of all, to give the officials of the county Party committee and the county people's committee and the Party members on the farms and at the local industry factories a thorough understanding of the essence of the immediate revolutionary task set forth by our Party and the ways of carrying it out.

And the Party members should be induced to discuss in full more concrete methods of implementation of the task. They should mingle with the masses to explain the Party policy and make them aware of it and widely discuss with them the concrete ways of carrying out the task. On the basis of such discussions, detailed assignments should be given to each Party member.

In short, precedence of politics means bringing all the Party members and the masses to thoroughly understand the Party policy, have mass discussions about the ways of carrying out the revolutionary tasks and to be actively mobilized for the implementation of these tasks with a high degree of political awakening.

All work can be carried out only when the masses are on the move. The reason why the masses remain inactive is that they do not know the Party policy well and lack a correct understanding of the guiding principle in their action.

Orders and instructions alone cannot bring the masses into action. Nothing can be attained as long as you only force it upon them in an administrative way without fully explaining the meaning of the revolutionary task ahead and without teaching them clear-cut ways of implementing it.

In Party work administrative methods should not be applied, but the methods of persuasion and education should be adopted under all circumstances. The main reason for unsatisfactory work now is that the county Party committee does its work in an administrative way, arbitrarily dictating to the masses without caring whether or not they understand.

Since our Party is the advanced detachment which fights for the interests of the masses, it should become a model for the masses, persuade and educate them and encourage them to carry out the Party's policy.

To activate Party members they should always be given assignments and educated to suit their levels of preparedness. As long as a Party member is not given a Party assignment, he cannot fulfil the role of a Party member and therefore he is detached from Party work. A Party member, therefore, must be given a specific Party assignment, even if it is not a big task, and must be tested, tempered and educated through its execution.

Education of Party members should be given in concrete terms. It is improper to force a comrade who is work-shy by saying: "Work harder, comrade! Understand?" It is advisable that you, taking into full consideration the level of consciousness, environment, character, taste, etc., of the person you are dealing with, teach him point by point, beginning with simple matters and then gradually turning to complex matters. Since the basic aims of education are to awaken Party members to the revolutionary struggle, education must always be conducted in connection with the immediate revolutionary tasks, in connection with the merits and shortcomings of their actual deeds.

Another thing I want to mention is that the county Party committee should strengthen collective leadership. If the county Party committee and its executive committee are to fulfil their roles properly, they must strengthen the system of consultation so that collective wisdom may be enlisted in all work.

When a decision or instructions of an upper Party body are received, an executive committee meeting or a consultative meeting of

the county Party committee should be called, and the contents of the decision or instructions and the concrete ways of putting them into effect in accordance with the actual conditions of the county should be discussed. If the task concerns mainly the county people's committee, a meeting of the Party organization of the county people's committee should be called and collective discussions should be held again. Following that, a county people's committee meeting should be held to discuss the coordinated opinions, the Party policy should be explained and brought home to all the masses, regardless of whether they are Party members or not, the concrete ways of struggle should be taught and assignments given to them in order to commence work immediately.

After the county people's committee has organized work in this way, the county Party committee should go down to the ri to see that the work is done. The county Party committee should thoroughly explain the substance of the task and the ways of its fulfilment to its instructors and send them down to the ri to explain clearly, together with the ri Party committee chairman, the content of the revolutionary task and the ways of carrying it out to all the Party members in the ri.

This the county Party committee chairman cannot manage all by himself. The Party committee which is a body of collective leadership should go into action and so should its executive committee. All officials of the county Party committee should be brought into action.

Yet another important thing is the intensification of education in the Party policy to raise the cadres' level of guidance. To guide the masses, it is necessary to have an adequate knowledge of the Party policy so as to be able to tell them what they are ignorant about and show them always the right path to follow. You should learn ways of coping with complex problems correctly in accordance with the Party policy when these appear.

Only when the instructors of the county Party committee go down to the ri and assist the ri Party committee chairman in his work, and have the ability to correctly solve the complex problems which the ri Party committee is unable to settle, will they be able to play the role of

an instructor in the true sense of the word. At present, county Party committee instructors do not give much help to the ri Party committee in its work.

The most important way of raising the level of the instructors is to acquaint them well with the intentions of the Party Central Committee by exhaustively explaining to them, in the first place, its decisions and instructions. The Party policy is always the guiding principle of our action and the criterion to distinguish right from wrong. If you know the Party policy well, you can tell what conforms to the Party policy, and what does not, in the course of guiding the work down at the ri, and point the right direction to the masses.

How can it be said that an instructor is qualified as such if he, who is supposed to have come to give guidance, fails to answer when he is asked about the Party policy, and to give a clear-cut answer when he is asked to tell right from wrong when a problem arises?

Since our revolution is developing every day, our thinking, too, makes progress and so does the Party policy. The Party Central Committee studies the continuously developing realities of our country and frames new policies to suit them.

Our Party's policy is an application of Marxism-Leninism to our country's realities. One can neither write, nor guide work without studying our Party's policies, no matter how many Marxist-Leninist books he may have read.

The instructors should study the Party policy systematically and acquaint themselves with a new policy in good time whenever it is set forth by the Party. A good knowledge of the Party policy is essential to broadening one's mental vision, to finding the right way of having a look at things, and carrying on one's work with conviction and boldness.

The instructors of the Party Central Committee are on a higher level than the comrades at the county Party committees not because they have been chosen from among those who were county Party committee chairmen. Among them are comrades who were county Party committee chairmen before, but there are many who were not. The

instructors of the Party Central Committee are on a higher level than the officials of the county Party committees because they are well aware of the intentions of the Party Central Committee.

The Party Central Committee sums up the experience of all the activities of our Party, but the county Party committees have only the experience of work within the county limits. True, it is natural for the officials of the county Party committees to have a broader view of things than the ri cadres who are in charge of the work of the ri, since the county Party committees sum up the experience of work on the county level. But if we do not discuss and study the Party policy every day, we shall become ignorant of even the experience of the county level, to say nothing of the experience of the struggle of the entire Party, and shall eventually find our perspectives too narrow to lead the cadres of the ri.

At present the Party Central Committee pays great attention to the education of the instructors. The Party leadership promptly acquaints the instructors with the Party policy.

Before, persons such as Pak Chang Ok ensconced in the Party leadership used to tell only what they copied from foreign newspapers and magazines without making the Party policy known, and so education of the instructors was unsatisfactory. Even in writing an article, they used difficult terms and marshalled many propositions of various kinds. To ignorant people such an article might appear to be impressive, but, in fact, it is hollow and empty. It amounts to making a show merely with empty words without the least knowledge of the substance of Marxism, and is tantamount to licking only the rind of a watermelon without so much as tasting its meat to find out whether it is sweet or bitter. What good is it to play with words using difficult terms without knowing our Party's policy when all our work is associated with our revolution? Those who do not know Party policy and the substance of their own work, have no view to call their own, after all, and so they dogmatically copy from others, thereby prejudicing the work. In a word, they are persons who lack Juche.

What we call Juche means doing everything in accordance with the

actual conditions of our country and creatively applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries to suit our specific scene.

It is the duty of the Korean communists to carry out the Korean revolution well in conformity to the actual conditions of our country, and that is our way of making a contribution to the world communist movement. Our task is to build socialism in our country and develop its politics, economy and culture for the welfare and prosperity of our people. How can he who is ignorant of his society, his people, the history and the revolutionary and cultural traditions of his own country, carry out the revolution in a way congenial to his country? And how can he who slights his own things and only praises foreign things develop his own?

Once some artists offered to throw away our national musical instruments, saying that they were uncivilized and undeveloped and that it was even impossible to use the musical notation for them. We severely criticized such a view. The Party's policy on literature and art was not carried out properly because a person such as Pak Chang Ok who praised only foreign things was entrenched in the Information Department. Our national musical instruments perfectly suit the sentiments of our people. So why should we discard them? It is also untenable to assert that the national musical instruments of Korea cannot be fitted to musical notation. The trouble lies in the wrong ideological viewpoint of making light of our national art.

How can a person who is said to be engaged in the Korean revolution do his own thinking as master of his own revolution if he does not proceed from the actual realities of Korea, and belittles his own things, and only copies from others? If one acquires the habit of only copying from others, he will eventually find himself totally devoid of his own thought and will also lose the ability of developing new ideas. Suppose a lazy pupil does not write a composition himself, but always gets somebody else to write it for him because he dislikes the subject, the result will be that he will always be unable to write a composition. The same is true of our revolutionary work. As long as

one relies on others and only copies from them without establishing Juche in his work, he cannot at all display creative initiative.

Since the question of Juche was put forward, a change has taken place in the people's way of thinking. Everybody is now doing his work in accordance with the actual conditions he finds himself in, and so tremendous creative initiative which was formerly unimaginable is now displayed.

We should educate the cadres and members of the Party in such a way as to enable them to display creative initiative. They should have a good knowledge of the Party policy and be able to advance their work by thinking independently when carrying out their assigned tasks. A ri Party committee chairman should be able to carry on his job independently in accordance with the Party policy even when he is given no direct guidance and assistance from the county Party committee.

While sending instructors to the ri to help constantly the ri Party committee chairmen in their work, the county Party committee chairman should meet the ri Party committee chairmen often to acquaint them with the Party policy and initiate them into methods of work.

Further, the senior officials of the county Party committee should teach work methods properly to the instructors. When they get the instructors to write a report or a notice, they must also give them an orientation as to how it should be written. If they fail to write properly, even after that, they should kindly teach them by doing the writing themselves. Yet, a certain department chief is said to have rejected a paper written by an instructor as many as ten times without even touching it up once. If that is the case, the instructors cannot make any progress.

The county Party committee chairman should make a good study of the commentaries on the Party policy carried in the *Rodong Sinmun*, *Kulloja*, *Party Life*, etc., and should not keep its knowledge to himself, but should often call the instructors and acquaint them benevolently with it before they go down to the ri.

The county Party committee chairmen themselves should make

unremitting efforts to improve their qualifications. The county Party committee chairman must review his work and generalize his experience. Although the county Party committee chairman does a great deal of work, he fails to make rapid progress because he does not analyse it nor generalize his experience. He should generalize his own experience and publish it in the daily paper of the province or in the metropolitan newspapers. As for the review reports, the chairman must write them himself. The reports should reflect his thoughts. He must personally write down the contents of the reports, though he may possibly leave the polishing of the wording to his subordinates. This is essential, for it will make him reflect profoundly on the work he has done; and his political and theoretical level will augment and his ability to write will grow because he is naturally obliged to study Party documents more deeply and also to read reference books if he is to write.

As long as the county Party committee chairman or the county people's committee chairman does not personally prepare himself for important meetings, but leaves the preparations of reports and resolutions to others, the meetings cannot be successful and the merits and shortcomings in work cannot be summed up properly. This is all a trite method of work practised by bureaucrats in the past.

In general, the work of theoretically analysing and crystallizing the results of one's work leaves much to be desired. That is why no lively theoretical debate has developed as to how to apply the Party policy to one's work. To raise the theoretical level of cadres and Party members, an atmosphere should be created of holding lively discussions on the Party policy in connection with their jobs. In the course of such discussions we will develop a profound theoretical knowledge of the Party policy and be able to rid our work of dogmatism. When we first launched the communist movement, we used to have very heated discussions. Through the discussions we firmly established our own views.

All the work we are now engaged in is revolutionary work. It is not an easy task to carry out the Party policy in accordance with the actual

conditions of one's own locality. If we endeavour to make a profound study of the Party policy and do our work better, many questions will arise. We must always resolve these questions through discussions, and determine the correct line of action by enlisting collective wisdom.

At present you do not make good use of the newspapers. When we were fighting the Japanese imperialists before, newspapers were very hard to obtain. When we got a newspaper in those days, we had repeated discussions on the editorial or the like and conducted education with it for a long time. Newspapers merely piled up on a desk will be of no help in our work.

To strengthen the work of the county Party committee, the working people's organizations such as the Democratic Youth League and the trade unions need to be activated well. The Democratic Youth League and the trade unions are organizations which all assist our Party. Such working people's organizations play an important role in linking the Party with the masses.

The Democratic Youth League organizations play a great part especially in the countryside. There are many comrades among the Democratic Youth League members who have as strong revolutionary and class spirit as the Party members and are very loyal to our Party. These comrades are our nuclei. These activists should be energetically mobilized for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks. It is very good not only to impel the enthusiasm of youth for production, but also actively mobilize them in the cultural revolution. It is necessary to encourage the activity of the Democratic Youth League organizations properly in elevating the technical and educational levels of youth and in intensifying their communist education.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the intensification of communist education of our Party members. I shall not recapitulate the content of communist education here because I have already spoken about it many times. We should endeavour to acquire not only Marxist-Leninist theory, but also the revolutionary spirit and moral qualities befitting a communist.

Though a new, socialist society has been built to take the place of

the old, class society, the thought of men who manage society has not yet been fully remoulded along communist lines. Socialism and communism can be built only through a conscious struggle of the working people. Survivals of the old ideology constitute a great obstacle to our progress. These survivals should be swept from the minds of people, and the people should all be imbued with communist ideology. Failing this, we can neither consolidate the socialist gains we have already achieved nor can we move forward at a rapid pace.

As I have already remarked on many things at other meetings, I have confined myself to the few problems mentioned above. Although many successes have been achieved in your work, it is not yet conducted in conformity to the new circumstances. Therefore, the most important task confronting the Kangso County Party organization is to improve Party work radically in accordance with the spirit of the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and strengthen the guidance of agriculture, thus bringing about a new, great advancement in the production of grain and other agricultural products.

I wish you new, great success not only in inner-Party work and in the guidance of the people's committee, but also in the struggle for the development of our national economy following the present meeting.

ON THE LESSONS DRAWN FROM GUIDANCE TO THE WORK OF THE KANGSO COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEE

**Speech at an Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium
of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

February 23, 1960

Some time ago, authorized by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, I went to Kangso County, South Phyongan Province, together with a number of comrades, where we acquainted ourselves with the work of the county Party organization and gave guidance in its work. This, I believe, is generally known, for the press has more than once reported it and carried editorials on it. The shortcomings revealed in the work of the Kangso County Party organization are not confined to that Party organization alone, but are common to all rural and factory Party organizations, and since their rectification is of very great importance for the whole Party, I would like to tell you today about the lessons learned from our guidance of the work of the Kangso County Party Committee.

We already had a general knowledge of the work of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee and county Party organizations in the province, for we had been to Onchon and visited other counties the previous autumn. So, this time we decided to delve a little deeper and get a thorough understanding of all aspects of the work of the county Party organization, from the primary Party organizations in the villages and the ri Party committees up to the county Party committee.

The comrades accompanying me—deputy directors of the Organizational and Information Departments as well as section heads and instructors of the Party Central Committee—were divided into two groups. One group proceeded to study the work of the Chongsan-ri Party organization in the county, and the other, the work of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee. While keeping in touch with both groups and aiding them in their work, I took part first in the guidance of the Chongsan-ri Party organization.

At Chongsan-ri I talked with members of the ri Party committee, the chairmen of primary Party organizations as well as with other activists, and was informed of the situation there by the comrades of the guidance group who had gone there a few days earlier, thus having a preliminary understanding of the work of the ri Party organization. We discovered many shortcomings in its work and came to understand the cause for the poor showing in farm work last year. To probe deeper into the actual conditions, we visited the primary Party organizations of the workteams, accompanied by the ri Party committee members, and spent several days there talking with Party members and listening to the opinions of the masses.

After that, I went to the county Party committee and learned about its work from the comrades of the guidance group in charge of it, and had talks with the cadres of the county Party committee. We gave lectures on the Party's policy to officials of the county Party committee and saw to it that the Party sub-unit meetings discussed it thoroughly before holding a general membership meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee.

Then, I went back to Chongsan-ri, where I had conversations with activists of a workteam and assigned the comrades of the guidance group to lead the Party sub-unit meetings and general membership meetings of the primary Party organizations and assist the ri Party organization in its arrangements for a general membership meeting. As for the substance of the report to be delivered at the general membership meeting, we saw to it that the ri Party committee had a full and collective discussion about it and made it thoroughly known in

advance to the primary Party organizations and all Party members. Consequently, all the Party members, already ideologically mobilized through the sub-unit meetings and the general membership meetings of the Party organizations, attended the ri Party general membership meeting with a clear understanding of what defects were to be pointed out and what tasks for remedying them would be set forth at the meeting. Everyone could express his views without reserve. The report to the general membership meeting was prepared personally by the ri Party committee chairman with the scrupulous help of the comrades of the guidance group and, as a result, it turned out to be an accurate and analytical report. Thus, the arrangements for the general membership meeting of the ri Party organization were made rather satisfactorily.

Until then, in many instances the general membership meetings of the Party organization in this ri were also arranged and conducted in a perfunctory manner. As often as not, tasks sent down by the Central Committee by way of the provincial and county Party committees were mechanically imposed at the meetings. Meetings would be called without preparing the Party members ideologically, the ri Party committee chairman would deliver a report that was his own brainchild, and a few people would make prepared speeches, which is then followed by passing resolutions through without hindrance. That was all. Nothing will come of meetings of this kind, no matter how often they are held.

It is necessary to hold substantive Party meetings in order to adopt concrete decisions consistent with local conditions by putting together the constructive suggestions of the Party members, and to bring into play their conscious enthusiasm. Therefore, we began by teaching them clearly how to hold a really fruitful, and not a perfunctory, Party meeting. All meetings held in the ri and county during our guidance served as patterns of intensive, substantial, and well-organized meetings.

Drawing on the experience gained in the course of our guidance of Chongsan-ri, we chose another six ri in the county, which we continued to guide. We called a consultative meeting of the county Party organization with the participation of all comrades of the guidance

group, the cadres of those ri and the officials of the county Party committee for the purpose of summing up the data obtained while guiding the work of the ri Party organizations. At this meeting we heard reports and exchanged views on the results of the guidance of Party work in Posan-ri, Thaesong-ri and Yaksu-ri. As a result, it was thoroughly revealed that as regards Party work and farming, other villages had exactly the same shortcomings as those found in Chongsan-ri. This confirmed the complete validity of the conclusion we had drawn after our guidance of the work of the Chongsan-ri Party organization. Inasmuch as every ri showed common defects and its causes were similar, we could put forward the same corrective tasks and at the consultative meeting we could also outline the direction for the county Party committee to take in guiding the ri Party organizations.

Meanwhile, the general membership meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee was held successfully. Instructors and cadres of the county Party committee debated the work of the committee in earnest. Every instructor could criticize the department heads, vice-chairmen and chairman and boldly bring all defects to light. As a result, the meeting defined all the more clearly the concrete ways and means of improving the work of the county Party committee.

On the basis of holding a general membership meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee and a consultative meeting of the county Party organization in this way, it was arranged that a plenary meeting of the Kangso County Party Committee be held. This was also attended by the chairmen of all county Party committees in South Phyongan Province.

The plenary meeting was to make a profound analysis of the shortcomings that had been revealed so far in the work of the Party organizations in Kangso County, and gathering all the valuable views put forward by the Party members and masses at various meetings, take measures for a radical improvement of the Party's organizational and ideological work as well as of its guidance regarding government bodies and its work of economic guidance.

We assisted the chairman of the county Party committee in personally drawing up the report to the plenary meeting, and we saw to it that all the expected participants at the meeting were informed beforehand of the articles of the draft resolution. Thanks to such arrangements and ideological mobilization, the plenary meeting of the county Party committee also proved a big success.

We took steps to make thoroughly known to all the ri in this county, including those to which no guidance group had been sent, the conclusion drawn at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization and the resolutions adopted at the plenary meeting of the county Party committee.

Brief though the time was—no more than 15 days—the results of our guidance work have been very great. These results were achieved not because the guidance group members ran about busily, but because they heard the voices of a large section of Party members and the masses and brought their creative zeal into full play. Such results can hardly be accomplished if, as has been the case hitherto in the county Party committee and ri Party organizations, Party officials only bluster at people without knowing the actual state of affairs and feelings of the masses, and perfunctorily call one meeting after another at which people gather, raise their hands without really understanding what is being discussed, and then disperse.

We ourselves, too, learned a great deal in the course of guiding the work of the Kangso County Party Committee. We came to know more exactly what is hindering the masses from being accurately informed of the Party's policies, and why the tasks put forth by the central authority are not properly executed at lower levels. Unless we remove the root causes of these defects, we can neither satisfactorily implement the decisions of the enlarged plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held last December nor can scale the eminence of socialism at an early date.

Now, let me tell you what the successes and defects in the work of the Kangso County Party Committee were and what lessons we have drawn in the course of our recent guidance.

Since the Third Party Congress great changes have taken place in our Party work as a whole—from the Central Committee down to the city and county Party organizations. Particularly, great advances have been made in eradicating dogmatism and formalism and establishing Juche, as well as in improving the methods of Party work.

Our Party work began to develop in conformity with the demands of the Korean revolution and the specific realities of the country. Our Party members gradually became able to take an independent view of the problems of our revolution and construction and to deal with them in keeping with our own actual situation, instead of trying to follow others blindly as they had done in the past. We are people who are making the Korean revolution and have undertaken a mission to contribute, by so doing, to the world revolution. Therefore, in order to fight in the van of the Korean revolutionary movement, we must know, before anything else, about Korea, about the history and the realities of our country and know how to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism properly to the realities of Korea. This our Party members have become firmly aware of. That, we can say, is a tremendous achievement.

Also, since the Third Party Congress, the Party's ideological system has gradually been established among Party members. Particularly, in the course of the struggle to expose and smash the anti-Party factionalists, their Party spirit was tempered as never before and the unity of ideas and will in the Party was cemented. It is not too much to say that the intentions of the Party Central Committee have been grasped by all Party members and the masses, and that the whole Party has never been so closely united around the Central Committee with such a singleness of will and purpose as today and that never before has our Party enjoyed such unqualified prestige among the people as today.

Considerable results have also been attained in the work of class education. Our Party members can now clearly distinguish friend from foe, and their consciousness of hating the enemy and defending their class interests has been enhanced. The spirit of waging

uncompromising, principled struggles against any phenomenon contrary to their class interests is prevailing. A Party member living in Yaksu-ri was severely criticized at a Party meeting for having been treated to a dinner at the home of a rogue, a former member of the “peace maintenance corps”, and thus become indebted to him. Another Party member was criticized by his comrades for manifesting bourgeois ideology when he rented a room to a visitor to the spa. All this helps to raise Party members’ class consciousness.

The Party members and the masses of the people have also become highly vigilant against counter-revolutionaries. Fearing the watchful eyes of the people, those who seek to calumniate our Party and do harm to our system find it difficult to operate at present.

By and large, the revolutionary mass viewpoint has also been established among our Party members. Anyone who abuses the authority of the Party or infringes upon the interests of the masses is severely called to task for it. Party members are now deeply conscious that they can serve the revolution only when they become faithful servants of the masses because the revolution is for the good of the masses and it can be accomplished only by relying on the strength of the masses.

The zeal of the Party members to continue the revolutionary traditions of our Party is likewise high. Whenever they encounter difficulties, they recall how revolutionary forerunners fought against Japanese imperialism in the face of all difficulties and hardships, from which they derive strength and courage. Today every Party member constantly steels his Party spirit, taking as his model the ideas, style of work and moral traits of the anti-Japanese guerrillas who explored the path for the restoration of the homeland at the cost of their blood.

The position of Party nuclei has been built up to a considerable extent. The cadres at county and ri levels are very sound. In all Party organizations the core ranks are made up of reliable comrades of good social standing, who have served the Party and the revolution from the time of the agrarian reform and who fought valiantly during the time of retreat, never yielding to the enemy.

Members of bereaved families of patriotic martyrs who remained faithful to the revolution till they died on the scaffold at the hands of the enemy; peasants who, camouflaging themselves, ploughed the fields by moonlight in their devoted endeavours to increase grain production during the war despite enemy bombings; ex-servicemen who, at the risk of their lives, fought for the country in the battles to rout the aggressors, are all fine people who can develop into nuclei of our Party. The core of Party organizations at all levels is made up of such comrades who are true to the Party and the revolution, and this constitutes our important asset and guarantee of victory. The anti-Party manoeuvrings of Ko Pong Gi and his kind to give prominence to the “influential gentry”, and to rely on them for work in the rural districts, have been totally crushed.

As you see, we have scored really great achievements in our Party work.

Then, why is it that a number of defects still find expression in our work? The unity of the Party has been strengthened, people have learned how to distinguish friend from foe, bureaucracy is much less in evidence than before, everyone is eager to inherit the revolutionary traditions, and the ranks of cadres are composed of stable comrades. For all this, why does our Party work still fall short of the level required by the Party Central Committee?

There are two major reasons. One is that educational work is still so poor that Party members have an insufficient understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party, and the other is that organizational work has been done unsatisfactorily with the result that each Party member cannot work actively.

Our Party members are now all eager to work, upholding the Party Central Committee, but the fact is that they do not know how to work and, therefore, fail in their work. Their enthusiasm and spirit are very high, but they are not acquainted with principles and methods, hence the clumsy outcome of their work. Our Party members and cadres can carry out the directives from above in a mechanical way, but they are unable to analyse things independently in accordance with the line laid

down by the Central Committee and to carry on their work to suit their specific conditions.

The role played by each Party member is inadequate because Party assignments are not given in a scrupulous manner. A Party member, whoever he may be, must always fulfil his duties as required by the Party Rules. In doing this, the conscious efforts of Party members are most essential, but the proper assignment of work to them is also necessary. All Party members should be enlisted in Party work and each member roused to constant activity. The leading and guiding role of our Party can be assured as it should be only when all its members, without exception, play a vanguard role in the revolution and construction.

We have also achieved tremendous results in the economic sphere since the Third Party Congress. We have completed the cooperation of agriculture and completely reorganized private trade and industry throughout the country, and built extensively local industry, thereby even drawing a large number of housewives into production. Now there is no one who exploits others, all have become socialist working people.

In a short space of time following the war, we completely rehabilitated the ruined national economy and laid the foundations for industrialization, and we are successfully carrying on the technical revolution in the countryside.

In Kangso County, for instance, irrigation has almost been completed and electricity has reached every ri. Each home has a cable radio and many families have radio sets. Mechanization has made considerable progress. The county now has 45 tractors, and will have another 100 this year. This will ease the manpower shortage and lay a solid foundation for the speedy development of agriculture. In addition, the county has built a base for stockbreeding which it did not have before, and gained a wealth of experience in applying advanced methods of intensive farming, including the cold-bed rice seedling method.

Till now we have also built many dwellings and attained great

successes in carrying out the cultural revolution. Chongsan-ri alone keeps two schools, and secondary education has been made compulsory there. A number of local industry factories have also been built, with the result that the county which previously had only two factories runs ten at present, turning out a variety of goods.

We have thus made great progress in the economic field in a brief span of time. Yet the economic work, too, is far below the level required by the Party Central Committee. Why? The reason here, too, is that officials suffer from a low level of preparedness, not because they are bad people. They are very eager to work, but owing to their lack of a correct understanding of the Party's economic policy and of knowledge of how to manage a planned economy, they only disperse their work, failing to grasp the main link, and achieve little success though they keep themselves busy.

In the final analysis, Party work does not go well because our Party members lack proper knowledge of Marxist-Leninist principles and of work methods, and economic work is not carried on successfully because our officials know little about the economy and technology. The basic cause is the same, I should say.

Considering that the Party's organizational and political lines are all correct, its economic policy is likewise correct and the people, upholding the Party's lines, are all working hard to carry out its policy, the only trouble is the low level of our officials. The cadres' knowledge and ability are too poor to cope with the tasks facing them. Is this by accident? No. It is an inevitable outcome of the unusually rapid rate of our economic development.

Our national economy has a very high rate of progress. What we have accomplished in economic construction in the six years after the war could hardly be achieved even in scores of years under the capitalist system. We have advanced in a spirit of making ten steps while others make one.

Our economy has developed in this way, but we can hardly expect people's knowledge and capacities to improve as rapidly. A large number of specialists and technicians with higher learning are required

if we are to run successfully such modern industry and large-scale cooperative farming as we have today, but we are in great need of such personnel. And it takes four or five years to complete the university course. Industrial output can soar by 40 odd per cent a year, but it is almost impossible for a man to learn in one year what normally takes five years to learn. We shall be content only when all cadres acquire the knowledge equivalent to a university graduate, but unlike other things, this is something that can hardly be attained in a year or two.

Of course, it is true that our Party, since immediately after liberation, has devoted much effort to overcoming the shortage of technical personnel and even during the war, it did not leave off the training of cadres for a moment, and has already trained a great number. Last year, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee decided to set up many more universities and took appropriate measures. We can say that that was a timely step. But not yet enough, we are now studying the question of setting up technical colleges in large factories and on large farms to enable the workers to study while working.

However, these measures alone are insufficient to solve the problem. We cannot remain idle for four or five years, waiting for specialists and technicians to come forth. Then what is to be done? What should we do to cope with the situation at a time when the level of knowledge of our officials fails to catch up with the comparatively high level of our economy, when there are still many who have just rid themselves of illiteracy? The basic solution, of course, would be to promote the cultural revolution vigorously, but at this moment, how are we to overcome this bottleneck which constitutes the root cause of all shortcomings in our work? I think that the reorganization of our system of work and the improvement of our guidance methods are the only way out.

It will be many years before every cadre at the ri level has attained the standard of a college graduate, and every cadre at the county level that of a university graduate. Therefore, we must break through the immediate bottleneck by establishing an appropriate work system

whereby the central authority helps the province, the province helps the county, and the county helps the ri. In particular, it is necessary to improve radically the method of the county's guidance to the ri.

Owing to our changed circumstances, it has become an ever more urgent demand to improve the system of work and the methods of guidance. In the rural ri, entirely new circumstances have been created now, while the cadres there lack experience and ability. As a result of the completion of cooperation and the establishment of the socialist system in the countryside, everyone now works together on the cooperatives, whereas in the past all the peasants, including Party members, lived within the boundaries of private economy. This has given rise to the need for a change in the peasants' ideological consciousness, the need for guidance of the cooperative economy by cadres fully armed with communist consciousness.

At present, most of the cadres of each ri are people who have been selected from among the local peasants. They are all good comrades, but they are still too immature politically, ideologically and practically to educate the peasants in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty morality of collectivism and to build up the large-scale socialist economy successfully. Therefore, in my opinion, there is no other way than for the cadres at a higher level, the county cadres, personally to visit the ri and educate the peasants, organize and mobilize them for the implementation of the Party's policy, and help in the work of the ri.

The material and technical foundations of agriculture have also been considerably strengthened. Formerly, only hoes and sickles were used, but today pumps are operating everywhere and tractors are working the rice paddies and dry fields. This demands high cultural and technical levels of the peasants, and requires technicians to undertake technical guidance at agricultural cooperatives. With the promotion of the technical revolution in the countryside, this demand will become still more pressing. But our agricultural cooperatives have few technicians. Therefore, the technicians at the county should personally go to the cooperatives, help the peasants raise their technical level and assist them in farming. There is no other alternative.

As a result of the merging of cooperatives, the ri has become a big unit of agricultural production and the work of the ri has become complex and diversified. In the past, each household possessing one or two hectares of land constituted a farming unit, but now the farming unit is the agricultural cooperative of each ri embracing an average of 500 hectares or more of land and over 300 peasant households. Formerly, each peasant managed his own husbandry, but now we cannot make a step forward unless the ri directly manages and operates this large-scale economy in a planned way. The cooperative economy can fully display its advantages only when we carry out such planned management well. But our ri cadres are quite at a loss what to do with a large quantity of work in hand, because they have little experience in the management of a planned economy and lack knowledge of economics and have a low level of preparedness.

There is now tremendous work to be done in the ri. It is very complex—producing much grain, growing industrial crops, raising livestock, breeding fresh-water fish, conducting trade, carrying out the technical and the cultural revolution, etc,

How can we expect success, if all this is left only to the chairman of the ri people's committee or to a few members of the management board of the cooperative? Today matters have come to a point where no one goes to the ri personally to organize, teach and help in its work, but all visit there with briefcases under their arms, each demanding, directing and asking: "Have you applied much compost?" "How have you built pigsties?" "Why don't you do fish breeding?" "Why doesn't the procurement work go smoothly?" "How is housing construction going on?" "How about health and hygienic work?" "Build the school quickly!" "Run art circles!" and so on and so forth. Many "dignitaries" such as management bureau directors, section chiefs, and chairmen flock to the ri, each acting as a "taskmaster" and only harassing the ri people's committee chairman. How can he alone deal with all this?

Guidance methods should be corrected decisively. Though new circumstances have been created, the work system has not yet been reorganized to suit them. How then should we reorganize the system of

work and improve the methods of guidance?

First of all, the work system of the county people's committees should be reorganized. The question cannot be solved as long as the county people's committee "guides" the ri only by frequently sending official dispatches, only by issuing directives to do this and that and demanding statistics of all kinds. A number of official dispatches and directives may be sent down to the ri to accumulate, but what is the use of them if the ri lacks the capacity to organize their fulfilment? Yet, we cannot bring forward the question of abolishing the county people's committees and allocating all their officials to the ri to strengthen its work force. It is almost impossible for every province directly to guide and control some 300 ri without the media of the counties. Therefore, the only way out is for the personnel of the county people's committee to go to the ri and help its officials organize the work, instead of trying to give guidance while remaining in the county seat.

It is desirable that they personally go to the ri, have talks with the peasants, combine the opinions of the management board members of the cooperatives and draw up plans for them, instead of pressing them for plans which they do not know how to formulate. Only in this way can the management board members learn planning. They cannot learn it even in a hundred years if they are simply urged to map out plans in a hurry, as is now being done. Workteam leaders, who cannot even do sums correctly, should not be pressed to submit complicated statistics; you had better go in person, grasp the actual conditions and compile the statistics yourselves. Instead of just telling them to organize labour rationally, it is better to go and do it for them.

In this way the county people's committee should responsibly organize the work of the ri on all the questions concerned with continually developing the productive forces and promoting the technical revolution in the countryside, increasing the incomes of the peasants and improving their living standards, carrying out the cultural revolution, defending the gains of the socialist revolution and taking care of the common property of the cooperatives.

Now that a ri forms a production unit, a county people's committee

with 20 ri under it has only to organize and manage these 20 production units well. The chairman of the county people's committee, considering himself the manager of a big factory, should regard the agricultural cooperative in each ri as a workshop of his factory and mobilize the officials of the county people's committee, giving meticulous help to the ri work. The county people's committee should assume the full responsibility for the work of all cooperatives in the county, each of them, of course, being run on a self-maintenance basis. Previously, the county people's committee was not keenly concerned whether farming was going well or whether the peasants' standard of living was actually improving, and it considered its duty done when it had collected statistics and reported impressive figures to higher bodies, collected taxes and mobilized the peasants for road building or repairing. Now this is absolutely wrong. In the days of the private peasant economy it could manage somehow or other in that way, but it will no longer work now. Today the county people's committee should not assume the attitude of a third party but a party directly concerned in the affairs of each agricultural cooperative. Only then can the county people's committee perform its functions in conformity with the new circumstances.

The county people's committee should in reality play the role of the lowest administrative body. At present there is, in form, the ri people's committee, which performs certain administrative functions, but it has been doing nothing in particular. In effect, it would be correct to regard the ri as a production unit rather than as an administrative unit. Therefore, the county people's committee should not try to concentrate its main efforts on guiding the lower administrative bodies, but should primarily perform the function of organizing the work of the agricultural cooperative in each ri which constitutes the production unit.

For this purpose, it is necessary to re-examine the apparatus of the county people's committee itself. It has hitherto been a miniature replica of the provincial people's committee. It would be better to replace the system of section chiefs and various other heads with that

of instructors. Or you may call them organizers instead of instructors. I think it preferable to have farm organizers, stockbreeding organizers, etc., and set up a system of work under which the organizers go to the agricultural cooperatives directly and help them organize farming and stockbreeding.

Now allow me to refer to the work of the county Party committee.

The system of work of the county Party committee, too, should be reorganized immediately in keeping with the new circumstances. The county Party committee has so far worked thinking that it has another leading body under it. But the leading organs of the Party comprise the Central Committee and provincial, city and county Party committees, and directly under the county Party committee are the primary Party organizations, the basic organizations of our Party. Even the primary Party organizations in some big ri, where ri Party committees have been formed, are under the direct control of the county Party committee, and the ri Party committee, as stipulated in the Party Rules, is only meant to assist the county Party committee in the latter's guidance of the primary Party organizations. After all, the county Party committee is the lowest leading organ of our Party and should directly lead all primary Party organizations in the county. This should be clearly understood above all.

The county Party committee should regard the ri Party organizations as big cells and give them direct leadership, but it tries to lead them through the ri Party committees, and, therefore, no wonder things do not go well. The county Party committee should perform its own duties in a correct manner, instead of sending one official dispatch after another and writing notifications day in and day out, as if it had some other leading body under it.

In fact, the chairman is the only full-time official in a ri Party committee, and the rest are farmers-cooperative members who must earn work-points to have their share. Under these circumstances, if so many dispatches and notifications are sent down, who will read, analyse and execute them? The ri Party committee chairman can never cope with them all by himself. As a result, he detaches quite a few

persons from production and puts them to work as if they were full-time officials, and then unscrupulously gives them some work-points in reward for what they have done in the way of Party work.

The county Party committee should perform the functions of directly organizing and leading the work of the ri Party committee, bearing in mind that the latter is now the Party cell of a big production unit which is different both from the sub-county Party committee of the past and from the ri Party committee at the time of the private peasant economy. In other words, the county Party committee should lead the ri Party organizations in the same way as the Party committee of a big factory does the workshop Party organizations or as the regimental Party committee in the People's Army guides the battalion Party organizations.

First and foremost, the county Party committee should do its organizational work well. To do so, it should clearly understand the substance of the organizational work it has to perform. If you think that organizational work means simply calling meetings, sending documents, writing notifications or doing odd jobs for the chairman of the county Party committee, you are mistaken. In a word, organizational work means awakening all Party members to action for the implementation of the Party's policies. To organize the activities of the Party, to mobilize its members, nuclei and cadres of the Party for the carrying out of revolutionary tasks and to activate the masses—this is organizational work. This is what the county Party committee is required to do in relation to all primary Party organizations in the county.

I have long since pointed out the necessity of wiping out formalism in Party work, but it still remains, and this can also be traced to poor organizational work. The key to breaking the pattern of formalism lies nowhere else but in drawing all Party members into Party work and getting them to conduct their activities consciously. When only a few cadres busy themselves with Party work, while the bulk of the Party members are not involved, it is quite natural that Party work should be

perfunctory and ineffective. Formalism will be eliminated once and for all only when all Party members regard Party work as their own business and delve deep into it, do their part at their posts, adhere to Party principles and work devotedly for the implementation of the Party's policies.

The Party's information work is inseparable from its organizational work. Without thoroughly educating Party members in the Party's policies, and without widely explaining and propagating them among the masses, Party members cannot play their vanguard role in the struggle for carrying through the Party's policies, nor can the creative energies of the masses be mobilized. Therefore, the county Party committee should effectively conduct its information work, along with its organizational work. If this is done well, everything will proceed smoothly.

What is important in improving the work of the county Party committees is to put an end, once and for all, to administrative methods of work. In essence, sending down official papers and issuing orders and directives are methods alien to Party work. What is fundamental in Party work is not this sort of administrative method but persuasion and education. We must not bluntly dictate to the people, demanding that they do things irrespective of their ability. The more complicated and difficult the work is, the more must the people be awakened and shown the right direction. Only then will everyone move in that direction with confidence. The Party should patiently educate its members and awaken the masses in that manner.

You should have frequent talks with Party members, give them lectures, induce them to read books and direct their meetings, in such a way that all Party members will have a clear understanding of the intentions of the Party Central Committee, will uphold the Party's policies wholeheartedly and go through all difficulties to carry them out. Such is Party work, political work. By giving precedence to politics, which we always call for, is meant first doing this work well, followed by other work. When political work is done well, administrative work will naturally go well.

But the county Party committees themselves have failed to conduct the Party's organizational and political work satisfactorily. Take the Kangso County Party Committee for example. Putting aside this work, its proper function, its organizational department has spent much time preparing notifications and statistics. I was told that, last year alone, the Kangso County Party Committee submitted 63 reports to the provincial Party committee. Why were so many reports required? There are 26 counties in South Phyongan Province, and if each of them were to submit 63 reports, the provincial Party committee chairman would have to read 1, 638 reports a year. This would mean that he should read four to five reports every day of the year for 365 days, not even taking a day off. How can the provincial Party committee chairman read all this? It is impossible. So there has to be someone else on hand, whose job it is to inform him only of the important ones among them. If so, why waste time writing so many reports, instead of reporting only important matters from the start? As for statistical reports alone, the organizational department of the Kangso County Party Committee submitted 24 returns last year. This means that the chairman of the provincial Party committee has to read annually as many as 624 statistical reports from the county Party committees. I just looked over the reports and found that most of them were on sewing and various other campaigns, whereas few were on such essential matters as Party life.

As you see, the organizational departments of the county Party committees are not doing what they ought to, but are engrossed in paperwork and play the role of a secretariat for the county Party committee chairman. All work reports and speeches he delivers are also prepared by the organizational department. The county Party committee chairman rarely prepares his own reports. For years I have not come across a single article in *Rodong Sinmun* that was written by a county Party committee chairman.

The situation is very serious. The organizational department of the county Party committee must be getting all Party members on the move and activating primary Party organizations, but, on the contrary,

it has been reduced to a documents section preparing reports and statistics day and night, to a secretariat in charge of clerical work for the county Party committee chairman. A secretariat of this sort, not provided for in the apparatus plan, seems to have been set up in many places; large or small, it seems to exist everywhere—in provincial Party committees, in each ministry, and power organ. All this is the aftereffect of Ho Ka I's style of work. It is a habit formed in the days when Ho Ka I, who did not even have a proper knowledge of the Korean language, held an important post in the Party Central Committee and his companions were provincial Party committee chairmen. In those days, many people thought that was the way to do Party work, and even the county Party committees were influenced by it. That was in the past, but why should the county Party committee, and none other, work in this way even now, long after Ho Ka I's crimes were exposed? The county Party committee cannot lead the primary Party organizations in this manner. Instead of simply doing desk work, its officials should go down to the lower levels and organize the activities of Party members.

The information departments of the county Party committees, too, act in a crippled manner. Their staffs do not go down to have talks with Party members and educate them, and to inspire the masses to carry out economic tasks, but they think it is sufficient for them simply to call up people and make speeches to them. The information department of the county Party committee has been reduced to an information department which is sedentary and gives short courses only. Regardless of time, it summons motivation workers to attend one short course after another. None of the motivation workers in the ri are full-time workers, all of them are engaged in farming. Nevertheless, the information department just summons them at random. Why can't they go down to the ri and give short courses on the spot, showing people examples how a lecture should be given? They do not do this but just hang around their office, so they cannot but be estranged from the life of Party members and divorced from reality.

The Party members and the masses perform unconditionally

whatever the county Party committee instructs them to do, regarding it as an instruction of the Party Central Committee, a task they must carry out at all costs in the interests of the revolution. When told to attend a short course, they set everything aside and attend it without fail, however busy they may be. This is an expression of their boundless trust in and loyalty to the Party. How good our Party members, our masses are! If we educated such good Party members, such good masses, in a proper manner and awakened them to voluntary action, nothing would be impossible for us. We could even level mountains and fill the sea. The root cause of all shortcomings lies nowhere else but in our own failure to give correct leadership.

The work of the county Party committees should be reorganized so that all their officials will go to the ri Party organizations and conduct organizational and information work for them. Today when the whole Party is firmly united around the Party Central Committee and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses is running high, our socialist construction will be further accelerated if we improve the work of the county Party committees in this way and also reorganize the work system of the county people's committees, and if all the cadres at the county level go down to lower units and directly organize and help in the work of the ri.

As there are 35 personnel in the Kangso County Party Committee, three of them can take charge of and assist in the Party work of two ri. Three are enough to make a close study of the Party members and cadres in two ri, and guide all work knowing the situation there blindfold. Besides, the Kangso County People's Committee has a staff of 113 persons, and when they are divided among 20 ri, every five or six of them will take charge of each ri. Adding together the officials of the county Party committee and the county people's committee, seven or more persons can go and help each ri. This is a great force. If the cadres at the county level are thus grouped and go and help the ri in their work, it will ease the shortage of personnel, which is a big headache for our countryside where the socialist system has triumphed, and will bring about a great change in our rural work.

According to the actual conditions I have found in the course of my recent visit, there is no need for a county Party committee to have industrial and agricultural departments. What is the use of keeping the industrial and agricultural departments in the county Party committee when the county people's committee has such departments? The organizational department of the county Party committee can handle all cadres of the economic branches as well. In my opinion, we had better dismiss the idea of instituting cooperative organizational department in the county Party committee, too. Such economic departments would tend to act for the administrative bodies and employ administrative methods in their work. All that is required is to make the economic departments of the county people's committee function properly and to exercise Party control over them. It will suffice if the county Party committee has organizational and information departments and conducts political work well. However, in order to guide and control the county people's committee in its fulfilment of the Party's economic policy and to assist in the dissemination of economic and technical knowledge among Party workers, it is desirable for the county Party committee to have two or three economic instructors. It would be most ideal if university-graduate specialists could be allocated for this purpose, but where such cadres are not available, those Party members who have some knowledge and experience in economic and technical affairs may be selected and allocated. As for the educational department of the county Party committee, I think we had better maintain it for the time being, until the work of the Democratic Youth League organizations is strengthened. The educational department of the county Party committee, too, may be abolished some day when the Democratic Youth League is able to give effective assistance in the functioning of schools.

In improving the method of leadership it is very important to strengthen the system of collective consultation and to establish correct working relations between the county Party committee and the county people's committee.

The county Party committee is a body of collective leadership

which assumes full responsibility for everything that takes place in the county. Some people seem to think that since the county Party committee is not to act for the county people's committee in its activity, it should confine itself to Party organizational and ideological work and to the discussion of personnel matters, and should not take up other questions. This idea is wrong. Both the plenary and executive committee meetings of the county Party committee can and must take up any problem as required. Only thus can the county Party committee perform its functions as a collective leadership body in the county.

Propagation of the Party's policies and the mobilization of the masses for the struggle to carry them out; education of Party members and working people in communist ideology; training, selection and allocation of cadres; maintenance of social order and the safeguarding of revolutionary gains from enemy encroachment; acceleration of the technical and cultural revolutions; working out a local plan for the national economy; capital construction; rational organization of labour; and the principal orientation in financial expenditure—all these are questions which should be collectively considered by the county Party committee. Under the collective leadership of the county Party committee, the county Party committee chairman and the county people's committee chairman should divide the work, the former conducting Party work and the latter administrative and economic work. Here, the highest leading body should be the county Party committee.

The county people's committee, in all its work, must receive the guidance of the county Party committee. It is quite erroneous to think that the county people's committee can function, bypassing the county Party committee, because administratively it is under the provincial people's committee. The county people's committee cannot exist independently of the guidance of the county Party committee. All economic establishments, internal security organizations, judicial bodies and social organizations in the county, too, cannot work independently of the guidance of the county Party committee.

Just as the Presidium of the Party Central Committee leads at the centre and the provincial Party committee leads in the province, so the

county Party committee must exercise overall leadership in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the county. All establishments and organizations in the county, without exception, must be subject to its leadership.

I emphasize this again because we have recently observed in a number of places the grave phenomena of working arbitrarily, in separation from the collective leadership of the Party. Such was the case in the Kangson Steel Plant. Its director remained outside the control of the factory Party committee and ran a one-man show, paying no heed to the opinions of others, with the result that at one time the work of the steel plant nearly went astray.

During our recent stay at Chongsan-ri, we could see how much harm the Kangso County People's Committee had done by turning a deaf ear to the opinions of the Party and the voices of the peasants and by issuing orders in an arbitrary manner. At first it instructed the peasants to plant red beans, then to plough up the fields and plant maize and, in the end, forced them to plough up the fields once again to plant vegetables. This led the peasants to do the backbreaking work of turning up quite a large tract of land over and over again, without even being able to harvest the vegetables, which were planted too late. At a time when rice transplanting was at its height and weeding was overdue, the county people's committee was unscrupulous in mobilizing the peasants at random for the building of a hotel and roads.

All this resulted from the failure of the county people's committee in its work to rely on the collective leadership of the county Party committee and to have regard for the interests of the masses.

All work must be organized and carried out along the line laid down by the county Party committee through collective discussion. The county people's assembly, too, must be guided by this line, and once a decision is adopted at the people's assembly, it becomes a law. No one is entitled to revise or violate it. All particulars of the local plan for the national economy—agriculture, local industry, capital construction, work organization, financial expenditure, etc.—should be implemented unconditionally once they are approved by the county people's

assembly after the collective deliberation of the county Party committee.

The county Party committee should always check and control the fulfilment of the national economic plan, and discuss and decide upon flexible measures to remedy any defect in work. The county people's committee, acting upon the decision of the county Party committee, should carry out corresponding measures, and the Party organizations in the county should render active assistance to guarantee their fulfilment. If things are done in this way, success will be assured not only in economic work but also in all other activities in the county. The system of collective leadership by the county Party committee should be firmly established on such principles.

There are two requisites for strengthening collective leadership by the county Party committee: first, to build up the body of collective leadership in a proper way and second, to enlist the knowledge of the broad masses.

It is important that the county Party committee be formed of competent cadres who are loyal to the Party. However hard one may try subjectively to be loyal to the Party, he cannot be loyal in practice if he does not enjoy the confidence of the masses and does not know how to work. That is why the Party committee must be composed of people who possess a strong Party spirit, enjoy public confidence and are capable. Workers of all branches should be represented in the county Party committee. Only then can it ensure collective leadership satisfactorily in the Party's organizational and ideological work, in economic work, in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries and in all other activities.

The most important thing in collective leadership is to bring into play the knowledge of the masses and gather their constructive opinions in a timely way. No excellent idea can be born of discussions by only a few members of the county Party committee, even if they meet and hold discussions all the time. New and bright ideas can emerge only when committee members mingle with the masses, live with them, and listen to their sincere opinions before making deliberations.

Dynamic and creative knowledge is always found among the

masses. Of course, fragmentary and immature as the opinions of the masses may be at first, it is the duty of Party workers to grasp them in good time, and supplement and systematize them through collective consultations. The Party's leading bodies should then disseminate among the masses the opinions thus summarized and systematized, and lead the masses to follow them. This is precisely what constitutes political leadership, living leadership.

The great upsurge in socialist construction following the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the building of over 1,000 factories in only a few months by tapping local reserves, and the twofold increase in the number of machine tools in one year through the let-each-machine-tool-make-more movement—all these are models of the able collective leadership of our Party Central Committee. Great strength can be displayed only by a collective leadership which relies entirely on the masses, draws at all times on their knowledge and strength, learns from them and teaches them.

In the performance of the functions of collective leadership by the county Party committee, it is important to cement comradesly unity among its members, and particularly unity between chairmen of the county Party committee and the county people's committee. In the case of a factory, too, things will go well only when the Party committee chairman and the director work hand in hand and are in rapport with each other. If the chairmen of the Party committee and the people's committee are to work successfully in close unity, they should be modest and frank with each other, and respect and help each other in a comradesly way. There can be neither unity nor cooperation if they ride the high horse, look down upon one another and assume such attitudes as, "You may know politics but not practical work" or "You may know practical work but not politics." If anyone regards only his own views as best and does not respect, or even ignores the views of others, collective knowledge can in no way emerge nor collective strength be displayed. As the saying goes, a general without an army is no general. Collective leadership requires of necessity the pooling of knowledge and strength of your comrades, and to do so everyone should learn

from and teach each other, and help each other in a comradely way. When a comrade puts forward a certain view, hasn't he some basis for it, however insignificant it may seem? Then, his view must not be turned down point-blank but must be studied carefully, and efforts should be made to pick out its rational kernel, even if the view is not entirely correct. Only when everyone takes such an attitude to each other, can opinions of Party committee members be readily coordinated into well-refined collective views, and can a Party committee function actively as a united body of collective leadership.

It seems that there are now many places where cadres at the lower levels are not closely knit together. In quite a few places they seem to be united outwardly, but actually they are not, they are not ideologically united. This is true of the counties as well as of the ri. True, it is more undesirable for cadres to connive at each other's shortcomings and practise nepotism, but it is also very harmful for them not to maintain comradely unity but to be at loggerheads. Such phenomena should be decisively eradicated.

Although the chairmen of the county Party committee and people's committee should respect each other's views, those of the Party committee chairman should carry more weight. The two should discuss matters together, but the county Party committee chairman should always make the final decision, since he generally has a greater vision and a higher level of political knowledge. The chairman of the county people's committee works mainly with administrative and technical personnel of that committee, whereas the county Party committee chairman is able to hear the voice of the broader masses and combine their views better, because he personally leads the Party workers. A Party committee chairman who performs Party work properly can always find the right course by bringing into play the collective knowledge of the Party members and the masses, though a Party committee chairman who works formalistically cannot, of course, do so. Therefore, it is unjustifiable for a county Party committee chairman to brandish the authority of the Party and put on a superior complex; but it is even more impermissible for a county

people's committee chairman not to accept the views of the chairman of the county Party committee.

I have one more thing to add in regard to Party work, that is, the question of improving the political and practical level of county Party committee instructors.

At present the level of instructors of provincial, city and county Party committees is very low. Here is an example. While we were in Kangso County to guide the work of its Party committee recently, we heard a report of an instructor from the provincial Party committee. He gave an account of how he had fulfilled an assignment, but however hard we tried, we could not make out at all what he was talking about. How could this comrade, whose account was so incoherent that we could hardly understand him, explain Party policy to the people and direct work at the lower levels according to it? His title was instructor, but how could he guide Party members and the masses when his level was so low? This is a very serious problem. If one is to play the elementary role as instructor, he should at least be able to analyse problems raised from below, distinguish between right and wrong and take appropriate measures, but our instructors pitifully lack such ability. This is the real state of affairs, but in the Kangso County Party Committee, its chairman, vice-chairmen and department chiefs pay little attention to elevating the level of instructors.

For instance, when a department chief wants to have an instructor draft something, he should give him an outline of its idea and content and teach him how to write it, and when the draft is completed, he must appraise and correct it meticulously, thus facilitating the improvement of the instructor. But he does not do so, but only orders him to draft it, and then simply rejects it, saying it is no good. A certain comrade is said to have made such rejections no less than ten times. The instructor who wrote it did not know what was wrong and how, and only struggled with the task by himself; so, good writing will never come out of this, and he will not be able to advance an inch in this way. Piling demands on an instructor without teaching or assisting him will never help to improve his level.

The most important thing in developing instructors is to acquaint them thoroughly with our Party's policies. Once they have a good knowledge of the Party's policies, they can analyse and tackle all problems with confidence and lead the masses along the right path.

Our Party policy is Marxism-Leninism applied to the concrete practice of the Korean revolution and is the guide to all our actions. To know this policy is like having a yardstick. All phenomena can be measured by this yardstick. Only when you have judged whether or not an issue is in accord with the Party's policies and what path should be taken to carry out these policies, can you distinguish right from wrong, adhere to principles and correctly solve the problem at hand. Therefore, instructors should be helped consistently to maintain this guiding principle firmly and random requests designed only to find faults should not be made. Without a correct understanding of the Party's policies, they cannot analyse things and, accordingly, cannot detect shortcomings, much less can give active political guidance to Party members and the masses, as instructors should.

In the past even instructors at the Party Central Committee did not know the Party's policies well. Ho Ka I just kept all Party policies secret and was unwilling to let Party workers know about them. This practice was completely done away with only after the Third Party Congress. Since then, it has become a rule to inform cadres and all instructors without delay of any decision taken by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, except those that are highly confidential. A change has taken place in the work of instructors at the Party Central Committee since they have come to have a clear understanding of the intentions of the Presidium and have grasped the Party's policies. Only when the Party's policies are grasped in this way, can you possess a broader political perspective, form your own views and advance firmly along the right path. I do not mean that such a change has never taken place in local bodies, but rather than that, it is still insufficient.

There is at present not a single domain, not a single branch which the Party's policies do not clearly cover. Take our industrial policy, agricultural policy, commercial policy, policy for the development of

transport and policy for education and culture, or the line of struggle against the counter-revolutionaries—none of them is ambiguous. Once you have systematically grasped these policies, you can surmount any barrier and confidently advance in all affairs. This, of course, requires that you must make the Party's policies your own; to merely memorize the phrases is of no use. The instructors should be given a correct understanding of the essence and motives of the Party's policies, and only then can they act positively and stand unwaveringly, no matter which way the wind blows. It is no use to teach them the Party's policies mechanically as pupils used to be taught Chinese characters, who could understand the symbols for *Heaven* and *Earth* only when the latter was placed after the former, and the former before the latter.

Also, knowledge of the Party's policies must be comprehensive and exhaustive. Party work can hardly be discharged if one's knowledge of Party policy is such that one knows the industrial policy of the Party but is ignorant of its agricultural policy, or knows its organizational line but not its economic policy. Herein lies the difference between the Party worker and the specialist or technician engaged in other fields. At present among our Party instructors there are many who know organizational work but are ignorant of information work, or vice versa, and who are totally ignorant of economic and technical matters. This must stop. The Party committees at all levels should direct primary attention to broadening the political horizons of Party instructors and imparting the Party's policies to them profoundly and systematically, for it is they who are in contact with the masses most frequently and mobilize the Party members directly.

Now I should like to speak about economic activities, especially ways and means of eliminating shortcomings in agriculture.

First, the major shortcoming is that, though the cooperatives have been amalgamated, their management has still failed to keep pace with this and, consequently, the level of planning in the cooperatives is very low, and they fail to grasp the main link in their work.

Our agricultural cooperative, as a large socialist collective economy, requires planned management. If planned management goes

amiss, spontaneity raises its head. During our recent guidance, we found quite a few instances in which the cooperative management board failed to run the cooperative economy properly and to have a good grip of the overall work of the cooperative with things left to develop spontaneously in various aspects. What was even more serious was that the management board only spread its work about and dispersed the already limited rural manpower over various things, neglecting to implement the Party's policy of laying the main emphasis on grain production.

Grain is the basic crop in agricultural production in our country. Livestock breeding and all other work depend on the successful cultivation of grain. It should be borne in mind that by an agricultural cooperative is meant a farming cooperative. Of course, it may carry on sidelines in addition to farming; and it should do so actively. But it would not do if the cooperatives were to fail to concentrate on agricultural production and dispersed their force to such an extent as to be unable to draw a line of distinction between the main task and subsidiary tasks. At present, they have all sorts of workteams for construction, fishing, oil extraction, rice hulling and polishing and flour milling, and many hands, sturdy young and middle-aged men, are assigned to various jobs other than farming. This is wrong. It is a dangerous trend for an agricultural cooperative to concern itself exclusively with secondary occupations. In Chongsan-ri, for instance, a great deal of manpower was allotted to branches of secondary importance last year, and many persons were separated from agricultural production. This was precisely what happened at the Hwanghae Iron Works, where at one time steel production, its main task, was neglected and manpower, materials and funds were dispersed. Such phenomena should be eradicated, and the main force of the cooperative should be concentrated on agricultural production, especially on the production of grain.

And the level of planning in agricultural cooperatives should be raised decisively. In the past target figures were set at random, but now efforts must be made to work out plans realistically and dynamically,

taking the rural productive forces into full account. A plan should not be mapped out on the basis of the subjective desire of management board members. Plans must be drawn up on the basis of creative suggestions of the masses of cooperative members, after exhaustive discussions by the masses. But it should be borne in mind that once a plan is adopted by the unanimous will of the cooperative members, it becomes a law. Neither the chairman, nor the workteam leader, nor anyone else can revise or violate it arbitrarily. Discipline has been extremely loose so far in this regard, but this should definitely be corrected. A cooperative economy embracing hundreds of peasant households and hundreds of hectares of land cannot be managed under a plan, nor can various manifestations of spontaneity be checked without establishing strict discipline in planning.

Second, a serious defect is that distribution is not made correctly according to the socialist principle and the material interest of the peasants is not stimulated. Despite my recent repeated warnings and emphases on this score, things are not yet going well.

The socialist principle of distribution according to work done is now being grossly violated in agriculture. It is honoured only in words, not in practice. There are even serious cases of grain piling up in warehouses and distributed little by little in equal amounts, as though by rationing. Even in those places where distribution is conducted in some way, work-points are assessed so inaccurately that strictly speaking, it is hard to say that distribution is made according to the socialist principle.

Most important is the fair assessment of work-points. It is the prerequisite to correct distribution on the socialist principle. But at present the assessment is done in an extremely unfair, unprincipled manner. There is a tendency to give undeservedly many work-points for easier work on the ground that it requires skilled labour.

Here is an example. A man who idles away his time carrying a pair of pliers with him is given 1.5 work-points simply because he is an electrician. If he had a heavy workload and worked as hard as other cooperative members all day long, it would be another matter. But this is not the case. Though there is nothing special to do, an electrician is

kept in vain, and is mechanically given 1.5 work-points every day. How unfair this is! Take another example. The members of the fishing team, too, are unconditionally given 1.5 work-points a day. There are no grounds for saying that fishing is more important than farming and, moreover, there is very little fishing to do on most agricultural cooperatives. So, the fishing team crew do their job at leisure, enjoying their boating before the wind. It is absurd to readily give these people the highest work-points every day. The case of mechanization workteam members is similar. Their work-points should be assessed, taking into full account what sort of job they have actually done today, how laborious the job is, how much skill is needed to do it and how much work they have performed. It is unfair to give them the highest work-points simply because they belong to the mechanization workteam. With things handled in this manner, 1.5 work-points are given indiscriminately even to a man who, with nothing particular to do, only strolls about all day long, blueprints in hand, supposedly for mechanization. The situation is really serious. Who would display enthusiasm for arduous farm work under such conditions? Before people are aware, all the shrewd and sleek people in the cooperative have quit the basic work and taken up the so-called “skilled work”, which is easier while bringing them more work-points. The result is that farm work is left to pliable, hard-working women.

What should the agricultural cooperatives put stress on in assessing work-points? Needless to say, it should be the work of most fundamental importance for the cooperatives, the most laborious and difficult work; for example, such basic farm jobs as ploughing, harrowing, rice transplanting, weeding and wheat and rice harvesting. Those who have not much work to do and are not so busy should not be given many work-points, regardless of the skill required for their work. Should generous treatment for leisurely people become widespread, it will foster indolence and will spell ruin for the cooperatives.

It is not desirable to appraise work-points on an individual, subjective basis but by several people collectively, strictly in keeping with the norms. It is necessary, in particular, to listen to the opinions of

the reliable masses. Moreover, the assessment should be made each day at the work sites of the workteams, not at the desk.

It is important to organize socialist emulation in the agricultural cooperatives properly. But without stimulating the material interest of cooperative members in an effective way, socialist emulation will prove unsuccessful. Certainly, it is most important to increase the conscious enthusiasm of working people by educating them in communist ideology, but this must be coupled with material incentive; only then does their enthusiasm rise and the production increases. Emulation in any other sense is unthinkable; only when emulation is correctly linked with the socialist principle of distribution, is it possible actively to call forth labour enthusiasm among the working people.

How to stimulate the zeal of cooperative members for production? There is no way except thoroughly implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to work done. Although the means of production have been socialized, differences in skill and intensity of labour still remain, and the people's consciousness is not yet up to the communist standard. So the enthusiasm of the working people for production can be raised and the productive forces rapidly developed only by distribution according to work performed. This is an objective law of the socialist economy and an important principle that must be adhered to in running it. Our agricultural cooperatives can be no exception to this. So far we have only shouted empty slogans such as "We appeal to you!" or "Rise up in response to the appeal!" but we have never organized socialist emulation among the peasants successfully, in combination with the socialist principle of distribution. From now on we must do this.

I think it would be effective to introduce a workteam bonus system under which production plans would be assigned to each workteam and the increased portion would not have to be delivered to the cooperative, but would be shared among the members of that workteam. The idea is that the yields envisaged in the plan should be placed at the disposal of the cooperative management board and used to pay taxes, cover production expenses, accumulate funds and make

distribution according to work-points, while the portion produced over and above the plan should be placed entirely at the disposal of the workteam that increases it. Then, all the workteams will undoubtedly participate in emulation with keen interest to exceed the state plan.

To do this, it is necessary that the state plan be worked out correctly. Up to now, it has been a common practice to assign infeasible plans, and some comrades have even thought that the higher the target, the more easily the people could be activated. But that is a mistake. The plan must by all means be realistic and active. A plan that is infeasible from the outset is not a plan at all but a wishful thinking, and it rather tends to chill the enthusiasm of the working people for production. Moreover, with such a plan, it would be meaningless to introduce a workteam bonus system. We should set a plan which is attainable through reasonable effort, stimulate the enthusiasm of the peasants to surpass it, and see that they actually get a bonus for the increase. If they see the good side of this system this year, the peasants will be more active in socialist emulation in the future.

When the central authority sets an estimated rice production quota of 4 tons per hectare and forwards it to the province, the province raises it to 4.2 tons and forwards it to the county, which adds another 300 kilogrammes to make it 4.5 tons and submits it to the ri, where it is converted into a round figure of 5 tons. Such a practice in working out agricultural production plans should no longer be repeated. Instead of thus boosting the figures continuously with pencil and paper, the endeavour should be made to increase actual harvest by increasing the peasants' enthusiasm for production.

As I emphasized at the enlarged plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee last December, how could one possibly expect all our peasants to be already communist? It will take a long time before they are fully armed with communist ideology. When the level of the productive forces and the level of consciousness of the peasants are low, how can we boost production without material stimulus to the peasants? To make light of the principle of material incentive, while claiming that we are building socialism, is a violation of the

elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism. We must resolutely combat such phenomenon.

I think that all our officials must also take a correct view of the agricultural tax in kind. Some people seem to think it better to raise the tax in kind a little higher, but there is no need to do so at present. Only when the rate of the tax in kind delivered to the state is low, can the agricultural cooperatives accumulate more for themselves and their members receive a greater share and benefit, and only then can their zeal for production be increased. We are now in a position to do so, and that is why we have boldly reduced the rate of the tax in kind.

Why then did we set the high rate of 25 per cent when we first instituted the system of tax in kind? Because it was inevitable under the circumstances at the time. Our country was then agrarian, and agriculture had to shoulder many burdens. Of course, this rate was very low as compared with pre-liberation days when half of the harvest was taken as farm-rent by the landlords, more was taken away outrageously by the Japanese rogues under the name of grain quota delivery, and so on. That is why the peasants, who had become masters of land thanks to the agrarian reform, heartily welcomed the institution of the system of tax in kind from the start. When they were given land free of charge and freed from all exacting taxes and levies, and asked to pay only 25 per cent of their harvest while keeping the rest for themselves, the peasants said that their life had taken a new turn. We fought the war and developed our industry by virtue of the tax in kind paid by the peasants. But the situation is different now. Our country has turned into an industrial-agricultural state, and has secured enough assets to further develop its industry and to render powerful assistance to agriculture with accumulation coming from industry alone. True, industry has long been assisting agriculture, but now the time has come for industry to render more comprehensive assistance to agriculture so as to accelerate the technical revolution in the countryside, lighten the peasants' work and increase their incomes. Proceeding from these considerations, we have taken measures to reduce the rate of the tax in kind to 8.4 per cent on an average, and even to completely exempt some cooperatives from it.

Since this has been decided by the Supreme People's Assembly, the relevant law should be properly implemented. However, we found in Kangso County that serious consequences had been brought about by incorrect fulfilment of it. The rate of the tax in kind was reduced to 8.4 per cent of the harvest envisaged in the state plan, but the target figures themselves were set too high last year and, consequently, the burden of the tax in kind on the peasants was not reduced by so much. Thus they were not given great material incentive. Therefore, we must set reasonable targets and levy exactly an 8.4 per cent tax in kind from this year. If the amount of grain delivered to the state in the form of tax in kind is insufficient, the state may purchase grain from the peasants at a proper price. Now that there are neither individual peasants nor individual traders anywhere and everyone is included in the socialist economy, all the surplus grain of the cooperatives and of their members is bound to be sold to the state. There is no other channel of transactions.

The question is whether the state should collect the grain without compensation in the form of tax in kind, or purchase it. Today with huge accumulations from industry, the state can fully purchase it. It is therefore absurd to worry about the rate of the tax in kind being too low. With a continued increase in agricultural production, the rate of the tax in kind will decrease further still, and it will be totally abolished in the not too distant future.

We must correct the misconceptions of officials concerning the agricultural tax in kind, so that the law is enforced accurately. If the peasants' standard of living improves and their enthusiasm for production rises, it will be good for the peasants, good for the workers and good for everyone. Frankly speaking, prior to the Five-Year Plan, the peasants' living standard was somewhat better than that of the workers, but now it is worse than the workers'. This is mainly because agriculture lags behind industrial development which is proceeding at a rapid pace. We should therefore vigorously push forward the mechanization of agriculture and render active assistance in consolidating the agricultural cooperative economy and improving peasants' living standard in accordance with the clear-cut policy already set forth by the Party.

Further, we must see that there is no infringement upon the interests of the peasants. If we prejudice their interests by improper work with them, it will not only bring political losses but also dampen their enthusiasm for production, thereby causing economic losses as well.

We have officials who are so unscrupulous as to infringe upon the interests of the peasants and have no mercy when they inflict losses upon them. Such practices must be stopped once and for all. Take vegetable growing, for example. They request the peasants to grow vegetables, and lots of them, but when vegetables become plentiful, they try to cut the price and even become reluctant to procure them. There were cooperatives which suffered losses because they could not dispose of their tomato harvests last year. This is a very serious matter. If things go on like this, who on earth will grow vegetables? No one wants to take a loss after putting in so much work.

The Ministry of Light Industry, too, encouraged the cultivation of sugar beets in various areas, but failed to purchase them, as it should have done. If the state does not buy, there is nowhere to sell today. So, the peasants of Taedong County, South Phyongan Province, for instance, could not but use the sugar beets for cattle feed. The peasants had made painstaking efforts to grow sugar beets, as requested by the state, only to feed them to their cattle. Could there be any peasant who would be pleased at this? It is wrong to set an unreasonable plan, but when more than enough vegetables have been harvested because the state has set the production target too high, then the state must buy and sell them even at a loss. If there are surplus sugar beets because of the inadequacy of the processing facilities, the state must buy the surplus beets even if it has to allot them for cattle feed. Although the Party Central Committee has repeatedly underscored this point, there are still officials whose actions are at variance with the intentions of the Party.

All this is not accidental. It is a manifestation of the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism in the minds of some officials. Only by making a clean sweep of these cobwebs, will it be possible to do away with such practices as infringing upon the interests of the peasants, and to carry through the Party's mass line.

I should like to stress once again that it is more important to raise the peasants' zeal for production than to collect a few sacks more of grain as tax in kind or stint a few pennies in grain procurement. When the peasants' zeal for production rises, output will grow; when agricultural output grows, it will be good because agricultural cooperatives will be consolidated, good because the peasants' life will become affluent, and good because the state will have more grain reserves. Nothing would be more welcome than this.

To unite with the people and lead them to carry out the revolution so that they lead a happier and fuller life—this is the aim of communists, and how can we attain this aim without respecting the interests of the people? All officials, particularly those of the county Party committees and the county people's committees who are in closest touch with the peasant masses, should be perfectly clear about this point.

These are the main questions which have come to my notice in the course of guiding the work of the Kangso County Party Committee.

In the work of Chongsan-ri and Kangso County, we have seen the typical situation of the rural ri and counties in our country today. The lessons and conclusions drawn therefrom will be of immense value in reorganizing the work of the ri Party committees, the management boards of the agricultural cooperatives and county Party committees and people's committees in order to make new advances in our socialist agriculture. I propose to the Presidium that intensive guidance work for all counties and ri in the country be organized on this basis.

To reorganize the work of the Party and government bodies in the county and improve the management of agricultural cooperative economy is the pressing demand of our present-day countryside, where the socialist economic system has been established and the technical and cultural revolutions are being pushed ahead. Let us make fresh and great progress in our socialist countryside by improving the system of work and method of guidance in conformity with the new circumstances!

ON IMPROVING THE TRAINING OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL

**Speech Delivered to the Teaching Staff and Students
of Kim Chaek University of Technology**

March 9, 1960

Today I would like to discuss with you the teaching staff and students of Kim Chaek University of Technology how to improve the training of technical personnel.

We encountered many difficulties when we set up a university for the first time immediately after liberation. At that time we were short of teachers, and the material and technical basis of education was insufficient. Quite a few people were against the establishment of the university. But we surmounted all difficulties and hardships and founded the university. As a result, we have been able to train a large number of national cadres and technicians by our own efforts. Kim Chaek University of Technology alone has produced over 2,000 graduates on ten occasions.

The economy in our country is now managed efficiently by our own technicians and specialists, and even the largest factories are run by them.

Foreigners are surprised at this. People from socialist countries are envious, asking our officials when they have trained so many cadres to operate big factories by their own efforts, and visitors from capitalist countries feel much more surprised. At the moment many Japanese journalists are visiting our country. They say that before their visits to

our country they thought that half the factories would be operated by foreign technicians, but that on their visits they found not a single foreign technician. This is an eloquent proof of the correctness of our Party's educational policy.

The foundations of university education have now been perfectly established in our country, and a solid basis for its further development does exist. Kim Chaek University of Technology, too, is securely settled.

Today I went over the report on the situation at the university and inspected it to find it very well-furnished. Its hostels and lecture-rooms are well provided and laboratories are in good shape. For example, the metal processing laboratory is better equipped than those of universities in advanced countries. Kim Chaek University of Technology is an equal to any of its foreign counterparts.

The students' living standard, too, is fairly high. Every student is dressed in clean and fine clothes, without any one in a slovenly appearance. Our students are now living in a good age, indeed. Have the sons and daughters of our workers and farmers ever experienced such happiness as they do now? In the past children of the rich had access to education, but those of the poor workers and peasants could never dream of going to university. But they are now studying to their heart's content at universities.

The ranks of the teachers of this university have also been consolidated. When we were establishing the university first, we wanted teachers badly, but not now.

However, we cannot rest content with this. At the moment technicians are needed everywhere. There is a shortage of technicians in industry, to say nothing of agriculture. The same is the situation in the engineering, electric and metallurgical industries and also in the sphere of geological survey and the chemical industry. Because we are short of technicians we are unable to make machines which otherwise would be possible. This situation is holding us back when we could make further progress. If only we have more technicians and machines we will be able to develop the nation's economy more

rapidly and produce more goods.

We are presently turning out high-quality steel to make machines, but we are not producing various kinds of machines in quantities because we have not many machinists and designers.

We can develop all branches of the national economy by giving priority to the power industry. The development of the power industry depends on whether or not we manufacture a variety of generators. If we have generators we will be able to build power stations and produce electricity as much as we need. But we are unable to construct more hydroelectric and thermal power stations at present for lack of generators.

The fishing industry fails to catch quantities of fish because it also lacks in machines.

They are fishing by drawing on the experience of fishermen of long standing and, such being the case, without these people fishing would be impossible. Young people at sea cast their nets haphazardly once here and once there, because they are inexperienced, though enthusiastic. It would take several decades till these youngsters become experienced like the veterans. If things go on like this, the fishing industry will not develop rapidly.

Young people are now going to sea, in active response to the Party's call. It is said that even women do the same. An important problem is to provide these young fishermen with adequate conditions for catching fish.

We must see to it that many shoal detectors are manufactured for the fishing industry so that the fishermen can find out shoals by a scientific method, not an empirical method. The fishing industry must have a system of wireless communication for the command of fishing boats. They must also be provided with various types of ships such as those of low or high speed and those capable of casting and hauling in nets by mechanized operations. In this way the young people will be able to do fishing aboard any ships after a few months of training.

At present many people have to do office work, and this is also due to the lack of machines. So many office workers are doing calculations

with pencils and abacuses because we are not making computers for them.

Slow progress in agriculture is also attributable to the shortage of crop, livestock and poultry farming technicians. Completion of agricultural cooperativization must be followed up with irrigation, electrification, mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture. This requires a large number of agro-technicians.

Shortage of geological prospectors is a serious handicap to the development of our mining industry, too. The present situation in the mining industry is such that it has to prospect today what has to be mined tomorrow. If we are to dig more mineral resources, we must intensify geological survey and this requires a large number of trained prospectors.

Light industry is not developed highly also because it is short of technicians. The food-processing industry is not making progress for the same reason. The old method is still being used in making bean paste and kimchi pickles. We are not producing kimchi in an industrial way because the problem of preventing it from becoming sour has not been solved. The food industry is not making even liquors properly from the wild fruits which are abundant in our country.

Local-industry factories have been built in every county, but they are not yet fully equipped. If a few engineers with university education are assigned to each local-industry factory and county people's committee, they will be able to develop the local-industry factories efficiently.

At the moment technicians are wanted everywhere, both in our industry and agriculture. Shortage of technicians in many sectors of the national economy does not mean that our Party's policy of training technical personnel has been erroneous. This is a passing phenomenon resulting from the very rapid development of our country.

The high rate of our socialist construction can be illustrated by comparison with the rate of economic progress in other countries. Postwar economic reconstruction in our country took six years between 1954 and 1959, and in this period we carried out the

Three-Year National Economic Plan ahead of schedule and fulfilled the First Five-Year National Economic Plan in two years and a half in terms of total industrial output value.

In our estimate the Three-Year Plan period was devoted to the reconstruction of the devastated economy, and the remaining three years were spent on further economic construction. The major economic indices we attained in the last three years are equivalent to the level reached by others in 15 years. This means that it took us one year to do what they did in five years, that is, in the ratio of one to five.

It takes five years to train a technician. If we could train a technician in a year, the training of technicians would go abreast with economic development. But the training of a technician requires five years, not one year, and the economy makes five years' progress in one year. That explains why the training of technical personnel lags behind economic development. The problem is that the training of technicians and specialists does not keep pace with the unusually rapid progress of socialist construction.

Our Party has taken a number of steps to solve this problem. We have merged some organizations of the industrial ministries which could be reorganized, and we have readjusted and reassigned their technicians and specialists to production sites. In the agricultural sector, too, crop, livestock and poultry farming technicians have been mobilized and sent down to the countryside. Last year we set up many new technical universities and colleges including the Chongjin University of Mining and Pyongyang University of Mechanical Engineering.

But these measures are inadequate to make up for the shortage of technicians. If we are to solve this problem, we must train technicians and specialists more and faster at the universities.

We had expected that the problem of technicians would be eased to some extent when the First Five-Year Plan was carried out. But more technicians are needed since the fulfilment of this plan because we want to do more work. We have done a great deal of work so far, but we must do much more work from now on.

This is an age of technical revolution and everyone should be versed in technology, and we should raise the technical level of the country as a whole in order to develop the machine-building industry and produce large quantities of modern machines.

A major workshop must have two to three technicians at least, and workteams of agricultural cooperatives, too, must have experts. This requires hundreds of thousands of technicians, not just hundreds or thousands.

We must train more technicians quickly if we are to solve the problem of technicians, and everyone must acquire technology so that machines can be made everywhere and that everyone can design machines. Only then will our country be able to develop.

Because our country was backward in the past, quite a few people think mystically of machines. Last year we considerably eliminated this mysticism. As a result, the previous tendency of people mystifying machines and regarding it as a difficult job to make them has now markedly disappeared.

We must boldly get down to training technicians better in the same spirit as displayed in combatting mysticism of machines.

What, then, is the way for the university to train technicians and specialists more effectively?

I think that there are two ways of doing this.

One is to ensure that the students make effective use of the five years of their university courses. In other words, the students should be trained to play their proper part as engineers from the first day when they take jobs after five years of university education.

At present they are unable to function properly as engineers when assigned to factories even after finishing the five-year university courses, and they need two more years of on-the-job training before they are qualified as engineers. If things should go like this, their university education would amount to seven years, instead of five years. Then, the gap between the tempo of training technicians and that of economic development could not be bridged. The university must quickly train well-qualified technicians, not substandard ones.

If they are to work properly as engineers immediately after graduation, the students must have plenty of practice while at the university.

Approximately two years at the university should be devoted to theoretical education, and three years to practical training, so that they will acquire both theoretical knowledge and practical skills. This will enable them to handle machines, do designing skilfully, introduce new techniques, direct production and perform various other work with efficiency as soon as they are appointed to production sites after graduation.

Practical training is very important in university education. Teaching books alone will not give the students easy understanding, but practice will facilitate their understanding and also deepen their knowledge. By means of practical training the students can consolidate their book knowledge, apply it to practice and acquire fresh knowledge.

During their practical training in speciality the students should participate directly in production, and at the end of this training they should bring up and discuss with each other the questions which are not clear to them. In this way they will combine theory and practice better and become competent engineers.

The education workshops of universities should be equipped well in order to give the students much practical training during their university years.

It cannot yet be said that the existing education workshop of Kim Chaek University of Technology is perfectly equipped. You must not try to solve the problem of training technicians simply by putting up school buildings and assigning teachers. You must equip the university's education workshop properly. Only then will the students be able to take practice at will.

The university should have a small blast furnace and a revolving furnace of its own and give practical training in steel making with granulated iron by a continuous production process and also arrange a rolling mill for training purpose. Since it is an institution of

comprehensive higher technological education, Kim Chaek University of Technology must have an all-inclusive industrial training factory. For this purpose, the state should provide the university with funds and materials needed to build up such a factory.

I think the university will be able to equip the education workshop on its own if it gets several precision machines. Nothing will be impossible for you because this university has a large teaching staff with versatile techniques, and because it can make welding rods and do welding itself.

To begin with, we must give this university several precision machines which have been produced at the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory. At present the university's education workshop has not many homemade machines but only a small number of outmoded machines from the days of Japanese imperialist rule. The precision machines, power presses and forging equipment which are out of use at the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory and the Wonsan Railway Factory should be handed over to the university, and metal-cutting, electric, and various other kinds of machines supplied to it. Kim Chaek University of Technology, by means of these, should produce various kinds of machines and equipment, better equip its own education workshop and also help other schools in the arrangement of education workshops.

From now on Kim Chaek University of Technology should make high precision machines. Today I saw machines made at this university. Of course, it is a good thing that even such machines have been made with a view to eliminating mysticism about technique from the minds of the students. But, since this is a university of technology with a large number of technicians, it should make better machines. It should make what others cannot do, or better things than those made by others. That will encourage the students to an enterprising spirit and further progress. The state should provide the university with materials and equipment needed for making high precision machines.

Another way of training more competent technicians is to enroll many factory workers in universities of technology.

The majority of the factory workers at present are junior middle school graduates. The Ministry of Education and Culture should set up night schools at factories and give such workers senior middle school education so that they would be eligible for university education. It would be a good idea that the workers who apply for entry into a university after night-school courses are admitted if they pass the examination of only a few essential subjects for the training of engineers and specialists, instead of applying to them the current entrance examination system as it is.

The Ministry of Education and Culture should study the measures to solve quickly the problem of making good the shortage of technicians in various fields of the national economy. We cannot just sit and wait for the technicians to increase in number. We must take proper measures to make up for the shortage of technical personnel.

You should study the matter of establishing an industrial cadres faculty at your university.

Even when the country was in a difficult situation, we set up an industrial cadres faculty at a university and re-educated quite a few officials, who played a big part in developing the nation's economy.

At the moment factories and enterprises have many experienced people with a high level of technique and skill, including shop managers and their assistants. But they lack systematic education, so that their technical knowledge is not crystalline nor are they efficient at systemizing or expressing their experiences in writing. It is necessary to establish an educational system for the officials on the job and give them refresher courses.

If shop managers and their assistants and other technicians are reeducated at the industrial cadres faculty, they will display more creativity and develop into very efficient factory leaders. Since there are many technological universities and teachers in our country and good material conditions at the universities, it will be quite easy to establish such a faculty.

The period of the industrial cadres course should be shorter than five years. Shop managers and their assistants do not need practical

training; all that they need is theoretical education. So it would be better to make it one year or one and a half, and pay the students their wages for their jobs as much as in the past.

The number of girl students at technological universities should be increased.

It is said that girl students at the moment account for a small proportion of the enrolment of Kim Chaek University of Technology. There is no reason why women should not specialize in natural science. Mechanical and electrical engineering is suitable for women. The Ministry of Education and Culture and universities should increase the number of girl students in the mechanical engineering and other faculties of natural science.

Universities should ensure that the students work hard to become fine workers. Immediately after the armistice, the state suffered a loss from widespread practices of misappropriation and squandering at factories and enterprises but now often from their inefficient management. Such mismanagement is due to the fact that the management officials did not learn economics properly in their university days.

The students should study hard and obtain a broad and profound knowledge to be true servants of the people. Teachers should be highly demanding so that the students work zealously.

Next, universities should intensify political and ideological education.

No small number of people who have been educated in our universities are found among those who are punished for their careless work at state bodies, factories and enterprises. This has something to do with inadequate political and ideological education and care of the students at universities.

However excellent technically, one will be unable to be a worker faithful to the Party and the revolution, unless one is well prepared politically and ideologically. Giving scientific and technical education to the students at universities is important but still more important is to give them good political and ideological education. Scientific and

technological education can be successful only when political and ideological education is conducted well. Universities should strengthen political and ideological education and train all students in their university days into competent engineers equipped with the communist ideology and the knowledge of advanced science and technology.

Students should undergo more intensive training in Party spirit.

They are the people who are to work in important positions after graduation. They will have to run factories as engineers and direct production on important posts. Universities should, therefore, make greater efforts in training the students in Party spirit. The students should undergo thorough training in Party spirit in their university days like those of Party schools. In this way every student who is a Party member will have become a hard-core Party member, and all non-Party students, too, will have become faithful to the Party by the time they leave universities.

Communist education should be intensified among the students.

This is one of the most important tasks of our Party at the moment. Now that the socialist system has been established in our country, communist education should be strengthened accordingly, so that everyone acquires the communist ideology.

All the students should be trained into communists while at their universities. The state educates the students, providing them with food and clothes, and that is why universities must not fail to bring them up to be communists in the five long years. Of course, they will receive communist education even after going out into the world but they should become communists without fail in their university days when they are under strict discipline and live collectively.

In our country everyone has the right to education. Therefore, sons and daughters not only of workers and peasants but of those who were Christians and merchants in the past, people from all walks of life, can study in universities. All students, irrespective of their class origin, should be trained to become communists during the five years of university education.

I am told that Kim Chaek University of Technology has dismissed those students who were not up to standard or behaved improperly. This will not do. The number of laggards will increase in our society so much if the backward students are expelled from universities. Universities ought to remould all backward people because it is their mission to educate people.

Priority must be given to explanation and persuasion in educating and remoulding people. This is our Party's policy. Universities must thoroughly implement this policy.

The university Party committee should educate the students who have shortcomings through tireless persuasion, instead of leaving them alone. All students will thus become communists themselves and also will become communist educators and information workers capable of educating other people into communists.

Education by means of positive facts is a very good method of communist education.

We have a host of positive facts available for communist education.

Kil Hwak Sil, leader of a Chollima workteam in the Pyongyang Silk Mill, is an excellent comrade. She developed her workteam into a Chollima workteam and then volunteered for a backward workteam where she had to do more work at a lower wage. She improved the backward one to win the title of Chollima workteam. She improved and put into good shape their place of work and rooms at the hostel which had been shapeless, and let the workteam members take good care of state property and keep their machines neat. She educated the backward comrades and united the workteam closely. This is precisely the communist attitude.

There are many people like Comrade Kil Hwak Sil in our country. Heroes who blocked the enemy's pillboxes with their bodies and those who died fighting bravely against the enemy during the Fatherland Liberation War were all fine communists. None but communists can lay down their lives without hesitation for the country and the people. Positive facts are more effective in communist education than simply urging people to combat selfishness.

An important thing in communist education is to teach students to like labour.

In the exploiting society in the past, people had a wrong attitude towards labour. In those days our people lived in poverty and were subjected to exhausting labour. So they hoped to see their children doing anything but labour. They were envious of the idle life and wished that their daughters were married to men who could afford an idle life.

There are some people who still like only office work and hate sweating. I am told that some technicians who graduated from universities walk about with their hands in white gloves, writing down statistical figures in their handbooks even at the place of work where the men are busy with their task, instead of working together with them and teaching and assisting them.

Labour is sacred and honourable in our society. Labour is the means of providing the people with a happy life, making the country rich and strong and building a communist society.

Universities must resolutely combat the tendency to hate work and avoid a difficult task, which is manifested among students. In particular, they must eradicate the inclination to regard intellectuals as people who are supposed to do only easy work. All students will thus take a correct attitude towards labour and like it. By nature the Koreans are diligent and like to work. If they acquire a correct understanding of labour through effective communist education, everyone will work earnestly.

Educating students to love the workers is also important.

Some cadres do not win the confidence of the workers because of their wrong attitude to them.

Such attitude is expressed typically in their indifference to the living conditions of the men in their factories. This indifference is caused by the remnants of outdated ideas persisting in their minds. Even cadres of working-class origin are apt to forget their class origin and degenerate into bureaucrats unless they get rid of these outdated ideas.

Technological universities which train management officials of factories must educate the students thoroughly in the spirit of love for the workers. University teachers must have a right attitude to the students and set examples in loving the workers. The students should respect their comrades and refrain from being cross with people or hurling abuses at them in their everyday life.

The students should be educated to overcome difficulties with fortitude.

At the moment some people suggest the reduction of the school population, arguing that they have difficulties in construction because of the huge state expenditure for education.

It is true that this expenditure is tremendous. Our country has a large number of schools, kindergartens and nurseries. It ranks among the countries with the largest school populations in the world in proportion to the total populations.

If we reduce the existing school population to half, then we will be able to lighten the burdens on the state and divert the funds to building many factories. We are not ignorant of this, but without technicians we would be unable to run factories, even if we built many of them nor could we develop the economy rapidly. Only when we build many schools and train a large number of our own technical personnel, will we be able to catch up with the developed countries. Because we have devoted our efforts to education and trained an army of our own cadres, we have been able to develop our once backward country to its present level. Whatever the cost to the state or whatever its difficulties, we must put up with them and surmount them.

Immediately after the armistice, the anti-Party factionalists challenged the Party, yielding to the transient difficulties. They suggested to spend all foreign aid on food. But we built factories, enduring all difficulties, irrespective of those who were against it. That is why we are well-off now. Had we not built factories at that time, we would still be unable to make a machine by our own efforts or we would find it difficult to erect even a university building.

We must overcome difficulties a little more. We can anticipate

some more difficulties in the coming two or three years, though not the kind of hardships we underwent during the postwar reconstruction.

The university Party committee should intensify the education of the students so that they can endure difficulties with fortitude. At the same time, the students should be taught to have the spirit of self-reliance in doing everything.

The students should be trained to acquire hygienic and sanitary virtues.

On our tour of inspection we have seen many factories and enterprises now neglecting hygienic and sanitary work. We have visited engineers' homes and found that even their yards were not kept clean.

Why? That is because they were not trained to acquire the virtue of living in a hygienic and sanitary way in their university days.

Only when they get accustomed to keeping their universities and hostels in hygienic and sanitary conditions and living decently, will the students do the same in factories and at homes after graduation. The Party and Democratic Youth League committees of universities should strictly demand that the students live in a hygienic and sanitary way.

University teachers and students should strengthen scientific research work and contribute positively to the development of the national economy. They are said to be giving great technical assistance to economic development through their active participation in scientific research work. This is a very good thing.

Widespread use of welding is a current trend of industrial progress. The university should conduct researches in the manufacture of high-quality welding rods and facilitate economic development.

Researches to develop the semiconductor industry should also be carried out efficiently.

Efficient ore dressing to attain a high rate of extraction is the way to increase metal production quickly. No matter how much ore we mine, it would be useless unless it is well dressed. It is advisable that the university should examine the feasibility to introduce in production the result of the experiment in floatation.

Making a compass at the university for geological survey is a good thing. The university should make this kind of things to all intents and purposes.

You say that the university has made a helicopter for a research purpose. Of course, it is necessary to make such a thing. But it is still more important to make things which are of practical value in the development of the national economy. For example, it would be better to make boats capable of navigating shallow and swift rivers or electric locomotives or farm machines which can work on hillside plots. If you build such boats and use them for service between Sinuiju and Hyesan in the Amnok River and between Nampho and Tokchon in the Taedong River, they will be of great help to the development of the national economy.

The supply service for the students should be improved. The university should extensively raise domestic animals and vegetables on its own to improve the students' diet, instead of relying totally on the state in the supply of non-staple food. The hostels, too, should be better furnished.

I hope that Kim Chaek University of Technology will improve education and produce competent technicians more and rapidly.

ON THE SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

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

August 11, 1960

1. ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

At this plenary meeting, the Central Committee of our Party has presented the programmatic tasks of the technical revolution and raised the question of improving and intensifying the training of technical personnel.

The technical revolution, as you know, is an undertaking of great significance in the history of our country; it is the most fundamental revolutionary task set by our Party in socialist construction at the present time.

We Korean communists and the rest of our people have already done a really great deal of work. We have waged a national-liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism and beaten off an invasion by US imperialism, and today we are carrying on a revolutionary struggle to achieve the reunification and independence of our country. Following liberation, we effected a democratic revolution in the northern half of our country, wiping out the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and feudal forces. We also victoriously completed the

socialist revolution, abolishing capitalism and cooperativizing small production. All this was a struggle to put an end to oppression and exploitation and create a new, free and happy life for the people.

Our Party is now confronted with the weighty tasks of further advancing socialist construction in the northern half, while mobilizing the revolutionary forces of the entire people to wage an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle to smash the US imperialist aggressive forces and their stooges in south Korea and win our country's complete liberation and democratic freedom. We must carry out these tasks energetically and continue the revolutionary struggle in order to achieve the peaceful reunification of our country and ensure the genuine freedom and happiness of our people.

The technical revolution is an important revolution to emancipate our people, who have already been freed from oppression and exploitation, from hard and toilsome work, so that they can create more wealth with less effort, and to make the people's life wealthier and more cultured. For us communists, who have taken power and are building a new society, this is a great undertaking, a lofty revolutionary task which absolutely has to be carried through to the end.

Had our country been a developed capitalist country, the technical revolution would not have posed a great problem in socialist construction. In the developed capitalist countries the industrial revolution was carried out and industrialization realized long ago, with the result that the people there are producing a great deal of wealth by using machines. It goes without saying that this wealth goes to the capitalists, and the working people are condemned to poverty, starvation and unemployment, but, at any rate, it is a fact that, under capitalism, machine technology has made considerable progress. In such countries, the question of the technical revolution is comparatively easy to solve once the working class seizes power, dispossesses the capitalists of machines and other means of production, and makes them the property of the people.

But in a backward agrarian country such as ours, which has not gone through the stage of normal capitalist development, the technical

revolution presents itself as a very important and difficult task once the people have taken power and socialized the means of production.

The means of production we took from the Japanese imperialists, the landlords and the capitalists were actually insignificant. Not a machine was to be seen in the countryside; there were only cattle, small and large ploughs and the like. The industrial establishments set up by the Japanese imperialists in Korea were, for the most part, aimed at extracting raw materials and shipping them to Japan. As for the processing plants, they were only capable of producing semi-finished goods. The Japanese imperialists did not, and could not, build a single establishment in the interests of the Korean people.

The Japanese monopoly capitalists were engrossed only in making huge profits by exploiting the cheap source of labour in Korea and were highly averse to introducing modern machinery. In factories, mills, mines and elsewhere, Koreans did manual labour and carried loads on their backs.

Thus, our country remained very backward technologically and economically, owing to a long period of feudal rule and colonial plunder. It was not so simple to overcome such historical backwardness, and it required considerable time.

Surmounting all hardships and difficulties, we have put our economy—which had been twice ravaged—back on its feet and further developed it. Nevertheless, the level of technical development in our country is, in general, low, and primitive techniques are still applied widely in agriculture, local industry and various other branches. It is entirely due to the backwardness of our country's productive forces and the low level of its technology that our people are not yet living in plenty, although the sources of exploitation and poverty have been eliminated.

This is why we must push the revolution ahead. We have reorganized production relations along socialist lines, so that all our people may work and be well-off, but this alone is not enough. We must now develop technology so that our people may work with less effort and earn a lot, and all of them may lead a bountiful life.

Only with the fulfilment of this revolution can we harvest more grain every year, produce more foodstuffs and articles for daily use, boost our catches of fish, produce and construct faster, more and better everywhere, thus ensuring a life of abundance and culture for all our people. This is the obligatory task of the communists, and only when they have performed it can the communists claim to have done their duty.

The technical revolution is a revolutionary task which has come to the fore in its turn in the socialist construction of our country. In keeping with the urgent demands of social development, our Party carried out the socialist transformation of our economy prior to its technological reconstruction. That was entirely correct. As a result, broad vistas were opened for the rapid development of technology and it became possible for us to push ahead with an all-round technical revolution, relying on the socialist system. Only by accomplishing this revolutionary task, which is now the order of the day, will we be able to reach the acme of socialism and gradually go on to the building of communism.

In our country, not only has a social system which gives a powerful impetus to the technical revolution been established, but a material foundation has also been built for carrying it out.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party stipulated it as the basic line of economic construction to assure the priority growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture, with a view to laying the foundation of an independent national economy on the war ruins and quickly restoring the deteriorated living standard of the people. Thanks to the fact that our Party's line was a correct one and that our people carried it all the way through, tightening their belts and practising the strictest economy, we were able to heal the scars of war in only a few years' time, lay the foundations for industrialization, and solve in the main the problem of providing food, clothing and housing for the people.

Without the development of heavy industry, industrialization and

the technical revolution are impossible. Industrialization itself implies the creation of a heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core, and mechanization is basic to the technical revolution.

A great revolution can be effected in technology only with the introduction of machines. This holds true for agriculture, light industry, fishing, construction and all other branches of the economy. The manufacture of modern machines and equipment is of paramount importance in industrialization and in the technical revolution. For the production of machines, we need iron. It is not without reason that our Party, under the slogan, "Iron and the machine are the king of industry," has been concentrating its efforts on the development of these branches.

As you know, our country had no machine-building industry in the past. There were a few hundred metal-cutting tools in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, but most of them were used only for making spare parts, none for making machines. Now we have created our own machine-building industry, so that machine tools are in operation everywhere and we are able to manufacture and repair machines wherever necessary.

Though we had iron and steel industries in the past, the Japanese imperialists shipped out large quantities of crude iron ore and produced only pig iron and certain kinds of steel, but practically no rolled steel, in Korea. Even these industries were all destroyed in the war. Now, however, we are in a position to satisfy all our needs for pig iron, steel and rolled steel for ourselves.

Electricity, coal, chemical products and building materials are also needed for running our factories and developing our national economy, and we have restored and developed these branches of heavy industry quickly, too.

It is perfectly clear that if our Party had not laid down a correct line of economic construction, built the firm foundations for an independent heavy industry and created the bases of the machine-building industry by making such tremendous efforts, it

would be impossible for us even to speak of an all-round technical revolution today.

Because we have laid the foundations for our heavy industry, we are now fully capable of carrying out any task if we only make up our minds and set to work on it. Lately we have tried our hand at many things, relying on this asset. When we first suggested producing tractors, some people had misgivings and showed a lack of confidence. However, misgivings were replaced by confidence once we started to produce them. Now we are in a position to turn out thousands of tractors a year. People who had never taken a ride in a car before are now capable of producing so many automobiles. The manufacture of excavators also seemed beyond us at first, but, on producing them, we found that they were, after all, nothing but big mechanical shovels. We have also turned out bulldozers, hot-bulb engines, diesel engines and generators.

When everything depended on the machine tool, the mother of machine production, we launched a mass let-each-machine-tool-make-more movement, turning out more than 13,000 above the state plan in a short period of time, simply by tapping latent reserves. The Ryongsong Machine Factory, for example, produced an 8-metre turning lathe and recently has even begun to build a 3,000-ton press.

We are also in a position now to build large-scale modern factories creditably, using our own designs, machines and materials. As for the restoration of the Hwanghae Iron Works, we say “restoration” because we used its old site, but, actually, it is little different from an entirely new construction. Now, to everyone’s amazement, we are building a vinalon factory with an annual capacity of 20,000 tons, on the strength of the achievements of our scientific research, using our own machines, equipment and materials.

We have tried our hand at farm mechanization as well. In accordance with the decision of the enlarged plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held last December, this year we have supplied a large number of tractors, lorries and various types of tractor-drawn farm machines to South Phyongan and South Hwanghae

provinces and introduced mechanization there. The results have been excellent and real prospects have been opened up for promoting mechanization at a rapid pace.

In this way, during the past year or two, we have had a go at just about everything that was once considered to be difficult.

In the course of experimenting with the technical revolution, we have rid ourselves of all our misgivings and sense of mystery and have gained the firm confidence that we can achieve anything once we choose to do it. Now that we have made all these tests, we can consider that conditions are ripe for initiating a drive for overall technological renovation in all branches of our national economy.

Just as in the case of agricultural cooperation where we carried out pilot plans in a few villages and counties first, before going over to the full-scale stage, so in the technical revolution, too, we have made varied experiments and accumulated great experience by now. Therefore, we can now enter the stage of all-round technological renovation.

2. ON MOBILIZING THE WISDOM AND INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES TO CARRY OUT THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Effecting a full-scale technical revolution is a complex and arduous task which can be accomplished only by mobilizing the strength of all the Party and our entire people and surmounting all obstacles and difficulties.

The wisdom and enthusiasm of the members of the Heavy Industry Commission, the managers of the machine factories and a few others are not enough to guarantee the successful completion of this task. There must be a technical revolution in more than just one or two branches. We have quite a few technologically backward branches of

the economy—agriculture, local industry, construction, transport, fishing, lumbering and others. Full-scale technological reconstruction requires wisdom and initiative on the part of the masses. If a long period of time were allowed for its accomplishment, we could do it without much effort. However, we plan to accomplish in just a few years what took the capitalist countries a long period of time to accomplish. This would be impossible without harnessing the creative powers of all the working masses.

We have had good experience in working wonders by mobilizing the forces of all the people in our extensive building of local industries, the let-each-machine-tool-make-more movement, etc. Drawing on this experience, we must dynamically push forward the technological renovation movement in a drive of the whole Party and the entire people, and everyone should come out to participate in carrying out this honourable and worthy revolutionary task.

It is important, in enlisting the creative activity of the masses in the technological renovation movement, to do away with all the mysteries shrouding technology. Because they have lived so long in a backward state, our people may tend to regard machines as rather mysterious things. This is detrimental to the advance of the technical revolution.

Needless to say, the mystery-mongering has been dealt heavy blows and has been almost totally eliminated in the course of the upsurge of socialist construction and of the working of numerous wonders by our labouring masses. However, there still exist “die-hards” that have survived. We must round up all of them and change their way of thinking.

Then there is another tendency, that of ignoring or underestimating science. Like the mystery-mongering, this, too, holds back our technological development. Machinery itself is a product of the development of science; the technical revolution is inconceivable without science. The technical revolution is, at the same time, a process of introducing the achievements of modern science in production and popularizing them.

Thus, there emerges the very important question of strengthening

creative cooperation in the course of production between the workers who operate the machines and the technicians who have scientific knowledge. Accumulating new and viable experiences every hour and every day in their work, the workers are always racking their brains trying to find ways to produce more with less effort. It is, therefore, natural that they come up with good ideas for technological renovation more often than anyone else. But it is a weakness of the workers that they are familiar only with the machines they themselves operate, and have little knowledge of other related machines and their technical specifications, and they usually know things only by experience, and not so well theoretically. To make up for this drawback and to ensure that the workers' brainstorming are incorporated into production, the assistance of technicians is absolutely necessary.

The technical revolution will go forward successfully only when the workers and technicians help each other and learn from each other, when experience and science go hand in hand. It is wrong for workers to refuse the help of science on the pretext of opposing mysticism; it is just as wrong for technicians to get swollen heads, as if they alone were capable, and refuse to accept what is new from the experience of the workers. Miracles can be wrought and the technical revolution can bear fruit everywhere only when the workers, peasants, scientists, technicians and everyone else pool their talents and efforts.

In carrying out the technical revolution, it is also necessary to utterly do away with the tendency towards departmentalism.

Today all branches and links of our national economy are closely connected with each other, forming an integral whole. Therefore, should even one branch or link collapse, it would greatly hamper the all-round technological renovation. Renovation in one branch, as a matter of fact, calls for the concerted assistance of other branches. In order to promote the technical revolution, overall cooperation must be strengthened among all branches of the national economy, all offices and all enterprises, and all reserves must be efficiently used in the interests of our entire country.

We will be confronted with many obstacles in carrying out the

technical revolution, but none can check our advance or break the will of our people to leave backwardness behind as soon as possible.

Our people have lived through the grimmest ordeals of war and the sternest difficulties of postwar reconstruction. All of our tasks, without exception, have been attended with difficulties, but they have all been triumphantly carried through to completion, thanks to the correct leadership of the Party and the heroic struggle of the people. If we go on with the same stamina and fighting spirit, we will certainly succeed in scaling the peak of the technical revolution.

In fact, we started reconstruction on the ravages of war, at a time when there was not a single brickyard or cement factory in operation and when all our blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces and all other major facilities were destroyed. The memory of those days is still fresh in our minds.

One day, about a month before the armistice, I called in the then Minister of the Chemical and Building-Materials Industries, and, together with some other comrades, we discussed the problem of building brickyards. The war was still going on, and we could not call in any experts, so we made an estimate ourselves. But not having any table of standards and not knowing how to make the exact calculations, we were at a loss as to how to proceed. So I asked how many bricks were used in building the university before the war. They said about 3 million were used. At that rate, I suggested, we would have to set up brickyards in many places as soon as the war ended in order to produce more than 600 million bricks annually because we would have to put up at least 200 buildings as big as the university every year. All those present opened their eyes in astonishment and doubted that so many bricks would be needed. It was a rough estimate, but a pretty close one, I should say. At present, 700 to 800 million bricks are being produced every year and despite the fact that concrete blocks are also being used, we still fall short of the number needed. We decided to build a brickyard at Kangnam to begin with, but, as the skilled workers had all been scattered, there was no one who could build the smokestack properly. The one put up did not draw properly. As no help was

available, we called together the scattered skilled workers, and rebuilt the smokestack. Then it was destroyed by enemy bombing and had to be built all over again.

As you can imagine, we were in tight straits economically and our officials were very poorly qualified towards the end of the war. It was not easy even to make a brick; we did not know how to build a smokestack; and, as we did not know how to make an estimate of the number of bricks needed, we were obliged to resort to a crude method of reckoning. It was under these circumstances that we began our reconstruction.

Well, how does the situation stand now? Everything has changed beyond recognition. This is the summer of 1960, and it defies all comparison with the summer of 1953, the year the war ended. We have really made great progress in a short period of time.

When the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party laid down the line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and set the gigantic tasks of postwar economic construction, some people sneered, saying that the Central Committee of the Workers' Party was talking through its hat. Quite a few people came out against the Party's line of laying the foundations for our national industry, alleging that there was no point in constructing so many factories at a time when we were pressed for food and clothing. Even some of those who aided us by supplying machines asked why we did not take textiles but only took machines and whether we thought we could live on machines. Really, nobody could deny that machines gave us textiles, and only by living on machines was it possible for us to lay the base for standing on our own feet and to gain assets for a better life. If we had not surmounted our postwar difficulties and hardships by tightening our belts and fighting hard battles, and if we had failed to carry through the Party's economic line and, instead, had eaten up all we had, we would still be in a state of extreme poverty and backwardness, without any foundations or assets, to say nothing of laying the foundations of socialism.

Even now, when our Party is setting forth the programmatic tasks of a full-scale technical revolution, there may be those who think the Central Committee of the Party is just talking big again. We may find people like this, I think, among both our enemies and friends. Such wavering elements may appear even in our midst. Therefore, we can only emerge victorious in the technical revolution by doing away with all vacillation and insincerity, just as we won victory after the war, overcoming every difficulty and eradicating all unsound ideological tendencies.

Weak-kneed elements are bound to turn up in any revolutionary movement. We must untiringly educate and remould them, turning them into activists. As for those who obstinately refuse to join us, we have no choice but to expel them from our revolutionary ranks. There is no need to fear that the hopeless, vacillating elements should drop out of our ranks. As the words of the *Song of the Red Flag* go, "Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer; we'll keep the Red Flag flying here," we will have to continue our rapid advance, even if this means leaving the cowards by the wayside.

It is important, first of all, to fully explain the political and economic significance of the technical revolution and bring it home to all Party members and working people. The technical revolution can be described as the final charge in the battle for socialist construction. It is not a charge that entails the sacrifice of human lives, but one that will bring a bountiful and cultured life to the people. It is the duty of our Workers' Party members to be the vanguard fighters in this battle and make a brave dash, at the head of the masses, for the heights of the technical revolution,

Have our people ever failed to achieve their goals, marching along the road indicated by the Party whether before, during or after the war? Never! If all Party members, rallied closely around the Party Central Committee, and the entire working masses, united solidly around the Party, act as one in the struggle to carry out our Party's policies, the tasks of the technical revolution can be accomplished no matter how difficult they may be.

3. ON SOME QUESTIONS FOR BRINGING ABOUT A TECHNOLOGICAL RENOVATION IN ALL BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The tasks of technological renovation in each branch of the national economy have been set out in detail in the report. So I would like to make some complementary remarks only on certain important problems.

(1) THE DEVELOPMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY, PARTICULARLY THE MACHINE-BUILDING INDUSTRY, IS THE BASIS OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

It is of the utmost importance that heavy industry, in particular the machine-building industry, should dynamically assist all branches of our national economy in regard to technological renovation. The Heavy Industry Commission should make efforts to assure the unified supply of the equipment and materials generally needed in many branches but difficult to produce for themselves.

Take wire rope, for example. Wire rope is needed for cranes and bulldozers; it is needed practically everywhere. But it is not easy to make wire rope everywhere. Therefore, the Heavy Industry Commission should produce and supply goods of this sort in large quantities.

The demands of many branches of the economy for pipes, gauges, bearings, etc., must, likewise, be fully met. And, in the case of steel materials, instead of turning out just large pieces at random, a sufficient amount of steel materials of different sizes should be

produced by installing more rolling equipment and properly readjusting it. Only by so doing can we successfully manufacture diverse kinds of machines and equipment and step up technological renovation in all branches of our national economy.

An urgent problem in developing the machine-building industry is that of specializing the production of castings. I raised this problem once a long time ago, but it has not been solved yet, due to the lukewarm attitude of the workers in the branches concerned. So, I am stressing this question again at this plenary meeting.

There is no need to set up a casting shop in every factory. At present, a separate casting shop is set up wherever a few metal-cutting machines are in operation. There is no county farm-machine factory without its own casting shop, and even the repair and maintenance shops, almost without exception, are provided with casting equipment. Since casting is thus done everywhere, factories take up a lot of space, technicians and skilled workers are dispersed, and the quality of castings is not properly ensured. Iron is wasted because castings are made unnecessarily thick and cut off at random. When a casting does not turn out right on the first go, they break it and cast another. If yet another reject is produced, they repeat the whole process all over again—two or three times—causing no small waste of labour and coal.

A stop must be put to this sort of thing. It is advisable to run several specialized foundries in a centralized way and manufacture standard goods to supply to many factories. This will enable us to dispense with setting up a casting shop every time we build a factory, to concentrate our technical forces on ensuring good quality for castings and to reduce iron wastage to a minimum. Moreover, specialization of the production of castings alone will make it possible to put an end to such practices as the workers pouring iron by hand, using ladles, and carrying materials on their backs as they are doing now. With specialization, we can mechanize the entire process, prevent dust and raise labour productivity markedly.

But the Heavy Industry Commission has not done this, nor has the Pyongyang City People's Committee, claiming that the design has not

been completed as yet. The chairmen of the provincial Party committees, when going back to their respective provinces, must see to it, as a Party task, that the provincial economic committees take concrete measures to solve the question of specializing the production of castings.

Now, I propose that specialization be introduced in the production of spare parts as well, that the work load of the repair and maintenance shop of every factory be lightened and that such shops be simplified.

At present, there is hardly any factory that does not have its own repair and maintenance shop—and a big one, at that. Thus, various sorts of spare parts are made haphazardly. Nowadays it is regarded as a matter of course that a big repair and maintenance shop equipped with many machine tools should be set up when building a factory, and it has become a rule for every factory to make all the spare parts that it requires. We may call this a hangover of the capitalist way of organizing production, wherein every factory owned by capitalists produces in an arbitrary manner. There is no need to organize production in this way under our socialist economic system.

It is far more effective to produce and supply in a comprehensive way those spare parts needed in common by various factories, while equipping the repair and maintenance shop in a simple manner at every factory to produce the specific spare parts needed exclusively by that factory. Only by so doing can we make the most intensive and effective use of machine tools and save much social labour. At present, in the many repair and maintenance shops of our factories, the utilization rate of the equipment is very low; and labour productivity is likewise low and there is much waste because repair and maintenance shops in each place undertake for themselves the production of bolts, nuts, coupling devices and other parts.

It is advisable to change the organization of production at an early date so that standard parts may be turned out in specialized factories. Take screws, for instance. How convenient it would be if each factory could order standard screws from specialized factories, instead of going to the trouble of making screws of diverse specifications at its

repair and maintenance shop whenever they are required! This would make it possible to produce several times as many screws with the same amount of labour and materials and markedly raise their quality as well. The repair and maintenance shops in the factories should make only a few kinds of specific parts, using a small number of machine tools and workers, and rely on the specialized factories for other kinds of parts to repair their equipment regularly. Some factories might even be operated from the start without their own repair and maintenance shops.

Such standardization and specialization of the production of spare parts would not only be instrumental in raising the utilization rate of equipment and economizing on labour and materials, but would also be highly advantageous in improving the work of designing, raising the quality of machines and bettering technical management. We must energetically push forward the work of specializing the production of parts as well as tools, jigs and other implements, and of making simpler repair and maintenance shops in the factories.

Another point I would like to emphasize in regard to the machine-building industry is the need for the large-scale introduction of the stamping method. At present the cutting method is mainly employed, while the stamping method is rarely used. Here, too, I think, a change is needed.

The application of the cutting method requires many processes. Moreover, iron is wasted, precision is not properly ensured and the process is slow. But when the stamping method is employed on a large scale, a lot of work can be done quickly, far fewer machine tools are needed, iron wastage is reduced and high precision is ensured. We suggested that this method be introduced extensively, and officials in the machine industry have promised to do this but have not as yet done so. We must boldly carry out what we have decided to do and even now we must start popularizing the stamping method widely.

We are able to manufacture any number of presses on our own. So far, through the let-each-machine-tool-make-more movement, we have mainly increased the number of metal-cutting machines. Now we must

launch a movement to produce more presses. Various presses, large and small, including those of 100 and 500 tons, must be made and the Heavy Industry Commission must supply the steel necessary for their construction. Only then can farm machines, machines needed in local industry and various other pieces of equipment be turned out more rapidly, better, and in large numbers.

One of the most urgent tasks we must tackle in technological renovation is to improve our work of designing. Our Party gave close attention to the training of designers even under the most difficult conditions of war, and it vigorously pushed this work ahead particularly in the postwar years. As a result, many designers have been trained and we are now able to design and turn out for ourselves precision machines, heavy machinery and other kinds of machines and equipment whose designing and production were beyond us in the past. However, our corps of designers still falls far short of the demand. It has, therefore, become a matter of urgency that we make the most effective use of our present corps of designers, while training more for the future.

What measures are required for us to make a rational use of our limited corps of designers? Specialization is needed in this field, too. Since there still is no specialization in the work of designing, our designers must now work on any jobs that are assigned to them. Designing is performed in such a haphazard manner that a designer must work now on one machine design, now on another, then on yet another. So, each time he is forced to consult books in order to do his job. This costs dearly both in labour and in time, and the designs are not of a high quality either. No strict specialization is now practised in any of our designing institutes, and a single institute draws up designs of every kind.

This way of organizing work should be definitely corrected. To cite an example, the designing of machine tools should be concentrated in one specific designing institute on a national basis. We will decide later where this institute should be located, whether in Kusong or in Huichon. But the suggestion is that the designing of machine tools

should, in any case, be specialized at one institute alone and that all the ministries and branches should get the designs of the appropriate standard from this institute to turn out machine tools, instead of going to the trouble of designing machine tools for themselves. Another example is the designing of electric motors. This is being done separately by different establishments, but I suggest that, instead, electric motors, generators and other electric machines all be designed by one institute. This will free the establishments and branches from the need to draw up their own designs for the electrical machinery they need and will enable them to obtain blueprints of electric motors, generators, etc., of the required size from this institute and to produce them as many as they want.

The Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee and the Heavy Industry Commission should play a central role in taking concrete measures to introduce specialization in the work of designing, on the basis of a correct estimate of the corps of designers available in each branch.

The introduction of the gasification of coal in production, as pointed out in the report and referred to in speeches, is of very great significance in technological renovation in our country today.

During a recess yesterday, I saw a synthetic-rubber tyre, the result of research at the university. It was quite satisfactory.

For its mass production, however, it is urgent to solve the question of raw materials. Some comrades have proposed the extensive cultivation of potatoes and sweet potatoes to obtain alcohol that would enable us to produce synthetic rubber. But it is difficult to employ this method in our country, which has a small area of arable land. That is why the Presidium of the Party Central Committee was against the proposal for using arable land to obtain raw materials.

Our country has inexhaustible deposits of limestone. We must make carbide from the limestone to obtain alcohol. This is the only way. In the future, we must continue to follow the line of obtaining carbide, in accordance with our domestic resources and our actual conditions.

However, this requires a lot of electricity, so it is of particular importance that we gasify coal by using oxygen instead of electricity.

Moreover, our power supply is insufficient at present, so we cannot turn out as much fertilizer as we want. Once the question of the gasification of coal is solved, we will be able to compound ammonia and produce any amount of fertilizer without using electricity. The solution to the questions of extracting alcohol and making rubber from it, of compounding ammonia to produce large quantities of fertilizer for higher yields of grain and other crops, of using domestic coal in metallurgy to save on coke, as well as the solution to many other questions, depends, to a great extent, on the gasification of coal. Therefore, those who solve the question of the gasification of coal will make a great contribution to the development of the national economy of our country and are patriots who will earn the well-deserved esteem of all our people.

But, in the past two or three years, we have never gone beyond the talking stage and, in practice, very little progress has been made in the research work for this field. The State Planning Commission, giving one pretext after another, has failed to push vigorously ahead with research work on the gasification of coal. This is not correct. Once an orientation has been decided upon, it should be followed without vacillation. The efforts of scientists and technicians should be enlisted and all the necessary conditions provided to solve the question of the gasification of coal.

In the renovation of our technology, we should place great emphasis on chemicalization. This will assure the quickest solution to our problem of consolidating raw-material bases for light industry in our country.

Above all, a boost should be given to the work of laying foundations for the production of synthetic resins. When the vinyl chloride factory now under construction is put into operation, raw materials needed for making various new kinds of articles for daily use will be produced and high-quality materials supplied for construction, as well. At present, our scientists are very eager to work, but they are

not being given proper assistance by the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. All the apparatus and reagents needed in research work must be provided and measures taken to solve, in a timely and satisfactory way, the technical questions which arise in the production and processing of synthetic resins.

Moreover, we should make every effort to accelerate the construction of the vinalon factory. When the construction of this factory is completed, not only will fine synthetic fibre be turned out, but an important basis for our country's chemical industry will be laid. All branches should make the utmost effort to ensure the completion of the construction of the vinalon factory ahead of schedule.

Another important task is that of developing an electronics industry. It is a serious defect that we have no such factories in our country as yet. During a visit to a foreign country, I had an opportunity to inspect a factory of this kind. We, too, can build and operate such a factory, and it is high time that we did so. We must create and develop an electronics industry in the near future, thus opening up a new phase in technological renovation.

(2) ON THE MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

I would like to refer briefly to the mechanization of agriculture.

While making a tour of the Changsong, Pyoktong and Sakju areas recently, I pondered over how we could step up mechanization in the mountain regions. Large tractors, even if supplied in great numbers, cannot be used effectively in such places where the plots are all small, the fields are dotted over with stone heaps, many of them sloping, and the villages are far off. They may be of service for hauling, but are not suitable for field work in those areas. And, since the distance to be covered is great, lorries are more serviceable than tractors for hauling. It is no accident that the rate of utilization of large tractors allocated to the mountain regions is very low. What, then, is to be done? Medium-sized tractors must definitely be built in large numbers and

supplied to those regions. In fact, large tractors are almost useless there.

If we manufacture a large number of 10 or 15-hp tractors and send them to the mountain regions, ploughing can be fully mechanized even on fairly small plots. We should test the 10 or 15-hp tractor which Kim Chaek University of Technology designed for use on sloping land. If it turns out to be efficient, we should see that tractors of that type are produced as soon as possible.

Hauling, farming and many other types of work in the mountain regions can be mechanized when more lorries are supplied and medium-sized tractors of this kind are sent there. Medium-sized tractors can be used without any problem for hauling on comparatively narrow, rugged paths. A 10-hp tractor can haul a load weighing a ton and a 15-hp tractor can easily do a load of 1-1.5 tons. Medium-sized tractors, if used in proper combination with various tractor-drawn farm implements, will make it possible to mechanize all work such as ploughing, planting, inter-row cultivation, weeding and harvesting. Tractor engines can also be especially used to provide power for threshing, cutting and processing fodder and pumping water.

Up to now, bringing mechanization to the mountain regions in a short period of time posed a problem, even though we could ensure rapid mechanization on the plains. Now, however, we have a definite prospect that, if medium-sized tractors are used extensively, mechanization will be possible even in the remote mountain areas.

Mechanization of our agriculture will benefit us in many ways. The peasants will be able to get in big harvests of grain and industrial crops, even while working with ease; part of the cattle used as draught animals will be improved to provide us with milk and beef; and the problem of fodder for meat production will be solved by cultivating two crops a year. Therefore, nothing can be more beneficial to the welfare of the peasants and the rest of our people. Mechanization must be carried out any way.

The sooner agriculture is mechanized, the better. We first began

mechanization on the plains, but now we must push ahead with all-out mechanization everywhere, both on the plains and in the mountain regions. We must allocate a considerable number of large tractors to the plains and small ones to the mountain regions, thus ensuring mechanization in all parts of the country. It all hinges on turning out tractors and other farm machines speedily in large numbers.

Enlarging the role of the farm machine stations is still an important question in the mechanization of agriculture. The utilization rate of farm machines is still very low. Tractors stand idle in the garages of quite a few farm machine stations after the spring ploughing. It is a very serious matter for machines to stand idle while a shortage of work hands holds back timely weeding and the peasants are working with their hands and carrying loads on their backs. If tractors are kept in a showcase instead of being used, we might do better to pin up a picture of a tractor on the wall and now and then have a look at it.

Once valuable machines are supplied by the state, they should not be left idle even for a short while, but should be kept in constant use. If all of us study the matter and display initiative, we can do all our work with machines. Rice, maize, wheat, barley, potatoes and other crops can all be grown by machines, and all the work, including ploughing, harrowing, planting, weeding and harvesting, can be mechanized. Arguments that broad-furrow planting can be done only by draught animals and not by tractors and that this or that kind of work can hardly be done by machines all stem from bigotry. In order to advance technological renovations, we must do away with such bigotry, and think and act boldly.

The workers at the farm machine stations must continue to make serious efforts to mechanize as many kinds of jobs as possible and ease the peasants' work to the maximum. They should never tolerate keeping any machines idle. Only by so doing can the farm machine stations honourably fulfil their role as bases of the technical revolution in the countryside.

(3) ON THE MECHANIZATION OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

The question of mechanizing local industry holds an important place in the technical revolution today. In this regard, I would like to say a few words only about the food industry which is its most backward branch.

As pointed out in the report, it is very urgent that we produce soy sauce and bean paste in large quantities by industrial methods and guarantee their smooth supply to the entire population including the peasants. Moreover, these two products should be something truly out of the ordinary, even more delicious than those made by individual families for their own use.

The food industry has the responsibility of making and supplying appetizing foods in convenient form to the working people. There are many things to be done in this field at present. For example, large quantities of flour have been supplied recently, and it would be very convenient to make vermicelli with it and distribute them. However, this kind of work is not being done. In Pyongyang, nobody organizes such work, even though some of the equipment at the cornstarch factory is lying idle.

Factory and school cafeterias make only bread and serve it every day, although they could serve varied menus without difficulty if they just made a vermicelli ricer or a device for making wheat flakes. Workers and students complain that they are fed up with bread, and no wonder! Why do those concerned not think of serving different menus that appeal to us Koreans, making vermicelli, soup with wheat flakes, stuffed dumplings and so on? How can those people who are disinclined to do even such an elementary thing profess to carry out the technical revolution? They must do away with old habits once and for all and improve culture to the table by processing foodstuffs better.

The processing of maize by industrial methods is a matter of urgency. Yesterday, together with some other comrades, I visited the

cornstarch factory to make a study of the processing of maize, which is very important because it provides us with starch, glucose, edible oil, etc. We should devote our special efforts to quickly solving the problem of separating embryo buds from maize and extracting oil from them.

We have 700,000 to 800,000 hectares of maize fields. If each hectare yields two tons, we will harvest every year about 1.5 million tons of maize. Maize is said to have an oil yield of 3 per cent. So, from only a million tons of maize, we can obtain 30,000 tons of edible oil. In the case of bean oil, we get only 50 kilogrammes from a hectare of bean field. Therefore, in terms of oil, a million tons of maize is equal to 600,000 hectares of bean fields.

We must lose no time in building factories to separate embryo buds from maize and extract oil from them. If you find it difficult to come up with a new design, you had better set up small-scale factories similar in structure to the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory. Only when we have definitely solved this problem and gone in for cultivating various other oil-bearing crops in a big way, extracting large quantities of oil, can we successfully accomplish, within a short period, the task set by the Party of supplying our people each day with 20 grammes of edible oil per capita.

Meanwhile, the food industry should continue to give close attention to widely acquiring and processing the food resources abundant in the local areas.

This year there is a shortage of alcoholic beverages in Pyongyang and many other cities. Only the people of Changsong County have had enough, and they have even supplied large quantities to other districts. This is explained by the fact that the people of that county, faithfully carrying out the Party's policy, have been steadily developing an industry for making alcoholic beverages from such wild fruits as haws, wild strawberries and wild pears since last year.

There is no region in our country that does not have mountains, and no mountain without such fruits as wild grapes, fruit of the *Actinidia arguta*, haws, wild strawberries and wild pears. Not only that. We have

planted many fruit trees and are constantly expanding our orchards. We must pick all these fruits in time and develop industries for processing them everywhere on a full scale. In this way we will be able to produce, at low cost, various kinds of good wines, fruit syrups, dried fruit and canned fruit of high quality to meet the people's demands.

4. ON IMPROVING THE TRAINING OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL

In closing, a few words on the training of technical personnel.

With the rapid progress of our socialist construction, the demand for technical personnel today is greater than ever before. Our Party has put a lot of efforts into training the nation's technical cadres all along and, especially, last year it raised the number of universities from 22 to 37 and set up a great many colleges.

Why, then, is our need for technical personnel so great at present? Because our country's industry and agriculture are developing at an unprecedented rate and the technical revolution is being accelerated very fast in all branches of our national economy.

At present new techniques are urgently required and great numbers of personnel equipped with modern technical knowledge are needed in all parts of our country. We cannot make headway without producing greater numbers of competent technical cadres more quickly by completely refurbishing the training of our technical personnel.

To keep the training of our technical personnel up with the rapid pace of the development of our country's productive forces and of the technical revolution, it is important, first of all, to direct the attention of the whole Party to this matter, and to turn all conditions and possibilities to the best account.

Indeed, it is a matter of great importance that we increased the number of institutes of higher learning by 15 in a single year. We took

courage to take such a daring measure, but we still have a long way to go. In order to effect an all-round technical revolution and to turn our country into a developed industrial state in the coming Seven-Year Plan period, we must expand the ranks of our technical cadres radically.

The regular institutes of higher learning are not enough to do the job, so we must set up many technical colleges in the large factories, mines, enterprises and agricultural and livestock farms so that our working people can study while on the job. We must also vigorously develop correspondence courses and evening schools so that many working people can become technicians within a short period of time. At the same time, we must continue to launch energetically a whole-Party, all-people movement aimed to equip all Party members, young people and women with more than one technical skill.

Many shortcomings have to be overcome and a tremendous amount of work done to improve and strengthen the training of our technical personnel along these lines. All possible forms and methods must be applied and all reserves tapped to train a large number of technicians.

We must carry on with vigour both the technological renovation and the training of technical personnel. No matter how many machines we produce and supply, they will give us no help if we do not have any machinists. The kind of technicians we need most urgently and in the greatest numbers are mechanical engineers.

In the future, when ten tractors are allocated to each agricultural cooperative, it will need to have at least one technician versed in machines. It will also need an electrician, an agronomist and an expert in animal husbandry. This means we must send four or five technicians to each cooperative, or about 20,000 to the agricultural cooperatives throughout the country. We can provide all the rural areas with tractors within the next five to six years, but we can hardly train so many technicians in the existing engineering and agricultural colleges alone. This is why we intend to train technical personnel everywhere, by employing supplementary methods consistent with the actual conditions of our country.

Here is an instance illustrating how urgently technicians are needed. Lately, on the initiative of the Party, more than 5,000 agronomists were sent to the countryside. A change has already been noted in the agricultural cooperatives to which they were allocated. You must understand that the presence of a person equipped with modern science and technology in the village exerts a very great influence on the farm work of the cooperative.

Even an assistant engineer who has been graduated from a college plays an important role, to say nothing of an engineer with a university education and a lot of experience. One assistant engineer allocated to an agricultural cooperative in Changsong County, a young girl who had been graduated from Charyongwan College of Sericulture, brought about an innovation in silkworm raising as soon as she went to the cooperative. Formerly, the cooperative had gathered 17 kilogrammes of cocoons from every 100 grammes of silkworm eggs, but the figure rose to 34 kilogrammes after this girl went there. No sooner had young assistant engineers fresh from the technical colleges been sent to local textile factories than they boldly undertook such tasks as making wooden power looms and motorizing textile equipment on their own. This is what the assistant engineers are doing, and still bigger innovations will surely be effected one after another in all places when a competent engineer is sent to every cooperative and factory. It is, therefore, necessary for our schools, factories, mines and farm and fishing villages to devote every effort to training more good technicians rapidly.

As is pointed out in the report, the ideological education of our technicians should be constantly strengthened. Needless to say, our technicians, as Red intellectuals whom either the Party has re-educated or we have newly trained, vigorously support our Party's policies and devotedly serve the revolutionary cause of the working class. Particularly, our technicians have been further tempered ideologically in the course of the upsurge of socialist construction and the dynamic development of the Chollima Movement. However, there are still some individuals who, for lack of the necessary revolutionary spirit, waver

or hesitate when confronted with a difficult task. In order to prevent such things from happening, we must unremittingly conduct communist education among our technicians and educate them in our revolutionary traditions.

The technical revolution and the training of technical personnel are both, in the final analysis, aimed at completely eliminating the historical backwardness of our productive forces and at turning our country into a rich, powerful and advanced industrial state in a short period of time. Only when these tasks are successfully accomplished, with the mobilization of the whole Party and the entire people, will it be possible for our working people to free themselves from arduous and toilsome labour and create more wealth with less effort and for us to turn the northern half more rapidly into a veritable paradise for the people. Only then will the basic task of the Korean revolution, that of achieving our country's reunification and complete national independence, be more quickly and victoriously carried out.

I am firmly convinced that all Party members and working people, upholding the decisions adopted at this plenary meeting, will work devotedly and fulfil with credit the programmatic tasks of the technical revolution, which is of decisive significance in our socialist construction at the present time.

**REPORT AT THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY
CELEBRATION OF THE AUGUST 15
LIBERATION, A NATIONAL HOLIDAY
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE**

August 14, 1960

Dear comrades,

Fifteen years have passed since the Korean people were liberated from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism.

Looking back on the glorious path of struggle they have crossed, today, our people are celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the August 15 liberation with a feeling of joy and pride in having achieved prosperity and boom unparalleled in the history of their country.

On the occasion of this national holiday, I, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, extend the warmest greetings to you and to the entire Korean people.

In the name of the entire Korean people, I convey heartfelt gratitude to the great Soviet people who helped us in our struggle to liberate the country from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and have assisted us by giving us enormous material and moral assistance. I express profound gratitude to the great Chinese people who aided our struggle with their blood and continue to give us enormous assistance, and to the peoples of all brother countries who have always supported and encouraged us.

Fifteen years is a very brief span of time in the long history of our country. But during this period our people, under the leadership of the

Workers' Party of Korea, have done so much work as could hardly be envisaged by our forefathers for thousands of years, and brought about fundamental changes in all spheres of life. The looks of the country have radically changed; the mountains and rivers as well as the people have changed beyond recognition.

Ever since liberation our people have bravely overcome many difficulties and stern trials in the struggle for national reunification and independence and social progress. We took over an extremely backward colonial economy and culture from the old society, and started building a new society with a very small number of national cadres. The division of the country and the incessant subversive activities of the enemy added to the difficulties in our construction work. Our people experienced the scourges of war caused by the invasion of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, and following the war, they had to rehabilitate the economy in towns and villages which had been reduced to ashes.

But under the complicated and difficult circumstances our Party always led the people to victory. Our people, always firmly united around the Party, have confidently marched forward along the path indicated by the Party, heroically overcoming all the difficulties and trials.

For the Korean people the past fifteen years after liberation have been a glorious history of struggle for defending freedom and independence of the country by smashing the invasion and all sorts of aggressive schemes of the imperialists, and a history of great creative endeavour for building from scratch a fine, new society for the people to live in, amidst many difficulties.

Thanks to the heroic struggle and creative labour of the people, the situation in our country at present has turned decisively in favour of the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country and social progress.

The revolutionary base in the northern half, which is developing at a rapid pace along the socialist path, has become an invincible force; and in south Korea the democratic forces are growing steadily and the

people's revolutionary struggle is further expanding. The US colonial rule over south Korea is receiving a serious setback and the US imperialists and their stooges are undergoing devastating political and economic crises.

It is already obvious what will be the results of the struggle between the two different policies and the conflict between the two different realities in north and south Korea over the past fifteen years—between progress and reaction, between prosperity and decline.

Today, when we are celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the August 15 liberation, we can say with confidence that the day when the entire Korean people will enjoy a free, happy life in a unified land is drawing nearer.

Comrades,

Under the leadership of our Party, our people have during the past fifteen years carried out great revolutionary tasks and huge construction work in north Korea.

Immediately after liberation, our people smashed the old ruling machinery of the Japanese imperialists and established a new, people's power, and we successfully accomplished the democratic revolution for liquidating the remnants of imperialism and feudal forces. With the enforcement of agrarian reform, nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms, north Korea was turned from a backward colonial, semi-feudal society into a people's democratic society and developed into a powerful democratic base of the Korean revolution.

Had our Party not built in the north the democratic base by mobilizing all the patriotic forces and had our Party not speedily reinforced it, we would have been unable to repulse the invasion of the 16 countries led by US imperialism, and safeguard the independence and glory of the country. Only by relying on the political, economic and military might of the northern half of Korea and the active support and encouragement from the fraternal countries, could our people win the glorious victory in the Fatherland Liberation War.

The three-year-long war played an unprecedented havoc with the

country's productive forces and extremely ruined the people's living conditions.

Our Party's line of ensuring priority growth of heavy industry along with the simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture has proved the only correct one in surmounting all the difficulties after the armistice and in successfully rehabilitating the national economy. Thanks to the correct economic policy of the Party and the heroic struggle of the working people to implement it, the devastated national economy has been rehabilitated and developed at a rapid pace.

Under the Party's leadership, our working people have scored tremendous achievements in developing the productive forces and won a decisive victory also in the socialist transformation of the relations of production. In our country, only in 4 to 5 years after the war the agricultural cooperation and the socialist transformation of private industry and trade were victoriously completed and an undivided sway of the socialist relations of production was established in all branches of the national economy.

Thus the productive forces were completely freed from the fetters of all outmoded relations of production. The cause of exploitation and poverty was eliminated once and for all in towns and the countryside.

When the Party and the people, after the completion of the postwar rehabilitation, set about carrying out the Five-Year Plan, they were confronted with new difficulties. International reaction and its stooges, the revisionists, raised an "anti-Soviet" and "anti-communist" campaign. In step with this, the US imperialists and their henchmen stepped up subversive activities against the northern half of Korea. Within our Party the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements started to attack the Party. At that time the economic condition of our country was still difficult and many obstacles were thrown in the way of socialist economic construction.

However, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism without the slightest vacillation, our Party rallied the masses around itself still more firmly, thwarted the enemy's offensive and the intrigues of the counter-revolutionaries and

mobilized all the forces of the masses in socialist economic construction.

The historic December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee called upon the masses to wage a vigorous struggle for overcoming all difficulties at home and abroad and sparked a new upsurge in socialist construction.

In all branches of the national economy a mass innovation drive took place, conservatism and passivism were eradicated and new technical norms were created. The productive forces developed at a very rapid rate and the appearance of towns and the countryside changed rapidly. In this way socialist construction took a great upsurge and the entire working people advanced at the speed of Chollima.

The great upsurge in socialist construction and the Chollima Movement in our country are a lawful phenomenon based on the fact that the decisive victory was won in the socialist revolution and the foundation of an independent national economy has been laid; a reflection of the unanimous desire of our working people for bringing forward their backward and poverty-stricken country among the advanced countries as early as possible; an expression of the indomitable fighting spirit and great creative power of our working people who boundlessly trust and love the Party and who, rallied like steel around it, are breaking through all difficulties. By launching the Chollima Movement we could attain such an epoch-making success as fulfilling the Five-Year Plan in terms of gross industrial output value in two and a half years and ensure a rapid rate in socialist construction.

The industrial output increased 43 per cent during the six years since the end of the war and 45 percent in the three years of the Five-Year Plan, on an annual average. Despite the fact that our country passed through the three-year war and the two rehabilitation periods, one before and one after the war, this year, our industrial output will grow 6.4 times compared with the prewar year of 1949, and 7.7 times as against the pre-liberation year of 1944. With the rapid development of heavy industry a firm basis for the socialist industrialization has been laid and the base of light industry also established.

Our people, who lagged far behind in technology in the past and who were oppressed and trodden upon by others because of their poverty and lack of power, now turn out modern machines and equipment with their own hands and have become the great masters of technique capable of building large-scale factories and enterprises.

In the rural economy irrigation and electrification have been mainly completed and an overall mechanization is under way.

Only in a few years after the war, we built works capable of irrigating 5 times as wide an area as that irrigated during the 36-year rule of the Japanese imperialists and carried out extensive afforestation and water conservancy work throughout the country. It is only in our era that the peasants who had suffered from natural calamities for thousands of years came to till land free from drought and flood.

Electricity found its way even to the mountainous areas and new machines are constantly supplied to the rural villages.

Our peasants who did farming with outdated farm implements within the narrow framework of individual economy have become the masters of large-scale collective economy. They have come to possess strong material and technical foundation which makes it possible not only to work more easily, but also to gather bumper crops every year. This, as the peasants say, is as great a wonder as the creation of the world in our rural villages.

It is not fortuitous that our country develops rapidly in this way. Such a rapid rate of development is an eloquent proof of what great strength can be released by the people who are freed from exploitation and oppression.

In a short space of time, we have established successfully the foundation of socialism and turned our backward country into a socialist industrial-agricultural one with the foundation of an independent economy. Our people's livelihood is improving daily, and national culture and art have come into full blossom. The entire working people are proud of their prospering and thriving country, enjoying a happy, worthy life, and are forging ahead towards a yet brighter future in the saddle of Chollima.

During the Japanese imperialists' rule, our working people were hungry and poorly clothed under their cruel exploitation and oppression, and many became jobless, roaming about the streets.

Today all our working people have their occupation. They are devotedly working at the places of work for the interests of the state and society and for their own happiness, without having to worry about food, clothing and housing.

Long ago unemployment came to an end in our country and the incomes of our working people have greatly increased. The real wages of workers and office employees in 1959 approximately were double what they were in 1949, and peasants' real income grew considerably during the same period. The wage scale for our workers and office employees is enough to ensure them a stabilized life and the standard of living of the peasants has on the whole reached that of middle peasants. Every year large numbers of new flats are provided for the working people. In the postwar years alone, modern houses with a floor space of over 22 million square metres were built in towns and rural villages.

Of course, we cannot say yet that our working people lead an abundant life. But we have already solved basic problems concerning the people's life and created all conditions for a yet happier and more prosperous life in the future.

Our working people are now free from worries not only about their employment and food, clothing and housing, but also about their children's education.

Our younger generation is receiving secondary education free of charge under the auspices of the state, and the students of universities and colleges receive government stipends. At present our country has about 8,000 schools of various levels, including 37 universities, with the total enrolment of 2.5 million. The door for learning is open to all; everyone can enter a college or a university according to his wish, where they can develop their talents.

Moreover, the working people are receiving large material and cultural benefits from the state and society.

The workers are ensured an eight-hour working day and enjoy paid vacations under social insurance. In all fields of public life, woman is entitled to equal rights with man and numerous state and public nurseries and kindergartens have been built for mothers and children. Every year hundreds of thousands of working people spend their holidays at rest homes or relaxation centres at the expense of the state, while all people receive free medical treatment at state hospitals.

Those with no one to rely upon, the disabled, the aged, and orphans are all ensured a stabilized life by the state. Though our country was backward for centuries and underwent the unprecedentedly cruel war, no neglected persons and beggars are to be found today.

During the Japanese imperialist rule our working people were always hard pressed; their future looked grim; it was not worth living. But they are now thinking of how to live better and live longer in this splendid society, their life being full of hope, joy and happiness. It is the very reality of north Korea and our people's life under the socialist system that all the people, freed from all manner of exploitation and oppression, knowing no menace of unemployment and hunger, and having few cares, work, study and lead a happy life.

Even our compatriots in Japan who have been suffering from the lack of rights, national discrimination and hard life in a strange land are returning to the ever-prospering country. And those who have returned are leading a happy life with no inconvenience and worry. We will continue to receive our compatriots from Japan and ensure them every condition for a new life.

The only concern of the people in the northern half, today, is about their country which still remains divided, about their compatriots living a separate life from theirs, about the miserable situation of their husbands, children, brothers and sisters, relatives and friends who were taken away to south Korea, and about the wretched life of the entire south Korean people. But we are absolutely certain that the day will come when this outstanding worry, too, will be over and the 30 million people will in future lead a blessed life enjoying freedom and

happiness.

All the successes we have made bear witness to the great superiority of the socialist system established in the northern half of Korea and the unbreakable vitality of our Party policies. These successes have been made possible thanks to the heroic struggle and devoted labour of the working people who are solidly rallied around the Party and are immensely inspired by the Party policy.

In carrying out the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, in the fierce Fatherland Liberation War and in the difficult socialist economic construction following the war, our people fully displayed their high revolutionary zeal, indomitable fighting spirit, mass heroism and inexhaustible creative talents.

On behalf of the Party and the Government, I convey deep gratitude to our workers, peasants, working intellectuals and the entire Korean people who, through a heroic struggle, fortified and developed the democratic base in the northern half of Korea into an impregnable fortress and added lustre to the glory of the socialist country.

Comrades,

The great achievements made by our people in the socialist revolution and socialist construction have opened broad prospects for building our country into a more wealthy and powerful socialist state. Our Party and Government are now drawing up the Seven-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy for 1961-67 which will mark a decisive period in our socialist construction.

By maintaining the line of ensuring the priority growth of heavy industry, simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture in the Seven-Year Plan period, we will have to make decisive advance in the socialist industrialization of the country and drastically improve the standard of living of our people.

In working out the long-term plan, it is important to set forth correctly the general direction and, at the same time, to clearly define the specific direction of the economic development at given moments, taking into account the level of development of the productive forces and the situation of the country.

In view of the present state and the future prospect of the development of our national economy, our Party will, in the first three years of the Seven-Year Plan period, concentrate all efforts on developing rapidly light industry and agriculture and drastically improving the people's standard of living by readjusting and making more effective use of the already created heavy industrial bases. In the following four years, it will lay stress on decisively strengthening the material and technical foundation of socialism by further expanding the bases of heavy industry and improving its technical equipment, while raising the people's standard of living.

In the postwar period our industry has developed at a very high tempo. The metallurgical, electric, coal, chemical, building-materials and other industries which are the key branches of heavy industry, have been rapidly expanded and strengthened, and the machine-building industry has been built. This means that we have solved the most fundamental question in our economic development by strengthening and developing the heavy industry which is the backbone of the national economy.

However, inasmuch as the history of our industry is still in its infancy, our industry, heavy industry in particular, is not yet fully equipped with the necessary branches. Strictly speaking, although we have built up the skeleton of heavy industry, we have not yet given it enough flesh, and, although we have solved what is basic in industry, we have not yet settled secondary and minor things.

Only when our heavy industry overcomes these drawbacks, can it be used more effectively and made to serve better the development of light industry and agriculture and improve the people's standard of living.

Thus, during the first three years of the Seven-Year Plan period, the central task of heavy industry is to add flesh to its skeleton and to readjust and perfect the existing enterprises. While carrying out this task above all, we must gradually launch large-scale construction work for further expanding the heavy industrial base.

The speedy development of the machine-building industry will

remain the basic task in the Seven-Year Plan. Otherwise, the overall technical reconstruction of the national economy cannot be assured.

By building new heavy machine-tools factories and making more effective use of the existing foundation of the machine-building industry, we will have to turn out in large quantities machines and equipment which are needed in all branches of the national economy.

One of the important tasks in the Seven-Year Plan is the rapid development of the chemical industry.

The chemical industry must be developed in a big way in order to develop agriculture and in particular as a decisive step to strengthen the raw material bases of light industry. We must concentrate efforts on this field and ensure sufficient raw materials for the textile and daily-necessities industries.

We must complete quickly the construction of the vinalon factory now under way and bring its annual production level to over 20,000 tons, set up the Sinuiju Textile Mill and expand the Chongjin Spinning Mill, thus increasing the output of staple fibre and rayon yarn. In order to meet the different demands of the working people for fabrics, we must build nylon and nitron factories, and also those for the processing of such natural fibres as flax, hemp, silkworm cocoons, etc. Thus we will satisfactorily solve the question of fibre within the coming 2 or 3 years.

To effect an innovation in the production of daily necessities, we must develop on a large scale the industry producing synthetic resin including vinyl chloride. At the same time, we should build a new oil refinery, which will be of weighty importance in the chemical industry, and also create the synthetic rubber industry.

We must lift our light industry to a higher level through the creation of solid raw material bases.

We should continuously expand the textile industry, boost the food-processing industry and decisively increase the production of daily necessities.

The prime task in the production of daily necessities is to expand their variety and improve their quality. We must tap all resources and

potentialities and produce more, better and cheaper consumer goods of various kinds needed for the daily life of the people.

For the production of mass consumption goods, we must carry out our Party's policy of developing medium- and small-scale local industry along with large-scale central industry, paying special attention to the mechanization of local industry.

In recent years our working people have built great numbers of local industrial factories throughout the country, thereby making a great contribution to the development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's standard of living. When we mechanize these factories and raise rapidly the technical skills of workers, we will be able to mobilize all the local resources extensively, use them more effectively, largely increase the variety of daily necessities and radically improve their quality. All local industrial factories must carry out the task of mechanization in the coming few years.

Agriculture holds an extremely important place in socialist economic construction. We are confronted with a task of further increasing the output of grain and industrial crops and markedly developing poultry and livestock farming on the basis of the successes already scored in agriculture.

Today the key to the successful solution of all questions in the rural economy lies in its mechanization.

Our Party has already set forth the clear-cut orientation in the mechanization of agriculture and has registered quite a few results by getting down to this work this war.

More and better tractors, lorries and various farm machines should be turned out for the countryside and all farm machines should be used more effectively. For mechanizing all farm work not only in plain areas but also in mountainous areas, we should bring the total number of medium-sized tractors to over 20,000 and, in addition, turn out 30,000 to 40,000 small-sized tractors for the countryside in the coming 2 or 3 years.

By doing this, we will completely eradicate the technical backwardness in the rural areas and bring about further innovations in

the development of agricultural productive forces and in all aspects of life of the peasants by mechanizing arduous and labour-consuming farm work.

One of the cardinal ways for increasing the output of grain and industrial crops and solving the fodder question in animal husbandry, in particular, is to introduce two-crop cultivation extensively. The introduction of two-crop cultivation amounts to acquiring new land, and herein lies a great reserve for the growth of agricultural production. We must increase decisively the output of grain and fodder crops by introducing two-crop cultivation wherever possible and expanding its size to 700,000 hectares.

While further developing the agricultural productive forces, we must continue to carry out rural construction in a big way. In our rural areas there are as yet many construction projects to be undertaken. More productive construction must be carried out and more houses and schools constructed. More and better nurseries, kindergartens, bathhouses, barbershops and various other cultural and public service establishments must continue to be built.

We must step up all the rural construction so as to effect a complete change in our rural villages in the coming few years. Then our countryside will have become a really bountiful, modern socialist countryside with up-to-date technique.

The replenishment and perfection of heavy industrial bases, creation of solid raw material bases for light industry, expansion of the production of consumer goods and the improvement of their quality, rural mechanization and the further growth of agricultural production are our central tasks awaiting solution in the first three years of the Seven-Year Plan period.

By successfully fulfilling these tasks we will be able to create all the conditions for strengthening the economic foundation of our country and raising the material and cultural standards of our people.

We will be able to put out 300 million metres annually of textile goods and in the field of agriculture over 4 million tons of grain, 300,000 tons of meat, and milk from 200,000 cows within the coming

2 to 3 years. Then, we will be able to supply the population with far various and better foodstuffs and industrial goods than at present.

The Party and the Government envisage complete abolition within a few years of the agricultural tax in kind from the peasants and income tax from the workers and office employees on the basis of the rapid growth of production. This will be indeed a measure of great political and economic significance not only to increase the real income of the working people by a great margin but to rid them from all tax burdens once and for all. Such a measure can only be taken by the socialist state which regards it as the supreme principle governing its activities to better the people's life and it can only be realized under the socialist system where the means of production have been socialized and production serves for the improvement of the working people's welfare.

We will improve the people's life sharply in the coming 2 or 3 years, and will score new greater successes in socialist construction in the latter half of the Seven-Year Plan.

In the latter half of the Seven-Year Plan, the level of industrialization of the country should be decisively raised by further expanding and developing the key branches of heavy industry.

We should build more large-scale hydroelectric and thermal power stations, exploit extensively coal and ore mines, expand the existing metallurgical bases and build new ones and further develop the building-materials industry. In particular, we should continue to develop speedily the chemical and machine-building industries. In this way, on the basis of the further expansion and reinforcement of heavy industrial bases, we will develop onto a higher level light and fishing industries and agriculture.

According to the preliminary data for the Seven-Year Plan, the total industrial output value is to increase more than 2.5 times during the next seven years and the total grain output more than 1.5 times.

In the year 1967, the last year of the Seven-Year Plan, we shall produce nearly as much manufactured goods as we produced during the six years from 1954 to 1959 when the postwar Three-Year Plan and

the Five-Year Plan were completed.

By that time, it is planned that our annual output of electric power will reach 17,000 million kWh, coal more than 23 million tons, steel 2,500,000 tons, cement 4,300,000 tons, chemical fertilizers 1,500,000 tons, fabrics 500 million metres and marine products 1,400,000 tons.

An important question for all sectors of the national economy is to develop technology to carry out the colossal tasks of the Seven-Year Plan. This plan may be called a plan for the overall technical revolution in our country. It would be impossible for a branch of our national economy to make any advance without introducing new techniques. New machines and new techniques are needed everywhere.

We should mechanize the rural economy and local industry and, further, embark on an extensive technical innovation movement in all domains of the national economy.

In particular, the proportion of mechanized building operations must be increased drastically in order to accelerate the construction of a larger number of modern factories, houses for the working people and cultural and public welfare establishments.

Moreover, we must reinforce the technical equipment of transport and expand the transport capacity on a large scale so as to meet the growing demand of the national economy for transport. In railway transport the electrification of trunk lines must be completed, new railways laid, and maritime, river and automobile transport be further developed. At the same time, loading and unloading in all domains of transport should be mechanized.

The development of fishery which is of great importance for the improvement of the people's livelihood also depends upon technological progress. Seabound on three sides, our country is very rich in marine resources. We have an urgent task of strengthening the technical foundation of fishery to increase fish catch and develop the processing of seafoods. Within the coming few years we should convert the existing sailboats into motorboats and build more new ones, and widely introduce mechanization in both fishing and processing.

Most of the large-scale central industrial factories we rehabilitated or newly constructed in the postwar period have been equipped with up-to-date technique and their production processes mechanized. But, this does not mean that technical innovation is no longer necessary in this field. Science and technology are not standing still but are making continued and rapid advance.

The central industrial factories should strive to introduce widely the achievements of advanced science and technology and to make continued technical progress. In particular, these factories should concentrate their efforts on better using and steadily improving all their production installations and equipment and automating production processes.

For the successful completion of the tasks for the technical revolution, the question of technical personnel must be solved without fail.

Machines and technique are created by man and they are also operated by man. Technical progress is inconceivable without technicians.

In accordance with the decision of the August Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held a few days ago, we should strive to expand rapidly the ranks of technical cadres and further improve their qualitative composition by strengthening technical education in every way.

The number of mechanics needed in all domains of the national economy should, first of all, be rapidly increased, and more technicians should be trained in the fields of power, chemical and mining industries and geological survey. A large number of technicians in food, daily-necessities and fishing industries and stockbreeding, whose technical level is still low, should also be trained as a decisive step to strengthen the technical forces in these domains.

At present, it is the most honourable duty of the socialist builders to acquire technique. The whole Party should be mobilized for studying technique and every one of the working people should master more than one kind of technique.

The Seven-Year Plan is a magnificent programme of socialist construction in our country. Through the fulfilment of this plan we will equip all branches of the national economy with up-to-date technique and further strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism.

Thus, our country will be turned into an advanced socialist industrial state, our towns and villages will be more beautifully constructed and the material and cultural life of our people will become far more bountiful.

This brilliant prospect will inspire our working people with greater courage and confidence and encourage them to greater labour efforts. All the working people should make continued advance and innovations on all fronts of socialist construction by fully displaying their energies and talents.

Our Party has always won victories by relying upon the inexhaustible creative power of our people firmly rallied around the Party. The unbreakable unity of the Party and the people and the revolutionary zeal and patriotic devotion of our people who are marching through thick and thin to carry out the Party's policy—this is the source of our invincible might.

If the workers, peasants, working intellectuals and the rest of the people are mobilized for the achievement of the cause of socialist construction, more firmly united around our Party, we will surely surmount all difficulties and be able to carry out successfully the Seven-Year Plan and reach the high peak of socialism.

Comrades,

The building of socialism and the happy life of the people in the northern half of Korea are exerting a tremendous revolutionary influence on the people in south Korea and immensely encouraging and inspiring them in their struggle against the US imperialists and their lackeys.

The aggressive policy of the US imperialists and the reactionary rule of the Syngman Rhee clique have reduced south Korea to a complete colony of the United States and a military base for launching

another war. Fifteen years' occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists since liberation has ruined south Korea's economy and driven its people into the pangs of hunger and poverty.

The broad masses of the people in south Korea could no longer tolerate the social evils and the appalling difficulty of living resulting from the US colonial rule, and at last they rose in the heroic resistance struggle against the oppressors.

The mass uprising of the people which broke out throughout south Korea this spring was the bursting of the long pent-up grievances and resentment of south Korean people against US imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique. It was a just struggle demanding freedom and liberation, new government and a new life.

In defiance of the armed suppression by the enemy, the broad sections of the people including young people, students and intellectuals in south Korea fought heroically to overthrow the Syngman Rhee puppet government. This is the first, great victory gained by the south Korean people in their struggle against the US imperialists and their lackeys. Through their valiant struggle, they demonstrated the revolutionary mettle of the Korean people and, at the same time, gained precious experience and lessons.

The uprising of the south Korean people has shown that no amount of threat of arms or deceptive tricks can enslave the people for a long time or check their revolutionary struggle. The uprising has also shown that when the people are united and rise in the struggle against the oppressors, they can smash any stronghold of the imperialists and that they can triumph only by mass struggle.

However, this struggle of the south Korean people was not carried out to win a complete victory. This was because the broad masses of workers and peasants failed to take part in the struggle. Thus, the south Korean people have not yet won liberty and democracy, and their demands have not as yet been realized.

For the south Korean people to win complete victory of democracy the broad masses of workers, peasants and other people should join in the struggle, which must be thoroughly anti-imperialist and anti-feudal.

So long as an aggressive army of foreign imperialists exists in one's territory, no one can speak of one's national independence nor can the people live in peace. At present the main cause of our country's division and of all misery and sufferings of the south Korean people lies in the occupation of south Korea by the aggressive army of the US imperialists and their aggressive policy. As long as south Korea is in the grip of the US army, the peaceful reunification of our country will not be realized, nor the south Korean people will be free from their present miserable plight.

The US imperialist aggressive army which is occupying south Korea is the ringleader of the reactionary forces there. It is a band of robbers plundering the south Korean people of their property and perpetrating all sorts of atrocities. This imperialist aggressive army of the United States, the ringleader of reaction and gangsterism, is the primary target in the struggle of the south Korean people.

Therefore, the workers, peasants and all other sections of the population in south Korea must, first of all, oppose the US imperialist aggressive forces and fight with resolution to force their army out of south Korea. When all the patriotic people in south Korea rise as one in the anti-US struggle, these aggressors will be unable to stay there but will be compelled to withdraw.

The anti-imperialist struggle of the south Korean people must be linked with the anti-feudal struggle. In implementing their aggressive policy, the US imperialists use and actively protect feudal landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats in south Korea. The feudal landlords and comprador capitalists on their part serve to extend the influence of the aggressive forces of US imperialism in south Korea and, in collaboration with them, are oppressing and exploiting the people. Without fighting the feudal forces, therefore, the anti-imperialist struggle cannot be carried out successfully, nor can the anti-feudal struggle be successful without fighting the aggressive imperialist forces.

Only when all the patriotic forces—the workers, peasants, young people, students, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, traders, etc.—are united

and launch a decisive struggle against the aggressive forces of US imperialism and the feudal forces, can the south Korean people attain real freedom and liberation and win complete victory of democracy.

For the development of all patriotic and democratic movements in south Korea, full democracy should be ensured, above all, in the political life. In a society where the people's free will is overridden and fascist oppression and terror are rampant, only corruption and degeneration will prevail and there can be no progress at all.

In south Korea today, the questions of the country's peaceful reunification and north-south negotiations are a topic of discussion.

However, certain reactionary circles in south Korea are scheming to resume suppression against this trend. The reactionary attempt to restore the same rule of fascist terror as that of the Syngman Rhee clique and destroy even the rudimentary gains made by the people at the cost of their precious blood must be smashed.

The south Korean people still have no elementary democratic rights and liberties. There is no freedom of speech, the press, association, assembly or religion, and all progressive ideas and patriotic movements are suppressed. Especially communist ideology is still under a ruthless suppression.

If they are free to believe in Jesus Christ, why should they not be free to choose communist ideology?

Communist ideology is the most scientific and most progressive of all ideologies. One thousand million people in the world have already won freedom and liberation under the banner of communism and are enjoying the happiest of life. Communist ideology is capturing the hearts of increasing numbers of people in the world; it is the banner of liberation and victory for them. In the northern half of Korea communist ideology has become dominant and the people have built a new, free and happy life under the banner of this ideology. Why, then, should it be banned and suppressed in south Korea?

Historical experience has proved that communist ideology is winning one victory after another and that the suppressors of this ideology are bound to perish.

Needless to say, it is free for any individual to accept communist ideology or reject it. No one imposes or can force it upon others. But ideas should never be suppressed.

Everyone should be guaranteed the right and liberty to choose whatever ideology he prefers, to express his views, and to propagate his ideas.

Moreover, freedom of association and assembly and a complete freedom of activities of every political party and social organization should be ensured. In south Korea at present there is no political party which represents the workers and peasants who make up the vast majority of the population. Neither the Liberal Party nor the Democratic Party in south Korea is a workers' or peasants' party and neither of them can represent the interests of the working people. Workers and peasants must have their own political party which can represent their will and can fight for their interests. Such a political party must also have a legal status.

In north Korea, since right after liberation, the Democratic Party, a political party of the propertied classes, has been enjoying a legal status and freedom of activity. Why should the political party of the working people be banned in south Korea? It is another question which class has its political party in power, but the workers and peasants should also legally be able to organize a political party of their own, and this party, too, should have a complete freedom of activity. Denying this means nothing but ignoring the will of the broadest masses of the working people and stifling their interests.

Only when freedom of expression is provided for every class and section of the population, particularly for the broad masses of the workers and peasants, and only when a complete freedom of activity is guaranteed to all political parties and social organizations including the party of the working people, will south Korean society be able to make progress and its people successfully carry out their struggle for national and social emancipation.

Today the US imperialists, alarmed at the awakening of the south Korean people and their unceasing struggle, are resorting to every trick

to maintain their colonial rule over south Korea. They are bringing new-type weapons into south Korea, reinforcing their troops there and intensifying war preparations, while frantically trying to put their paralysed puppet ruling apparatus in order. The south Korean reactionary clique who is faithfully carrying out the orders of its American masters, is trying to dampen the fighting spirit of the people by means of repression and deception.

The recent “elections to the National Assembly” held in south Korea are a glaring manifestation of such machinations of the US imperialists and their stooges. The south Korean ruling circles are boisterous about the “elections” describing them as “most fair”. In fact, however, these “elections” were also a fraud effected through money, deception and terror like all the previous “elections” held in south Korea. Everywhere the south Korean people destroyed polling stations and ballot boxes, assaulted police stations and other puppet government organs, declared the elections null and void and held demonstrations. Through these mass struggles they laid bare the true nature of the so-called fair elections. The present “National Assembly”, too, like that under Syngman Rhee’s rule, has not a single representative of the workers and peasants.

Needless to say, such a “National Assembly” cannot be a representative organ of the people.

The south Korean rulers are loudly advertising as if the “new National Assembly” and the “new government” could practise democracy, rehabilitate the economy and stabilize the people’s livelihood. But this is no more than a trick to deceive the people.

South Korea has now been ruined irreparably in all fields of politics, economy and culture.

The US imperialists’ policy of ruthless colonial plunder and militarization has totally devastated the economy of south Korea.

South Korea has turned into a market for US goods, and its industries are being ruined under the pressure of US monopoly capital and the handful of comprador capital. The number of factories has been reduced to half compared with that in the years of Japanese

imperialist rule, and most of the remaining medium and small enterprises have suspended or curtailed operations because of raw material shortage, lack of funds and markets, and heavy tax burdens. Agriculture which holds an overwhelming proportion in south Korea's economy has been devastated. As compared with the closing years of Japanese imperialist rule, the cultivated area has been reduced by 600,000 hectares and the grain output decreased by more than six million *sok*. Every year south Korea suffers from an acute food crisis, and it has become an area of chronic famine.

Today the south Korean people are in an indescribably wretched plight. The wages of the workers are less than one-third of the minimum cost of living, and even their pay is often overdue by a few months, sometimes more than half a year. Peasants are cruelly exploited by landlords and usurers. Most of them are under heavy debts, and over one million peasant families run out of food every year. Millions of unemployed or semi-employed are on the verge of starvation, and hundreds of thousands of children are begging in the streets.

How can the south Korean rulers cope with this situation and meet the demands of the people? How can they rehabilitate the bankrupt national industry and rural economy, give jobs to the millions of unemployed, and save the broad masses of the people from hunger and poverty?

Whoever may come to power by resorting to whatever means, he will be unable to straighten out the disastrous situation in south Korea nor will he be able to meet the demands of the people so long as the US imperialists keep occupying south Korea and our country remains divided. Nothing will change and, if there should be any change, that would be the renaming of the Syngman Rhee "government" as Syngman Jang "government". But their status and fate would remain the same. Nor would there be any improvement in the people's life. This has been fully proved by the experience of the past 15 years since liberation.

The south Korean people demand liberty and the right to live and,

above all, the solution of the urgent problems of livelihood. Unless these fundamental problems are settled, the struggle of the people would continue and gain momentum.

With no amount of repression and trickery can the US imperialists and their stooges put out the flames of the struggle now raging in south Korea, or keep them from growing fiercer.

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the August 15 liberation, I, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, extend militant greetings to the south Korean people who are heroically fighting against the US imperialists and their lackeys, and convey to them the warm support and encouragement from the people in the northern half.

Comrades,

The only way to save the present situation in south Korea and finally solve the Korean question is to drive out the US army and reunify the country peacefully.

The peaceful reunification of our country must be achieved independently by holding free general elections throughout north and south Korea on a democratic basis without any foreign interference. This is our consistent stand on the question of national reunification.

The proposal of our Party and the Government of the Republic for peaceful national reunification reflects the unanimous desire and interests of all the Korean people and, accordingly, enjoys their unreserved support and approval. The bankruptcy of Syngman Rhee's clamours for "march north" and the ever-growing demand of the people for peaceful reunification in south Korea conclusively testify to the correctness and vitality of our proposal for reunification.

The south Korean rulers are now compelled by the pressure from the people to speak of peaceful reunification. But they are paying only lip service to it; in reality they keep obstructing it.

Claiming that the "elections should be held only in north Korea," or that the "elections should be held under the UN supervision," they refuse to hold free, democratic elections.

Because Syngman Rhee wanted to maintain his one-man despotism

at the expense of national interests, he was afraid of free north-south elections more than anything else. But why should one be afraid of the free elections if one truly stands for national independence and the interests of the people?

Why can't we Koreans solve the Korean question by ourselves? Why should foreigners meddle in this matter? This is an unbearable insult to our nation and it is designed to keep our people for ever in the bondage of foreign imperialism.

The Korean people have a long history of thousands of years and cultural traditions. Today they have built a fine, new society by their own hands on half of their territory and turned out as one for a complete liberation and prosperity of their country; they are a nation courageous, hard-working, resourceful, patriotic and strong in their sense of unity. Our people are capable of independently and admirably deciding their destiny without any foreign interference.

The south Korean rulers say that they cannot accept a free north-south general election because it means "collaboration with the communists" and involves the danger of "the population becoming communist".

However, those who really want to fight for the people and defend the interests of the nation shall never be afraid of the communists or oppose "collaboration with the communists", because the communists always work for the people; they are the most ardent defenders of the national interests and the staunchest patriots. This was why the Japanese imperialists feared the Korean communists more than anybody else and oppressed them most ruthlessly.

Who was it but the Korean communists that courageously fought against the Japanese imperialists, and remained faithful to the revolution and the nation up to the last moment, undaunted in the enemy's prisons or on the gallows? Who was it but the Korean communists that, undergoing indescribable tribulations in the darkest period of Japanese imperialist rule, waged the 15-year-long bloody struggle with arms in hands solely for the freedom and independence of the country?

Following liberation, the people in the northern half, under the leadership of the communists, have firmly seized their destiny in their hands, upheld the independence and honour of their country and built a new, happy life. If communism was something bad, how in the north could the national economy develop so rapidly, towns and villages be built so beautifully as never before, the people's standard of living improve daily and the national culture blossom so splendidly?

In the north there are a million members of the Workers' Party, the people have long accepted communist ideology; they are closely united under its banner.

In Korea national reunification without the communists would be even inconceivable. That would mean negating the stern reality and, in effect, would be tantamount to perpetuating the division of the country.

We communists always maintain that we will closely unite and cooperate with all the political parties, social organizations and individual persons that fight for peaceful reunification and national independence. We will cooperate with all persons, regardless of their past, if they are ready to work for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Only the stooges of foreign imperialism who betray the interests of the nation will be afraid of communists.

No political parties, social organizations or individual persons can oppose "collaboration with the communists" or reject free north-south elections if they are really concerned about the destiny of the nation and desire peaceful reunification.

There is no denying the fact that the most reasonable and realistic way to peaceful national reunification is to hold free north-south general elections on a democratic basis without any foreign interference. We appeal to all the political parties and social organizations and the people in all walks of life in south Korea to insist on holding such elections.

If the south Korean authorities still cannot agree to free north-south general elections for fear of the whole of south Korea becoming communist, then, we must work out, to start with, even transitional

measures for settling the pressing problems of the nation.

One of such measures we are proposing is that a Confederation of north and south Korea be instituted. We propose to establish the Confederation by way of setting up a Supreme National Committee composed of the representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Government of the "Republic of Korea" mainly to regulate the economic and the cultural development of north and south Korea in a uniform manner, while retaining, for the time being, the present political systems in north and south Korea and maintaining the independent activities of the two governments.

The institution of such a Confederation will enable the north and the south to understand and cooperate with each other by ensuring contacts and negotiations between them and remove mutual distrust. We consider that, if the free north-south general elections are held under such circumstances, the complete peaceful reunification of our country can be realized.

In particular, the establishment of such a Confederation will make it possible to save south Korea from economic ruin by having the Supreme National Committee consider economic and cultural matters beneficial to the whole nation and ensure economic and cultural exchanges and mutual cooperation between north and south Korea, even though the Confederation does not mean the formation of a united coalition government representing all social strata and therefore cannot exercise unified state leadership.

It is the most urgent question at present to put the national economy in south Korea on the right track and improve the people's livelihood which has extremely deteriorated.

As we have consistently held, and as has been proven in fact, this question cannot be solved unless the economic interchange between the north and the south is put into effect.

It is a rudiment of political economy that no country can develop light industry and agriculture or improve the people's living standards without heavy industry.

In our country such a heavy industry exists in the northern half.

After liberation the working people in the north have, by their devoted labour, built powerful bases of heavy industry and laid the foundation of an independent national economy. We have also a large number of our own technical cadres and rich experience in economic construction.

We earnestly hope that the electricity, coal, steel, cement, timber, chemical fertilizer and various machines and equipment which are turned out in quantities in the north will be used for the rehabilitation of the economy and the improvement of the living conditions of the people in south Korea. We eagerly desire to share with our brothers and sisters in south Korea all the results and experience we have gained in developing the economy, science and technology.

Only by relying on the powerful economic foundation of the northern half can south Korea overcome the shortage of raw and other materials and funds, and develop its industry by putting the bankrupt industrial establishments into normal operation and by building more factories; in the rural areas agricultural production can be quickly increased by carrying out large-scale irrigation projects and through an adequate supply of fertilizer and farm machines. Without rehabilitating south Korea's industry and agriculture in this way it will be impossible to provide the millions of unemployed with jobs or to solve the pressing problem of the people's livelihood.

It would be mere lip service to talk about saving south Korea from economic ruin without economic exchange and cooperation with the northern half.

Certain persons in south Korea clamour that foreign capital should be introduced for the development of its economy and even advocate inviting Japanese capital which had for long controlled the economy of our country. Through their bitter experience they had under Japanese imperialist rule, and through the realities of south Korea today, the Korean people know too well what the inroad of foreign capital means. Why must we invite foreign capital instead of turning to account the sufficient economic means that exist in our own country? Such insistence is tantamount only to attempting at pushing south Korea's

economy further into an irreparable bankruptcy, an economy which has already been ruined because of its subordination to US monopoly capital.

If we exploit the rich resources of our country and develop our national economy in a uniform way, with the united strength of our 30 million people and on the basis of heavy industry in the north, we will all be able to live as well as others.

Anyone who is concerned about the wretched plight of the millions of unemployed and child beggars in south Korea and has the slightest concern about the future destiny of our ill-dressed and hunger-stricken compatriots there, will not oppose economic exchange and cooperation between the north and the south.

If the south Korean authorities consider that even the Confederation we propose is still unacceptable to them, we once again propose that a purely economic commission composed of representatives of the business circles of north and south Korea be set up to exchange goods between the north and the south and to help and cooperate with each other in economic construction. Thus, we must, first of all, relieve our brothers and sisters in south Korea from hunger and poverty, setting aside the political question.

Along with economic exchange between the north and the south, cultural interchange should be conducted on an extensive scale and the people allowed to travel freely.

The Korean nation is a homogeneous nation with the same language, spoken and written, and has inherited the same historical and cultural traditions. However, we have been separated from each other for fifteen years, unable to visit each other, meet each other and even write to each other. Consequently, even our language is gradually changing in a different way in the two zones, and so are our culture and custom. Worse still, decadent Yankee culture and American way of life hold sway and our national culture and the beautiful custom of our people are being trampled upon in south Korea.

This hinders the uniform development of our nation and, in particular, threatens the danger of plunging south Korea into an

inescapable quagmire of corruption and degeneration.

We should under no circumstances allow ourselves to ruin the future destiny of the nation on account of political antagonism and thus commit crimes which shall become indelible for generations to come.

We once again propose that the mutual visit of cultural missions and mutual exchange in science, culture, arts, sports and in all other fields be effected between the north and the south. At least, correspondence should be allowed between parents and children, brothers and sisters, relatives and friends, and the people allowed to travel freely across the country.

One of the important questions in improving the relations between the north and the south and particularly in normalizing the economic life in south Korea is the reduction of the armed forces. Today the maintenance of the huge army in south Korea is the greatest burden to the people.

We still hold that the US army should be withdrawn from south Korea and the military strength of north and south Korea be cut down to 100,000 or even less respectively. This will constitute an important measure for easing tension in Korea and promoting peaceful reunification and, in particular, lighten the heavy burdens of military expenditure imposed upon the south Korean people. In our country an army 200,000 strong will be enough to discharge the duty of national defence.

All these are burning issues awaiting urgent solution for the benefit of the Korean people and, above all, for delivering the south Korean people who are in dire straits. The current situation in south Korea does not warrant even a moment's delay.

In order to settle these questions, representatives of north and south Korea should, first of all, get together and negotiate. Unscrupulously saying this is wrong, this is impossible, or something similar, even before meeting and talking with each other, is not the right attitude to settle the questions. Such an attitude benefits only the US imperialists who are trying to keep our nation divided and pit our people against each other and turn south Korea into their permanent colony. If we

keep ourselves divided and our doors shut to each other, the situation will be further aggravated and the south Korean people will suffer from greater misery and hardships.

We propose to the south Korean authorities, political parties, social organizations and individual persons that representatives of north and south Korea meet at the earliest date in Pyongyang, Seoul or at Panmunjom to negotiate about all the above issues.

There is no reason why the Koreans, one and the same nation, should not meet together and negotiate. Why should we, people in the north, continue to talk with the Yankees about the question of our own country at Panmunjom, a place in our own land? Why should the south Korean people be deprived of their seats by the Yankees? The Yankees must pull out and Koreans should sit together and discuss the Korean question.

All political parties, social organizations and individual persons in south Korea should demand that the north and the south hold negotiations as soon as possible. All patriotic people in south Korea must struggle for economic and cultural exchange between the north and the south, for the reduction of the vast army of south Korea and for free north-south general elections.

The peaceful reunification of our country can, by no means, be easily achieved. We must not forget even for a moment that the US imperialists, the ringleaders of world reaction, are occupying south Korea. The peaceful reunification of the country can be achieved only by a persistent struggle of all the Korean people.

When the socialist forces are further strengthened in the northern half of Korea and all the patriotic forces in south Korea firmly unite and march shoulder to shoulder in the decisive struggle against the US imperialists and their lackeys, we will be able to drive the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and accomplish the historic cause of the peaceful reunification of our country.

Comrades,

The Korean people are enjoying in their righteous struggle the powerful support and aid of the socialist camp including the Soviet

Union and the encouragement of the peace-loving people the world over.

Today the international situation is developing in favour of peace and socialism. The might of the socialist camp is growing in scope and strength every day and it is exerting decisive influence upon the development of the international situation.

The Soviet Union is the powerful bulwark of world peace and is firmly standing in the van of the socialist camp. The Soviet people are making tremendous achievements in the development of economy, science and technology and are confidently forging ahead towards communism. Building of communism and particularly the rapid development of science and technology in the Soviet Union heighten the confidence in victory of the people all over the world who are fighting for peace and socialism.

The 650 million Chinese people are continuously making tremendous achievements in socialist construction. The industrial and agricultural production is making swift growth and the people's standard of living is rising higher in People's China.

Socialist construction is successfully going on in all fraternal countries in Europe and Asia, and the political and economic might of these countries is rapidly growing.

The socialist camp is unbreakably united on proletarian internationalist principles. The unity and solidarity of the socialist camp is the most important guarantee for frustrating the aggressive policy of the imperialists, safeguarding durable world peace and ensuring the victory of socialism. Precisely for this reason the imperialists and the revisionists, their bootlickers, are making every attempt to wreck this unity and solidarity. However, all their machinations are bound to fail in the future, as in the past.

For world peace and the victory of socialism and for the victory of our common cause, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people have always exerted all their efforts to strengthen the solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries and cement the unity of the socialist camp.

In particular, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are not only our great brother countries but our closest neighbours. The firm unity with these two peoples is an important guarantee for all the victories of our people.

In the future too, raising high the banner of proletarian internationalism, we will continue to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the Soviet people and advance in firm unity with all the other socialist peoples.

The rapid growth of the world socialist forces is a heavy blow to the imperialist aggressive forces and also gives great inspiration to the colonial and dependent peoples in their liberation struggle. An increasing number of peoples of the world are winning national independence and the imperialist colonial system is in the process of a total collapse. The struggles of the peoples against imperialist aggression and for peace and national independence are being waged more fiercely in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A serious blow has been delivered to the aggressive policy of the American imperialists by the recent mighty resistance struggle of the people in south Korea, Japan and Turkey, etc.

The Cuban people are firmly upholding their national independence by resisting the US aggressors; the liberation war of the Algerian people against French imperialism is going on, and the Congolese people are fighting to preserve their national independence.

The days are gone when the imperialists indulged at will in aggression and plunder. Today the US imperialists meet powerful resistance of the peoples everywhere in the world and their aggressive policy is taking them nowhere. More and more people of the world are standing up to stop aggression, prevent war and defend world peace.

The internal conflicts among the imperialist countries are being further aggravated, and in these countries the broad masses headed by the working class are waging a more vigorous struggle for peace and social progress.

All this reflects the basic trend in our era when socialism is decisively triumphant, when imperialism is on the down grade and the

forces of peace are prevailing over those of war.

The fundamental changes in the balance of forces on the international arena provide practical possibility of frustrating the imperialist plots to ignite war and preventing war at present. When the unity and might of the socialist camp are further strengthened, the liberation movements of the peoples of colonies and dependent countries are accelerated, the labour movement in capitalist countries becomes stronger and the people all over the world struggle more determinedly for peace, world peace will be maintained and consolidated, and mankind will make further progress.

But this does not mean that there exists no more danger of war. As long as imperialism remains, the danger of war cannot be eliminated.

The US-led imperialists are trying to find a way out of the situation in which they are tottering to their fall by intensifying the arms race and increasing the tensions. The US imperialists are initiating frequent provocations against the socialist countries, interfering in the internal affairs of other countries everywhere in the world and suppressing ruthlessly national-liberation movements in colonial countries. They have set up various kinds of aggressive military blocs, established many more military bases around the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and given impetus to the revival of West German revanchists. Recently the US aggressors intruded into the Soviet air space by their military planes, destroyed the Four Power Summit Conference and wrecked the Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference. They are also trying to encroach upon the independence and sovereignty of the Cuban people, and are committing new aggressive action against the Congolese people.

In Asia the US imperialists are still occupying south Korea and Taiwan and their evil hands of aggression are still pressed on South Viet Nam. Recently they concluded the Japan-US military pact and are making frantic efforts to revive Japanese militarism.

All this shows that US imperialism is the most atrocious enemy of mankind and the vicious enemy of the Asian peoples.

We must maintain the strictest vigilance over the machinations of

the imperialists for igniting war and continuously expose and thoroughly shatter their aggressive actions. Peace must be won by the determined struggle of the people.

The Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries, adhering to the Leninist principle on peaceful coexistence among the nations with different social systems, have consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy.

The peace policy pursued by the socialist countries is exercising great influence in isolating the imperialist aggressors, uniting all peace forces and maintaining and consolidating peace.

The Korean people give full support to the Soviet Union's firm stand, peace initiative and persevering effort for curbing the aggressive action of the imperialists, lessening the tensions and consolidating peace.

We will strengthen further the solidarity with the peace-loving people the world over and continue our stubborn struggle for peace in Asia and the world.

The Korean people condemn bitterly the aggressive actions of the US imperialists in south Korea, Taiwan, South Viet Nam, Japan and various other parts of Asia, and strongly demand the complete withdrawal of the US army from these areas. Our people, joining forces with all the Asian peoples, will fight for the withdrawal of the US aggressive army from the whole of Asia.

We warmly support the struggle of the Japanese people for the annulment of the aggressive Japan-US military pact. We extend our fervent support to the struggle of the South Vietnamese people against the US imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. We ardently support the struggle of the Cuban people against the aggression of US imperialism and the struggle of the Congolese people against colonialism and for national independence. We support the struggle of the peoples of all colonial and dependent countries for peace and national independence.

By firmly relying on the strong support of the people of the socialist countries and the encouragement of the peace-loving people of the

whole world, and by further uniting and strengthening their own revolutionary forces, the Korean people will maintain a durable peace in Korea and certainly attain the peaceful reunification of the country. Thus they will defend reliably the eastern outpost of the socialist camp and contribute to the common cause of peace and socialism.

Dear comrades.

In the past 15 years, the Korean people won great victories in their struggle for national independence and social progress.

All the struggles of our people are led by the Workers' Party of Korea. Applying creatively Marxism-Leninism to our actual conditions, our Party has always mobilized our people for victory.

Our Party has become more mature through the complex and arduous struggle, and won the absolute support, trust and love of the people. Our one million Party members are cemented around the Central Committee of the Party, and the entire people are rallied around the Party more strongly than ever before.

Even when our country was completely occupied by the Japanese imperialists and the revolutionary forces of our people were still weak, the Korean communists were convinced of the unconquerable Marxist-Leninist truth and fought to the last and finally won their victory.

Today the revolutionary forces of our people have grown unprecedentedly strong. We have a steel-strong Party, a mighty political power and an impregnable revolutionary base.

We enjoy the support of the great socialist camp and the encouragement of the peace-loving people throughout the world.

The Korean people's struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country and socialism will surely win final victory.

Let us all uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism, unite closer around our Party, and march forward valiantly towards fresh victories.

THE CHOLLIMA RIDERS ARE HEROES OF OUR AGE AND RED WARRIORS OF THE PARTY

**Speech Delivered at the National Meeting of Vanguard
of the Chollima Workteam Movement**

August 22, 1960

Dear vanguards of the Chollima Workteam Movement,

The National Meeting of Vanguard of the Chollima Workteam Movement being held here in the wake of the glorious liberation day, is a historic gathering which clearly shows the soaring revolutionary spirit and noble communist traits of our working people who are bracing themselves up to build a new life. All the working people are now closely following the proceeding of this meeting with great excitement and enthusiasm.

The Chollima riders assembled here are honourable vanguards who push ahead with the building of socialism in our country at an unprecedented speed, and our Party's Red warriors who advance vigorously towards the eminence of socialism, towards the bright future—communism.

As true masters of the glorious Chollima age, you command an infinite love of the entire people, stir and boundlessly inspire all people by your noble deeds and distinguished services.

The great services you have rendered through your heroic labour for the grandeur and prosperity of the country, will go down for all times in our history and be remembered long by our posterity.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I offer the warmest congratulations to this congress and extend heartfelt thanks to all Chollima riders.

Comrades,

The Chollima Workteam Movement reflects the burning patriotism and unanimous aspirations of our working people to accelerate the building of a people's garden of happiness in our land under the leadership of the Workers' Party, and demonstrates the unfailing creative power of our working people who, educated by the Party, are forging ahead united with one mind and one purpose under the Party's banner.

The Chollima Workteam Movement is a fine, great school of communism of our age created by the heroic working class of Korea.

This laudable movement initiated by the crew of Jin Ung Won's workteam in the Kangson Steel Plant in March last year has spread rapidly to the whole country in only one year and a half. Today over 8,600 workteams in all parts of the country have participated in this movement, and 766 of them have already been awarded the title of Chollima Workteam, of which 13 have the highly honoured title of Twice Chollima Workteam.

The Chollima Workteam Movement is a new mass innovation movement which has brought about a great change in the labour and life of our working people, and is the highest form of socialist emulation movement. Its great significance lies in the fact that it is not only a great impetus making for rapid development of the national economy and an excellent vehicle for collective management of the economy by the awakened working people, but also a fine medium for mass education to remake people into new communist men.

The participants in this movement are striving to work, study and live all alike in a communist way by helping and leading each other along in all of the production, technical, cultural, ideological and moral domains.

In the Chollima workteams all their members are making collective innovations in production and technical progress by thinking and

striving together and displaying collective wisdom and creativity. By mechanizing and automating the production processes and constantly introducing new methods of production, the Chollima riders are rapidly increasing production while doing their work with greater ease.

All members of the Chollima workteams are studying and teaching collectively to raise their technical and cultural level, to equip themselves with communist ideas and to cultivate communist ethics. Through collective education and assistance passive fellows of yesterday become the activists of today, loiterers of yesterday become the vanguards of today, and all are being moulded into new communist men.

Communism is mankind's ideal; it is for the good of the multitude and aimed at providing a life abundant for all people.

All descriptions of old thinking such as individualism, selfishness and liberalism are greatly prejudicial to the building of socialism and communism. If we are to translate the communist ideal into reality at an early date, we should rid the people's minds of the remnants of old ideas and transform loiterers, so that all work hard for the benefit of society and the people and move forward confidently towards communism.

The Chollima workteam is a truly communist collective where one works for all and all work for one. Our Chollima Workteam Movement is a movement for making continued innovations in production and technology by fearlessly doing away with conservatism, mysticism, and all inactivity and stagnation, a historic movement for assuring the victory of new, communist thinking and ethics in the realms of ideology and morality by making a clean sweep of all depravity and backwardness inherited from the old society.

The great force of the Chollima Workteam Movement is clearly shown in the practical activities of the participants in this movement.

Comrade Ri Sung Hwan, leader of the Twice Chollima youth workteam of the Aoji Coal Mine, educated the young people always in the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas and thus established a voluntary labour discipline among his crew and quickly raised their technical and skill levels, bringing about signal successes

in production. His crew have boosted the monthly output of coal at the hewing face from 5,000 tons to more than 10,000 tons at present, and are striving for the goal of raising this figure to the 15,000-ton level by the end of the year.

All members of the Twice Chollima youth workteam led by Comrade Ju Song Il of the Ryongsong Machine Factory performed great services in making an 8-metre turning lathe, a 3,000-ton press and other large-size machines. In accordance with the instructions of the Party to think and act boldly, they bravely overcame all obstacles and difficulties and introduced many new ideas, thereby ensuring the working of materials several times or scores of times more speedily and working creditably on the most difficult parts. The comrades in this workteam have increased labour productivity more than five times and saved nearly 20,000 man-days, while exceeding their plan for the current year already by the end of July.

Comrade Kil Hwak Sil, leader of a Chollima workteam of the Pyongyang Silk Mill, turned her own into a Chollima workteam and then volunteered to be transferred to a most backward team where her work was several times more arduous while the pay was far less than at her previous workteam. She has also developed that backward team into a Chollima workteam. She has devoted all her heart and strength to make the entire collective united and awakened by perseveringly educating the loiterers who failed to observe labour discipline well and shirked their work, and has brought the workteam to surpass its production plan by 40 per cent whereas it used to manage only 70 percent of its plan in the past.

The vanguards of the Chollima Workteam Movement are not scores but thousands, tens of thousands. Here we cannot simply mention all of their admirable achievements and good deeds.

Chollima riders do not care about their personal pleasure or personal fame but always think of the interests of their collective and all their comrades, and their life is ruled by lofty patriotism and communist ethics. Exactly such people are true communists and genuine servants of the people.

In the Chollima workteam, neither bureaucracy nor formalism is allowed, and only the method of persuasion and education is used to remould people. Comradeship and communistic mutual assistance help to do everything with success. The vanguards of this movement are not merely production innovators but also able managing workers, skilled organizers and good educators.

As is to be seen from this, the Chollima riders have admirably inherited the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas and set examples as communists who assimilate the Party policy to make it their flesh and blood and carry it through to the end.

The progress of the Chollima Workteam Movement proves the correctness and indestructible vitality of our Party policy and demonstrates the unshakable unity of the Party and the people. The movement signifies a great victory for the popular methods of work and mass line of our Party that trusts the masses, relies on them in its work and pulls through all difficulties by enlisting their enthusiasm and creativity.

The Party Central Committee is greatly satisfied that you have initiated this movement and are scoring great results by widely participating in it, and highly appraises the fidelity and revolutionary stamina you have displayed in advancing vigorously with single devotion, upholding the Party policy.

Further expansion and development of the Chollima Workteam Movement mean further promotion of our people's forward march towards socialism and communism. We should develop this movement more widely and more extensively. All working people and all workteams should take part in this movement.

This movement should be launched on a wide scale not only in industry but in all fields of the economy and culture such as agriculture, construction, transportation, trade, education, health services, science, literature, and arts.

We should steadily expand the ranks of the Chollima workteams, and level up this movement to develop it from Chollima workteam to Chollima workshop.

For the rapid expansion and development of the Chollima Movement, the officials of the organs and establishments at all levels, from the leading personnel of the ministries and bureaus to the workers of the local Party and government bodies and the directors, chief engineers and shop managers of the factories, should realize the great political and economic significance of this movement and give positive support and provide all conditions for the movement. At the same time, all people should follow the example of the Chollima riders and learn with an open mind from them.

Thus, Chollima workteams and Chollima workshops should be created everywhere, and all working people should strive to become Chollima riders.

Comrades,

We now have before us the new tasks of the Seven-Year Plan which will positively advance the building of socialism. As was mentioned in my report delivered at the 15th anniversary celebration of the August 15 liberation, the Seven-Year Plan is a magnificent programme of socialist construction.

In a short period following the war we healed the war wounds and laid the basis of socialism, and solved in the main the problem of food, clothing and shelter.

Today our working people have jobs all alike and are living in comfort free from any worries about food, clothing and housing. All of them are studying while working, have their sons and daughters educated free of charge, and are entitled to free medical care at any time in sickness.

It is a mighty change in the history of our country that our people who were trodden underfoot and suffered from poverty for a long time in the past, have now come to enjoy a happy and hopeful life in a good society free from any oppression or exploitation.

But we cannot rest content with the achievements reached. We have by now solved only the basic problems in building socialism and improving the people's living conditions.

In the coming period of the Seven-Year Plan we will have to

achieve industrialization and markedly improve the people's livelihood. The Seven-Year Plan is aimed at further consolidating the material and technical foundations of socialism and thus increasing the nation's wealth while work is done with ease, and making the people's life more bountiful and cultured.

During the Seven-Year Plan, total industrial output value will increase more than 2.5 times. In 1967 the annual output of electricity will stand at 17,000 million kWh, coal—more than 23 million tons, steel—2.5 million tons, cement—4.3 million tons, chemical fertilizers—1.5 million tons and textiles—500 million metres.

The rural economy will show an increase of over 1.5 times in total grain yields, and the production of meat, oil, milk, etc. will rise considerably.

Rapid growth of industrial and agricultural production requires building more factories and producing more machinery and equipment accordingly. In the countryside more irrigation projects should be carried out and more land reclaimed, and land construction work conducted on a wide scale to rezone the existing lands properly. In particular, the two-crop area should be expanded, so that more grain and fodder crops are yielded.

In town and country, dwelling houses, shops and various service facilities should be built on a large scale. More schools, scientific establishments, research institutions should be erected, and various cultural facilities further increased.

Only when all these tasks are carried out will our country become rich and strong and our people enjoy a life of plenty.

Needless to say, we have done much in the way of economic construction by now, but we have more great and vast work to do in future.

Such a vast and great task can hardly be accomplished by backward handicraft techniques. At factories, mines, farm villages, fishing settlements and everywhere, the pressing need is for modern technology.

The technical revolution is a lofty revolutionary task to provide

emancipation from hard and labour-consuming work for the working people who have been freed from oppression and exploitation.

Our country has now passed into the period of an overall technical revolution. Our task is to achieve farm mechanization and to make all operations mechanized where manual labour and carriage on human back are still prevailing in local industry, construction work, transportation, and fisheries. In the branches already equipped with up-to-date machinery, automation should be vigorously promoted while bringing mechanization to perfection.

All Party members and working people should turn out as one in the struggle to carry out the tasks of the technical revolution set forth by our Party at the present stage of socialist construction.

It is no light task carrying out the vast assignments of the Seven-Year Plan and taking the fortress of the technical revolution. However, we must do so without fail. We are surely capable of it.

Even in the postwar years when all was lying in ruins, we restored the economy in a short period of time, laying the foundations of an independent national economy and markedly improving the people's standard of living.

Today our economic foundations are very strong and the revolutionary spirit of the working masses is sky-high. Moreover, we have already acquired rich experiences in the building of a new society.

If all working people unite firmly around the Party and make persistent endeavours to implement the Party policy, and if the Party, relying on the masses, brings their inexhaustible creative power into service, we can cope triumphantly with any difficult task.

We should not get self-conceited simply because of our victory but should study harder and make strenuous efforts. The revolution will never allow one to mark time. According to the laws of social progress, it demands constant replacement of old things with new ones and calls for continued progress and innovations.

The faster we transform the old society into a new one through our creative labour, the earlier a happy life of the working people will be forthcoming.

We are all revolutionary fighters of communism building a new society. Through a more energetic struggle, we should definitely accomplish in our times the historic task of doing away with our country's backwardness and building a society of happiness. The Seven-Year Plan mapped out by our Party has a decisive meaning in fulfilling this historic task.

You, the vanguards of the Chollima Workteam Movement, together with all the working people, should give free reins to the Chollima and make continued advance and uninterrupted innovations in ever higher spirits.

I call upon you, who have set a fine example of working, studying and living in a communist way and performed many a miracle in the building of a new society, to devote all your energy and ardour to the struggle for fulfilment of the lofty task of technical innovations.

Let us all unite more solidly around our Party and move forward bravely towards the eminence of socialism, for a brilliant victory of the technical revolution, for a more abundant and cultured life of the people.

THE PEOPLE'S ARMY IS A COMMUNIST SCHOOL

**Talk with Soldiers of Unit No. 109
of the Korean People's Army**
August 25, 1960

1. ON TRAINING SOLDIERS' IDEOLOGICAL WILL

The People's Army men are the Red revolutionary soldiers of the Workers' Party who defend our Party, the country and the people at the cost of their own lives. Therefore, they should be better qualified than any other people and have the highest ideological consciousness.

Political life in the army is very important. An army is advantageous to political life because it lives collectively. The People's Army should be a communist school which trains soldiers not only in military techniques but also in politics.

What is important in political training? It is to harden the ideological will.

A man should have a strong will. He should possess a firm ideological will to carry out his purpose and realize his desire, no matter what happens. A feeble-minded man, obsessed with fear, can do nothing. Such a man can neither cope with a forced march nor attack an enemy.

The army is ideal for the training of ideological will, because all its

actions require a strong will. In the army the soldiers' will is hardened through military training such as forced march or the forced crossing of a river. So a soldier can develop a stubborn will in the long years of military service.

We, too, hardened our ideological will through guerrilla warfare better than the local underground revolutionary work in the past. During the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle our hatred for the enemy grew more intense on seeing the enemy oppressing and exploiting the people, and our revolutionary will was further strengthened in the course of struggle to crush the enemy by overcoming all difficulties and hardships.

Of course, there is no exploiting class now in the northern half of our country. But the ideological cobwebs of the exploiting class, the hostile class, do exist. We should hate and combat these remnants. Neither the slightest idea of such hostile class nor its remnants should exist in the army.

You must regard your service in the army as education at a communist school.

Particularly, young soldiers must clearly understand the significance of their army life and further cultivate their communist ideas and will. They can obtain other knowledge after they are discharged from the army.

A strong will which is developed while in the army is priceless. For instance, doctors who have not been trained in fortitude often waver in difficulties which crop up in their work because they lack strong willpower, for all their past university education and continued study and in spite of their intelligent brains. But in case a discharged soldier who has acquired strong willpower through training in our People's Army, becomes a doctor, he will be an excellent one, a competent scientist.

From our experience we know that it is a very good thing for you to serve in the army for some years. Had we not undergone the trials in the 15 years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we would have been unable to break through so many difficulties in the way of revolution.

After liberation our political life was beset with many hardships. During the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle we had had more physical pains than mental sufferings. At that time we had fought with a resolution to destroy the enemy even if we were to die. We had only been determined to achieve the independence of the country at any cost.

But in the post-liberation years our mental sufferings were greater than physical pains. Immediately after liberation we were confronted with many problems, which were very complicated. First of all, we had to liquidate the remnants of Japanese imperialism, the biggest obstacle, in order to establish the people's government. And to build the Party on a sound basis, we had to combat the residues of feudalism and various remnants of factions including the M-L group, the Tuesday group, the Irkutsk group, which had found their way into the ranks of the communist movement and manoeuvred in every way spreading poison. We also had to combat the remnants of nepotism and parochialism. We lived in the midst of so many enemies. These enemies even found their way into our ranks.

But we were not afraid of them. We had a strong ideological will which had been nurtured in the 20-year-long revolutionary struggle. We defeated the enemies one by one, in a firm belief that the broad sections of the masses would follow us because we were struggling for justice.

After liberation we set up the people's government by annihilating the remnants of Japanese imperialism. And then we liquidated landlords through the agrarian reform. At that time we never returned home from work till two or three o'clock in the morning. In this struggle the people followed and supported our Party.

In this manner we united the revolutionary forces and gradually got rid of the Tuesday group, the M-L group and the Irkutsk group, who had done great harm to our communist movement historically and infiltrated into our Party ranks. We thus ensured the unity of the Party. This was all possible because we had a strong will.

It also was due to this strong will that during the three-year war we

defeated the enemies who were several times stronger than us. Not only the leadership of the Party Central Committee but many of our cadres, officers, and all the people were strong-willed.

Without a strong will we would have been unable to build socialism, either. We experienced it in the difficult period of postwar reconstruction. We did not have a single barrack immediately after the war. We did not even have a house worth mentioning in the countryside. There was not a road which was undamaged, neither cement, brick, nor a sheet of windowpane available for the reconstruction. There was nothing but bomb craters everywhere. But we did not waver in spite of such difficulties and instead struggled on and finally succeeded in building socialism. This was possible because we had a strong will.

Had we not had an iron will we would have spent up on food the aid from foreign countries after the war. We would have wasted it up within a year if we had not withstood the hardships at the time.

We had to strengthen the People's Army and lay a solid economic foundation of the country, whatever the difficulties. We tightened our belts to surmount difficulties and thus strengthened the People's Army and built heavy industry. On the basis of this heavy industry we will be able to carry out the technical revolution, mechanize all branches of the national economy and convert our country into a completely industrial state in the future.

Next year we will get down to the Seven-Year Plan. In 1953, we had to build from the very beginning under the difficult conditions, but now the situation is different. True, there will be difficulties in implementing the Seven-Year Plan. But I am confident that we shall be able to overcome them with a strong will.

When you look at pictures about the anti-Japanese armed struggle you must not simply be charmed by the skill of painting; you must imagine how arduous the struggle was at the time. You have many difficulties in your military service, though now you are living in fine barracks, and how hard it was for the guerrillas who had to eat in the wind and sleep in the rain and dew in those years! These

revolutionaries staunchly fought for their country's independence and in the cause of communism, withstanding all trials with a strong will.

What could be nobler than being a revolutionary to fight for the country and the people? No duty is nobler than this.

It is necessary for everybody to experience the army life once when they are young. Only then will they realize more clearly that the country is precious indeed and also learn to take good care of things. Moreover, their ideological willpower will be solidified.

You must further cultivate a strong will while in the army and serve the country and the people more faithfully.

Many of the officers have served more than ten years, and these comrades, too, must nurture a stronger will and be more faithful to the country and the people.

2. ON EDUCATING AND REMOULDING ALL PEOPLE AND LAUNCHING A RED-FLAG COMPANY MOVEMENT

You must lead your political life well in the army and learn how to work among the masses. You must further cultivate the love of your country and its people and remould many people.

I am told that some soldiers are worried about their class origin and family backgrounds. This shows that they have not yet been imbued with the spirit of the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee. Disseminating Party policy does not mean just conveying it to people. You can say that you have imbued them with the idea of this policy only when they understand it and are convinced of it. Mere transmission is no inculcation.

We must imbue such people with Party policy. Only when they know Party policy clearly will they open their hearts. The army is a school, and if you should fail to educate them in this school before they

leave the army, it would be more difficult for civilian communities to educate them.

The army should conduct its political work effectively so that they trust the Party and speak their minds and work without any worry about their class origin or family backgrounds.

Men are not supposed to serve long in the army. They leave it after several years' service. If they are given good education in the army and then go into the civilian life, they will perform their tasks properly. But those who are not well-informed of Party policy and incompetent in military service will not be good at any other work. We must imbue the people of checkered origin and family backgrounds with the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, and re-educate them.

We must know that people's records and class origin are complex because of the peculiarities of the historical and revolutionary development of our country.

Our country was under the occupation of Japanese imperialists for 36 years. This is not a short period. To make the matter worse, the M-L group, the Tuesday group and other factional elements wrecked the working-class movement in our country, and this caused some people to lose national pride and confidence in victory of the revolution. Caught between two minds as to when the Korean revolution would triumph and when our country would win independence from the bondage of Japanese imperialism, some people joined reactionary organizations such as "anti-communism corps" and "youth corps" of the Japanese imperialists, and allowed themselves to become what they called the "student soldiers".

Even some of those who had been engaged in the communist movement and peasant movement betrayed their cause and obeyed the orders of Japanese imperialists as these enemies spread their forces. These people did not join the organizations of Japanese imperialists because they were all bad people nor did they obey their orders willingly. It was entirely due to lack of their faith in victory of the revolution and correct understanding of communism.

Towards the closing years of Japanese imperialist rule some

intellectuals changed their principles, saying that there was no way out because Japanese imperialism was strong, and some people took up the road of counter-revolution because they had committed serious crimes. Reactionary literary men such as Choe Nam Son and Ri Kwang Su went so far as to say that the Koreans and the Japanese were of the “same breed”, which meant that they shared the same ancestry and came from the same race. Many people were taken in by their deceit.

Before liberation the factional elements destroyed the Korean Communist Party. They did not propagate communism, either. In consequence, even those who, otherwise, could have remained firm were fooled by the Japanese imperialists.

The American occupation of the southern half of our country after liberation added to the complexity of the situation.

As you know from your own war experience, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, at the instigation of US imperialism, made ceaseless unprovoked incursions into the Ongjin peninsula, Mt. Songak and many other places as far back as 1947-48.

The enemy refused the country’s peaceful reunification, the unanimous desire of the Korean people, and launched a massive attack in 1950. So we had to counterattack them. Alarmed at this, the Americans brought large forces of their own to the Korean war. This resulted in big disparity in the balance of forces between friend and foe, and we had to make a temporary retreat.

What complexity occurred during our temporary retreat? When we retreated temporarily some people in the north played into the hands of the enemy. At that time quite a few people lost confidence in victory and reconciled themselves by getting involved in the “peace maintenance corps”. Some of them joined it because they were people of bad class origin but only a few of them. Among them were poor peasants and erstwhile farm hands who had worked for landlords. They all received lands free of charge in the agrarian reform after liberation.

Their involvement in such a reactionary organization was due to the fact that the factional elements in our Party had neglected educating the people.

We have ousted them all now, but there were the M-L group, the Tuesday group, the Irkutsk group, etc., in our Party. The Irkutsk group was a faction which had been in exile in the Soviet Union for a long time, and their descendants returned to Korea after liberation. The M-L group had continued with their factional activity in Yanan before they came back to Korea. Even in the years of the struggle against Japanese imperialism these factionalists indulged in sectarian acts whenever they found the chance.

After liberation they worked their way into the Party and hampered education in the revolutionary traditions; they ignored the Korean revolution carried out by the Koreans; they also underestimated our people's exploits of struggle or took a nihilistic attitude to them. In order to curry favour with big power chauvinists, they made a preposterous claim that the Koreans would be successful in the revolution only by relying on a big nation. So they only made the people praise the Soviet army without giving them education, alleging that the Koreans did not know how to fight. The result was that a great many people were unable to have confidence in victory.

If the factional elements had educated the people properly at that time instead of hampering education in the revolutionary traditions, many people in the enemy-occupied areas could have put up a better fight. Our retreat lasted no more than 40 days. They could have fought through these 40 days, when the anti-Japanese guerrillas had fought against the enemy for 15 long years.

The weather in Korea is not so extremely cold, nor the snowstorm is so heavy. If only Party members had gathered together in groups each of scores of people and moved about our deep mountains and forests carrying clubs and axes with them, they could have endured until the People's Army returned. But some people, unable to endure the 40 days, went back home and were caught and slaughtered by the enemy. If they had all retreated at that time few would have joined the "peace maintenance corps". Of course, both those killed and those involved in this band themselves are to blame, but the main responsibility rests with the factional elements who had worked their way into the Party

and obstructed education for the people in the revolutionary traditions.

Why did they sabotage education in these traditions? They had an ulterior purpose. The M-L group who came from Yanan tried to compromise the dignity of our nation to show a servile attachment to other great power chauvinists. In fact, they had done nothing to contribute to the struggle. Most of them had been enlisted by the Japanese army and taken prisoners by the Chinese Eighth Route Army. The rest were nationalists who had lived on charity in a foreign psychological warfare corps. The Irkutsk group from the Soviet Union had a similar ambition.

That is why they did not at all propagate the truly staunch struggle of the Koreans. They deliberately ignored the heroic struggle of the genuine Korean communists and patriots to win back the country. This was the way that Pak Chang Ok and his ilk who had entrenched themselves in our Party, took no notice of everything precious to our nation and gave no education to the people. That was why the enemy could form the “peace maintenance corps” and the “Taehan Youth Corps” and commit so many crimes only in 40 days of their occupation. This further complicated the personal histories and social makeup of our people.

If the people had been educated, immediately after liberation, in the brilliant revolutionary traditions which our Party inherited from the anti-Japanese guerrillas, many of our people and Party members would not have been slaughtered by the enemy.

If the People’s Army had been properly educated in the revolutionary traditions since its foundation, few of them would have been captured by the enemy or, if ever captured, they would not have succumbed to the enemy.

The people who fled to the south during the war, did not do so because they liked south Korea. Of course, some went over there because they were bad people by class origin, but the majority were threatened to go by the Americans who told them that they would drop atom bombs and that they would be back again when the azaleas blossomed. They are now begging around in south Korea.

When I was inspecting Kaesong, a woman told me, “Premier, I will tell you the truth .From my ignorance, I told my brother who was in hiding to flee to south Korea, and now I regret it. Why did I send him away?’’ This woman sent her brother away out of her ignorance. It was not until Kaesong was liberated and the people’s government was set up there that she realized that communists are the best people and patriots. She had known nothing of it before.

The Japanese imperialists said in their newspapers that communists were all “robbers”. It was false propoganda. Their newspapers called us “mounted bandits” instead of guerrillas. At first they had called us a “communist party” and then a “communist army” and then “communist bandits”. After that they had dropped even the word “communist”. But communist influence went on spreading, so in the end they called us “mounted bandits”.

The Japanese imperialists spoke against communism in this way, and to make matters worse, we were not good at information work after liberation. For this reason, some people were afraid of communism. In south Korea there are people who still fear communism. So we must intensify our communist information work to convince them that communists are the most devoted patriots.

We must know that people were used by the enemy or fled to the south because we had failed to educate them properly in the past.

Our Party’s policy is to re-educate even those who joined in the “peace maintenance corps”, “Taehan Youth Corps” and other reactionary enemy organizations, since not all of them are useless people.

People who were employed in enemy institutions at the time of Japanese imperialism, people who worked in the reactionary organizations in the days of American occupation, these and other people and their relatives will amount to hundreds of thousands. It would be improper to brush them all aside as worthless people. We must remould them all and win them over to our side. Many people have already been remoulded. The army will be able to do this job better.

Some people may be secretly worrying themselves with various thoughts: “Shall I be expelled if I say this? Shall I be admitted to the Party if I say this?” They also know that they are wrong. But some of them may remain silent, thinking: “What would become of me if I confess? Comrades will hate me, so I would rather keep silent until I leave the army.” These people will be in torment.

We should reason with these people kindly: “Do not worry yourself. We understand your feelings. How can you be responsible for what your relatives have done when you were away serving faithfully in the army? Certainly you are not to blame.”

For instance, if a guerrilla veteran who had been fighting for over 15 years away from home was told that his family committed a crime, would he waver? He would not.

But there are some who vacillate. In the army they fought heroically at the risk of their lives. But when they went home, discharged from the service, they found that their brothers and fathers joined the “peace maintenance corps”. This irritated them, and they brought the matter to the Party. If we meet such people, we will tell them that they have nothing to worry about because they fought well.

Once it happened that a youngster remained at home while others were all evacuated. He was told to join the “peace maintenance corps” and he did and stood on sentry and committed crimes. But after his village was liberated by the People’s Army he did a good job. He felt sorry of his mistake, repented, and then joined the People’s Army with a firm resolution to atone for his crimes by distinguishing himself. He concealed the fact that he had stood on guard for the “peace maintenance corps”, but he fought very gallantly, though wounded, for which he was awarded the title of Hero. But after the truce his personal history was checked, which revealed that he had stood on sentry for the enemy organization, although he was a Hero. Of course, it is his fault to have concealed his record at the time, but actually he was not willing to do so. He was determined to mend his ways by distinguishing himself in the army even if he was to conceal his personal history. So he volunteered for the army and fought valiantly. If so, we need not

take issue with this minor offense, need we? Of course, it is worse than a clean record. It would have been better if he had done nothing of the sort. What could we do with him when he did it partly because he was ignorant and partly because he was threatened? This is not a serious problem.

Therefore, I always emphasize that Party workers must not use the work method of handling things indiscriminately. They must study each case on its own merits. They must never handle questions by drawing conclusions just from dossiers. Both the mistake committed by a person and the degree of his ideological consciousness at the time of commission must be carefully examined before the case is settled.

Our Party members and particularly political workers must understand that the inhabitants of this country have involved records. Otherwise, we may fall into a trap laid by the Americans, who are trying to disturb our mutual trust and unity. Occupying south Korea, they are still corrupting our brothers. So we must learn to outmanoeuvre them and outwit their sinister designs.

We must re-educate all those with involved records and origin to be fine people and thus win over as many people as possible. This is the way to emerge victorious in the revolution. Remoulding such people is all the more imperative because the building of communism aims at providing large numbers of people with a happy life.

We can remould everyone whether he is a troublemaker or something else. I think you all know of the speech made by Comrade Kil Hwak Sil, a Labour Heroine, at the National Meeting of Vanguarders in the Chollima Workteam Movement. Her experience shows that there is no person who cannot be remoulded.

Comrade Kil Hwak Sil is a girl of 21. Last summer I met her. She is working with a communist idea, without regard for her personal interests.

This girl had developed her workteam into a Chollima workteam, and was receiving more wages than before. But she gave it all up and volunteered for another backward workteam. This meant much lower wages for her. This workteam was made up of all sorts of people

including those whose family members had fled to the south or joined the “peace maintenance corps”. The team members were unruly and their labour productivity was low. But Comrade Kil Hwak Sil resolved to re-educate all of them. She worked among them in a modest way and succeeded in re-educating the loiterers splendidly. In this manner she led this workteam to win the title of Chollima Workteam.

Comrade Kil Hwak Sil gave lectures on her experience at universities and in many other places. She said that everyone could be remoulded with the exception of counter-revolutionary elements who are ideologically hostile and opposed to us. What a great strength this is! I highly praised her at the recent National Meeting of Vanguards in the Chollima Workteam Movement.

What does this mean? It means a great victory of our Party’s mass line of trusting and re-educating the masses. Even young comrades at the close of their teens have got down to the re-education of the masses, and this cannot be but a great victory.

There are no loiterers who cannot be remoulded. People of involved origin must be remoulded. The families of those who fled to the south must also be remoulded, instead of simply being hated. Needless to say, fleeing to the south itself is a bad thing, but we must re-educate as many people as possible and lead them forward since the aim of building communism is to provide all people with a happy life. I tell our Party officials that if they are to build communism they must remould a large number of people, or else they have to go to an island to build communism as they see it.

It is very important to reshape men’s consciousness at this stage of socialist revolution. Without doing this it would be impossible to build a communist society. For this reason we are striving to remould their consciousness, while at the same time conducting the technical revolution.

The People’s Army, too, must work on these lines. It would be improbable that all of so many soldiers are completely free from family or relative ties with those who fled to the south or were involved in the case of “peace maintenance corps”. These people, too, have received

school education, become builders of socialism, and joined the army under the care of the Party. So we must re-educate them and win them back.

Of course, we must be wide awake because their families and relatives may have an adverse effect on them through correspondence. But if we suspect them all and brand them as useless, they will not speak their minds. Moreover, if we should begin to suspect them, we would be unable to remould them because in the end we would fear them.

The fact that some of the soldiers are still hiding their records and family backgrounds shows that you are not yet on intimate terms with them. You must become more intimate with them, approach them, and explain to them carefully about the correctness of Party policy. This alone will solve the problem. We must educate and remould them all.

You say that you have helped the loiterers to lead their political life properly by acquainting yourselves with their characters and tastes and, on this basis, giving them assignments and talking to them. That is the way of doing Party work. That is precisely how to work among the masses.

We have a great deal of work to do from now on. We must remould people not only in north Korea but, at some time in the future, those people who have served in the “National Defence Army” or worked for the puppet regime in south Korea.

By now over 30,000 Koreans have returned home from Japan, they returned from a full-blooded capitalist society. We must treat all of them magnanimously and educate them to be as fine builders of socialism as the people in the north. Our Party members must undertake the education of these people. This task is something like a test in our ability.

We will be working in the south at some time in the future when the country has been reunified. Then, it would be impossible to reject them all as wicked—a large number of people who have worked for the puppet regime and hundreds of thousands who have served in the “National Defence Army”. We will have to remould them, too. This is

a very difficult task devolving on our Workers' Party members.

If you are to reform people's minds, you must first equip yourselves with communist ideology and then start to educate other people. Without equipping yourselves with this ideology, you would not be able to remould others. You must, therefore, strive to acquire this ideology. Not only officers but also the men must become political workers. You must be courageous military cadres who are good at shooting and fighting. At the same time, you must be excellent educators and political workers who know how to teach the masses. Only when you are trained in this manner will you be able to play the role of hard core in factories, rural villages, schools, etc., after your discharge from military service, and also cope with any other complicated tasks. To this end, you must conduct your daily political life in good faith. You cannot exist outside politics. It seems to me that your political life is sound.

The Chollima Workteam Movement now under way at factories and in the countryside is an excellent movement.

A model company movement has been going on in the army since wartime, but it somehow does not suit today's conditions. It deals mainly with military affairs, and not much of ideological education. At that time the main concern was about military affairs.

Now ideological education, communist education, is more important, though military affairs are of importance. Therefore, it would be advisable to initiate a red-flag company movement which is a higher level movement than the model company movement in that it gives priority to communist education.

All backward people must be remoulded through collective education so that everyone will be a good man. It would be useless to make a red-flag company by transferring backward soldiers to other companies. You must launch the red-flag company movement among the existing soldiers and thus educate and reform them all to be people equipped with communist ideology, so that no one lags behind.

Officers should also participate in this movement. By the way, it

would be a good idea to get all red-flag company members to wear badges.

The criteria by which to judge the red-flag company should be similar to those for the Chollima workteam, but the former should be a little higher form of a communist movement.

The most important thing in the red-flag company movement is to educate everyone to be a communist by means of efficient political work, without leaving anyone to lag behind. You must also carry out your combat training assignments in a proper manner, take good care of your weapons and be good marksmen. You must tighten discipline, keep your barracks in good shape and run the sideline economy well.

I hope that you will develop all your companies into red-flag companies, and then into red-flag battalions and regiments. It would be advisable to launch the red-flag company movement at first and then develop it onto a little higher level, say, a guards company, a communist company or something of the sort. The title of the guards can be awarded even though it is peacetime.

3. ON IMPROVING THE METHOD OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

I think you are conducting political work basically on the right track and disseminating Party policies opportunely. But you must not rest content with this, and instead conduct political education more effectively. Soldiers must not learn by memory without intelligence from the first line of a political lesson just as one does with the “Analects of Confucius” and “Discourses of Mencius”. You must teach soldiers in a very simple and clear-cut way.

Particularly in dealing with Party documents and decisions, for instance, you must pick up the main points and teach them properly. At the moment some comrades teach them haphazardly and make the

main points difficult. One seems to understand what is told when he is among the audience, but one finds it hard when he is going to speak about it. You must study how to teach the men so that they will be able to speak to the point.

Lectures on political subjects, too, should be worked out clearly and not in a complicated way.

First of all, the essential points of the character of our revolution, its stages, our Party's policy on building socialism and on the south Korean revolution and similar subjects should be taught briefly and to the point.

The situation in south Korea should also be explained in the same way.

The south Korean people rose in revolt and ousted Syngman Rhee, but it is not he who is in question. They do not as yet know their enemy clearly. As I made it clear in my report to the anniversary celebration of the August 15 liberation, the first enemies are the Americans who are behind him.

I would like to compare them to a puppet show. The dolls move back and forth under the control of the man behind the scene. Here Syngman Rhee is the doll who dances on the stage, and the Americans are the wirepuller behind the scene.

Yet the south Koreans confused the dancer with the wire-puller, so that they threw out only the dancer. The Americans installed "Syngman Jang" in office. So the chief enemy is the Americans in both cases.

Who supports the Americans? It is none other than the landlords and comprador capitalists in south Korea. Comprador capitalists bring in foreign capital with which they run their economy and exploit the workers. The landlords and comprador capitalists can live only by depending on the Americans. Otherwise, the workers and peasants would knock them down without hesitation.

The landlords and comprador capitalists support the Americans, and the Americans protect them. Only in this way can they dampen the revolution and exploit the workers and peasants. The Americans,

landlords and comprador capitalists are all our enemies, and the landlords and comprador capitalists are lackeys of the Americans.

It is true that the popular uprising in south Korea was a victory in that the people gained the experience and truth that they could expel even such a vicious enemy as Syngman Rhee if they united and fought in a revolutionary way. But the south Korean people still do not know clearly who is their chief enemy. They must know their chief enemy.

The enemies are the US imperialists and their allies, the landlords and comprador capitalists. Bureaucrats are the representatives of the landlords and comprador capitalists, and they include the “ National Assembly men” and the like.

Nevertheless, the south Korean people have only expelled a few bureaucrats of this sort. That is not enough. It is like nipping off the bud of a tree, instead of rooting up the tree itself, which continues to shoot up as soon as its buds are picked off. When it is rooted up, it will never sprout again.

Bureaucrats are rooted among the landlords and comprador capitalists. So only when the latter are destroyed will the former become impotent.

In the northern half of our country we attacked Jo Man Sik after liberation. He was the specimen of the representatives of the landlord class in north Korea. Defeating Jo Man Sik alone would have got us nowhere. His place would have been taken up by “Jang Man Sik”, “Ri Man Sik” and other villains. Landed estates had to be expropriated because these were the source of the influence of landlords. Confiscation and distribution of their lands among the peasants was the way to deprive the landlords of the means by which they threw their weight around. The landlords in the north were wiped out in this way, and that was the end of the abuses by landlords. Jo Man Sik, too, became powerless as a result of the abolition of the landed estates. He was mad at the time of the agrarian reform because his roots were being touched. But we pulled up these roots.

We also wiped out the pro-Japanese bureaucrats and the remnant forces of imperialism, along with the landlords and comprador

capitalists. We gave them no right to speak, no right to vote and no seat in the government. This was enacted by law.

The same must be done in south Korea, too. They must get the Americans out, deprive the landlords of their estates, and wipe out the comprador capitalists. Only then will the bureaucrats collapse. In this way the roots of exploitation will be destroyed. As long as capitalism exists, exploitation will not cease. The source of exploitation will be eliminated only when capitalism is liquidated.

We have abolished the source of exploitation in the northern half of Korea. There are neither landlords, rich farmers, nor usurers in the north.

Soldiers must clearly know the advantages of our socialist system.

The best thing in our country is that there is no exploitation. The landlords were liquidated at the time of the agrarian reform but rich farmers remained for some time after that. They exploited people by lending cattle and also practised usury. So we brushed away these rich farmers and usurers through cooperation. We did away with capitalists and profiteers in urban communities. Profiteers and merchants, if allowed to exist, will exploit the people.

In the past these people would buy goods in towns and villages, and after a short time, sell them at exorbitant prices. We have now wiped them out. We have organized producers' cooperatives for them to work, and set up consumers' cooperative shops which are socialist.

With the disappearance of profiteers and merchants, commodities have become more available than before. Their prices are equal everywhere. Prices are uniform throughout the country now, in Pyongyang or even in the remote villages at the foot of Mt. Paektu where we waged the guerrilla struggle. This is the case with rice and tobacco, too.

The credit cooperative in the countryside has been merged with the Peasant Bank. The Peasant Bank, which is owned by the state, loans money at a low interest.

In this manner we have gradually got rid of the roots of exploitation. But this was not a complete solution to the question. We

needed the economic foundations of socialism. So we laid these foundations, producing more goods than private manufacturers. The result was that we could manage without private entrepreneurs.

Because we have abolished the private enterprises and the source of capitalist exploitation and laid the socialist economic foundations in this way, all the people are happy.

Now there can be no exploitation nor can exploiters be revived in the northern half of Korea. If they were to come back, they would first have to overthrow our socialist system and rearrange conditions to reopen private commerce and industrial enterprises and collect “land taxes”. But this would never be allowed to happen.

The next good thing in our country is that there is no unemployment. It is remarkable that no one is out of work at the initial stage of the transition period. Our situation at the moment is such that we are short of manpower.

Moreover, we have provided all people with free education and free medical care. In the past poor people were denied schooling. Your fathers had no access to education, but you have already finished middle schools, haven't you? Everyone can study in the north, but not in the south.

Free education and free medical care for everyone is another advantage of our socialist system.

Still another superiority of the north is that all the working people are supplied with rice free of charge. Rice is supplied to the factory and office workers for eight *jon* per kilogramme, and this goes to transport the rice.

This is inconceivable in south Korea. The workers and office employees there get no free supply of rice even though they have to work like slaves. But in the north every working man and woman gets it free.

We are not yet rich, but the worries about food, clothing and housing are over. We have made preparations for a better life in the future. This is important.

During the Five-Year Plan we have basically resolved the problems

of food, clothing and housing for the people. When we say “basically” we mean “primarily”. There is no one who goes hungry and in rags in our country.

But this is not good enough. We must struggle for a richer life in the future. We are now struggling to this end. The Seven-Year Plan also aims at providing the people with a better life.

If the people are to lead a plentiful life, they must industrialize the country. By industrialization we mean mechanizing all branches of the national economy, that is, carrying out the technical revolution.

Technical revolution is the means to ease difficult work and increase production easily. Now that we have freed the people from exploitation, we must relieve them from toilsome work. This is the very task put forward by our Party at the August Enlarged Plenary Meeting of its Central Committee this year. When this task is carried out we will have completed the building of socialism. The Party Central Committee intends to mechanize all sectors—agriculture, local industry, building and fishing operations. If we increase production through easy work, goods will be plentiful and the people will live in greater happiness.

Soldiers should be well aware of these advantages of the socialist system and tasks set forth by the Party. Only then will they be able to defend the socialist system in good faith and perform the key role in the countryside after their military service. If they are ignorant of these facts, they cannot but be considered defending the socialist system blindfolded. You must give the men a good explanation of the superiority of the socialist system and Party policies.

When they have a high degree of ideological consciousness, they can repel invading enemies and also break up the south Korean puppet army politically and win them over to our side.

The overwhelming majority of these puppet army soldiers have been forced into the service from among poor people to defend the landlords, capitalists and their system. So we can break them up, whereas the enemy cannot disintegrate our ranks. “Why are you serving in the puppet army in defence of the exploiters? You are

defending landlords and capitalists. They are exploiting you, and why are you poor people protecting them? We are the sons of workers and peasants who fight against the exploiting system so that the workers and peasants lead a good life. We are safeguarding the socialist system under which the workers and peasants are leading a happy life.” Persuade them logically in this way and they will be reminded of their past life as farm hands and sharecroppers for the landlords.

They defend the capitalists and landlords who oppress the workers and peasants, because they are ignorant of their class status. If they are clear about this they will not aim their rifles at us.

At the time of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle we explained to war prisoners of puppet Manchukuo Army for about three hours for whom they were fighting and then released them giving them even their travelling expenses. When we met them again they told us to take away their rifles, instead of firing on us. They had not known whom they were serving.

How wicked the Japanese imperialist army was! However, we perseveringly explained to these enemies that serving the Japanese “Emperor” loyally was a bad thing and that they should oppose landlords and capitalists. This helped some of them to change their minds. We could do this with the Japanese imperialist army, and why not with the south Korean puppet army?

The puppet army is taught simply to be “loyal subjects” of the country like Ri Sun Sin and Ulji Mun Dok. To be a loyal subject of the country is a good thing. But why should they become loyal subjects of the Americans, the loyal subjects of their stooges, by opposing us fellow Koreans?

True, there are sons and daughters of landlords and capitalists among the puppet army officers. But if we work properly, we will be able to win over the puppet army and defeat the enemies. We must not only force the enemy to surrender and lay down their arms but also logically persuade them to fight against US imperialism and its lackeys.

Our army must raise its political level and clearly understand whom it is defending and why.

You are the Party's Red army, organized with the sons and daughters of workers and peasants to safeguard their interests and the socialist system.

Our army, both officers and men, must become political workers. Then we will be able to contain the south Korean puppet army after the country is reunified.

Since every army unit is furnished with loudspeakers, the Korean Central Radio should broadcast interesting programmes to suit the actual conditions of the People's Army. The radio should broadcast songs, novels, battle accounts, experiences of model soldiers who fought valiantly in the Fatherland Liberation War, short dramas, etc., things which the soldiers like.

Soldiers like gatherings to listen to these things. The lives of model companies, for instance, can be handled, with the exception of those which have something to do with military secrets. It would be advisable to fix the time which is most convenient for soldiers to listen to the radio. Soldiers, too, should be encouraged to take an active part in radio programmes.

Many motion pictures should be taken in the army and many accounts written of the Fatherland Liberation War. These accounts should be given by the war veterans now, or else they will forget. They should write, for instance, about exemplary battles, how they fought, how difficult their living conditions were, how they overcame these difficulties, how well the people struggled, and how they fought against reactionaries during the Fatherland Liberation War.

You must not confine the education of soldiers to teaching them the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas, but let them know how these traditions were inherited and carried forward through the heroic battles during the war. This will help carry forward the revolutionary traditions and enrich their content.

Innumerable comrades fought very gallantly in the three-year Fatherland Liberation War. You must give the accounts of these many comrades, instead of mentioning only a few people like Jo Kun Sil and Ri Su Bok, for the education of soldiers.

There are not many books available at company level. More books should be supplied to companies. Each company should take at least a copy of magazines *Kulloja* and *Youth Life*. Arrangements should also be made for the study of the general knowledge of sciences.

The contents of the newspaper *For the People* are poor. It would be better to make it an insert of the People's Army newspaper and carry more study materials in it.

4. ON OPPOSING DOGMATISM AND REVISIONISM

In political work, we must first eliminate dogmatism and formalism.

Before, foreign publications were copied mechanically when preparing documents or lecture programmes for lower echelons. This practice has now ceased, but the old style and method of work are still lingering on.

Making a perfunctory report and reading out a resolution at a meeting, whether or not Party members understand the report, is also a manifestation of dogmatism and formalism. We must put an end to this formalistic work method which is refined outwardly but contains no substance.

Till the March 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, Choe Jong Hak, then in charge of the General Political Bureau of the Korean People's Army, had had foreign publications uncritically copied in preparing the materials, which the lower units were forced to read. He made a mess of the army's political work. Because he had neglected political work, the factionalists had been able to wriggle in the army. Otherwise, they would not have done so.

Pak Chang Ok and Pak Yong Bin, who had been on the Party Central Committee during the war, were so ignorant that they also

guttered foreign papers and forced the lower units to accept their plagiarisms. They worked in such a manner that they mechanically repeated what foreigners said.

Westerners use knives when eating bread but we scoop rice with spoons. Foreign customs and things do not always suit the taste of us Koreans. We should assimilate what is excellent and progressive out of foreign things, but not what is inexpedient to our actual conditions.

Our guardhouse system was a mechanical imitation of foreign things. The anti-Japanese guerrillas had fought well for 15 years, none of them was detained. We can dispense with the guardhouse; when they are properly educated, the soldiers will voluntarily observe discipline.

The Irkutsk group used to make demagogic attacks on any opponents to dogmatism or to their views, claiming that they were against the Soviet Union. This made it impossible to fight against Choe Jong Hak's misdeeds.

Our opposition to dogmatism does not undermine our solidarity with the Soviet Union. Lenin and Stalin, both Soviets, also advocated opposition to dogmatism.

Thanks to our Party's struggle against dogmatism we could accelerate socialist construction. Had we followed dogmatism we would have got nowhere.

Some foreigners have often criticized our work, though not acquainted with our situation. When we were organizing cooperatives they claimed that it was premature. However, because we formed the cooperatives at the time, we have been able to live on. After the war, we had nothing on hand. The war destroyed everything we had. There were only a few cattle in the countryside. Such being the situation, how could we exist without organizing cooperatives?

The fraternal parties now praise the Workers' Party of Korea as being second to none in socialist construction. This is also because we did not slide into dogmatism.

We must firmly oppose revisionism, as well as dogmatism.

Revisionists refashion Marxism-Leninism. They claim to be

cleverer Marxists-Leninists than Marx or Lenin. Certain individual countries have this tendency.

Some people insist that we must peacefully coexist with the Yankees. How can we do so, without opposing US imperialism?

People of great powers may also commit errors. We cannot indiscriminately agree with them or follow them blindly.

Some people asked us to withdraw our slogan “Wipe out the US aggressors!”, saying that it was undesirable. Our Party Central Committee turned down their claim.

In addition, they told us, “Don’t shoot down intruding US aircraft but just land them.” The countries which have suitable planes may do just that, but not us. We must pursue the aircraft and shoot them down. We pay no heed to the words of the evil-minded.

It is true that we must unite with the fraternal countries. However, we need not emulate the misdeeds of individual persons in these countries.

As far back as the days of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle, we put up the slogan: “Defend and unite with the Soviet Union.” Since liberation, we have continued to defend and unite with the Soviet Union and so shall we do in the future, but we cannot do everything the Soviets do because we must unite with them.

We Koreans should properly assimilate progressive things of the brother countries to suit our own taste. Only then can we hasten the construction of communism.

5. ON IMPROVING PARTY COMMITTEE WORK

At present, political work is going fairly well in the unit, and the spiritual state of the soldiers is good. The decision of the March 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee has been implemented properly, and the work of Party committees in the army

intensified. This is excellent. You must continue to improve the work of the Party committees.

I think it would be a good idea for the regimental commander to bring his order to the Party committee for discussion before it is issued in his own name. Now that we are not at war, it should be discussed at the Party committee meeting. Of course, orders concerning the daily routine need not be discussed.

The Party committee can consider, for instance, the matter of tightening discipline for the whole unit or reviewing unit combat training.

The results of military activities have to be discussed at the Party committee first and then summed up. If one of Party committee members should advance his opinion of the shortcomings to be pointed out in the review and invite the opinions of other members, they would make their own suggestions about the advisability to add something else. By doing this they will be doing an important thing.

The Party committee cannot criticize orders that come from above nor is it authorized to change them. It has only to discuss how to implement these orders and allocate assignments. But it must not follow them mechanically and unconditionally if they conflict with the intentions of the Party Central Committee or Party policy. That is why it is very important to discuss them at the Party committee.

When there is something to do, the primary Party organization must first hold a general membership meeting and give assignments in detail by specifying the names of the comrades who will talk with somebody else, or perform such and such a task. Then, the Party members will carry out their assignments properly, and the work will go smoothly.

Assignments should be reviewed as to how they are being implemented after they are given. Merits and demerits in their implementation should be summed up, and the measures discussed to improve the work in the future.

The deputy company commander for political affairs will chair the company Party organization or it could be chaired by a platoon leader

or an assistant platoon leader who is competent and strong in Party spirit.

You must criticize the shortcomings in your work before it is too late. Criticism must be made to remedy defects. It is a means of education. It does not lower your prestige, on the contrary it will remain unaffected.

It is said that the Party committee has considered the matter of discipline with regard to individual cadres. That is the right thing to do. Criticism will educate not only the persons involved but also other Party members in the unit.

If you find comrades who have erred, you must not leave them alone for a long time. You had better hold a Party committee meeting at the right moment and criticize them. In this way you will educate the persons in question as well as other Party members and rectify their mistakes collectively or individually. At elections to the Party committee, too, you will do well to criticize its members for their shortcomings.

6. ON CONDUCTING POLITICAL WORK WELL AMONG THE PEOPLE

You must be good at political work among the people living in the neighbourhood of your unit.

Our Party always stresses the importance of work among the people.

Army units, wherever they are, must hold good environments. Otherwise they may be badly affected by reactionaries or wicked people who might have mingled with the inhabitants. Spies may be lurking in the villages and they are very dangerous.

The first and foremost task of the unit which is stationed in a village is to acquaint itself directly with the inhabitants. Party members of the

unit must grasp the village situation in detail and work among the villagers with care.

Next, units must conduct political work properly among the inhabitants. They should thus make all of them fine people. The army must always exert influence on the people living in the vicinity of army posts. Units must not be adversely affected by the inhabitants, but instead they must exert good influence. Just helping them in weeding will not be enough. You must conduct political work among the inhabitants, helping them in their work from time to time.

There may be some poor peasants in our countryside. There is no need to wonder why individual farmers are poor. These people live in poverty under our system because they have not worked hard enough. Why should they be badly off if they have worked faithfully under our socialist system?

Ours is a good system under which everyone can live well. We have given the peasants land free of charge. We do not collect land taxes from them either. People in mountainous areas, for instance, have been exempted from the tax in kind in a large measure. In the future, the tax in kind will be gradually reduced and in the end it will be abolished. Why are they living poorly in these good conditions? That is simply because they have not implemented the Party policy correctly, as it was examined at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization early this year.

I think you all know it through the study of the document of that meeting, and no one can say that there are no shortcomings in the countryside. Because of these defects, poor people exist.

Some rural villages neglected proper organization of labour and did not concentrate efforts on farming. In the busiest farming season of May and June last year, young people loitered away on the job travelling around allegedly for football games and amateur art performances. They neglected weeding and harvested poor crops. So it is only natural that they are not well-off.

Party members must understand Party policies better than anybody else and help the farmers to correct the shortcomings in the

countryside. You must properly explain Party policies among the peasants living in your unit area so that they can work better.

7. ON OTHER PROBLEMS

I can see that your present material and cultural standards are high. As the saying goes, "Put a man on a horse, and he will demand a footman." Man wants a better life when he becomes well-off. So you must strive to improve your material and cultural standards.

You asked for accordions. We will give an accordion to each company.

You must also improve hygienic and sanitary work. Army barracks must be clear of flies and similar insects.

Companies must be furnished properly with barber's clippers, mosquito nets and other necessary equipment and must have laundries available.

Tooth powder packed in paper is apt to burst off. So it must be made specially for army use. The tooth powder produced in the factory at the moment is for use at home where it is not carried about but it is also issued to the army. No doubt, this bursts off. The tooth powder for army issue must be packed in tins or bottles.

The enamelled iron dishes and plates should be well repaired when their coating is worn out.

A separate factory should be set up for the manufacture of tableware for the army.

You should do sideline work moderately, not too much. An hour or so a day would be advisable for this work. You had better grow vegetables and also watermelons. At present, the Party is mobilizing the people on the principle of combining physical and mental labour.

Sideline work in the army, too, should be mechanized from now on. Then, the work will be easier. Agriculture is being mechanized on the

whole. There is no need for you to plough your fields with cattle. You could learn techniques by setting up an education factory or something of the sort and introduce mechanization. Small tractors will suit the army. These should be supplied to mechanized units first because they will be able to take better care of these machines.

It would be advisable to introduce a system by which men of long standing and good service records can visit their homes on leave. Men of three years' service could dispense with visiting homes, but those with longer periods should be allowed to do it. Those who are good at training, exemplary in observing discipline and strong in Party and class spirit should be sent to visit their families, even if they are not veterans. Since it would not be possible to send them all at one time, it would be preferable to send them by rotation.

This will enable them to meet their parents, relatives, schoolmates and girl friends. It is improbable that men are not missing their parents simply because they belong to the Party. Everyone will want to see his home, his mother and father. This is a human feeling.

In those days of our guerrilla struggle we were unable to visit our homes because the situation did not permit it. But things are now different. Now we can afford it. In wartime no one wants it. This is not wartime and we are carrying out peaceful construction. So we should arrange such a visit for those comrades who are excellent in military and political training, take good care of their weapons and strictly observe discipline.

If you give them good political education when sending men on leave, they will help the farmers, in a small way, in their work and exert a good influence on them.

It will be awkward to stay long at home when others are working, and in view of the Labour Law you need not give them more than half a month's vacation. Half a month would be suitable for their holidays.

Men should bear up with the thought of going home, but officers should understand their feelings.

Those who want to stay in the army, though they are due for discharge, should be allowed to do as they wish.

Another thing I would like to stress is that officers' wives should all be encouraged to work as honourable builders of socialism. They should take up handicraft industry at home or arrange cooperatives so that all of them will do some work. This is also necessary for their ideological remoulding. But they should work only several hours a day lest their jobs disturb their household affairs and education of their children. At least three to four hours or five hours a day will do. It would be beneficial for their own education and their livelihood if the officers' dependents are encouraged to participate in labour.

TO ESTABLISH A CENTRE OF THE MODERN CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Speech at the Meeting of the Activists in Building the Vinalon Factory

September 1, 1960

Comrades,

Today's meeting is attended by many workers, technicians and office workers of Construction Enterprise No. 17 and the officers and men of the People's Army, who are participating in building the vinalon factory, and also the workers and officials in charge of the factories and enterprises which are producing machines and equipment and materials for the construction project, though not directly participating in this project.

In your speeches you have firmly resolved to build the vinalon factory in an excellent condition before the set time.

At present, all the builders of the vinalon factory are resolved to complete the construction project ahead of the time set by the Party, and those who are given the task of supplying machines and equipment and materials have also expressed their readiness to send them before the appointed time. Hearing their unanimous resolve to finish the task earlier than the deadline and their request that we come to the vinalon factory on May Day next year at its commissioning ceremony, I considered it unnecessary to have this meeting prolonged any longer. So we decided to finish the meeting today, though it had been planned for two days.

I am convinced that your resolution to complete the construction of this large vinalon factory before May Day next year to meet Party expectations will be fulfilled without fail.

The significance of the building of the vinalon factory was mentioned in the report and also in many of your speeches. It is of great significance in developing our industries to build the vinalon factory, vinyl chloride factory and dye factory.

In the sector of heavy industry we have already built power stations, blast and open-hearth furnaces, reconstructed or newly built steel works and arranged many machine factories. We have thus laid the solid foundations of heavy industry. We have also done a great deal of work for the chemical industry which is a branch of heavy industry. The inorganic chemical industry has built the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and some other large modern factories. But the organic chemical industry has done little as yet. If we build the vinalon factory, the organic chemical industry, too, will have a solid basis.

The chemical industry is very important in view of the actual conditions of our country, and it has a great prospect of development.

As the speakers said, the most important thing in this regard is to develop the chemical industry which depends on domestic raw materials.

If we should try to develop the chemical industry fed with raw materials unavailable in our country, it would be a mere dream.

Our country is very rich in the raw materials necessary for the production of carbide. Our country has unfathomable deposits of limestone and anthracite and also it turns out large quantities of electricity. In these conditions, to develop the chemical industry using carbide is of great significance in improving the people's livelihood and advancing the national economy as a whole.

As our country is limited in the area of cultivated land, it would be difficult to solve the problem of fibre through cotton cultivation. The cultivated land in the northern half of Korea is no more than two million hectares. If we discount the orchards and mulberry fields from them, the net area will scarcely be 1.8 million hectares. If we are to

produce grain from the limited land to resolve the food problem and obtain animal feed for meat and milk production, we will not have much land left to produce natural fibre to resolve the clothing problem. To make matters worse, several years of experiment have proven that cotton does not thrive in the weather conditions of our country.

Our country must develop the chemical industry to obtain staple fibres and rayon yarn from wood, reed and maize stalks and vinalon fibre from carbide in order to resolve the problem of fibres. If we build chemical fibre and vinalon factories, we will be able to produce in abundance a greater variety of better chemical fibres more safely than we grow natural-fibre crops in the land, which is vulnerable to crop failure.

Chemical production of fibres is the best way to solve the problem of the people's clothing completely and to provide them with a better life. Now that such a good method is available to us, there is no need to take the trouble of reclaiming land to produce cotton, which is a backbreaking job.

The production of natural fibres equivalent to 20,000 tons of vinalon requires 200,000 hectares of land, and it is not an easy job to obtain such a large area of new land. Even if we introduce mechanization in such projects, much labour and funds would be required, and our country has little land to reclaim.

If we develop the chemical industry, we will be able to produce great quantities of chemical fibres free from natural limitations, and also supply more chemical fertilizers and agricultural chemicals to the countryside so as to increase crop yields quickly. We will also be able to produce synthetic rubber. Rubber is used everywhere. It is needed for the production of a number of tractors, lorries, and various daily necessities for the people. If we develop the chemical industry, we can also produce vinyl chloride and other kinds of synthetic resin and manufacture cheap, handy and pretty raincoats, shoes, furniture, modern amenities, toys and all sorts of consumer goods in bulk. So in order to improve the people's livelihood, we must advance determinedly towards developing the chemical industry.

Our Party has long since made great efforts to develop the chemical industry. During and since the war our scientists, under the guidance of the Party, have tirelessly conducted the research work to develop the chemical industry which relies on domestic raw materials. Thanks to the correct leadership of the Party and the persevering efforts of the scientists, a brilliant success has been scored in the scientific research for the development of the chemical industry. On this basis, we are now building the large vinalon factory.

Building the vinalon factory is of great significance not only in producing 150 million metres of fabrics to solve the question of the people's clothing but also in establishing a powerful centre of the chemical industry.

On the basis of the vinalon factory, we will be able to develop rapidly various branches of the chemical industry in future. Therefore, the whole Party should direct attention to the construction of the vinalon factory which will be the basis of the chemical industry, and concentrate all efforts on this project.

If we finish the first-stage project of the vinalon factory by May Day next year, it means attaining a major goal of the socialist construction in the first year of the Seven-Year Plan.

If we say that we will finish this gigantic project in such a short time, some foreigners might not believe it, regarding us Koreans as bombastic. But our people who are closely united behind the Central Committee of the Party have never failed to fulfil the tasks assigned by the Party. Our history of reconstruction over the last 15 years, particularly, six to seven years since the armistice, patently proves the truth.

We started the work of reconstruction on the ruins after the truce when we had not even a brick, not a gramme of cement nor a piece of iron. The US imperialists had devastated our towns and countryside, factories and enterprises and boasted that Korea would not rise again. However, the realities have proved the enemy's calculation quite wrong.

Whenever I come to South Hamgyong Province, I remember my first visit to the Pongung Chemical Factory and the Hungnam Fertilizer

Factory immediately after the armistice. At that time, these factories had been destroyed beyond recognition. I went straight to the university of chemical industry. Its students were studying sitting on boards in the corridor of the destroyed building. I told them to go to the devastated factories, investigate and find out machine parts among the heaps of ashes, repair the equipment, do designing and study while helping them in their reconstruction. They got down to rebuilding these factories together with the workers and, as a result, the Pongung Chemical Factory and the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory were rebuilt much better than the old ones.

Even under the very difficult situation right after the armistice our people punctually carried out the tasks given by the Party. In this way we have created the machine-building industry, laid the foundations of heavy industry and succeeded in attaining the target of basically completing irrigation in the countryside in a short period.

We can build the vinalon factory with success now that we have more powerful economic foundations and much greater productive forces than in the prewar years as a result of a great deal of reconstruction and new construction.

Inspecting the construction site of the vinalon factory this time, I was greatly satisfied with your high enthusiasm and successes in construction.

You have already done much work. The groundwork is nearing completion, and now you are ready to erect the building and install equipment. This is the result of your active struggle to finish the construction of this factory as quickly as planned by the Party, the struggle of all of you who have worked with a high degree of enthusiasm.

The construction of the vinalon factory can go on rapidly if only the materials are supplied in time. The factories and enterprises which are to ensure the supply of steel, timber and other materials needed for the construction of the vinalon factory should carry out this task in good time.

It is particularly important to produce good-quality machinery and

equipment in time for the vinalon factory.

Doing this, of course, is a new task of which we have no experience. But I have no doubt that this will be done. Since liberation our people, under Party leadership, have done a great deal of things which they had never done before. We have established the people's government and a new social system and are running the state in a proper manner. We have built a large number of modern factories and enterprises and are managing them by ourselves. At present, our machine-building industry is producing various good machines and equipment including an 8-metre turning lathe which they had never heard of in the past. The same will be the case with the manufacture of the equipment for the vinalon factory. Some people might hesitate and vacillate, wondering how they could make such complex machines. But our workers will be able to design and manufacture them themselves and install them quickly, if they overcome mysticism about techniques and get down to the task boldly with a firm confidence that everything can be made by their own efforts.

The factories and enterprises producing the equipment for the vinalon factory must not only complete them in good time but also make them properly so that they will run smoothly after they are installed.

The transport service should carry the produced materials and equipment at the right time.

If materials and equipment are supplied when they are needed, the builders of the factory should accelerate the building operation as much as possible and also improve the quality of construction.

What is important in speeding up construction and ensuring the quality of work is to join properly the efforts of the builders and the scientists and get them to help each other. Since this is a new task for them they may encounter various complex problems in the course of work. Therefore, the scientists, the builders and the designers should discuss the problems and cooperate with each other to ensure the whole work correctly from the technical point of view.

The factories, enterprises, army units and ministerial institutions

which participate in the construction of the vinalon factory must organize the work meticulously.

The most important thing at the moment is to prepare themselves well for the winter. The winter season is at hand. Everything should be arranged for continued operations even in winter. In particular, housing construction for the workers should be further accelerated, and vegetables, coal and other goods for winter use should be supplied to them adequately. All working conditions should be arranged at the construction site beforehand to prevent any hitch in the continued winter operations.

The leading officials in charge of the construction of the vinalon factory should plan everything in detail and carry it out beside what I have said before. This is the way to overcome difficulties which may crop up in the course of work, and complete the construction of the vinalon factory to meet the desire and expectations of the entire people and successfully attain the objective for next year, the first year of the Seven-Year Plan.

I would like to speak further on some problems in connection with the huge scale of industrial construction in the Hamhung area.

Hamhung and Hungnam are the centre of our chemical industry. In order to further expand and develop the chemical-industry base in the Hamhung district we must take various new measures in the future.

First of all, it is necessary to establish a directing system capable of coping with the large centre of chemical industry. If we set up an institution like the Ministry of Chemical Industry or the management bureau of chemical industry in the Hamhung district and radically improve its direction, we will be able to further consolidate the chemical-industry centre in this district and develop the chemical industry in our country farsightedly. This question will be brought to the Central Committee of the Party for concrete discussion so that appropriate measures will be taken some time in the future.

At the same time, measures to intensify scientific researches in the Hamhung district should be taken.

I think it advisable that the scientists in the chemical industry will

arrange a chemical research institute and laboratories at the chemical-industry centre in the Hamhung district and do their research work in direct connection with production rather than do their research work in Pyongyang. I had talks with scientists and technicians in the chemical industry, and they, too, said that it was a good idea for them to get together in the Hamhung district for their researches.

Closely integrating the research work of the scientists with production is an important guarantee for accelerating the development of science and technology. There are large chemical factories as well as the university of chemical industry and the university of power, and new factories are being built in this district. These will provide all the necessary conditions to meet the requirement for scientific researches to be conducted in close coordination with production.

The system of supply service for the workers in Hungnam should be set right.

At the moment the role of the Hungnam City People's Committee is very inadequate.

In Hungnam there are the Pongung Chemical Factory, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, the Ryongsong Machine Factory, a smeltery, a pharmaceutical plant, a ceramics plant, a fixtures factory and many other factories, and huge construction projects are under way. So a large number of workers are living there. Under the circumstances it might be difficult for every factory to provide the living conditions adequately for their own workers. Production would not go smoothly, if factory directors should be preoccupied with the question of the workers' livelihood such as the supply of vegetables and fish, instead of concentrating on the basic problems of keeping their factories well, increasing their equipment, developing technology and augmenting production. The main responsibility for supply service for factories in a large city like Hamhung or Hungnam should be taken by the city people's committee rather than the factory directors.

The city people's committee as people's power organ should provide the workers, technicians and office workers with houses and supply them with vegetables, meat, coal, etc., and build many more

nurseries and kindergartens as well and improve and run service establishments including bathhouses and barber's shops. Moreover, it should build and run schools for the education of the children of the workers and also manage in an efficient manner theatres, cinemas and libraries.

When the city people's committee solves such problems with credit, the workers can work at their factories devotedly without worry, and the factory directors can direct their main efforts to the guidance of production. However, the Hungnam City People's Committee is not tackling its job properly.

There is not much this committee is doing except taking census, the registration of inhabitants and the guidance of producers' cooperatives.

If the people's committee of a large industrial city is to play its proper role, it must discard the old system and the old method of work.

At Kangso County we suggested the task of reorganizing the work of the county Party committee in accordance with the new circumstances, and here in Hungnam we came to the conclusion that the work of the city people's committee, too, should be changed to cope with the new situation.

This year the Pyongyang City People's Committee took measures to reorganize all its work. As a result, it is paying more attention to the living conditions of the workers of factories and enterprises. Now it has taken the responsibility to build houses for the workers, provide them with the conditions for rest and increase service establishments.

Hungnam, too, would be unable to advance any further unless its people's committee follows the example of Pyongyang in the reorganization of its work.

The work system of the city people's committee under which it only takes in hand census taking, leaving the matter of providing living conditions for the workers exclusively to factory directors, should be radically improved and, at the same time, the irrational administrative district system reorganized. I think it would not be a bad idea to merge Hungnam and Hamhung into one city so that the improvement of the work of the city people's committee will be effected.

It would be advisable to merge the two into a large city and make the city people's committee assume the responsibility to provide all living conditions for the factory and office workers in the city.

In conclusion I would like to re-emphasize that we must concentrate all our efforts on the construction of the vinalon factory to complete the project quickly so that we can further strengthen the foundations of our chemical industry.

I am convinced that the Party organization of South Hamgyong Province and all the workers, technicians, office workers and the servicemen who are mobilized in the construction of the vinalon factory and the officials of the organs and enterprises that have undertaken the joint responsibility will finish the construction of this factory before the set time by displaying the highest degree of enthusiasm.

ON SOME TASKS OF SOUTH HAMGYONG PROVINCE

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting
of the Workers of Party and Government Bodies,
Social Organizations and Economic
Establishments in South Hamgyong Province**

September 2, 1960

Comrades,

We are here down in the field for about a week with heads of departments of the Party Central Committee and other officials, giving guidance to South Hamgyong Province to help the province in its work.

This guidance has been devoted mainly to acquainting ourselves with the progress of the construction of the vinalon factory and to the study of the ways to complete the project by May Day next year as was resolved by the workers. We have also gone over the report submitted by the provincial Party committee in order to get the general view of the provincial work. We have directly inspected many factories and agricultural cooperatives.

In recent years South Hamgyong Province has done a great deal of work in accordance with Party policy and achieved considerable successes. A notable change has been made in the work of this province, in comparison with the past.

What, then, is the change? In short, a remarkable progress has been brought about in implementing Party policy.

In the past, when the anti-Party factionalists were in commanding positions of the province, they did not implement Party policy in a proper way. At that time, the anti-Party factionalists ostensibly supported Party policy with cheers, but in fact they deviated from Party policy behaving rather diplomatically towards the Party.

During the last one or two years since the dismissal of the anti-Party factionalists and the appointment of the new chairmen of the provincial Party committee and people's committee, South Hamgyong Province has witnessed a remarkable progress in the fulfilment of Party policy, which is now being carried out successfully. This is a very good thing and gives a reason for pleasure. Nothing gives us greater pleasure than the officials who implement Party policy in good faith.

South Hamgyong Province has splendidly carried out the Party's policy on improving forest and water conservation.

This coastal province with its high mountains and steep slopes is vulnerable to floods, great washout of fields and casualties even when there is a small amount of rainfall. That is why I have emphasized time and again the need to improve forest and water conservation in this province. However, the anti-Party factionalists neglected the task on some excuse or another.

The new chairmen of the provincial Party committee and people's committee have effectively mobilized Party members and working people for the implementation of this task and achieved a great success. This province has built more than 180 reservoirs and 400 pumping stations during the one and a half years.

The officials of Party and government bodies and social organizations and all the rest of the people in this province sweated much and endured many hardships in carrying out the task of forest and water conservation. But that work was worthwhile. If you had not done the job you would have suffered great damage this year. Because you built a youth reservoir in the Hungsang valley last year, you could protect thousands of houses and a large area of land from the big flood this year. The reservoir built in Yonghung County, too, proved its worth last summer. Communists must conquer nature and overcome

natural calamities by their own struggle.

South Hamgyong Province is properly implementing the Party policy of introducing the prefab method in construction, too.

The standardization and specification of designs, the production of structural parts and elements by industrial methods and the introduction of the prefab method and machines in construction are all incorporated in our Party policy.

In the past Pak Ui Wan, Kim Sung Hwa and other anti-Party factionalists opposed the Party policy of construction, arguing that it was still premature to build by the prefab method in our country and so on. Under their influence South Hamgyong Province, too, did not adopt this method.

But now you are building efficiently on Party lines in South Hamgyong Province. You have started producing structural parts and elements by industrial methods and introducing the prefab method in construction. You have set up factories which produce building materials and are making use of a large quantity of locally produced building materials.

Of course, we cannot as yet say that the tempo of construction is high; the building tempo in Hamhung is slower than in Pyongyang. The prefab method is not adopted in all housing and industrial construction. But we are satisfied with the fact that workers in the province actively support the Party policy of construction and are trying to build, basing themselves on this policy. In the future, too, the province must defend and carry through the Party policy of construction.

Agriculture, too, has made considerable progress.

South Hamgyong Province has vigorously struggled to introduce the advanced farming method this year: they grew cold-bed rice seedlings in an extensive way, raised by far the utilization rate of land compared with the previous year, directed their efforts to grain production and secured the area under vegetable cultivation as planned. The task of increasing orchards to 30,000 hectares was also mainly completed and many forests of economic value were created.

Solid foundations for the development of stock and poultry farming have also been laid. The Kwangpho Duck Farm, the Hungsang Youth Poultry Farm and other state and provincial stock farms have been built fairly well, though not without some defects, and agricultural cooperatives, too, have laid the foundations for the development of stock and poultry farming.

In response to the decision of the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee on developing local industry, the province has established a firm basis for its development. Everywhere local industry factories have been set up and are in working order. All of them are well equipped. Local industry factories are being equipped better particularly since the provincial economic committee was set up this year.

Definite progress has been made not only in economic affairs but also in Party work in South Hamgyong Province.

The Party's ideological system is being mainly established among officials and Party members. This is proved by the fact that Party policies have been carried out promptly in this province in recent years.

It took the province a long time to establish the Party's ideological system.

The evil aftereffects of factionalism and parochialism had lingered for a long time in this province. So the struggle to establish the Party's ideological system had not been carried out properly. As a result, there had been many practices which ran counter to the Party's ideology among some officials.

Some provincial officials and other officials of cities, counties, factories and enterprises had not carried out Party policy in good faith. In South Hamgyong Province in particular they had been in the habit of showing up "something unique" contrary to Party policy. Once they had pulled down people's houses in the proximity of the road leading to Hongwon allegedly to rebuild it straight, and another time they had undertaken a "movement to double production". Not a year had passed without doing something contrary to Party policy in South Hamgyong Province.

Some people had been displeased at seeing the defects of their province being reported to the higher echelon, regarding it as dishonourable. All this was a manifestation of parochialism.

In recent years, however, parochialism and factionalism have been eliminated from this province to a considerable degree, though, of course, we cannot say that such practices have completely disappeared. At present in this province the unity of the Party ranks in ideology and will has strengthened, the people are closely united behind the Party, the Party policies are conveyed smoothly to lower units to penetrate the masses and are carried out, and the people's standard of living is also improving.

Indeed, great progress has been made in the work of South Hamgyong Province in recent years. I am very satisfied with it.

Now, I would like to dwell on some tasks of South Hamgyong Province.

1. ON AGRICULTURE

Today the most important task in agriculture is to carry out the decision of the August Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee on mechanizing agriculture.

Without mechanizing agriculture it would be impossible to increase agricultural production and make farming easier.

This year we introduced machines as an experiment in agriculture in South Hwanghae and South Phyongan provinces; the result was great, and bright vistas are now open for rapid mechanization. South Hamgyong Province, too, should vigorously struggle to mechanize agriculture.

Mechanization of agriculture in this province must begin with Jongphyong County.

Jongphyong County has limited manpower and a large area of land,

and irrigation is basically complete there . But the soil is sour and it must be improved. If they are to lime it in that county, they must haul about 18,000 tons of carbide ash alone. It will take them a long time to do it by carts. Jongphyong County must mechanize farming operations and improve sour soil and also lay out a large area of paddy fields. Mechanization of agriculture must be undertaken simultaneously with land rezoning and improvement.

Mechanization of agriculture depends on how fast and how many tractors are produced.

If South Hamgyong Province is to mechanize agriculture, they will need at least 8,500 tractors in all—2,000 large ones and 6,500 small ones. Tractors should be allocated in such a way that some agricultural cooperatives receive bigger ones more than small ones and the others vice versa in accordance with their terrain conditions so that they can be used in combination. Then, the cooperatives will be able to mechanize hauling, farming and all other operations.

Since there are big machine factories like the Ryongsong Machine Factory, and big maintenance and repair shops in the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and the Pongung Chemical Factory in South Hamgyong Province, the province will be able to produce tractors itself, with the help of mechanics.

The Cabinet should send technicians to the province to study in detail the possibility of producing tractors by its own efforts.

Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province should direct their attention to speeding up the mechanization of agriculture, and all leading officials and other Party members should use their brains for this purpose and devote their energy and knowledge to this task.

Forest and water conservation must go on efficiently.

Efficient afforestation and water conservation is of great importance in improving the people's livelihood. Promoting the welfare of the people is the supreme principle of our Party's activities. Our struggle to build socialism and communism is aimed, after all, at improving the people's standard of living.

In South Hamgyong Province many forest and water conservation

projects have been carried out, but most of the efforts have been devoted to reservoir construction, without taking adequate measures for the protection of fields in valleys from floods. South Hamgyong Province should continue with forest and water conservation projects this autumn and next year, too.

First of all, you should improve rivers properly.

Where the riverside may crumble down because of rushing water you should pile up stones or build cement walls and in some places breakwaters to prevent waves from beating against the riversides.

In particular, the Songchon River project should be undertaken at once in South Hamgyong Province. At the upper reaches of the river dams and embankments should be built to prevent damages from any floods.

You should continue with the reservoir projects, too. Most of the reservoirs to be built in the province from now on are large ones. You must build large ones, though it will be difficult for the province. So far you have built many earthen dams for the reservoirs, but this takes much labour. So you must build concrete ones as far as possible. Of course, you may build earthen dams for small reservoirs but even in this case you should mechanize your work.

Shelterbelts should be planted along the coastline. Many quickly growing trees such as poplar and acacia should be planted along the seaside and on the roadsides, closely together. Most of the roads in South Hamgyong Province run along the seaside. If you plant trees thus along the roads of the coastline, you will be able to divert much of the wind from the sea. The road to Jongphyong, too, must have dense wayside trees.

New land should be reclaimed. It will increase grain production and provide you with fodder fields. You should obtain more new land by reclaiming low hills and tideland and rezoning riverine land.

The area of orchards should be increased.

Our country, South Hamgyong Province in particular, has many mountains and a small area of plains. Therefore, you must create orchards not in plains but on sloping land or hills.

An extensive struggle should be waged to create orchards on sloping land and low hills in all parts of South Hamgyong Province, following the example of Pukchong County. Particularly, places with many hillocks like Sinsang County must cultivate fruit trees on a large scale.

If you increase the area of apple orchards to 30,000 hectares, you will be able to produce 300,000 tons of apples after seven or eight years, estimating that you pick ten tons per hectare. You could barter them with other countries for 600,000 tons of wheat. This means more grain than the present output in South Hamgyong Province. If you liberally fertilize apple fields and properly prune the trees in the future, just as the people in Pukchong County do, you will be able to produce not 10 but 20 tons of apples per hectare.

You should not plant only apple trees in orchards. It is advisable to cultivate them together with pears, peaches, apricots, grapes, etc. If you plant various fruit trees like this, you will be able to eat fruits in accordance with the season, and it will also facilitate the management of orchards.

You should plant many forests of economic value in keeping with the Party policy on making good use of mountains.

Livestock and poultry farming must be developed.

To this end, you must mass-produce fish meal.

Last year hens in the poultry farms did not lay eggs as they should have done because you did not supply them with enough fish meal, though this coastal province caught a great deal of fish.

From this year onwards, you should produce fish meal of all the heads of pollacks to be dried, except those to be supplied to the people in winter. Even when fish is cleaned the water should not be thrown away into the sea but gathered for use as manure and feed. In this way, South Hamgyong Province will not only meet its own demand for fish meal but also supply it to Pyongyang and other inland provinces.

I would like to dwell on some immediate tasks of agriculture.

This year harvest should be carried out in good time and the socialist principle of distribution be strictly adhered to in agricultural cooperatives.

Last year some agricultural cooperatives did not observe this principle and damped the peasants' zeal for production. This year, you should make good preparations from this very moment, so that all agricultural cooperatives may strictly observe the socialist principle of distribution.

Agricultural cooperatives should calculate correctly the work-points of their members. In some cooperatives there exist habits of delaying this work, instead of doing it every day. Such practices should be rectified.

Agricultural cooperatives should do their accounting and income distribution properly so that the shares for their members will increase.

This year, the state is going to exempt agricultural cooperatives from the payment of some of their debts to the state. This measure will apply to the debts they incurred for irrigation construction and for the procurement of materials for cold-beds to grow rice seedlings. It will also apply to the arrears of payment for some of the farm machines which they have bought from the state but are found to be unserviceable because their qualities are below standard. In addition, the state is going to write off the grain lent to agricultural cooperatives for which no payment had been effected by last year. There may be still other kinds of debts agricultural cooperatives owe to the state, and so we are going to get their payment deferred or get them reduced or written off, in accordance with the situation in the cooperatives.

This state measure is aimed at increasing the shares of distribution to the farmers. Therefore, agricultural cooperatives should do their accounting and income distribution correctly this year so that more grain and cash can be distributed to their members.

Agricultural cooperatives should not put aside too much joint savings. Too much savings is not proper in view of the low level of awareness of the farmers. They still do not clearly understand that joint savings are, after all, for their own benefits.

This year grain should be purchased properly.

Cooperative members should be allowed to lay aside enough provisions for one year and sell the remainder. As I sized it up in my

recent talks with the farmers in Hamju County, they will have to keep 400 kilogrammes per person a year. So you should see to it that 400 kilogrammes of unhulled grain is left for every person and that the remainder is purchased this year. In case cooperative members want to sell their food grain because they have a surplus or for some other reasons, they should be encouraged to sell it to procurement shops, according to their will. Such procurement will be welcomed by every farmer.

Political work should be intensified among farmers so that they will not waste food but take an active part in grain procurement. They should be given a good explanation of the significance of savings and encouraged to deposit voluntarily the surplus of the money from grain procurement.

2. ON THE FISHING INDUSTRY

Last year I spoke on the fishing industry in detail at a meeting of active Party members from the fisheries of Kangwon Province.

Since the meeting, quite a few successes have been achieved in the fishing industry of South Hamgyong Province. Fishing implements factories and dry docks have been constructed and expanded, and considerable progress has been made in the mechanization of fishing operations and fish processing. A large number of young people have taken jobs in the fishing industry.

But neither great changes nor progress have yet been made in the fisheries of South Hamgyong Province. Old fishing methods are still being used, and fish processing has not improved. In a word, there is no innovation in this sector. At the moment all other sectors are pushing forward in the spirit of Chollima, but we cannot say the same for the fishing industry. This is mainly due to the fact that the Party has not given due attention to this industry.

The fisheries should make a great upheaval. South Hamgyong Province has a long coastline and holds the greatest proportion in our fishing industry. We can say that whether the people are supplied with enough fish or not depends mainly on whether this province develops the fishing industry or not. South Hamgyong Province should be the first to raise the torchlight of a great upheaval in the fisheries.

In order to introduce a great innovation in the fishing industry, you should carry out the technical revolution, in the spirit of the decision of the August Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. The fishing industry would be unable to advance without carrying out the technical revolution and without laying its technical foundations.

First of all, you should discard the outdated fishing methods and catch fish in a modern, scientific way.

You should supply various equipment and machines such as shoal detectors and wireless apparatus to fishing boats so that they may find out fish shoals by scientific methods and mechanize fishing operations. The conventional empirical method will not bring you a big haul.

At present shoals are found by experience because the fishing boats are not equipped with detectors. Those with decades of fishing experience could tell where the shoals are, but not the young people who are new to this job. And we have few fishermen with decades of fishing records. At the moment the fishing boats with such experienced fishermen are finding out shoals, but those without such people are just hunting about by chance. No wonder they could not catch a lot of fish.

It is not difficult to make shoal detectors and wireless equipment. Since there are universities, large industrial centres and a great number of technicians in South Hamgyong Province, they will be able to make these easily, if only the officials use their brains and organize work meticulously. But they have not as yet equipped the fishing boats with such equipment nor have they put fishing operations on a scientific and mechanical basis because they are working with a passive attitude, affected with mysticism about technology.

The fishing industry must do away with this passive work attitude and develop their work boldly and actively and make shoal detectors,

wireless equipment and various other necessary machines on their own. Thus, scientific methods should be introduced in fishing and all operations from fishing to unloading should be mechanized.

It is important to improve the method of fish processing.

We have long since emphasized this task. Immediately after the armistice, I had already proposed the task of drying fish in kilns by industrial methods. At that time they made some efforts even by mobilizing students but afterwards they gave it all up. In the fisheries they are presently drying fish on wooden racks manually. Such being the case, they are wasting much material and manpower, with little positive results. In South Hamgyong Province they catch tens of thousands of tons of pollacks alone each year. How can these be dried manually?

A dome-shaped brick structure plastered with cement without the use of steel rods, will be enough for a fish kiln. A fan to blow hot air into the kiln and a hooked device to hang fish and pass through the kiln will be sufficient.

Today I saw a cuttlefish kiln made by the Soho Fishery Station and found that it should be completely mechanized. It needs five men to push a small loaded cart into the dryer. This is not the proper way. An electric car or a conveyer should be used to haul the load through the kiln.

Gutting and washing cuttlefish, too, should be mechanized. Cuttlefish should be gutted and hooked mechanically and sent through showers, with the washing being done automatically, and passed through the kiln so that it will dry. This will be an easy way for drying it.

Pollacks will also be excellent if they are beheaded and dried in this way. Some people say that pollacks are delicious only when they are dried in the sun, but I doubt it. Drying them in the kiln will not change the taste.

Since we are struggling to build socialism and communism, we must think boldly and act boldly. The fishing industry should mechanize and modernize the processing of its products by effectively managing the existing machine factories.

Sailing boats should be motorized.

They say it takes sailing boats as many as 18 hours to arrive at fishing grounds. Sailing to the spot and back takes so many hours, that they do not find much time to do the fishing. Sailing boats, too, should be equipped with motors to increase their mobility.

It is not too difficult to make small motors for sailing boats. From now on, therefore, you should not build sailing boats but motorboats only.

Large fishing boats should be built while equipping sailing boats with motors. Serving as mother ships, large fishing boats should take small ones with them to do fishing operations, supplying them with oil, water, etc.

Convenient and serviceable fishing boats should be built for the fishermen. Dry docks should be equipped well, and a quantity of spare parts produced to guarantee rapid repair of fishing boats. High-quality fishing implements, too, should be produced and supplied in time.

For an upheaval in the fishing industry it is necessary to staff this industry with good leadership officials and raise their roles.

Leadership officials should be efficient in their command, and know how to develop work boldly and make innovations by mobilizing the masses. In particular, they should accept Party policy and carry it out, without reserve. If the Party tells them to mechanize work, they must find out the ways and means to do it. They should organize the work well and push forward the task.

However, the leadership officials in the Fishery Management Bureau of South Hamgyong Province do not work boldly but in a passive way, affected with conservatism and empiricism. We could not call a man a leadership official if he does not know how to develop work and command operations. Our revolution continues to advance, and those who refuse to advance will lag behind to be weeded out. This is the law of social development.

The leadership of the fishing industry should be composed of fine people from the working class. It is not always true that only experienced fishermen can guide the fisheries. True, it is a good thing to be experienced. But, if the experienced fishermen become empirical and obstruct the advance, they are even worse than inexperienced people.

The leading fishery officials must give up their passive work attitude of the past and think boldly and advance boldly.

In order to bring about an innovation in the fisheries all the other sectors must help them properly. Machine factories, railways, harbours and other sectors should supply them with machines and fast and good fishing boats and convey the necessary materials to them in time. Only then, will they be able to catch large quantities of fish.

Many cadres and technicians should be trained for the fisheries. In this way, you will lay the foundations of the fishing industry on which it can develop continuously. The provincial Party committee and the provincial economic committee must guide this work properly in a planned way.

3. ON LOCAL INDUSTRY

The important task for local industry is to develop the food-processing industry.

It would be a good idea to develop the food-processing industry over wide areas, near raw material sources and consumer areas, rather than concentrate it in one district. If you concentrate it geographically, it will take you much time to ship raw materials and products, which might rot on the way, also you will have to build large stores for them. But, if you adopt the suggested idea, you will dispense with all these inconveniences. Therefore, the food-processing industry must be developed over wide areas, near raw material sources and consumer areas.

Traditionally, people are good at food processing in our country. From olden times, the Koreans made curd, soy, paste, etc., from beans by chemical methods. But now the food-processing industry is lagging, because continued efforts were not made to develop it.

You must radically improve this industry.

Local industry factories should process vegetables, fruits and wild fruits, too. You should not throw away even fallen fruits but process them into wine and various other products. Local industry factories should arrange their own sources of raw materials and continue to develop the food-processing industry.

In places where a large amount of fish is caught, canned fish should be turned out. Some officials consider canning something of a mystery. They need not do so. Fishery stations and fishery cooperatives can fit simple equipment and easily produce canned fish by handicraft methods. Fish packing does not necessarily require large factories like the Sinpho Fish Cannery.

Maize should be processed well.

Maize, of all non-paddy-field crops, thrives best in our country. It is the king of non-paddy-field crops. It well survives both dry and rainy seasons and outgrows weeds. This is why we plant it in great quantities. So it is very important to process maize properly.

Maize should not always be floured because our people are used to granular food. Both meal and starch should be obtained from maize, and oil from its embryos. If it is processed in this way, you can eat oil, meal and flour. Dry noodle and crackers should be made from its flour.

Local industry must develop food processing quickly and produce more various foodstuffs.

This will provide the people with a richer diet.

Local industry factories should produce various kinds of good daily necessities and paper in large quantities and also good-quality fabrics and those for overcoats.

The immediate task is to process well rabbit skins and make children's overcoats in large quantities this year.

For the rapid development of local industry it is imperative to train able technicians.

There are now local industry factories in all parts of the country, but few of them have engineers, food-processing technicians in particular. Soy and bean paste factories, for instance, have no engineers and so they produce soy and bean paste by conventional methods.

A food-processing course should be set up in the Hamhung University of Chemical Industry, South Hamgyong Province, to train food-processing technicians there. At the same time, a foodstuff college should be set up to train associate engineers for the food-processing industry. Short courses should be organized for the chief engineers and other technicians from local industry factories. Quite a few of the chief engineers now on the job in local industry factories have had no university education. They should be given short courses of four to five months.

These courses should teach them how to make wine and various other kinds of delicious food with wild fruits and fallen fruits, how to raise the extraction rate of oil, how to produce tasty bean paste and soy, and how to process vegetables, meat, etc.

In addition to giving short courses to the workers of local industry factories, you should develop a model factory for each branch and afford these people some six months' on-the-job technical training there. In this way you will be able to train a large number of technicians and skilled workers in a short time.

The provincial Party committee, people's committee and economic committee should organize this on-the-job training well. We must use all possibilities and methods and train a large number of technicians for the rapid development of local industry.

4. ON CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

In construction, you should continue to carry out the Party policy of introducing mechanization, specification, and the prefab method.

You must adopt the prefab method in all housing and industrial construction so as to speed up building operations.

What is important in construction is to lighten the structural parts and elements. At the moment, very heavy blocks are being produced.

Use of heavy blocks requires deep basements of buildings to be built as well as large quantities of cement. But, by using light ones, you can build easily and save plenty of labour and materials. In construction, the Party policy on making structural parts and elements light should be thoroughly implemented.

Wasteful practices should be eliminated in designing.

The Party Central Committee gave the building industry a task of lowering the cost of construction by an average of 7.9 per cent during the Seven-Year Plan period. If they are to fulfil this task, designing must be improved. Good designing will economize labour and materials and raise labour productivity.

But at present there are many ostentatious and wasteful practices in designing. They often design many unnecessary doors and windows and much useless space in buildings, thus wasting materials and funds and hindering the effective use of buildings.

Some time ago I went over a blueprint of a bathhouse, and there I found an entrance and an exit designed separately and, what is worse, they were double doors. People do not rush in and out of a bathhouse in scores at a given time. I do not see why it should have separate doors for entry and exit. All this is ostentatious and wasteful.

The practice of making showy designs must be eliminated. Affectedness is the expression of the remnants of capitalist ideas. Formalism is a prohibition in designing buildings, which must acquire the socialist content. In other words, buildings must be designed in such a way as to be convenient to the people, without superfluous space, wastage and affectedness.

The merits and demerits of the design of a building must be judged mainly from the utility rate of its space, the number of unnecessary doors and walls, and its convenience for the people.

Housing construction must be accelerated in South Hamgyong Province. Both multi-story prefabricated houses and bungalows should be built on a large scale. In this way, you will solve quickly the problem of housing shortage before the arrival of winter.

You must speed up the construction of the vinalon factory. The

South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee, the Hamhung and Hungnam City Party Committees and factory Party organizations should concentrate all their efforts on the construction of the vinalon factory with a firm resolution to do it by themselves. The vinalon factory, a great concern of the Party Central Committee, must thus be built better than any other factories.

5. ON THE WORK OF THE CITY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

The Hamhung and Hungnam City People's Committees are not yet working on the right orbit and, in particular, the latter is not playing its proper role.

The unsatisfactory role of the Hungnam City People's Committee is mainly due to the fact that there are too many bosses in this city, though it is partly due to the committee's low standard and small size in proportion to the city's large population.

At the moment the directors of big factories in Hungnam give names to the communities around these factories, such as "Pongung community", "Hungnam community", "Ryongsong community". They give names in their own ways as if they were the lords. Such being the case, in Hungnam the master of the city is not the city people's committee but the directors of big factories.

The existence of many such "communities" in Hungnam has something to do with the blind inheritance of this practice from the Japanese imperialists who arranged workers' residential quarters, in those days, around factories without any consideration.

Such is the situation in Hungnam, but no one has ever taken notice of it. This situation must cease forthwith in Hungnam; it must be rectified as soon as possible. If this is not set rightly and promptly, it would lead to various undesirable consequences.

First, it would make it impossible for factory directors to perform their own duties properly.

These directors are supposed to concentrate their efforts on developing factories successfully, taking good care of equipment and ensuring efficient production. They must rack their brains to find the ways to mechanize the production processes, innovate in production, raise the workers' technical and skill levels and increase production.

At present the factory directors in the Hungnam district, however, do not have these things in their minds but are using their brains more in developing their "communities". Their suggestions this time have nothing to do with the problems of production but mostly with ambulance vans, doctors and other unproductive issues. Of course, it is necessary to build their own hospitals well for the mines which are far away from cities. But what is the use of building a big hospital for each factory in a town like Hungnam which boasts of a big hospital?

At the moment in Hungnam the responsibility to take care of the workers and inhabitants rests on the directors of large factories, not the city people's committee. Therefore, they turn to the directors in case there is a short supply of vegetables and other non-staple foodstuffs, and also when something is wrong with bathhouses, sanitation and cultural activities and everything else.

If factory directors are in charge of the matters of developing their "communities" and even looking after the inhabitants, they will be unable to do their own duties, as well as their study properly under pressure. They should study hard. Society and technology develop as the days go by, and the Party's demand grows higher as the revolution develops in depth. If they fail to study Party policy and technology, they may lag behind the times and finally become useless.

Secondly, it would result in a great deal of waste.

Every factory has now built a clubhouse as big as a theatre. Of course, large clubhouses might be needed when the number of workers grows at some time in the future. But it would be preferable to set up a large club which is furnished with a library and sports and amusement facilities for the whole town so that workers and citizens can read

books and have sports and amusement there on holidays.

Thirdly, it would impede the development of the city.

If Hungnam is to have a proper appearance of a city under present conditions, the “communities” will have to expand and link up with one another. Then the city will be an eyesore and it will also give inconvenience to the people.

What measures, then, should be taken if the city people’s committee is to play its role satisfactorily?

First of all, the city should be formed well under a farsighted programme.

In the future Hamhung and Hungnam should be merged into one and developed as one city. Residential districts should not be built around factories but in places good to live in. If residential quarters were built near factories as they are now, poisonous gas from factories would harm the health of the people. Surely, we will eliminate all the harmful gases from factories in the future, but this is impossible at present. So it is not a good thing to develop residential quarters in the vicinity of factories.

Residential quarters should be planned somewhere between Hamhung and Hungnam and between Ryujong-ri and Soho and many houses be built there. Housing construction should start from Hamhung and proceed down to Hungnam. Residential quarters must include not only dwelling houses but also other amenities like barber’s shops, bathhouses and other service establishments and educational and cultural facilities such as schools, theatres and cinemas.

If residential quarters are formed in this way, workers may have difficulties in going to and from their places of work. For the time being a commuter train service should be provided between Hamhung and Soho, and at some time in the future a loop railway line or tramline should be laid which connects Hamhung, Hungnam and Soho.

Next, the organizational structure and work system of the city people’s committee should be rectified.

When Hamhung and Hungnam are merged into one it will be necessary to enlarge the structure of the city people’s committee and raise its grade.

At present the directors of big factories are under the control of the city Party committee, but they are reluctant to come under the control of the city people's committee. This is the case not only in Hungnam but perhaps in Kimchaek, Chongjin, Nampho and other cities where there are big factories. So the central authorities will be examining all the structures of people's committees in industrial cities and further study what kind of departmental structure the city people's committee will need if it is to function properly.

The city people's committee must have a structure, above all, capable of undertaking the responsibility to handle the supply service for the workers and inhabitants and other aspects of their lives. The work system should be improved so that the city people's committee can control and direct all districts in the city and manage and handle the means of transport, dwelling houses, service establishments and the commercial network under its singular authority.

The city people's committee should do the work of city administration properly. It should manage the educational and cultural establishments and service facilities such as nurseries, kindergartens, schools, hospitals, theatres, cinemas and bathhouses. At the same time, it should manage all the economic life of the city properly. Factories should give active assistance to the city people's committee in its work.

The city people's committee must have a supply base, if it is to satisfy the demand for the supply service for the workers and inhabitants. The Hamhung City People's Committee should take over some agricultural and fishermen's cooperatives from the province and undertake farming and fishing and run stock and poultry farms, too.

6. ON PARTY WORK

Party work should be further intensified.

Success in all work depends on the efficiency of Party work.

Production and all other work will not be successful in units where Party work does not run smoothly and Party policy is not conveyed to the masses. Such units will always show some defects or suffer from other incidents. On the contrary, in units where Party work is efficient, production and everything else will go smoothly.

The workers of the Ryongsong Machine Factory accept the Party policies willingly and carry them out successfully. As we saw it last evening, they are good at amateur art performances, too. This means that Party work in the Ryongsong Machine Factory is efficient.

In the People's Army, too, the commanding officers and men of the units, which are good at Party work, clearly understand the Party policies, are well disciplined, in good order, and free from accidents. But in those units, which lack discipline and order and often suffer accidents, we find their Party work, political work, inefficient.

The same is true of county work. If the county Party committee does Party work, political work, properly, the work of the county people's committee, local industry and all other affairs of the county will run smoothly. This is clear from the example of Changsong County. Formerly in that county Party policies were not carried out properly, the people's standard of living was not high and all county affairs did not go well. So we appointed an instructor of the Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee as the chairman of the county Party committee and he greatly improved the work of that county. There was nothing special in what he did in that county. He just intensified Party work, political work. He always studied how to carry out Party policies and frequently inspected agricultural cooperatives and local industry factories, where he gave lectures and had talks, explaining Party policies to the masses. As a result, the county people clearly understood the Party policies and strove to implement them. This is how this county became proficient in production, amateur artist group activities and all other work.

But, the situation in Sakju County is not so good though it is a larger county with better conditions and more workers than Changsong County. We can judge it from the performance, for instance, given by

an amateur artist group in Sakju County.

We saw their performance last year and this year, too, and we found the level low, although the provincial Party committee is said to have sent them artists from the provincial art troupe to help them for over a year.

The level of such performance does not rise only through the efforts of the man who gives guidance. For good artistic creation there should exist conditions under which people can lead an ideologically sound and cheerful life. Art comes from life and it reflects life. All the housewives in Changsong County Town work in local industry factories or producers' cooperatives, and the average income of the people in that county is high. As they lead a bountiful and happy life, their songs and dances are naturally merry; and as they sing of a merry life, their songs sound melodious and pleasant.

In Sakju County, however, many of the housewives in the county town are loitering away their time at home and the inhabitants' standard of living is not very high. So a merry song cannot be expected from them. As you see, success in amateur art performance depends on Party work in the long run. We must therefore further intensify Party work.

What is important in Party work is to tighten discipline in Party organizations. Discipline is the life and soul of a party and without it the party cannot exist. A party of the working class must have discipline as strict as that in the army. In a party democratic centralism must be firmly guaranteed and iron discipline must prevail.

Recently there have been instances of some officials neglecting Party discipline. They are self-complacent with their insignificant achievements, take no interest in Party decisions and instructions and do not strictly keep the inner-Party secret.

What is most important in building up Party discipline is to maintain a strict discipline of unconditionally accepting Party policy and the decisions and instructions of the Party Central Committee and carrying them out to the letter. Manifestations of perfunctory attitude to Party policy and the decisions and instructions of the Party Central

Committee and neglect of their proper implementation, should not be overlooked but should be strongly combatted. This will increase the fighting efficiency of the Party and further strengthen our Party.

The authority and prestige of our Party is now rising as the days go by. This authority and prestige is evident from the editorials and major articles published by the parties of the USSR and other fraternal countries in their newspapers and their letters of greetings to our Party on the occasion of the recent 15th anniversary of the August 15 liberation. The fraternal parties highly praise that our Party is seasoned and tempered and maintains a principled attitude to all problems arising in the international communist movement at present.

This is a high estimation of our Party's long and arduous revolutionary struggle, in particular, the valorous struggle we waged overcoming all difficulties during the war and postwar reconstruction. This inspires our people in their struggle and fills them with joy.

Our Party has now become a party of international authority because it has formulated its independent policies to fit the actual conditions of our country and carried them out by maintaining a principled standpoint without being swayed by any wind.

As all of you know, when the great-power chauvinists put forward a "Left" adventurist line we did not follow it blindly but maintained our independent line, and also when the revisionists tried to emasculate the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism we uncompromisingly combatted them without the slightest vacillation.

Our Party remained firm even when the anti-Party factionalists manoeuvred viciously in opposition to the Party line in the postwar years.

At that time the anti-Party factionalists carped at our Party's policies, arguing that the line of giving priority to the development of heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture was sheer fantasy, which did not exist in foreign countries. They said that we were not using in a proper way the aid from fraternal countries, that the socialist transformation was still premature in our country and what not. All the anti-Party factionalists were flunkeys and

dogmatists. They were blind to the actual conditions of our country and the strength of our people, simply looking at others and trying to copy foreign things mechanically.

Communists are not making a revolution to stand high in someone's favour. Our Party did not look up at others first but saw our people and our country first. This is the fundamental viewpoint and attitude maintained consistently by our Party.

Then, which was the right attitude? Needless to say, our Party's attitude was correct. Our people are now well-off and we can produce various kinds of machines on our own because our Party has given priority to the development of heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture without the slightest vacillation in spite of all sorts of criticism on the part of anti-Party factionalists. The reality patently proves that our Party's policies were correct and its attitude was right. The fraternal parties' high evaluation of our Party is justified and natural.

We must not be swayed to self-complacency by their high appreciation. The higher their estimate is, the humbler we must be and the faster we must strive to advance.

To carry out the Korean revolution well is an internationalist duty entrusted to the Korean communists. Therefore, only when we carry out the Korean revolution with credit can we be loyal to our internationalist duty.

The immediate task before us is to implement the Seven-Year National Economic Plan with success. We must carry out this plan splendidly and develop our country into a socialist industrial state and give greater revolutionary influence to the people in the south.

I firmly believe that you will carry through the tasks of South Hamgyong Province and thereby bring about a radical change in all work of your province.

ON STRENGTHENING POLITICAL WORK IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

**Speech at an Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the People's
Army Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

September 8, 1960

Comrades,

Today is the 10th anniversary of the death of Comrade Kang Kon who was one of the organizers of the People's Army and is still loved by all its officers and men. Availing myself of this opportunity, I suggest that we should observe one minute's silence in memory of the exploits performed by Comrade Kang Kon, faithful son of our Party and the Korean people.

It is of great significance that we have discussed the problem of strengthening Party political work at this enlarged plenary meeting of the People's Army Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea. You have had serious discussion on this problem for three days and suggested many good opinions. I think this meeting will greatly contribute to developing Party political work in the People's Army.

As you have unanimously pointed out in your speeches, a great change took place in Party political work of the People's Army after the March 1958 Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. In fact, it was not until the March Plenary Meeting that the People's Army began to expose the plots of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements.

The anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements schemed to take away the People's Army from the leadership of our Party Central

Committee; they tried to alienate the army from the Party to realize their malicious objectives. Their aim was to oppose the socialist revolution and restore the bourgeois and landlord system in our country. They denied the brilliant revolutionary traditions inherited by the People's Army; they rejected the Party's leadership alleging that the People's Army should be put under the guidance of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea. They opposed the socialist revolution and construction in the northern half. In league with the international faction, they even tried to disseminate revisionism and reduce our country to an imperialist attachment.

After the March Plenary Meeting, all the Party members, officers and men of the People's Army unanimously supported the Party Central Committee and thoroughly purged the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements who had crept into the army. We can easily imagine how grave the consequences would have been if those elements had not been liquidated.

After the March Plenary Meeting, Party political work in the People's Army witnessed a big success in eliminating dogmatism and formalism and establishing Juche and the Party ideological system.

It would be a mistake to say that in the past the Party ideological system was not set up in the People's Army. It is a stark reality that it was established there. However, Choe Jong Hak and other anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements have recently confused this system in the army, abusing their posts as commanders.

As a result of the liquidation of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionaries and the establishment of Juche in opposition to dogmatism and formalism after the March Plenary Meeting, our Party's ideological system has been thoroughly re-established in the army. Thus, the People's Army has been united solidly behind the Party Central Committee as before and firmly armed with the ideology of the Workers' Party, the ideology of the Party Central Committee. This is a great success.

Besides, the education in socialist patriotism has also been intensified in the Party ideological work of the army.

The bureaucratic style of work has, to a large extent, been done

away with and the solidarity between officers and men further cemented. Today the officers and men in our army love each other very ardently as comrades and are closely united like real brothers. This is attributable to the strenuous efforts made for inheriting the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas.

Bad habits such as unfaithfulness and indifference to Party organizational life and frequent latitudinarian acts divorced from the Party organization under the plea of the one-man management system have almost disappeared. This is one of the most important successes. Now, the activities of the Party committee and the Party organizational life have been improved and the Party's leadership system completely established in the army.

All this vividly shows the justice of the measures taken by the March Plenary Meeting with a view to radically improving political work in the People's Army.

The army's successes in Party political work, however, do not at all mean that everything goes well without any shortcomings. Many things are still unsatisfactory, so you must continue to improve this work.

Therefore, we are discussing this problem again at this enlarged plenary meeting of the People's Army Party Committee in order to carry out the decision adopted at the March Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and further improve Party political work in the army. All the problems were pointed out correctly in the report and in the speeches of many comrades.

On this occasion, I should like once again to give some of my opinions on improving Party political work in the People's Army.

1. ON INTENSIFYING PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE

The most important thing in the political work of the army is to

intensify the Party organizational life. Without consolidating the Party organization it is impossible to strengthen the People's Army.

The great Lenin said that the Party is the highest form of organization of the working class, its political leader and general staff. The Korean working class has many organizations—the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the army, and so on. Among these organizations the Workers' Party of Korea is the highest form of organization. It is the headquarters and the general staff of the Korean working class; it organizes and leads all the revolutionary struggle for national reunification and socialist construction.

This is clearly proved by the 15-year history of our Party's glorious struggle since liberation. Without our Party's leadership, we would not have been able to smash the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism and set up the people's government immediately after liberation. Nor would we have been successful in carrying out the great democratic reforms such as the agrarian reform, nationalization of major industries, the Labour Law and so forth.

In the Fatherland Liberation War against the invasion of the US imperialists, our Party rightly judged the whole situation and gave correct military guidance, advancing and retreating whenever necessary. Thanks to this guidance we could emerge victorious repelling the invasion of a numerically superior enemy.

It is also thanks to our Party's correct guidance that we repaired the war damage so rapidly under the difficult circumstances after the armistice and completed the socialist transformation in towns and the countryside, and built solid foundations of socialism by implementing the Five-Year Plan.

Without the Party's leadership neither the building of the People's Army nor its activity is conceivable. The People's Army was organized under the leadership of our Party. The Party educated the officers and men of the People's Army in the spirit of defending every inch of our country. After the armistice, it put forward the task of quickly developing the People's Army into a cadre army by gaining time through the observance of the Armistice Agreement, improving

its technical equipment and intensifying socialist education in the army. As we see, all the successes achieved in building the People's Army are ascribable to our Party's correct guidance.

This is well known to everybody. Why, then, am I emphasizing it again, today? This is because some people may still consider that the army, being a special organization, does not need Party leadership, for the evil aftereffects of the factionalists have not yet been wiped out.

There may possibly be individual persons who retain the remnants of erroneous warlordism and bourgeois ideology, which underestimate or deny the role of Party leadership over the army, arguing that an army should only advance if the order "Forward!" is given and go back if ordered "Backward!" and that there is no need of going to the trouble of intensifying the Party life and consolidating the Party organization.

The factionalists always deny the Party's guidance of the army because they have an ulterior motive. They think they can plot at will only when Party leadership is absent or ineffective. Kim Ul Gyu opposed Party leadership to the People's Army insisting that it is an "army of the united front". Choe Jong Hak deliberately objected to the Party's line. The Party issued instructions to obliterate dogmatism and formalism and establish Juche already immediately after the armistice, but he did not carry out the Party's instructions. Kim Ung was also an anti-Party, counter-revolutionary element. He also rejected Party leadership in the army. There may still be such factionists in the People's Army: there may be some people who attempt to restore the bourgeois, landlord system; there may also be warlordists who try to take off the army from under Party leadership and make it a tool that follows them blindly. And even if there are no such fellows now, they may appear in the future.

Therefore, it is important, above all, to intensify the Party organizational life if we are to eliminate the factionalists and prevent the emergence of a faction. You must always keep on the lookout for those who are not faithful in the Party organizational life, considering the Party's leadership as something troublesome and who neglect the work of the Party committee. Those fellows have an ulterior motive

without exception. Otherwise, how can they regard Party leadership as a nuisance and dislike the Party organizational life?

Our army is the military mass organization composed of the workers, farmers and working intellectuals. Just like all other mass organizations the army can also exist only under the leadership of the Party and it can never be placed above the Party organization. The People's Army was organized precisely by our Party; it is an armed force to implement Party policy and defend the revolutionary gains. Therefore, it is very dangerous to neglect the Party life and make light of the work of the Party committee, emphasizing the peculiarity of the army.

When we started the anti-Japanese armed struggle before, all the guerrillas were under the guidance of the military department of a district or a county Party committee. It was only when the strength of the guerrilla army increased and the local Party organizations could not guide it any more, that separate Party organizations were formed in the army. The same is true even today. Our army has grown to be a large organization and it has become irrational for local Party organizations to guide it. So separate Party organizations have been created in the army. It is not because the army is a special organization that a separate Party committee has been formed in it.

The supreme organization in the army is the Party committee. In a division, the supreme organization is the divisional Party committee, and in a corps, it is the corps Party committee. There can be neither a division of a divisional commander, nor a corps of a corps commander. All problems, both military and political, should be decided upon by the Party committee.

When compared with the Party Central Committee, the Minister of National Defence can be called the Director of its Military Department and the General Political Bureau, its Organizational Department which guides the Party organizations in the army.

Some people still consider the Party committee in the army something like a consultative organ. They are grossly mistaken. The Party committee is not merely a consultative body but a collective organ for military and political leadership. When we set up the Party

committee, some people were afraid lest the one-man management system should be weakened. However, one and a half years of our experience show that it has not been weakened but, on the contrary, further strengthened.

At first, there were many arguments that the existence of the Party committee was very troublesome and that the Party committee was going to usurp the commander's prerogative. Even if the former rules over the latter, there is nothing wrong. If a certain individual rules over the organization, it is wrong. But, nothing is wrong for the organization to rule over an individual. By doing so we intend to make every individual person receive the guidance of the Party organization, in other words, the collective guidance of many people.

All work—military affairs, political work, personnel affairs, supply service, cultural work, security work and so on—should be conducted under the guidance of the Party committee. In the combined unit, unit and sub-unit, all problems should be discussed and decided upon by the Party organization. After they are discussed at the Party committee, a military problem should be handled by order of the military commander; a political affair, by order of the political commander; and logistical work, by order of the supply officer. The cultural and security work should also be treated according to the same procedure.

The personnel affairs, in particular, should be the main work of the Party committee. The education of a cadre and his selection and allocation as well as the application of an organizational measure for a certain cadre when he commits an error—all these matters should be discussed at the Party committee before they are settled. An individual should never be allowed to deal with personnel affairs at his own discretion.

The Party committee should be formed with excellent Party members, that is, with political cadres who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and know how to educate officials and propagate the Party policies, and with military and technical cadres who are ready to go through thick and thin in order to carry out the tasks assigned by the Party.

There should be no such rule that only the chief of the political department should assume the post of Party committee chairman of an army unit. It is all right if this post is taken either by a military or a political cadre. It does not matter if only he is a member of the Party committee, is loyal to the Party and is competent. In the Party there should be no superior or inferior members. Each member has the same rights and duties. This is clearly prescribed in our Party Rules.

The elected Party committee should hold its meetings regularly. When I visited a division some time ago, the divisional commander told me that it was very easy to work after the formation of the Party committee. Because the military order was discussed at the Party committee before it was issued, he could draw out a more concrete and complete plan than before when he had to rack his brains all by himself. Consequently, he said, the order was very authoritative and was carried out splendidly. Can we say, then, that the one-man management system has been weakened? No, we should consider it has rather been strengthened further.

Therefore, you should hold Party committee meetings regularly; and whenever you have an important problem, you should make it a rule to discuss it and solve it at the Party committee meeting.

In order to run properly the Party committee, you should not only hold its meetings regularly but give appropriate assignments to its members. Even though the meeting is held, the decision of the committee would be an empty talk, if there was no person responsible for the work. The committee should assign each member an appropriate task in order to implement thoroughly its decision.

Furthermore, the Party life of each member should be intensified. The People's Army is also a mass organization, so our Party members play a nuclear role in it. Our Party members in the army are vanguard fighters who understand clearly the military and political policies advanced by the Party Central Committee and strive to carry them out. The Party member should explain and propagate the Party's policies among the masses whenever and wherever and struggle to the last for their implementation.

To this end, he should first make a deep study of the Party policies. Besides, he should carry them out unconditionally, obey the Party's organizational discipline and do his best to strengthen the unity of the Party. These are elementary duties of the Party member. One who does not carry out the duties prescribed in the Party Rules, is not qualified to be a Party member. Unless each member carries out his duty faithfully, it is impossible to accomplish the Party's high aim to build socialism and communism.

Therefore, the Party organizations at all levels in the army should always guide the members so that they take an active part in the Party life and carry out faithfully their duties.

2. ON GIVING PRIORITY TO POLITICAL WORK

Recently I received reports from leading officials and I myself visited several divisions to have talks with men and noncommissioned officers. According to them, the political work in the People's Army is conducted normally. Most of the officers, noncommissioned officers and men understand our Party policy, know the orientation of socialist construction, strive to be loyal to the Party and are all united.

In spite of this, as a matter of fact, there are also some shortcomings. The major defect is that the habit of giving priority to political work in all matters has not been completely established. Generally speaking, in the army political work with the main stress on persuasion and education is not yet satisfactory.

In order to carry out the revolutionary task, we should give priority to political work before anything else anywhere anytime. Revolution is not an undertaking which is performed single-handed or only by Party members. Revolution is work to be done by the masses. So, only when they know why they should make revolution, what they should do to emerge victorious in it and what they will gain after the victory, can

they carry it out well. Without voluntary participation on the part of the masses, we can neither build socialism nor advance towards communism. If communism could be built single-handed or by the efforts of several persons, it would have already been accomplished.

By nature communism is the highest stage of human society where everyone will lead a happy and plentiful life. So, it can never be attained only by the efforts of one person or several persons. In order to go as far as communist society everyone must display a high degree of enthusiasm and make strenuous efforts.

To this end, everyone should know clearly for what and how they should fight and what they will gain from it. It is precisely political work that informs everyone of this and arouses their conscious enthusiasm.

The same is true with the army. Only when priority is given to political work which puts emphasis on persuasion and education, will all armymen voluntarily carry out their military tasks. In those units where political work is successful, everything will be satisfactory—combat training, military discipline and supply work—while, where this work is not smooth, nothing will go well.

As mentioned before, the People's Army is the military mass organization of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals and the revolutionary armed ranks of our Party. The might of our People's Army lies, after all, in the awareness of the armed revolutionary masses. Only by giving a clear understanding of the purpose, tasks and prospect of our revolution to all men, noncommissioned officers and officers of the People's Army and training all of them to be ardent defenders of our Party policy and indomitable fighters who will carry it out, is it possible to increase the fighting efficiency of the People's Army. Without giving precedence to political work aimed at awakening and mobilizing the masses, it would be impossible to strengthen the People's Army.

The guarantee for victory in all military activities lies in efficient political work and satisfactory work among the men and noncommissioned officers. This is the conclusion which I myself have

reached in many years of my military leadership; it is the guiding principle of our Party work in the army.

When you organize a march in the unit, for example, you should inform all combatants of its political and military significance and what is the point they should pay attention to, and thus prepare them well ideologically. This is the way you can ensure its success. On the contrary, if just an order “Forward!” was issued to the soldiers who are unaware of their duty and destination, the march would never be successful. What is still worse, they may encounter great confusion on the way.

Today, on all sectors of socialist construction—in factories, mines, farm and fishing villages—we witness many examples that the assignments given by the Party have been performed creditably by giving priority to political work. When we visit those sectors where the state plan has been successfully fulfilled, we find that all of them have conducted political work satisfactorily without exception.

The achievement attained recently in the building of Pyongyang is magnificent. Take the Grand Theatre for example. This edifice was built only in a year, and this is entirely the result of good political work. All the builders of the theatre realized that only when they had such a cultural palace in the capital would the people be able to see good art pieces and could our national culture develop. So, they exerted all their energy and talents to accelerate its completion, thereby displaying the high spirit of our people.

Some time ago, I visited the construction site of the vinalon factory. Frankly speaking, I was very much worried at first whether this difficult project could be completed until May Day next year. So, before leaving for the place, I discussed the problem with members of the Presidium and came to an agreement that the completion of the project be postponed until August 15, if it was difficult to be done by the scheduled time.

However, on my arrival there, I realized that my worry was in vain. Political work was done well and the spirit of the builders was sky-high. Above anything else, I was pleased with the slogan put up at

the construction site, which read: "Let's provide the people with more cloth by building the vinalon factory!" More realistic was the slogan "Let's accelerate the building of this factory and send more cloth to our fathers, mothers and sisters!"

The latter is a good slogan, so practical and moving. A large number of the People's Army soldiers are taking part in the project. It can be said that the slogan exactly reflects their feelings. Is there any soldier who does not think of his father, mother and sister? "If I dig even one more spade of earth and lay bricks more quickly, I will be able to send more cloth to my father, mother and sister and so much the earlier." Will any of them be unenthusiastic if he thinks so? A slogan which simply says, "Let's complete the project ahead of schedule!" will not arouse the people to action so powerfully.

The slogans themselves were good. And when I went into details, I found political work satisfactory indeed. So, my worry elapsed and I began discussion to search out all means to finish the project until next May Day. I asked what was the demand of the builders and armymen with whom I talked. Their demand was very simple. They only asked me to send them 200 skilled workers because they were not skilful enough. They were in trouble because they were not skilful in moving here and there at lofty heights. So they wanted several spidermen and some other skilled workers. They promised that if they were provided with this, they would unfailingly complete the building of the factory.

When I asked them what else they needed, they only asked the materials to arrive in time so that they would not run short of them. They told me in unison that provided with this, they would surely complete the construction ahead of schedule. I thought that they must have some more bottlenecks but were too diffident to talk about them. So, together with the Director of the General Political Bureau of the People's Army, I called some of the soldiers and commanders and asked them informally. However hard I urged them to speak out anything they wanted, all of them only answered that they had nothing more to ask and said they would certainly ensure the inauguration of

the vinalon factory by May Day next year if only they were supplied with materials. I felt that the political work at the construction site was in fact conducted effectively and deeply.

When I visited a tank division last time, I found political work there was also going rather well. The slogan "Let's defend the Party Central Committee at the cost of our lives!" was hung by the front gate. It is a very good slogan.

If a man had no head, he would be tantamount to a dead man and could not act as man. Without a wise leadership, the Party Central Committee, our Party would be unable to work. Without Party leadership our people would be unable to live even a single day nor advance even an inch. So the slogan "Let's defend the Party Central Committee at the cost of our lives!" is very profound and correct. This is a very good slogan which moves the hearts of the brave soldiers of the People's Army, the army of the Party. As I grasped the situation by and by, the impression I got from the slogan proved true; the political work in the unit was efficient and the spirit and political and ideological consciousness of the soldiers were very high.

Both in the field of the national economy and in the military sector, no revolutionary tasks can be successful without awakening large numbers of people and mobilizing the masses.

The motive force of the revolution is always the people, the masses. Only when they are given distinct objectives and clearly informed which road they should follow, and how to attain them and what they will benefit from them, can they advance on the road with confidence and win victory in the revolution.

Doing this is exactly political work and work with the masses. When this work is done well before anything else, all the work will go smoothly; otherwise everything will fail. This is an immutable principle. You should work on this principle under all circumstances.

What is basic in political work is, in the final analysis, to persuade, educate and mobilize the people. Shouting cheers and giving a motivational lecture by calling the masses together does not necessarily mean giving priority to political work.

The most important thing is to move the hearts of people and educate and remould all of them to be faithful to us. Giving precedence to political work means giving priority to the work of educating passive people to be active, and laggards to be advanced; it means preferentially giving a better understanding of our Party's policy to those who still do not understand it so that they will follow us in our revolution, and guiding those who are lagging behind to take the lead and advance rapidly.

Recently I attended the meeting of vanguards in the Chollima Workteam Movement and I was moved to admiration. The great vitality of this movement lies precisely in the fact that it conducted this work splendidly.

Listening to the speeches of the Chollima riders I felt most keenly that our Party members and members of the Democratic Youth League had acquired the genuine method of political work of communists and splendidly put the Party's mass line into effect. This is, in fact, a great victory for our Party. I appreciated it very much when I met the vice-chairmen and directors of the Party Central Committee after returning from the meeting.

When Ho Ka I took a post in the Central Committee in the past, a bad style of work took root in our Party, a work style of ordering the lower units in an administrative way. After the Third Party Congress we took a great pain to root it up. We waged a steady and staunch struggle in order to arm all Party members with the Party's ideology and the revolutionary mass viewpoint. They seem to have started to be fully implemented only now.

Party members and excellent members of the Democratic Youth League have now realized the essence of our Party's mass line and begun to educate and mobilize the masses by the genuine method of political work. I emphasize again that this is a great victory for our Party's mass line.

Comrade Kil Hwak Sil, a 21-year-old young woman worker, turned her workteam into a Chollima workteam. Then she voluntarily moved to another most backward workteam. She patiently educated those who

were stubborn and were not zealous in their work and induced all of them to be enthusiastic in production, and thus turned the workteam into a Chollima workteam, too.

In the course of teaching, helping and pulling each other forward, the members of this collective became, without exception, production innovators and fine builders of a new society.

Judging from her experience she said that anyone could be remoulded except hostile elements. She is quite right. I fully agree with her opinion.

Comrades, communism, as I mentioned above, is for the benefit of all and aims to make all live well. Therefore, to this end, all should work with great zeal. If all people are to be encouraged to work actively, they should be re-educated into communists of a new type.

This is exactly one of the most important and difficult problems in building socialism and advancing to communism. It can never be said that this work is easier than effecting technical revolution and advancing productive forces to a very high level. In my opinion, remoulding men's thought is more complex and difficult than transforming technique.

Our Party has already set about making an all-out effort to educate people in a communist way. This work should be vigorously promoted everywhere, and political work in the army, too, should lay stress on this work.

First of all, you should abandon your easygoing attitude to send away troublemakers and consolidate the army only by depending on the elite under the excuse of the peculiarity of the army. Those young people who have joined the army to defend the country with arms in their hands, can be considered good people. Some wicked elements might slip into the army as spies. However, there hardly may be one such element out of a thousand, and the overwhelming majority are good people.

Such being the case, if you fail to educate and remould these people, how can you have the face to see Comrade Kil Hwak Sil? You must not forget her words that anyone with the exception of hostile elements can be remoulded.

If a soldier is discharged from the army just because he is difficult to educate, where shall he go? He will have to go to a factory or a farm village, and after all, the Party organization there will have to take charge of him for re-education. If such is the case, why do you think of dismissing those who have entered the People's Army and of whom you have taken charge, without educating them to the last?

Since the army is part of our society and a collective of people, there may be progressive and backward people. What is important is to educate and remould laggards; to lead them to the level of the advanced people and turn the whole People's Army into a militant communist collective that is fully loyal to the Party and the revolution.

You are apt to scold and punish people on the plea of educating them. You are wrong. As you all know, a guardhouse system has been already abolished in our army. This, in itself, is a great progress. This is unimaginable in the capitalist army. Confining people in the guardhouse on the grounds of violating discipline shows one's inability to persuade and educate them; it only exposes one's political inability.

Since we are able to remould all people politically by the methods of persuasion and education, a guardhouse is useless. One sergeant major said that he had tried the persuasion method without guardhouse for nearly two years and that this method proved to be very effective without any trouble or violation of discipline. You should re-educate people continually in this way,

Recently, persuasion and education have been applied even in the house of correction in remoulding criminals and they have proved very successful. A capitalist is now subjected to reformation for a serious offence. The political worker of the house of correction gave him good education, and, besides, his wife exerted good influence on him whenever she came to see him. One day, I was told, he met the political worker and confessed plainly. He said: "Speaking honestly, I committed a lot of much graver crimes than those for which I was sentenced. I violated the law almost every day in order to raise money by fraud. To tell you the truth, I had buried stealthily tens of gold rings before I was imprisoned. What is the use of them in the future? Now, I

am being reformed and trying to lead a fair life, working as others do.” This is what he said in general. Judging from this, it is evident that though he did a lot of wrongs as a capitalist in the past, he has repented of all his wrongs and is now being remoulded.

All this is the result of political work, the result of moral influence upon the people by our environment. When we strenuously bring the truth home to the people, tell them the essence and prospect of a new society now under construction and get them to be well aware of their individual task, all of them will become progressive and positive elements, support the revolution and will follow us.

Furthermore, in political work the most effective method is to overcome the negative with the positive and educate people with good examples.

Education will not be effective if one is scolded many times over a mistake and repeated warnings are given to make one beware of somebody because he was punished for such and such misdemeanour; it will only make the atmosphere uncomfortable. If you conduct “education” only by taking negative instances day and night, you will only have adverse results. It would be much better to educate by saying: “You have done such a good job; work harder in the future,” or “Such and such a man has done such a fine job, so all of you should follow his example.”

Some officials seem to think that a scenario, drama and novel should contain a lot of negative aspects. What matters is the main topic. In my opinion, the main topic should be a positive hero, and an exemplary instance.

When there is a positive thing, there is always a negative thing. Activeness always exists in contrast to passiveness in reality. This is true. It is a law of life that through struggle the positive prevails over the negative.

However, in our society the negative holds a secondary place. The positive is the main thing. Referring quite often to the negative and less to the positive is already distorting our reality. What is the use of exaggerating the negative to our advance movement, and, more so, to

the education of the people? In the education of people we must put stress on the positive and exemplary instances—truthful, good and beautiful instances.

The most important thing in political education is to fully acquaint armymen with the superiority of the socialist system.

Only when they fully realize that ours is a good system which provides people with freedom and happiness, can they display bravery and patriotism in its defence. We should inform them of how much blood the revolutionary forerunners shed for this most advanced system free from oppression and exploitation under which everyone can work, learn and display his energy and talent to the full. Only when they are aware of this can each soldier, noncommissioned officer and officer fight devotedly to safeguard this system, following the examples of revolutionary forerunners.

Besides, it is necessary to expose the corruption of the capitalist system and stir up the hatred for the exploiting system in servicemen.

In educational work you should not merely enumerate the propositions as they are. It is important to remind people of their past life when they were subjected to all sorts of maltreatment and oppression by Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists and teach them what was the cause of their misfortune and suffering.

Particularly, you should systematically lay bare the predatory colonial policy of the US imperialists and give a clear understanding of the situation of our south Korean compatriots who are suffering under it, comparing it with the happy life of the people in the northern half.

To this end, you yourselves who are in charge of education, should study hard and have a full understanding of all our Party policies for socialist construction and the situation prevailing in the southern half.

Working with young people holds an important place in political work of the People's Army.

Working with men and noncommissioned officers is exactly the work with the masses of young people; it is the work of educating and training them.

What, then, is the most urgent task?

The essential thing is to create the hard-core ranks armed with communist ideology among young army men. The Democratic Youth League comprises all youths whether they have communist ideology or not. In order to further strengthen this reserve of our Party, it is necessary to build hard-core communists among them. Only by so doing is it possible to augment Party membership properly among young people and further increase our Party's influence on the masses of youth.

The People's Army should pay greater attention to increasing Party membership. It is a mistake to neglect the work of admitting army men to the Party, simply because they will be discharged after several years of service. You should boldly admit to the Party loyal young servicemen who are zealous in their military service and armed with communist ideology.

The trait of unity between men and officers should be firmly established in the army. Though this happens infrequently, some officers still show their superiority complex before soldiers and intend to make them work like servants. This obsolete habit should be brought to an end.

The officers should love and look after soldiers with paternal care and help them solve all their problems in time, and the latter should follow and respect and obey the former. Only when Party members and the members of the Democratic Youth League become one body and the commanders and men and noncommissioned officers are united in mind and purpose, can our People's Army be unconquerable.

Since the commanders are in charge of young soldiers, they should understand well the latter's feelings and always mingle with the Democratic Youth League members. When the soldiers have their rest singing songs and dancing, the commanders should also join them in a youthful spirit. They should not take the attitude: "Enjoy yourselves. I am too old to join you." Not only the DYL chairman but also the platoon leader, the company commander and all other commanders should work in a youthful spirit. This is the way the officers can be united with the young men and noncommissioned officers and lead them satisfactorily.

Young people are fond of new things, like to study and have a strong enterprising spirit. They have stamina and fighting spirit to carry through anything once they are determined to do so. The commanders should not break these but actively encourage them to display their creative initiative to the full.

Some time ago I called at a unit, where I found the soldiers were badly in want of books. The General Political Bureau seems to confuse young men and noncommissioned officers who have a keen desire for books with those old men who, in the past, disliked to read. On returning from the unit, I immediately ordered that much more books should be distributed to the People's Army.

Young soldiers are also very fond of musical instruments. Now that we are making a furnace and building a vinylon factory by our own efforts, why can't we make many accordions for young people? They are brave, optimistic and rich in emotion. We should know this well and meet their needs in time.

Here is yet another serious problem. Since the commanders at one time were young, they should understand to some extent what young men feel for the other sex. I feel somewhat awkward to refer to a problem like this at a Party meeting, but I think I should refer to it.

Once I visited a unit I was told that in that unit everything had been going on smoothly without almost any incident for several years. There was only one case when a noncommissioned officer of a company had been out secretly. The fact is that he had been away to meet a girl who was working at a nearby station.

It is natural that a young man should fall in love with a girl. But the deputy company commander for political affairs, young as he himself was, would not understand at all that the noncommissioned officer was so eager to see his sweetheart. Such a commander is narrow-minded.

I hear that if a soldier, who has never been home for several years, requests leave to go to meet his wife and children after a long separation, the reply he gets would be "Put up with it. The anti-Japanese guerrillas fought for more than fifteen years enduring everything. So can't you wait for just five years?" There are many such

narrow-minded people among the commanders. They should discard this attitude. During the time of guerrilla struggle the soldiers could not visit home because it was impossible, even if they wanted to. But why should they not be allowed to go home today? It is not a bad thing for them to go occasionally if possible.

It is peacetime now, so you had better give a fortnight's leave a year to those who have served more than three years so that they can visit their home. If they go and see their parents and girlfriends with whom they were on intimate terms in their boyhood, they will try to learn harder and be more faithful in their service. Why, then, should you be opposed to this? As for those who have served only for one or two years, it would be advisable to enforce an honourable leave system only for model soldiers and introduce a regular leave system for all those who have served more than three years.

The commanders should pay meticulous attention to the diet of soldiers. You are mistaken if you feel satisfied only by supplying them with food enough to stuff their bellies and side dishes with the fixed amount of calories at each meal. Some units provide soldiers sufficiently with all their favourite foods, while others only give them rice, their usual meals, even on holidays.

If you are to take care of them, why not supply them occasionally with various kinds of delicious food such as rice-cake and pancake? Since they are not sons and daughters of landlords but those of workers, peasants and other working people, you will be able to provide them with various kinds of more tasty food than that they used to have at home if only you use your brains a little more. The problem depends on how much the commanders love their men and how much attention they pay to their life.

All units of the People's Army should strive hard to implement the idea of ensuring unity between officers and men raised by this meeting and vigorously unfold the red-flag company movement suggested in the report. Thus you will augment the might of our People's Army which is united in indomitable revolutionary spirit, warm comradeship and iron discipline.

3. ON ADHERING TO MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLE IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee we have firmly safeguarded the Marxist-Leninist principle in ideological work. In the future, too, we will firmly base ourselves on this principle.

The cunning plot of the revisionists who try to revise Marxism-Leninism is now a great obstacle in the international working-class movement.

As a matter of fact, the manifestation of revisionism is not yet much in evidence in our Party. But you should not take it easy that it could not infiltrate our Party. We must always sharpen our vigilance against it and imbue all Party members with Marxism-Leninism, and thus relentlessly combat the international factionalism as well as the anti-Marxist ideological trends such as revisionism and dogmatism which undermine the unity of the international working-class movement.

Unless we wage this struggle constantly and thoroughly, revisionists may appear when the Party finds itself in a difficult situation.

As you all know, around the time of the Hungarian incident the imperialists and their lackeys intensified their “anti-Soviet” and “anti-communist” campaigns, and the subversive activities of the US imperialists and their henchmen against our people’s socialist construction became more evident. At that time, the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists opposed the Party with the anti-Marxist slogans of the international revisionists.

As mentioned above, everything the counter-revolutionary factionalists tried to do was manifestations of revisionism—their attempt to reject Party leadership to the People’s Army and separate the army from the Party, place the people’s government above the

Party by claiming, like Kim Tu Bong did, that the Supreme People's Assembly is superior to the Party, identify the trade unions with the Party, deny the revolutionary traditions of our Party and give prominence to factional strife.

Revolution does not always progress smoothly. You must not forget that sometimes it may fall into a critical situation. It is necessary to educate people in Marxism-Leninism regularly and thoroughly if we are to defeat instantly the anti-Marxist trends that may appear in every difficult situation. If we do so, no one will follow the revisionists when they venture to appear.

The most important thing now is to wage a merciless struggle against illusions about imperialism. These are very harmful and dangerous to the People's Army. We must expose thoroughly the aggressive nature of the imperialists and give a deep understanding of it to all Party members and armymen. That the aggressive nature of the imperialists has changed is a crafty revisionist propaganda which is intended to embellish imperialism and disarm the people in face of imperialist aggression.

Imperialism is aggressive by nature. If there should be imperialism which is not aggressive, that would be no imperialism. Unless it is destroyed, its aggressive nature will not change. As long as imperialism remains, the hotbed of aggression and war will continue to exist.

It is because the democratic base in the northern half is strong that peace is now preserved in our country. If we were not strong enough to frustrate the attack by the US imperialists and their lackeys, the enemy would have already invaded us. As all of you remember, the war in Korea began not on June 25, 1950, but, in fact, it had begun much earlier. Already from 1947 through 1948, the enemy had made repeated invasions. Combats were ceaseless in various places such as Mt. Songak in Kaesong, the Ongjin peninsula, Yangyang in Kangwon Province, where the enemy massacred the people and plundered their property.

But now they dare not attack us at will because they were once

beaten by us and know our strength well.

Even now, if they consider that we are weak, they will no doubt attack us. It is an absolute law of the imperialists that the strong only will survive.

As is well known, when the Soviet Union carried out the socialist revolution for the first time, fourteen imperialist countries made armed intervention to share Russia among themselves. Nevertheless, today the imperialists do not dare to recklessly attack China where the revolution emerged victorious. This is because the socialist camp is strong.

Nowadays, science and technology in the Soviet Union are far more advanced than those of imperialist countries; it has powerful weapons including rockets. The socialist camp has much more population than the imperialist camp; besides, it is firmly united. The former is incomparably stronger than the latter. The time when the imperialists behaved as they liked has already gone.

But we cannot conclude that the imperialists will not unleash a war. They may possibly resort to last-ditch desperation by venturing to ignite a war. Therefore, as long as imperialism exists, we must be extremely vigilant against war.

We should neither overestimate nor underestimate imperialism. We should reject both deviations.

Now that we are facing the enemies directly, it is particularly important to heighten vigilance against imperialism. The Americans are not only occupying south Korea but also continuing provocative military training by shipping in rocket weapons. If they have no aggressive design, why do they need military bases and occupy other countries? The US imperialists are now occupying south Korea. There is no doubt that they are desperately seeking to stretch out their aggressive tentacles still farther.

It is another question whether the US imperialists can unleash a war just now. If they know clearly that they will be beaten, they would not ignite a war so easily. As a matter of fact, the capitalists are afraid of death more than our working people.

Therefore, the stronger we are, the less the danger of war exists and

the more durable peace becomes.

The imperialists are well aware that if they dare invade a socialist country, they will meet strong counterattack from all socialist countries. Having been beaten in the Second World War and in the Korean war, they know our capabilities. There is no doubt that they will not dare make a reckless attack now when we are stronger.

However, if we relax vigilance against imperialism and live at ease, fiddling about day and night, thinking that the hotbed of war no longer exists, the imperialists will no doubt attack us and unleash a new war. Therefore, it is important to always consolidate our revolutionary forces and make full preparations to counter enemy invasion.

For the country's peaceful reunification we should have a strong power. It is a gross mistake to think that an army is unnecessary for peaceful reunification. If our forces are weak, we will never achieve peaceful reunification.

An uncompromising struggle is continuing between capitalists and workers, between landlords and peasants. The propertied class takes every opportunity to overthrow the working-class government, while the working class is staunchly fighting to destroy the capitalists' regime. Since the capitalists know well that communists are digging their graves, they are afraid of the latter and they are making desperate efforts to wipe them out. The capitalists exploit and oppress the workers and peasants and oppose communists. Their true colours will never change.

We can never expect that the US imperialists' aggressive nature and the reactionary nature of their lackeys will change and reunification will thus be achieved in a peaceful way. Peaceful reunification will be attained only when the US imperialists withdraw and the landlords and comprador capitalists in the southern half will not be able to bear the pressure of workers and peasants.

Even if we are to form a united front with the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the imperialists, we should be superior in strength. During the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle we formed a united front with various bourgeois nationalist armies.

However, when the guerrilla army led by our Communist Party was weak, they did not want a united front; on the contrary, they attacked us. Only when our forces increased and their forces dwindled and they could not hold out without forming a united front with us, they suggested this to us.

Although we could fight without forming a united front with them, we strove to realize it. This was because it was more favourable for us to add even a small force and also because if we excluded them they would surrender to the Japanese, which would add to the enemy's strength.

Soon after liberation there was also a similar situation. When the Democratic Party was stronger at the outset, Jo Man Sik refused to admit the leadership of the Communist Party. At that time the membership of the Democratic Party was more than that of the Communist Party and so he tried to engulf the latter.

But as our Communist Party put forward correct policies and won the broad working masses, our Party grew rapidly, while the Democratic Party weakened. Such being the situation, the democratic united front of all strata could be consolidated under the leadership of our Party.

We are now insisting on eliminating the barrier between north and south and holding a democratic general election, but the south Korean propertied class do not agree because they are afraid of our great strength. When will they accept our proposal? It is when the revolutionary forces in north and south Korea become so strong that they will be obliged to do so. In order to achieve peaceful reunification, therefore, we should not fail to reinforce our People's Army and accumulate our strength, whether we fight or not. The stronger we are, the earlier peaceful reunification will come.

We should give a correct understanding of a war to the Party members and armymen. We must abolish any propaganda among the people that any war, without exception, is bad.

There is a just war and an unjust war; a liberation war and an aggressive war. It is the unjust and aggressive war that is bad. We categorically reject this kind of war. But we are not bourgeois pacifists.

We support the just war such as a national-liberation war and a revolutionary war for emancipating the working class.

Negating the just war is tantamount to giving up the revolution. When the class struggle is intensified, it goes over to an armed struggle in many cases. Whether a war is made or not depends not on the revolutionary masses but on the exploiting classes who oppress the former. Since the ruling classes suppress the revolutionary masses by violence, the latter will resist them by violence.

As you all know, in April last year, the students in south Korea staged a peaceful demonstration at first. However, since the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique suppressed them by mobilizing the police and army, they resisted the enemy by violence with the armaments they captured from the enemy. Who was the first to resort to violence? Needless to say, it was the reactionary rulers of south Korea. The suppression of the peaceful demonstration at the point of the bayonet by the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique was violence which was unjust; and the firing on the part of the students to cope with it was a just struggle to liberate people from fascist oppression.

We always oppose war and desire peaceful reunification. But when the enemies challenge us and attack us by force of arms, we cannot sit with our arms folded. Then we must go to war against them. When the Syngman Rhee clique makes an attack upon us, or when the revolutionary forces in south Korea are strong enough and the people's struggle gathers momentum and they ask for our support, we cannot sit idle. In this case, we must give an annihilating blow to the enemy.

It is a fact that Syngman Rhee has been ousted. But what shall we do if Syngman Jang makes a northward advance? Should we sit down without doing anything, saying that we would not make a war because we maintain peaceful reunification? Never. What is the use of the People's Army, if we are not to counteract this aggression? We must always launch a merciless and decisive counterattack against the aggressors.

The US imperialists are now occupying south Korea and maintaining the fascist ruling machinery, so we cannot advise the

people there to wage only a peaceful liberation struggle. As a matter of fact, the students had to shoot and shed their blood just to get rid of Syngman Rhee. Then how can we hope the south Korean people to be liberated in a peaceful way? Of course, they may not resort to violence if the landlords and capitalists surrender readily without any resistance. But no ruling class will quit their positions merely because the students have demonstrations and shout cheers. History knows of no instance when the ruling classes have ever yielded their positions to the masses of their own accord.

About 1954 and 1955, some foreigners suggested through Choe Jong Hak that the slogan “Wipe out the US aggressors!” be taken away from the newspaper of the People’s Army. They viewed that this slogan hindered the peaceful solution.

The Party Central Committee categorically rejected this suggestion. The US imperialists are occupying south Korea and slaughtering our people and they once invaded north Korea, where they killed great numbers of people and reduced towns and rural villages to ashes. How, then, can we abandon this slogan to wipe out the US imperialists, our sworn enemy?

They also said that it would help towards detente if we should bring to land US aircraft intruding our territorial air, instead of shooting them down. But it would have been impossible to get the enemy’s planes to land. Moreover, it was clear that those who intruded others’ territorial air had no intention to relax the tension. This was a grave act of aggression. We could not sit idle in face of enemy aggression. So we ordered our men to shoot any intruding enemy plane. Whether we bring them down or not depends on our skill. Anyway, our principle is to shoot the invading enemy.

We shot down one of their planes. If we had not done so but tried to land it, they would have thought lightly of us and invaded our sky more openly.

We must first know our country’s situation well.

The southern half of our country is occupied by the US imperialists, and the landlords and comprador capitalists oppress and exploit the

workers and peasants. So it is natural that the national and class liberation struggle should take place there. A unified country where all the exploiter classes have been liquidated would not make war unless a world war breaks out. However, a half of our territory has been occupied by the enemy and the people there are subjected to violent oppression by the enemy.

It is necessary and also justified to resist the enemy's violence with violence. It does not mean that we want a war or wish to use violence. It means that we should counter the enemy because they are already using violence.

Therefore, we should educate Party members and soldiers so that they will fight the enemy bravely at any time. We should be vigilant against all literary works and films which preach bourgeois pacifism regarding all wars as wrong. We should give all people a correct understanding of war and peace.

Idleness can never be permitted in our country where we are face to face with the enemy. Our army is a revolutionary army. It has the revolutionary duties of defending the socialist gains from the enemy's invasion, driving the US imperialists out of south Korea to free the people from the yoke of colonial rule, and guaranteeing the people's democratic revolution in south Korea.

That is why we should keep strict watch over imperialism, increase the revolutionary force steadily and educate people in a revolutionary spirit.

We should resolutely reject the corrupt Yankee culture and combat indolence and the degenerate way of life. We are living in the revolutionary era, that is why we should make revolution. All the people should be frugal and modest and prepare themselves for a harsh struggle for the sake of revolution. After this meeting, you should conduct in the army a more vigorous ideological struggle against all indolent and degenerate tendencies that are harmful to the revolution, and intensify education to sharpen revolutionary vigilance against the enemy.

Next, I should like to refer to the question of strengthening internationalist solidarity with the countries of the socialist camp.

The Soviet Union is our friendly neighbour. The Chinese people are our comrades-in-arms. In cooperation with them we fought against the Japanese imperialists during the anti-Japanese war and against the Americans in the three years of the Fatherland Liberation War.

We should fight in cooperation with the Soviet Union and China. We should exert all our efforts to strengthen solidarity with them and also the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp. Our People's Army should cement internationalist friendship and solidarity with the armies of the socialist camp including the Soviet army and the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Besides, we should be careful never to be affected with flunkeyism. For us, communists, there may be big and small countries; but there are no superior or inferior men, just as there are no superior or inferior Party members. Although there is a big country and a big party, there is neither a superior country nor a superior party. For communists there can be no flunkeyism.

Therefore, we should always hold fast to the Marxist-Leninist principle and know how to establish our Juche. As I mentioned above, if we had mechanically followed what was insisted by strangers to our actual conditions, we might have committed grave errors. Doing so is contrary to the Marxist-Leninist principle.

Our revolution is part of the international revolutionary movement. Remaining true to our revolution precisely means fulfilling our duty to the international revolutionary movement. Flunkeyism is harmful both to our revolution and to the international revolutionary movement. Our Party members should, first of all, firmly adhere to our Party policy and faithfully carry out our revolution. This is the first and foremost duty assigned to our communists in the international communist movement.

Firmly standing by our Party's position, we should uphold the Marxist-Leninist principle. All the political workers and military cadres of the People's Army should be firmly armed with the Party policy and prepare themselves well enough to fight in accordance with it in any adversity.

Now I should like to emphasize that military cadres of the People's Army should be better versed in modern military techniques.

You are entrusted with a heavy responsibility to defend the interests of the Party and the people. We must never be complacent because we defeated the Americans in the Fatherland Liberation War. The Party requires that our People's Army be trained into a cadre army. To this end, the commanders should first have a very high level of military knowledge. Our contemporary soldiers must without exception acquire modern military techniques.

All our officials are young, so they will be able to do much work in future. We must reunify the country by our own efforts and build socialism in the whole area of north and south Korea.

As Lenin said, we should learn, learn and learn. Today, some of our comrades neglect reading on the pretext of being busy with their work. This is wrong. How can you command so many soldiers without learning?

The enemies do not sit with folded arms but constantly invent new weapons and new techniques. How, then, can we afford to mark time? We must learn if we are to make rapid progress. We should make it a rule to study two hours every day.

Here is one more thing I should like to mention: the People's Army should improve its supply service.

As I always emphasize, we must not forget that supply work is part of political work. Without doing supply work efficiently, it would be impossible to conduct political work well. Since this point is stressed in the decision, I will not refer to it at length. The Chief of the General Supply Service Bureau is not the only man who is responsible for supply service. All commanders, political workers and Party organizations should assume responsibility for this work.

In keeping with the rapid progress of socialist construction, supply work for the People's Army should be more satisfactory. The army should also introduce overall mechanization. Today all manual labour is being mechanized in economic construction. So there is no reason why the People's Army cannot do it. They should mechanize kitchen work as

well as the building of defence works. This is the way to provide the soldiers with more time for military training and political education.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to the need of improving your relations with local Party organizations. You should regard the work with them as part of your own duty. As we always say, just as fish cannot live without water, so the People's Army cannot survive without the people.

You are not living on an island but among the people. Around you there are agricultural cooperatives, factories, enterprises and local government and Party organizations. Before anything else, you should be willing to receive help from the local Party bodies.

Political workers and military cadres, wherever they may go, should first grasp the situation there well relying on the local Party organizations so as to strengthen their ties with the masses living in the neighbourhood of their units and help these organizations in consolidating themselves. Thus they will establish close ties of kinship among the People's Army, local inhabitants and local Party organizations so that they will rely on and help each other.

Without improving the environments of your units it would be impossible to consolidate your units. Assisting the inhabitants around your units amounts to strengthening the People's Army itself.

In the local area, any unit should regard it as part of its most important task to help the local Party organizations and inhabitants so that work in that locality may go smoothly.

You should never think that you are doing a good deed in helping the Party organizations and inhabitants around your units. You must never forget that it is your bounden duty. Therefore, you should not fail to strengthen your contact with the local Party officials, take meticulous care of the people there and give them help if they need it, and receive help from them if you need it, and thus establish the beautiful habits of unity between the army and the people, wherever you go.

I hope you will achieve a great success in improving Party political work in the People's Army by imbuing every soldier with the decision of this plenary meeting.

THE TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN KAESONG

**Speech Delivered before the Officials of Party
and Government Bodies, Working People's
Organizations and Economic
Establishments in Kaesong**

September 22, 1960

On my visit to Kaesong, I inspected the textile mill and agricultural cooperatives and read the information submitted by the city Party committee and also heard the reports on the general situation in Kaesong from the chairmen of city Party and people's committees.

In the past years big progress has been made in agriculture and industry, and especially in local industry in Kaesong.

In agriculture, last year's grain yield was greater than that in the previous year, and this year it is expected to produce much more grain than last year. I am very satisfied at this. This success in this sector was made due to the concentration of all forces on farming work, instead of wasting manpower, in conformity with the spirit of the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization.

In local industry, a great success was also achieved. When I was here in 1954, Kaesong citizens were very badly off. In the city there were many idlers and traders. Since then, the city Party committee organized and carried out work well under the guidance of the Party Central Committee, with the result that at present small- and medium-size local industries have been built in large numbers, and

there are no people without a job. Even housewives are engaged in the household industry. Kaesong citizens are now leading a stabilized life, and everyone is lively, free from any worries about their livelihood. They are now in high spirits, and everybody is beaming with joy. This is a very good thing.

Kaesong has done good jobs in construction, too. Though unsatisfactorily, the housing problem has been mainly solved and many schools have been built.

A good deal of success was achieved in Party work, too. The Chollima Workteam Movement is vigorous in factories and enterprises, and the work of re-educating the masses is active. Even young girls re-educate passivists to be activists, and laggards to be progressives.

Re-educating the masses is a wonderful job; it is a great victory of our Party's mass line. Our Party has consistently emphasized the need of carrying out the mass line, which has been successfully implemented since its Third Congress, particularly in recent years.

I am very pleased with the fact that our Party organizations and officials are acquiring the work style of re-educating broad sections of the masses to rally them around the Party through the implementation of the Party's mass line, and of building communism relying on their strength.

However, the success gained so far by Party organizations in Kaesong only means that the foundation has been laid for a greater victory in the future. They should not rest on their laurels but should work more efficiently to consolidate this success and win a new victory.

The important fighting task facing Party organizations in Kaesong is to make the people better off.

Our Party's consistent policy is to provide the people with a better life: We have so far striven to stabilize the people's lives and ensure that everyone leads an equitable life, and we should, from now on, make efforts to raise their standard of living. We should see to it that the people eat not only rice but also meat soup, eggs, milk and oil. If

Party organizations in Kaesong do a good job, and if the chairmen of county Party and people's committees, the chairmen of agricultural cooperatives and all other officials work hard, they can manage the economy of Kaesong assiduously and make the people much better off.

1. ON AGRICULTURE

In agriculture, priority should be given to good preparations for next year's farming.

The most important thing in the preparation of farming is to produce a large amount of manure. This is a way to raise good crops. In Kaesong you can raise two crops a year both in paddy and non-paddy fields. For this purpose you must produce a larger amount of manure.

The production of manure in the Kaesong area requires large quantities of peat and slaked lime. The experience in South Hwanghae Province shows that it is very effective to mix peat with slaked lime for manure and spread them over the fields. But, it would not be effective to apply peat to the fields without decomposing it well. Therefore, agricultural cooperatives should dig out a great deal of peat, carry it somewhere else by lorries and tractors to pile it up like a mountain, mix it with slaked lime and let it rot enough to use.

An energetic struggle should be waged to introduce mechanization into agriculture.

It would be impossible to ease the strain on manpower in the countryside without mechanizing agricultural production, nor could we develop agriculture in a diversified way.

The state will supply tractors and lorries necessary for the mechanization of agriculture. It is planning to send 3,500 tractors and 1,000 lorries to rural areas before the ploughing season next spring. This

means that each agricultural cooperative will have at least one tractor or lorry. Even if they should be equally distributed to the agricultural cooperatives all over the country, Kaesong would receive 57 tractors and lorries. We intend to supply a little more tractors and lorries to South Hwanghae Province and Kaesong than to other provinces.

For mechanization of agricultural production it is important to increase the number of lorries and tractors, but it is more important to raise the rate of their utilization. At present the utilization rate of tractors is very low. Agricultural cooperatives are using tractors only for ploughing and transport to some extent, but not widely for weeding, harvesting, threshing and other operations. In future, you should use tractors more effectively so that all work, wherever possible, should be done with tractors.

Attention should be paid to the production of fruits and vegetables. While inspecting the Pongdong Agricultural Cooperative in Phanmun County yesterday, I heard that they had gathered 7.2 tons of peach per hectare. Agricultural cooperatives should enlarge peach and other fruit orchards to produce fruits in large quantities and increase the incomes of farmers. Besides, you should produce plenty of vegetables for the people and the People's Army soldiers.

Agricultural cooperatives should distribute crop areas properly.

What is important in this connection is to plant high-yielding crops in a big way, which grow well in the Kaesong district.

Wheat grows fairly well here in Kaesong. So if you plant wheat in good fields, and fertilize and tend it carefully, it will yield as much as rice. In other countries, they produce 2.8 to 3 tons of wheat per hectare. Why cannot we produce that much? You said you harvested 1.3 tons of wheat per hectare in Kaesong this year, and you should produce more through proper fertilization and tending.

You must choose the right crop to be planted where the wheat has been harvested. At present "40-day millet" is under cultivation in Kaesong as an aftercrop. If it thrives here, you should continue to plant it.

You should widely introduce double-cropping in Kaesong. In our

country with a large population and limited arable land, we should decisively introduce double-cropping, if we are to improve the people's standard of living. The Kaesong area is more advantageous to double-cropping than Pyongyang. As this part of the country remains in the sunshine for long hours and is blessed with a warm weather, two-cropping a year is possible almost everywhere. So you should try to raise two crops a year in Kaesong as far as possible.

Next, you should strive to raise the standard of living of the peasants as a whole to the level of the former well-to-do middle peasants.

There are now 71 agricultural cooperatives in all in Pyongyang. This year in all the cooperatives except 13, the standard of living of their members is expected to reach the level of well-to-do middle peasants, as indicated at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization. In these cooperatives each household will get three tons of grain and more than 300 *won* in cash on an average this year. Although some of them will have to distribute two tons of grain to each household on the average, they will share out more than 1,000 *won* in cash.

The reason why such success was achieved in Pyongyang in a year is that they manured paddy and non-paddy fields a lot, mechanized work actively and concentrated the workforce on farming, instead of dispersing it. Lorries in the city were mobilized to carry coal ashes and garbages to the cooperatives.

This year in South Phyongan Province each peasant household will get an average of 25 tons of grain and 300 *won* in cash.

Even in Kaesong, if you apply much manure, raise two crops a year and actively mechanize agricultural production, you will be able to yield good harvests and raise the standard of living of cooperative members onto the level of well-to-do middle peasants. However, now in this city they fail to do farm work as well as in Pyongyang or in South Phyongan Province; the members' standard of living in many cooperatives is failing to reach that level. Kaesong, too, should try to raise all the peasants' standard of living onto the

level of well-to-do middle peasants in the future. Furthermore, this city is contiguous to the southern half, so an affluent life of its inhabitants will exert good influence on the people in the south. A higher standard of living of peasants is not attained only by shouting slogans. In the field of agriculture you should make effective use of tractors and lorries to enhance the level of farming mechanization, produce a large amount of manure, raise two crops a year extensively, plant high-yielding crops and thus harvest a bumper crop. In this way, an average of 2.5 to 3 tons of grain and 300 to 500 *won* in cash will go round to each household.

You should strive to develop poultry and livestock farming.

Each farmhouse should be encouraged to breed pigs. Since our country is not abundant in fodder sources, it is hard to breed many pigs collectively in agricultural cooperatives. But, now that the food problem for the peasants has been solved, each house will be able to breed two pigs a year. It may be difficult to breed two pigs at one time. But if you breed one and sell it and then breed another, you can raise them without difficulty.

There are 20,000 peasant households in Kaesong. If each raises two pigs a year, this will amount to 40,000. In the future, if pigs are improved in breed and fattened to some 60 kgs each before they are slaughtered, 2,400 tons of pork will be produced in the whole city. Agricultural cooperatives should raise sows to provide each farmhouse with two young pigs.

Rabbits should also be raised in large numbers. This year's experience shows that collective raising of many rabbits in agricultural cooperatives is difficult. Therefore, the cooperatives should raise only female rabbits enough to bring forth young rabbits for all their members. As they can rear 5 to 7 rabbits at one time, they will be able to raise 15 to 30, if they breed two or three times a year.

Agricultural cooperatives should breed milch cows. Now that agriculture is being mechanized step by step, it is unnecessary for the cooperatives to breed many draught cattle. They should raise draught cattle in small numbers and, instead, rear milch cows. They should not

keep too many milch cows but appropriate numbers, on a correct estimate of the availability of fodder. If an agricultural cooperative uses maize stalks and bean pods as fodder, and plants rye and barley as the first crops of paddy and non-paddy fields to use them as green fodder, they will be able to breed some 20 milch cows.

They had better raise many milch cows, if enough fodder is available. However, they should not increase the number, since there is not enough fodder. The point is that they should feed milch cows well so that they will yield much milk.

If each agricultural cooperative raises 20 milch cows, the total number will stand at more than 1,000 in Kaesong. If one ton of milk is extracted from a cow a year, 1,000 tons will be obtainable; if a cow is fed well it will produce two tons, to a total of 2,000 tons. Such being the case, you had better increase milk output per head rather than the number of cows.

The city should improve the work of a chicken farm under its jurisdiction to provide its working people regularly with eggs, and the agricultural cooperatives should encourage each of their members to rear several chickens. Then the cooperative members can dispose of some eggs at home and sell some of them so that the working people in the city will be able to eat eggs all the time.

Next, the socialist principle of distribution should be thoroughly observed in agricultural cooperatives.

This is one of the most important tasks facing the agricultural sector this year.

Several years have passed since the agricultural cooperatives were formed, and distributions have been carried out on several occasions. However, this work still is unsatisfactory, so cooperative members have no clear understanding of the distribution. Only when they understand it correctly will they work more enthusiastically.

You should not be satisfied with the fact that you have mobilized rightly farmers for this year's farming work. You should give them their earnings precisely on the socialist principle of distribution. If this principle is not strictly adhered to and distribution is handled carelessly in

agricultural cooperatives, it will not exert good influence on the farmers.

This year you should guide and help agricultural cooperatives so that they handle distribution work properly on the socialist principle of distribution, with a view to carrying out the Party's policy and also safeguarding the interests of farmers.

Distribution in agricultural cooperatives should not be left only to their chairmen. Officials of both county Party and people's committees should go to the cooperatives and help them well in this work, analysing concrete facts. The officials and bookkeepers of the city people's committee, too, should go to agricultural cooperatives and help them in their work. If bookkeepers are short in number, those in factories and enterprises should be enlisted.

Then, how are you to guide and help the work of distribution?

First, you should ensure that work-points and grain output are counted accurately. Agricultural cooperatives are supposed to assess work-points accurately every day, but some of them may have failed to do so. Therefore, diaries of work-points which were not kept correctly should be brought up to date, and work-points be recorded correctly. Grain output should also be assessed exactly. It should be calculated first before harvesting based upon prejudgment and then exactly after threshing.

Second, distribution should be conducted in such a way as not to put aside too much joint savings. If they build up joint accumulation enough for next year's extended production, that will do. They should not save too much lest the shares of cooperative members should decrease. Joint accumulation should be made by getting them to deposit money where cash income is substantial and save grain where cash income is small.

This year the state is going to exempt agricultural cooperatives from some of debts they owe to the state.

The state will exempt them from the debts they incurred to build irrigation works and obtain materials for cold-beds to grow rice seedlings. Besides, out of the debts contracted to buy farming machines, the state is going to exempt them from the payment of the

price of those which have been left idle for their low standard. If we count all these debts on a national basis, the amount will be fairly large. In South Hwanghae Province such debts account for 55 per cent of all the debts the agricultural cooperatives owe to the state, and in South Hamgyong Province the proportion is almost as large. The same will be the case with Kaesong.

The state also plans to exempt agricultural cooperatives from their tax in kind and grain loan which were not paid back by last year.

For further development of agriculture the Party makes it a policy to exempt agricultural cooperatives from some of their debts this year, some counties from agricultural tax in kind next year and then abolish this tax throughout the country by the following year. We already exempted 36 counties from tax in kind last year. Since we are going to exempt agricultural cooperatives from some of their debts this year, we are not in a position to abolish tax in kind. Next year we will free about 70 counties from this tax.

We have a potentiality to put an end to tax in kind. If we further develop light industry, we will be able to lead an affluent life without collecting tax in kind. We should abolish agricultural tax in kind within two or three years and thus free our peasants from the tax. Then, they will pay the state nothing except tractor charges and irrigation fees.

Partially exempting the cooperatives from their state debts this year is a step taken by the state to give more shares to their members.

Third, surplus grain should be sold after putting aside out of their shares one year's food grain enough for the cooperative population. They harvested bumper crops this year. If they have to sell too much without leaving enough provisions for themselves, their enthusiasm for production will drop. If they should run short of provisions, the cooperatives would have to lend them.

Yesterday a woman in the Pongdong Agricultural Cooperative, Phanmun County, said that 300 kilogrammes of provisions were enough for a person a year. This year 400 kilogrammes of unhulled grain should be kept for one person's portion, and the rest be sold. Those cooperatives which cannot afford to share out 400 kilogrammes

per head, should not be encouraged to sell.

Fourth, you must see that the work of accounts and income distribution is done prudently. When settling accounts and distributing incomes, every cooperative member should be given the detailed written account of his shares of grain and money.

For example, the total sum of cash income in a cooperative this year amounts to so much; according to the decision of its general membership meeting this much money is saved for joint accumulation and the remainder is such that each work-point is paid so much; one's annual work-points are such that one is paid so much; one's debts, if any, are such that the remaining income is so much, after repayment. The account should have the seal of chairman of the management board and be enveloped with the money to deliver to the payee. There must be two copies of the receipt—one to be kept by the management board and the other for the payee.

Only when cooperative members are given such a detailed written account, can they confirm the accuracy of their shares when they get back home. But, in the past, some agricultural cooperatives did not settle accounts and distribute incomes in this manner, but they handled the work haphazardly. They read out the content of distribution sheet once at their general membership meetings, so their members did not know well how much they had received. This is a very wrong way to do things. All the agricultural cooperatives should handle rightly the distribution work this year.

The county Party and people's committee chairmen and other leading officials in the county should organize minutely the work relating to the account settlement and income distribution. At the same time, every one of them should take charge of several agricultural cooperatives and go and summon their chairmen and chief bookkeepers together and teach them. They should set an example to them, teaching them how to deal with work-points and other problems about distribution. Then they should examine whether the work is done as required before the account settlement and income distribution. This will show whether the chairmen of agricultural cooperatives have done

their work efficiently or not.

Taking advantage of guiding the account settlement and income distribution, the leading officials of the county should help the cooperatives make correct plans for next year's farming.

Since a county in Kaesong has less than 20 cooperatives, its leading officials can go out to the cooperatives and help them well in their drawing up of farming plans. Suppose the county people's committee chairman goes to one cooperative and guides it for two or three days. Then he can help all the cooperatives plan farming work in one and a half months.

The farming plans of agricultural cooperatives should conform to next year's tasks for agriculture already indicated. Agricultural cooperatives in particular should draft plans in such a way as to plant high-yielding crops in a big way, produce much manure and sow seeds in time.

Next year's farming plans should be scientific; they should be drawn up on the basis of detailed study and analysis of the past farm situation. For instance, if wheat and maize have not grown well this year, you should specifically analyse if the seed was bad or the field was unsuitable or fertilizer was applied inadequately, or weeding was done improperly. And then you should map out farming plans for next year so as to remedy such deficiencies.

In drafting a farming plan out in a cooperative, the leading county officials should not just suggest planting such and such crops and their quantity in certain fields. This cannot be called a plan. If they are to map out a farming plan in this way, they should not take the trouble to visit the cooperatives, but it would be better if they send statisticians there. I advise leading county officials to go and give a substantial help to the cooperative workers in drawing up next year's farming plans, because they are not competent enough to do so. You should clearly understand the Party's intention and conduct proper guidance.

Further, you should sum up properly the implementation of tasks set forth at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization.

This meeting thrashed out the important matters to be settled in agriculture: the task of strictly observing the socialist principle of distribution, improving the level of planning and realizing mechanization, the task of strengthening communist education, the task of higher echelons helping the lower ones, and the task of giving precise assignments to Party members. These are very important tasks any of which should never be neglected in agriculture at the moment. Therefore, it is of the greatest importance to correctly sum up the implementation of the tasks put forward at the meeting.

The implementation of tasks set forth at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization should be analysed in accordance with the directives of the Party Central Committee. Party organizations at all levels should make good preparations to settle accounts and distribute incomes and, at the same time, to analyse the implementation of the tasks put forward at the meeting.

At the meeting you should analyse if the socialist principle of distribution was fully observed, how mechanization was introduced, if proper assignments were given to Party members, and if they worked well to transform the laggards into vanguards, and passivists into activists.

It is advisable to sum up the implementation of these tasks in late December or early January next year after finishing the account settlement and income distribution early in December. This review should be made thoroughly at a high political and ideological level. A precise analysis should be made of what was done or not both in political and economic tasks, and measures taken to perform unfinished tasks next year. If Party members did not implement their assignments properly, the cause should be found out and measures be taken so that they may accomplish their assignments. Only then is it possible to bring about a greater change in agriculture next year.

Chairmen of the management boards of agricultural cooperatives should hold the general membership meeting and sum up economic work, while those of ri Party committees should analyse Party work at Party meetings. They may have an open Party meeting with the

participation of non-Party people. At the meeting the management board chairman should criticize himself, and also be subjected to criticism, in making a specific analysis of which tasks he had done or not from those set forth at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization. It is not a bad thing for him to be subjected to criticism by cooperative members. Anyone should be criticized if he commits errors. Criticism is just like washing one's face regularly. If you wash your faces when they get dirty, you will feel refreshed and be in a good mood. Likewise, if you are criticized, you will be able to correct errors quickly and work better.

2. ON LOCAL INDUSTRY

In order to improve the people's standard of living local industry should be developed. Developing local industry is particularly important for Kaesong.

Kaesong possesses no conditions for building heavy industry. It is neither a consumer of heavy industry goods nor a producer of their raw materials. Neither iron ore nor coal is produced there. If heavy industry is to be built there, coal and iron ore should be brought from the northern region, while products be transferred to other places to get consumed. There is no need to do so.

If Kaesong wants to improve the people's livelihood, it should develop local industry which relies entirely on its own raw materials, so that everyone will have a job. If two persons in a family have jobs in local industry to be developed, each household will be able to earn an average income of 70 to 80 *won*.

People in Changsong County were not so well-off in the past. However, that county made good use of mountains, built local industrial factories and encouraged everyone to work, with the result that an average income of every factory and office workers' family

exceeds 70 to 75 *won* and they are all well-off.

Drawing on the experience of Changsong County, Kaesong, too, should actively develop local industry, so that the people can be better off. The question depends on how the officials organize and develop the work.

To develop local industry, operations should be mechanized and varieties of goods increased in local industrial factories, and more new ones built.

The ceramic industry should be developed.

Since there are white clay and feldspar available near Kaesong, this industry can be developed easily. Ceramics are not only vital to the people's life but good for the inflow of foreign currency. Foreign countries demand our ceramics in large quantities.

Now there are only 500 workers at the ceramic factory. So it should be enlarged and the manpower be increased two or three times as much so as to produce more good ceramics. It is not difficult to expand the ceramic factory. All that is needed is the means of transport and more machines.

Vegetables grow well in Kaesong, so the vegetable-processing factory should be enlarged, too.

Insam should be widely planted and processed well. Since the soil in the Kaesong district is suitable for the cultivation of *insam*, Kaesong *insam* has better efficacy than that in other places. So Kaesong should plant *insam* on an extensive scale.

Liquor should be made from *insam* in large quantities. In the past Kaesong liquor was very famous. It seems that liquor is good to drink because water is good in this district. The Light Industry Commission should see to it that Samno Liquor is produced in Kaesong and sold to other countries with the trade mark of "Kaesong Samnoju".

Fruits should be processed well. Various fruits such as peach, pear and plum should be properly processed to cater for the population.

The question of cooking oil should be solved.

To this end, we are building maize-processing plants in many places to produce oil from maize germs. In South Phyongan Province

maize-processing plants with a capacity of 20,000 tons each are being built in Nampho and Kaechon.

The one under construction in Nampho is just the same as the cornstarch factory, and will produce starch and oil. North Phyongan Province is building such plants in two places, and South Hwanghae Province is building one with a capacity of 20,000 tons in Haeju. In Pyongyang a new maize-processing plant is being built in addition to the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory. Maize-processing plants are, in general, to be built in consuming districts.

It was decided that a plant to produce oil from maize germs should not be built in Kaesong, because there is not enough maize available. But the matter should be reconsidered. If this city consumes 10,000 to 15,000 tons of maize, it is necessary to build a maize-processing plant with a capacity of 10,000 tons. Such a plant will make it possible to use maize comprehensively: grinding it into starch, pressing oil from its germs, making liquor from its bran and feeding the residues to domestic animals. Ten thousand tons of maize will be enough to produce 6,500 tons of starch and 300 tons of oil. It is advisable to install the noodle-making equipment in the maize-processing plant to make dry noodles. They are now doing so in Pyongyang and Nampho.

The Party Central Committee plans to provide everyone with 10 grammes of oil a day next year. Then a family of five persons will be supplied with 50 grammes of oil. This is not a small amount. We must solve this problem by all means.

3. ON STRENGTHENING INFORMATION WORK ON OUR PARTY'S PROPOSAL FOR THE COUNTRY'S REUNIFICATION

All Koreans are eager to see their country reunified.

Our Party put forward reasonable proposals for the early

reunification of the divided country on many occasions. Especially in the report at the 15th anniversary celebration of the August 15 liberation we made the most righteous and realistic proposal to reunify the country peacefully.

Party organizations should further strengthen information work on our Party's proposal for national reunification. For the present, the whole Party and all the people must study the reunification proposal put forward in the report. In this way, all the people will be able to understand well our Party's proposal for national reunification and its prospects.

The proposal we made this time in the report at the 15th anniversary celebration of the August 15 liberation is a fair one which is acceptable to all.

Our Party maintained once again that the country should be reunified by the Koreans themselves through free north-south general elections on a democratic basis, without any intervention from foreign countries. However, the south Korean authorities oppose our proposal for the general elections throughout the north and south, claiming that the "elections should be held under UN supervision".

We cannot hold the elections under UN supervision. The UN is an adversary with whom we fought in the past Fatherland Liberation War. How can we allow the adversary to supervise us? If we hold the elections under UN supervision, it means surrendering to the enemy. We can never do so. In fact, the enemy does not accept our proposal for north-south general elections, because there are many of our supporters in south Korea.

We have proposed to form a Confederation as a transitional step, if the south Korean authorities cannot, as yet, accept free general elections throughout the north and south. The Confederation we have proposed envisages the formation of a Supreme National Committee with representatives of north and south Korea to coordinate mainly the economic and cultural development of the two parts of Korea, while retaining the existing political systems in the north and the south for the time being. But the south Korean authorities are opposing even this proposal.

It is good, and indeed there is nothing bad, if the Confederation is established to guarantee the economic and cultural exchanges between north and south Korea and restore the bankrupt economy of the south, depending on the firm economic assets of the north.

Whoever may come to power in the southern half, should, first of all, put the disjointed economy in order and solve the problem of unemployment. Jang Myon, having no economic power, can neither save the economic collapse nor solve the unemployment problem in the south. However, we have a powerful heavy industry and large numbers of our own technical cadres, and a wealth of experience in economic construction. If south Korea relies on the powerful economic foundations of north Korea, it will be able to solve the problems of raw and other materials and funds so as to operate factories properly, build more new ones to solve the unemployment problem, and undertake irrigation projects to do farming in a proper manner and prevent damages from floods and drought.

Jang Myon thinks that the US and Japanese imperialists will help south Korea build factories, but they will never do so.

Without building a number of factories the southern half will be unable to solve the unemployment problem. In the postwar years, we have built many factories in Kaesong and thus solved this problem. In order to get rid of unemployment also in the southern half, many factories should be built, and for this purpose, at least a Confederation of the north and the south should be formed.

If the enemy ignores our just proposal and ignites another aggressive war, we will fight it out until victory is achieved.

We have the strength enough to defeat the enemy. We have the Workers' Party of Korea, the organizer and inspirer of all our victories, the united people under its leadership, and the fortified territory. If the US imperialists launch a reckless attack on us, instead of drawing lessons from their shameful defeat in the past Korean war, we will annihilate them with one blow.

At present the US imperialists threaten us with the atomic bomb, but we are never downhearted. Let them use it if it pleases them. Even if

they dare to do so, we shall never be afraid. However, they will not dare to use it. They cannot use the atomic bomb even now, as in the past war because it will not be effective in our country.

Of course, we are trying as far as possible to reunify the country peacefully without a war. To achieve this the US imperialists must be withdrawn from south Korea.

In order to hasten the country's reunification, we must build socialism better in the northern half of Korea.

When we carry out socialist construction efficiently in the north, the people in the south, encouraged by this, will rise up and fight more actively. The struggle of youths and students is taking place in the south at present, mainly because our success in socialist construction is being widely disseminated among them.

Irrigation is being introduced into agriculture in the northern half of Korea, whereas in the southern half they suffer from floods even at the first sign of rain, let alone irrigation. If we introduce irrigation, mechanization and electrification into agriculture efficiently in the future, it will exert a greater influence on the south Korean people and intellectuals.

What we are doing is all just. Even the Japanese journalists who visited our country last year wrote in our favour. In fact, they approach everything from the bourgeois point of view, because they are bourgeois journalists. Nevertheless, they all wrote well of our country. A journalist wrote: Don't underestimate Koreans because of their simple clothes. The Korean economy is very powerful. Although they are dressed soberly in order to live frugally, they are, in fact, wealthy. They are building great things now. Another journalist said: The Japanese are dressed well but their heads are empty. On the contrary, the Koreans wear plain clothes but they are substantial. Another journalist wrote that communism should be built in a Korean way and that Korean-style communism was really to his liking.

The chief director of the Japan-Korea Society who had been to our country could not believe at first our free medical system, asking how could we give free medical service. It had seemed to him so untruthful.

He came to believe it only after he was sent to hospital and listened to explanations offered by our medical workers. Even a Japanese journalist had been in the South Phyongan Provincial Hospital and also in the Red Cross Hospital, pretending to have sore eyes, so that he could identify whether free medical care was really given. He thought that the free medical treatment in our country was something of a mystery.

As seen above, even foreigners admire our achievements in socialist construction, probably to say nothing of the south Korean people. The better we carry on socialist construction, the more we will influence our south Korean brethren and encourage them in their struggle.

If we promote the building of socialism and make the people better off, the south Koreans, who will come to the north when north-south travel becomes a reality, will know more clearly the superiority of our socialist system, witnessing the affluent life of our people, and even national capitalists will come out to support us.

That is why we should step up socialist construction to make the people better off. We must lead all the people to dress well and live on rice meal and meat soup in comfortable homes.

In Kaesong there are many people whose backgrounds are involved. They should be clearly informed of our Party's policy on national reunification, so that all of them may participate in the building of socialism more actively. Only when socialism is built well, can the reunification of the country be accelerated and the separated families and relations be reunited rapidly.

It is important to build Kaesong adequately.

During my stay in Kaesong this time, I have found that much progress has been made. However, many deficiencies still remain. You should work better in the future and build the city more adequately. You should construct more houses and step up irrigation and mechanization of agriculture.

In particular, productive construction should be undertaken extensively. You should build a chemical plant, a factory repairing

farm machines, and finish irrigation projects.

It is advisable that modern houses are built in the countryside after next year's good farming. It is important to have peasants well-fed and well-dressed. In Kaesong you should start building rural modern houses when an average income per farm household reaches 500 *won* in cash.

It is not so difficult to build dwelling houses for peasants. Since there are a lot of weathered granite available in Kaesong, houses can be built quickly if this is made into blocks and construction operations are mechanized.

The Chollima Workteam Movement should be further developed. All the factories, enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and workteams in Kaesong should be honoured as Chollima workteams, Chollima factories and Chollima agricultural cooperatives.

LET US BRING ABOUT A NEW UPSWING IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY IN THE WEST SEA

Talk with Fishery Workers in the Nampho District

October 5, 1960

Today, I would like to talk to you about questions arising in the development of the fishing industry in the West Sea.

Developing fishery is very important in improving the people's diet. This task requires a sufficient supply of fish as well as provisions, vegetables, meat, etc.

If we are to supply the people with sufficient fish we must land large quantities of sea fish. Sea fishing is much more advantageous than fish culture or stockbreeding, which requires much time and feed. Moreover, this alone is not enough to rapidly improve the people's diet. But sea fishing can do it without consuming feed. Therefore, we must strive to catch more sea fish.

Our Party has already put forward a positive policy for developing fishery and quickly increasing the catching of fish. The Party's policy is to develop both off-shore and in-shore fisheries, catching all varieties of fish with large and small boats. If you follow this policy, you can make a fine haul also in the West Sea.

The West Sea of our country abounds with fish such as gilthead fish, hairtail and anchovy. They say that in this sea the Chinese and Japanese catch hundreds of thousands of tons of fish every year.

But we are not catching much of it there, although we are bounded

by the sea. This is due to the fact that the leading officials of the fishery sector do not strive hard enough to develop the fishing industry in the West Sea.

They have not even asked for the building of fishing boats though fishermen on the West Sea cannot go off-shore for lack of larger boats. Worse still, they have not taken proper measures to utilize the existing boats. In consequence, they have long left idle a number of trawlers which were imported from abroad several years ago instead of making effective use of them. They have also organized labour in a perfunctory manner. In order to catch large quantities of fish they should have combined correctly the experienced fishermen and navigators. But they have not done this work as it should have been done. So how can they make a good haul in the West Sea?

We must correct these defects as soon as possible and make an innovation in the West Sea fishing.

To this end, we must first build large numbers of big fishing boats.

Many large boats are needed for the fishermen to do pelagic fishing without being exposed to danger. In order to catch a great quantity of fish far off the west coast we need at least 200 large vessels such as the 400-hp two-boat trawlers which can withstand storms. According to the expert fishermen hundreds of big boats can operate on the fishery off the west coast north of Monggumpho.

The shipyard in Nampho must not build small-size fishing boats but should exert its main efforts to the construction of the 400-hp two-boat trawlers. People of this shipyard say that they will build about twenty boats of this kind a year, but this is far from enough. They should build at least 40 boats a year. Even at this rate it will take five years to construct 200 vessels. People in this sector must study how to build them more quickly.

Next year, the Nampho shipyard should construct 30 boats of this kind. This will be quite possible if they make strenuous efforts. This shipyard has a fairly efficient welding force, so there will be no problem of welders. If it needs more of them, then it should be given additional manpower, and they should be trained in the same yard. And

when many competent welders are trained, the yard should send a number of them to other shipyards, We are producing plate steel needed for ship building. So, there will be no big problem in this regard. The only problem is the matter of engines for the ships. These should be imported. If the shipyard is too narrow, it should be enlarged.

Fishing boats should be designed properly. You must not copy foreign designs but make our own creatively to suit our specific conditions. The trawler to be built in future should be designed so that it can not only trawl but also seine and gill.

The existing trawlers should be altered, while many large fishing boats should be built.

It has come to my knowledge that the engines of imported trawlers have so small a horsepower that they cannot drag the net as they should. You should replace them with 200-hp engines. It would be good if the designers go out on the spot, examine them and plan for their replacement.

You should make wide use of angle-net boats.

They are good for in-shore fishing. Even foreigners envy our angle-net boats. We have many of them in the West Sea area. If you make full use of them, you will be able to make a good haul.

Angle-net boats without engines should be equipped with them. These boats do not need big engines. They should also have good accommodation for the convenience of the fishermen.

I was told that workers of the shipyard are modifying angle-net boats into universal fishing boats. They need not do this. Even if they are altered, they will not be able to drag the net properly because of the weak horsepower. It will be better to put on trial the universal fishing boat now under construction. New boats to be built should be well designed for both angle-net and drag-net operations.

Thus, in-shore fishing will be done mainly with angle-net boats, offshore fishing with the existing trawlers, and pelagic fishing with the new 400-hp two-boat trawlers to be built. You should also apply angling such as using reel and multiple hooks. If you apply various

fishing methods like this, you will be able to catch all kinds of fish, in-shore and off-shore, sedentary and migratory, moving in and off the coast.

Boats should be provided with good fittings and fishing implements.

Trawlers and other fishing boats should be furnished with shoal detectors. Only then can they know clearly where shoals are and catch fish in a scientific way. If you cast your nets haphazardly, you will be wasting your efforts, without getting desired results. Shoal detectors can be made on our own or can be imported. If you want, you can import some of their parts and make them yourselves.

Scientific fishing will also require shoal spotting boats. If one of these ships finds out a fish school and promptly informs the fishing boats of it, they will not have to search for the fish school, wasting oil.

Fishing vessels should also be equipped with radio apparatus. Since we produce them, we can supply as many of them as the need may be.

If we are to equip ships properly we will have to build a factory which produces fittings. The factory should be built near the shipyard, for the manufacture of all kinds of fittings.

You should also get the supply of fishing nets. Nylon net is durable and does not rot; so it is more economical than cotton net. We should import nylon wool or thread to make nylon nets. Various kinds of fishing nets should be made so as to catch any variety of fish. We must see that a good fishing-tackle factory is built in the West Sea area, for the production of nets, ropes and other things.

Fishing centres should be built in the West Sea area.

Now fishing boats waste much time on their way to and from fishing grounds. They say that sometimes going out and returning takes 16 hours respectively. Therefore, they waste much time and oil, but the actual catch is insufficient. Things are worse in the fishing season. This is mainly due to poor organizing work on the part of leading personnel in the fishing sector. Fish cannot be caught while leading personnel are sitting in their office giving little or no attention to their organizing work. Sending fishing vessels out to sea does not

mean the whole of the organizational work.

If you are to make better use of fishing vessels and catch many fish, you should build fishing centres in various places. In the West Sea area you should construct them in four or five places such as Monggumpho and Ryongampho near the fishing grounds. Thus you will enable the fishing boats to unload the catch there and load provisions, non-staple foodstuffs, water, oil, firewood, etc., and promptly start for their fishing grounds again. Then they will not have to cover a long distance for this purpose, wasting much time and oil. Fishery centres will also afford the fishermen a resting place.

Fishing boats which have refrigerators may freeze their catch themselves and carry them to Pyongyang along the Taedong River without dropping into the fishery centre. This will provide the population of Pyongyang with fresh fish.

I was told fishermen are now supplied with provisions for only 15 days and so they can stay out on the sea not more than 15 days. This is a short time. They should be provided with as much food as they want for a month or even two.

Fishing boats should be repaired promptly. It is said that it takes several months for them to be repaired. In these circumstances you cannot catch a lot of fish. The officials in the relevant field should acquaint themselves with the situation at the ship-repair shop and take necessary measures. If they need more machines and equipment, they must be provided with these. If they have no gear-cutting machine, we must import the machine from another country or even hand over one that is in use in another factory. We should also provide sufficient materials for the production of spare parts necessary for ship repair.

It is important to take good care of the fishermen.

The skipper of a certain trawler is said to be paid 25 *won* a month. This is too small a sum. Not only the skipper but also other fishermen receive a small amount of salary on the whole. It is true that they failed to catch a lot of fish though they spent much oil. But they did not stay idle. They took great pains in response to the Party's call to make a fine haul of fish. Therefore, you must not embarrass the fishermen by

mechanically applying the regulations of the cost-accounting system. The wage regulations should be corrected so that fishermen's livelihood is ensured.

The fishermen should be given sufficient rest. This is the way they can preserve their health better and increase labour productivity.

Fishermen should be given regular leave and also sent to holiday homes. This may be a little difficult in the fishing season, but in other seasons it is quite possible even without causing hindrance to fishing operations if you organize the work well. They may be given leave when boats are under repair or by turns by augmenting the work force.

They should also be provided with a good rest in the boat itself. This is quite possible if you organize work in shifts by increasing the number of workers. While one shift is engaged in fishing, the other shift may have a rest. In this way you should see to it that fishermen can rest for at least seven hours a day.

Fishermen should also be provided with conditions to read newspapers, listen to the radio and study while on board. Young fishermen are said to study on their way to and from the fishing ground or when the boat is dragging the net. This is very good.

Fishermen should be provided with sufficient labour protection materials. As a matter of fact, their supply has been considerably improved compared with the past. Still there is much to be desired. Raincoats and good shoes should also be provided for them.

They ask for refrigerators to be installed in the fishing boats. It seems a little difficult to solve this problem immediately. If these are produced next year, then they will get them. The officials in charge of this matter should take thorough measures to start producing refrigerators next year.

The management including the director at the fishery station should be staffed properly. A good man from among competent fishermen who have worked for a long time in the fishery sector should be promoted to directorship.

You had better install a radar in Nampho. This is the way you can

exactly know the moves of fishing boats on the sea and prevent damage from typhoons.

Culture should be widely conducted along with large-scale landing of sea fish. The West Sea is advantageous for this. Using the wide tideland of the West Sea, you can cultivate various kinds of clams and other fish like grey mullet and eel in large quantities. Tangle can be cultivated extensively in the sea off South Hwanghae Province. The fishery sector should conduct extensive culture and increase the output of marine products.

The fishery workers of the West Sea area should bring about a new upswing in the West Sea fishing, upholding the Party policy for developing this industry on a large scale.

ON SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING PARTY WORK AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

**Speech to Section Chiefs and Higher Officials of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

October 19, 1960

Today I would like to speak to you about some problems in improving Party work and promoting economic affairs.

1. ON IMPROVING PARTY WORK

As I always say, the Party is literally a political organization where the masses of its members are united. Therefore, Party work must above all be work among people, particularly among cadres and members. There can be no Party work separated from work among cadres and members.

The most important in Party work is to work among cadres efficiently.

Work among cadres means meeting them often and trying to understand them, awake them to their defects, and inform them of Party policies so that they will fully embrace the Party's ideology and carry out their work satisfactorily.

At present the Organizational Leadership Department and the

Information and Publicity Department are carrying out some work among cadres. Despite its shortcomings the Department of Organizational Leadership is building up the practice of closely studying cadres of provincial, city and county Party organizations and training them in a systematic way.

However, economic departments are engrossed in paperwork, neglecting work among cadres. They are thinking not wisely, as though by filing papers and examining statistical figures they will be doing their duties. The object of Party officials' work is not paperwork, but men of action. If workers of economic departments are to do only paper work, instead of working among people, among cadres, then they had better work in administrative and economic bodies. Needless to say, papers should be filed and statistical figures examined in order to make Party policy known to lower Party organizations and implement it. However, the primary task of the officials in economic departments is to work with cadres in their sectors efficiently.

At present economic departments are not well informed of cadres in their sectors and are failing to select and allocate cadres according to Party principles.

Last summer when we gave on-the-spot guidance to North Phyongan Province, we carried out the inspection of a factory. The factory, though a very important one, did not have efficient people as its director, its Party chairman and other cadres. Even while we were giving guidance to the factory, they tried to mislead the Party. So things could not go on, as they should have gone in that factory.

The same is the case with the Musan Mine. When we reappointed the then Party chairman of the Kim Chaek Iron Works to the post of the mine's director, we instructed the Heavy Industry Department to examine constantly his work and give him effective assistance. But the department did not summon him for a talk for a year nor did they receive reports from him on his work. As a result, now things in the Musan Mine are not going, as they should have gone.

Directors and deputy directors of the fishing stations have also not been selected prudently. There are many loiterers among them.

At present, the economic departments have little knowledge about directors, Party chairmen and other cadres of the factories and enterprises in their charge. So how can these departments direct production in a proper way?

They are little acquainted with cadres of ministries and other central authorities.

Currently, some officials of the State Planning Commission do not accept and implement unconditionally tasks given by the Party; they are haggling over Party policy, arguing about its feasibility. Some officials in the Ministry of Agriculture are not working hard to implement the Party's agricultural policy but are loitering about. However, the relevant departments of the Party Central Committee are not aware of this.

Neglect in the education and training of cadres is a serious defect now. Although a large number of people of working-class origin were appointed as cadres, they have been left alone without education. For this reason, some officials commit errors before long because they are not up to standard and lack ideological training.

The chairman of the North Hamgyong Provincial People's Committee was a good official who at first worked hard. Because he was successful in his duty as county Party committee chairman, the Party promoted him to a department deputy head of its Central Committee. It reappointed him as provincial people's committee chairman because he did his new job well. However, for more than one year from his reappointment, neither the vice-chairman of the Party Central Committee summoned him for education nor did the senior official of the relevant department go to help him. As a consequence, he failed to implement the Party's agricultural policy properly and could not continue with his job. If cadres are not educated and helped after their promotion, they cannot work in a proper way.

Around Pyongyang there are a number of big factories and enterprises such as the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, the Kangson Steel Plant and the Hwanghae Iron Works. But officials of the Department of Heavy Industry do not meet and talk with the directors

or Party committee chairmen of these enterprises. It is not a difficult task to meet them. They can meet them by going directly to their factories or by summoning them.

Now you work among cadres only by calling them together to hold meetings and make general speeches. Even when you go to factories, you look around them and make a few remarks in general terms before you come back. By doing this, you can neither give proper education to cadres nor train them well. Because our officials work among cadres in this way, we have failed to train many competent economic workers from among the working class, although it is already 15 years since we started our economic construction.

Because departments of the Party Central Committee do not work efficiently among cadres the provincial Party committees follow suit.

Party workers must not say bombastically that all people have been rallied closely behind the Party Central Committee, while neglecting work among cadres as they are doing now. Everyone supports the Party in a favourable situation, but when a difficult situation arises, those unfaithful to the Party may raise their heads and oppose the Party, and some people might follow them.

We should definitely improve our work among cadres. Only then can we train them to be faithful to the Party, and they can educate Party members, who in turn teach the masses, so that, in the long run, all things will go on smoothly.

All departments must study cadres scrupulously and select and appoint them on Party principles. To this end, the collection of statistic figures, the filing of papers and similar tasks for the departments should be entrusted to a few persons, and all the rest should work among cadres. Department heads and deputy heads and section chiefs should have a clear understanding of Party chairmen, directors, chief engineers and even workshop managers of the factories and enterprises in their fields.

Cadres should be given constant education and good counsel after they are properly selected and appointed.

At present quite a few cadres have poor political and ideological qualifications and are not competent enough. They should be trained to

be competent workers who are fully prepared politically and ideologically. A large number of cadres from the working class, in particular, should be allocated to factories and enterprises as Party workers and given effective education and assistance so that they will develop into good officials.

If you are to give them effective education, you must do it according to a detailed plan which specifies for instance the director of a certain factory you are to meet today and the Party chairman of another one you are to see tomorrow. Only when you meet cadres frequently according to a detailed plan, you will find out what they think, what are their levels and ability and the way they work, and give them an efficient education and assistance so that they will be able to work properly.

Officials of the Party Central Committee must do away with bureaucracy, formalism and the abuse of Party authority and approach cadres with maternal feelings and give them constant education. In this way you will unite all of them behind the Central Committee and get them to breathe and act in accordance with the Party's ideology and purpose.

It is important to educate intellectuals well.

Currently, the education of intellectuals, old-time intellectuals in particular, is neglected. Some officials make unprincipled compromises with old intellectuals because they have been instructed to be magnanimous towards them. Treating old intellectuals with magnanimity does not mean that we should compromise with them; it means that we should refrain from giving them the cold shoulder but remould them to be intellectuals of the working class, in short, to be communists.

For this purpose, ideological education and struggle should be intensified among them.

Old-time intellectuals retain many survivals of latitudinarianism and other bourgeois ideas in their minds because they grew under the influence of these ideas. These ideas are incompatible with the revolutionary thoughts of the working class.

Nevertheless, some workers do not give thought to the education

and remoulding of old intellectuals; they leave them unattended or placate them in an unprincipled manner, and try to dismiss them when they commit an error. This is contrary to our Party's policy on intellectuals. In the final analysis, it is an act that hampers the implementation of this policy.

We should not leave old intellectuals alone and try to expel them when they make mistakes but should perseveringly educate and remould them so that they will serve the working class faithfully. Party officials should meet them frequently to educate them and criticize them when they reveal latitudinarian acts and other negative practices, so that these errors are corrected.

Meanwhile, old intellectuals should be educated through work, as well. If they are assigned to such tasks as giving lectures or explanatory information work, they would be able to promote their own remoulding in the process of doing political work.

Revolutionary struggle may involve a period of harsh trials. Therefore, we should turn to good account the favourable condition of today when the revolution is developing smoothly, so as to educate and remould as many people as possible and rally them closely behind the Party.

What is important in Party ideological work is to eradicate flunkeyism among cadres and working people.

Some of these people are still affected with a good deal of flunkeyism. When a delegation of a fraternal state was expected to visit our country, the Information and Publicity Department went so far as to dictate to old people to learn songs of that country. As a matter of course, we should welcome and cordially receive a delegation of a fraternal state that pays a friendship visit to our country. On all accounts, however, we should welcome and receive them on equal and comradely terms. Dictating even to old people to do such a thing is a manifestation of terrible formalism and flunkeyism.

Some people, who worship great powers, say that they are faithful to internationalism by doing so. But they are not faithful to this cause. Internationalism has nothing to do with flunkeyism

Communists are not engaged in revolution to curry favour with great powers or grovel at their feet. Ever since the start of the communist movement, they have been striving to build a society where everyone alike will lead a free, happy, and independent life. Why should they who are pursuing such an aim, worship other countries? Under no circumstances should they indulge in flunkeyism. There can be big countries and big parties, but there cannot be superior countries and superior parties.

From old time the flunkeyist idea of worshipping and flattering big countries has existed in our country. In the past flunkeyists built the mausoleum of the fictitious “Kija” to worship a big country. After liberation we dug the mausoleum to find nothing but a few pieces of porcelain and bricks. Survivals of this flunkeyist idea from the past still persist in the minds of our people.

If flunkeyism were encouraged, people would consider everything their own worthless and regard foreign things all excellent. They would look down upon all that is their own and would follow big countries blindly. Then they would eventually oppose the line of their own party and slide into international factions, and fail to strengthen internationalist solidarity with the fraternal countries.

In order to cement internationalist solidarity, we must oppose flunkeyism, dogmatism and revisionism and carry out the Korean revolution successfully. Internationalist solidarity will not be achieved merely because we sing a foreign song while failing in the revolution and construction in our own country. If we fortify the unity and cohesion of the Party, build socialism with success, and faithfully fulfil our internationalist duty to the revolutionary cause of the international working class, even though we do not sing a foreign song, we will precisely in this way contribute to strengthening internationalist solidarity. In the matter of differences between fraternal countries, too, we always approach it from Marxist-Leninist principles, communist principles, and strive to cement unity and solidarity among socialist countries.

We must intensify the ideological struggle against flunkeyism

among cadres and working people. We must never overlook but promptly deal a severe blow even at the slightest sign of flunkeyism. Thus we will eradicate flunkeyism thoroughly from their minds.

Party leadership of administrative and economic work must be strengthened.

At present some economic departments draft even recommendations and compile statistics which are within the functions of administrative and economic organizations. This should not be done. Recommendations which concern the work of the Cabinet Secretariat should be prepared by the Secretariat, and plans and statistics by the State Planning Commission. The departments of the Party Central Committee should examine the papers submitted by the organizations in their charge and correct shortcomings, if any.

Workers of the Party Central Committee must not act for administrative authorities, but use Party methods in their guidance of administrative and economic affairs. In other words, they must work among cadres, supervise and guide the implementation of Party policy and disseminate it.

In particular, the departments should acquaint themselves with the officials of the organizations in their charge and give them efficient education. The Organizational Leadership Department should educate Party workers; the International Department, officials engaged in foreign affairs; the Science and Education Department, scientists and educationists; and economic departments, economic workers. Only then will all work run smoothly.

2. ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN ECONOMIC WORK

We should continue to direct great efforts to increasing agricultural production.

Since the general membership meeting of the Party organization of Chongsan-ri, Kangso County, and the plenary meeting of the Kangso County Party Committee last February, the countryside has concentrated every effort on farming and officials have mingled with peasants, activated them and given them assistance. As a result, a great change has taken place in agriculture and an unusually rich crop has been reaped this year. It is expected to yield more than 3,800,000 tons of grain this year. However, we can never feel content with this. Grain production should be further increased both in the light of the level of industrial development and for the advancement of livestock and poultry farming.

Needless to say, 3,800,000 tons of grain might be enough for our food. But we cannot live on cereals alone. We should develop livestock and poultry farming which yield milk, eggs and meat, and we should also have cooking oil. To this end, 3,800,000 tons of grain are not enough. This figure should be augmented by another 1,000,000 tons. Only then shall we be able to provide the people with enough food grain and, further, solve the questions of cooking oil and feed.

We should launch a vigorous campaign to yield a million more tons of grain next year.

We have conditions and possibilities to do this.

First of all, officials' work methods have improved remarkably since the general membership meeting of the Party organization of Chongsan-ri, Kangso County.

While personally helping ri Party committees and management boards in their work down at the ri, officials of county Party and people's committees have striven to carry into effect the spirit of the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization. As a consequence, such practices as arranging work which has no immediate connection with farming or dispersing work force in the busy farming seasons in the countryside, have been done away with and a work habit of concentrating all efforts on farming built up.

Moreover, political work has been strengthened and the socialist principle of distribution observed thoroughly so as to correctly

combine the peasants' political and material incentives. This highly raised their enthusiasm for production.

Secondly, the level of management workers of agricultural cooperatives has improved.

At the end of 1958 we enlarged the scale of agricultural cooperatives by merging them with the ri as a unit. At first management workers failed to run large cooperatives efficiently because in the past they had operated only small ones. However, they have accumulated experience in about two years of running big cooperatives, and the agro-technicians sent by the central authority have actively helped them. So they are now able to operate large cooperatives efficiently and order has been established in the work of cooperatives. Our study of some agricultural cooperatives in South Phyongan and South Hamgyong provinces shows that their management workers have capabilities as well as great enthusiasm to implement Party policy.

Thirdly, the technical revolution has made brisk headway in the countryside.

Mechanization of agricultural production has been pushed forward before anything else. True, this mechanization has not yet been completed, but it has reached a considerable level. The agricultural sector will have more than 13,000 tractors by next spring. Our country has never had so many tractors in its history. Our rural areas had only several hundred tractors before the war, but today they have not only tractors but also other farm machines in great quantities. At present the state provides the countryside with a large number of various farm machines.

Many irrigation projects have been undertaken. Proper maintenance and utilization of the existing irrigation facilities will make it possible to prove their great worth in agricultural production.

Next year chemical fertilizer, too, will be supplied in abundance. Since all reservoirs have been filled with water this year, plenty of electricity can be generated at the water power stations and, accordingly, chemical fertilizer will be turned out in large quantities.

In the past manuring year 300,000 tons of chemical fertilizer were

supplied to the countryside, but in the coming manuring year we intend to provide 600,000 tons. This amount will be enough to apply an average of 400 kilogrammes and 300 kilogrammes to every hectare of the rice paddies and maize fields respectively, and also give no small quantity to wheat and other crops.

Application of much chemical fertilizer will considerably raise the per-hectare yields. Manuring paddy and dry fields increases the output of grains. This is only natural.

In Mundok County, South Phyongan Province, they say that they will produce six tons of rice from each hectare of the rice fields if they give 450 kilogrammes of chemical fertilizer. If they apply 400 kilogrammes, they will no doubt produce four to five tons of rice.

Farmers say that they will produce four tons of maize if they spray 300 kilogrammes of chemical fertilizer on each hectare of the land and five tons if they apply 400 kilogrammes. Even an average of three tons of maize per hectare will be welcome, let alone four or five tons. If two tons are yielded on an average from each hectare of the mountain maize fields and four tons in flat areas, this will mean an average of three tons.

Last spring I inspected an agricultural cooperative on Lake Yonphung and talked with peasants. Thereafter I sent them a little more chemical fertilizer to help them raise their crops well. This year that cooperative was supplied with 70 kilogrammes more of fertilizer for every hectare of land than other cooperatives and I am told that it has yielded an average of 2.8 tons of maize per hectare. If plenty of chemical fertilizer is given, even sterile land can yield good maize crops.

The farmers of the Samsok Agricultural Cooperative had been unable to raise good crops and were badly off from former times. With a view to improving their livelihood, I saw that the state undertook an irrigation project and electricity work and converted scores of hectares of dry fields into rice paddies. Nevertheless, their standard of living did not improve readily. So I saw to it that efficient people were appointed as its management workers and that excrement was brought from

Pyongyang to be mixed with soil and spread on paddy and non-paddy fields in large quantities. This resulted in very good farming and brought about a marked improvement in the standard of living of the peasants. Some time ago I had a talk at that cooperative, and a farmer said that they would be able to produce some ten tons of maize from every hectare if they should apply much fertilizer and tend the maize fields well. So I told them that I would supply them with more chemical fertilizer, and that they should spray it together with plenty of homemade manure to improve maize cultivation. Last spring that cooperative tended plum trees well and picked large quantities of plums. It is now growing apple trees and in a few years it will be able to pick apples, too. As their standard of living improves, the farmers of this cooperative are becoming more enthusiastic in their work.

If next year four tons of rice and three tons of maize are yielded per hectare through the application of a great quantity of chemical fertilizer, the total output of these crops alone will amount to nearly 4,500,000 tons.

Fourthly, the farmers' standard of living has improved.

This year the state has decided to provide each farmer with 400 kilogrammes of cereals, though the nation's situation is somewhat difficult. Therefore, they will have plenty of food next year. In fact, this year farmers in many cooperatives had some difficulty in their supply of food. The farmers will also get a large share in cash this year.

In Changsong County where there are only stony fields, an average of nearly two tons of grain and much ready money will be distributed to each household this year. This will be the first experience for the farmers in this county.

Changsong County made good use of mountains. They collected wild grapes, Actinidia, wild berries and the like in the mountains and developed local industry. This brought about an increase in the incomes of the farmers and the workers in local factories.

Judging from this year's national average share of grain and cash for each household, we can say that the farmers' standard of living has reached the level of the well-to-do middle farmers. As a matter of

course, there are individual cooperatives where members' living standard is somewhat lower and others where it is much higher. Generally speaking, the farmers' present standard of living is not lower than that of urban people.

Greater enthusiasm for production on the part of farmers and the improvement of management officials' level of work, promotion of mechanization and irrigation, supply of a large quantity of chemical fertilizer and improvement in the farmers' livelihood are important conditions for a still greater success in farming next year. We should strive to increase grain production by turning these conditions and possibilities to good account, and thus produce a million more tons of grain without fail next year.

It is important to make good preparations for farming.

In the agricultural sector efforts should be directed to compost production from now on and slaked lime should be turned out, peat dug and human feces collected. Moreover, small farm implements and seeds should be prepared well, land rezoning and soil improvement undertaken and irrigation facilities kept in good shape.

In Jongphyong County they are now working hard, turning rain-dependent rice paddies into fully irrigated ones, improving acidified soil and digging peat in order to increase grain production. This county should be put forward as a model in farming preparation so that all other counties will follow its example and energetically push forward compost production, soil improvement and other preparatory work for farming.

The state should provide the countryside with adequate farm machines and chemical fertilizer. The Heavy Industry Commission should ensure the production of farm machines and chemical fertilizer strictly in line with the assignments given by the Party.

The officials of Party and government bodies at all levels should play still greater role.

As a matter of course, the campaign to increase the output of grain by one million tons is not so easy. However, our Party has put forward this slogan on a scientific calculation of its possibilities.

Our Party's policies give a detailed explanation of all problems. They even explain what kinds of crops should be planted where and on what kind of soil. Therefore, whether a million more tons of grain are yielded or not depends on how officials will strive to implement Party policy. Only when all workers accept Party policy unconditionally and work strenuously with a firm determination to carry it out, can a million more tons of grain be produced; otherwise this task cannot be fulfilled.

Leading officials should have an unwavering faith and strive to carry out this task.

The meeting for the review of the implementation of the tasks given at Chongsan-ri should be conducted properly. The preparations for this meeting must include effective ideological mobilization, thoroughgoing analysis of the defects revealed in this year's farming, and earnest discussion of the ways to improve farming next year. This meeting should be held at ri and county Party organizations around January next year after the settlement of yearly accounts and income distribution.

Next, the fishing industry should be further developed.

Development of this industry is of great importance in improving the people's diet. If we are to improve their diet, we must develop fisheries and catch larger quantities of fish while increasing the output of grain and meat.

At present, however, our officials do not pay due attention to the development of the fishing industry, although they talk much about it. Leading officials are passive in guiding the fishing industry, and the Party Central Committee, too, is not properly guiding and checking up on Party work in fisheries.

Work of building up the ranks of cadres in this sector is being done carelessly. Cadres in fisheries are not selected from among efficient people who are faithful to the Party but are picked and allocated in a slipshod manner after their personal histories are examined in office rooms. By merely looking at a person's history one cannot know whether he is a good worker or not. Because personnel administration is done in this way, quite a few leading fishery workers simply hold

their posts and neglect the execution of Party policy. Many leading personnel in fisheries are neither technicians nor are they of worker origin. At present ignorant people hold the posts of cadres, feeding themselves on idleness.

For instance, the deputy director of the Nampho Fishing Station whom I met during my recent visit to Nampho, had no experience either in fishing on board a ship or in doing Party work; he had only been engaged in farming. How can such a person give proper guidance to a fishing station?

Now fishing boats are not put to good use in the sector of fisheries. In the west coast area scores of trawlers which had been imported after the ceasefire were not utilized for several years, and only recently they started working them.

It is not because there is no fish in the West Sea that fishing boats are let to idle. The West Sea abounds in hairtail, gilthead and other delicious and nutritious fishes.

Leading workers in fisheries take no measure to build more fishing boats. In the West Sea the lack of big fishing boats renders it impossible to catch more fish. If there are large fishing boats, much fish can be caught in this sea, too. The same is true of the fishing stations on the east coast. According to the officials sent to the Sinpho Fishing Station, people there are also failing to land more fish for lack of fishing boats. In spite of this, leading personnel in fisheries were of the opinion that there was no need for more fishing boats. This shows that they are not working conscientiously to implement Party policy. In the past they used to visit fishing stations by car, smartening themselves up, only to meet cadres there once and abuse them before they came back. If they had gone among captains and fishermen to talk and attend their meetings, they would have surely found out that they were short of boats.

I have been told that currently there are scores of 75-hp fishing boats in the West Sea which are unable to draw properly fishing nets in high waves because of the small horsepower of their engines. If that is the case, leading officials ought to have replaced those engines with

100- or 200-hp ones as required by fishermen. Since hot-bulb engines are manufactured in great numbers in our country, this can be done as they want. However, leading officials in the fishing sector did not organize this work.

Motorization of fishing boats is not promoted well, either. Already a long time ago we emphasized this task. But this work is not being done properly. At present only South Hamgyong Province is doing something for this work but other provinces are still quiet.

Fishing nets, hooks and other implements are not produced satisfactorily. After the meeting of Party activists in the fishing sector of Kangwon Province, they started to build a number of fishing implement factories, but this work was given up before completion. Therefore, fishing tackles cannot be turned out adequately. If they had made up their mind to do something, officials should have pushed it forward until it was realized, but they did not do this. This is a big shortcoming. This shortcoming is much in evidence particularly among leading fishery officials.

Because these officials do not work conscientiously, neglecting the implementation of Party policy, our people are not supplied with an adequate amount of fish, and their diet is not improved. The irresponsibility of individual officials has resulted in such serious consequences.

We should pay Party-wide attention to the fishing sector and effect a great change in the fishing industry.

Efforts of the Light Industry Commission alone are not enough to develop the fishing industry rapidly. The whole Party must get down to improving Party work in fisheries for further development of the fishing industry. If our officials tackle the job with great enthusiasm as they did during the formation of agricultural cooperatives, the fishing industry will be quickly reinforced.

Before anything else, the leadership of the fishing industry should be well staffed.

A well-staffed leadership will be able to bring about a great change in this sector from next year. The experience of Changsong County

gives a good proof of this.

In order to improve the livelihood of the population in Changsong County, I gave the county Party committee chairman there the task of planting red pepper on a wide area. But he did not implement that task properly. So we appointed a new county Party committee chairman and gave him the same task. The new chairman of the Changsong County Party Committee did his job properly, as directed, thus considerably raising the living standard of the peasants in the county. He also performed admirably the task of making good use of the favourable condition in his county to breed milch cows and ensured the production of quantities of milk from Korean cows. Although he is not good at making speeches, the new chairman has a very strong spirit to implement Party policy thoroughly. If officials strive to carry out Party policy with a firm resolve they will be able to fulfil whatever difficult tasks.

Party workers in fisheries should be chosen from among people who have a strong spirit to implement Party policy. It is advisable for the time being that scores of instructors in the Party Central Committee should be selected and sent to fishing stations and ship repair yards as Party committee chairmen.

Directors and other economic officials in the fishing sector should also be well chosen. Quite a few captains in this sector are capable and enthusiastic now. They should be selected and promoted boldly as directors of fishing stations.

Along with the ranks of cadres in fisheries, the fishermen's ranks should be well built up.

All fishing boats should be motorized. Even with tractor engines produced in our country, we can motorize as many small fishing boats as are needed.

A large number of fishing boats should be built. Only when many boats are built will fish production be increased rapidly in both the West and East Seas. During my recent visit to Nampho I assigned a task of building lots of large fishing boats, and in the East Sea area, too, they should do the same. Since we produce iron plates and hot-bulb

engines, we can build as many fishing boats as we want, if only officials tackle it with determination. Here is a problem with regard to the engines to be installed in large fishing boats, and this will be solved by importing some from another country.

Fishing implement factories should be better arranged. Thus, fishing nets, hooks and other implements will be produced adequately.

A struggle against passive elements and conservatives should be intensified. In the process of the revolution and construction there inevitably appear conservatives and passive elements. We say that we are building socialism in the spirit of Chollima, but not all people are dashing on the saddle of Chollima. Though they are few in number, there are people who show lack of initiative in the light of innovations and neglect the implementation of Party policy. We must wage an intense ideological struggle against passive elements and conservatives who hinder the advance of the fishing industry.

The socialist principle of distribution should be strictly observed in fisheries. Because in this sector the premium system is now applied with the workteam as a unit, there are instances where even the crew of the boat which catches a large quantity of fish are not paid premiums. This system should be applied to every fishing boat, so that the socialist principle of distribution will be implemented thoroughly.

A proper system of guidance over fishermen's cooperatives should be established. At present no one is directing them. Neither county and provincial Party committees nor the fishery management bureau provide them with guidance. As a consequence, fishermen's cooperatives work without definite plans and are not provided with adequate fishing tackle. In future the Light Industry Commission should control the fishermen's cooperatives and give responsible guidance to them.

Guidance and inspection of fishing enterprises should be organized. The guidance and inspection teams should go to these enterprises to get a full picture of their actual conditions, to build up the ranks of workers in the fishing sector and to improve Party work as soon as possible. In particular, they must help well the Party committee chairmen of fishing

stations. They should actively help competent people to work better and replace incompetent officials with capable ones. Thus a great change will be made in fishing within two to three years.

Furthermore, the Party should direct deep attention to capital construction.

At present capital construction is not progressing as it should. The building effort is falling short of the planned target this year, too. If the construction plan is not carried out, increased production and rapid improvement in the people's living conditions will be impossible. The Party must intensify its guidance of construction to give it a powerful impetus to carry out the plan.

One of the important matters in capital construction is to put urban construction on a normal basis.

At the moment quite a few construction projects are rushed off. True, it is not bad to build quickly large power stations, chemical factories and similar objects through shock campaigns. However, this method should not be adopted to urban construction.

If urban construction is done in a rush, the quality of buildings will not improve. Such a rush work would also involve frequent mobilization of the citizens and students and hamper their work and study. Urban construction should not be undertaken as rush work but on a normal basis.

Building operations in Pyongyang in particular should be undertaken regularly.

Since the Grand Theatre has been built this year, Pyongyang has no construction works of great urgency. When the construction of the Namgang reservoir is completed in the near future, the problem of water shortage will be resolved. Needless to say, gas should be laid on and the central heating system established in Pyongyang in future. But since this needs designing and building factories which will turn out pipes, it will take a certain period of time. Therefore, it is unnecessary to carry on construction in a way of a shock campaign in Pyongyang.

In Pyongyang construction work should be undertaken every year, little by little, on a regular basis with the building funds provided by

the state. While giving priority to housing construction, we should regularly build bridges, roads, parks and other public facilities. It would be improper to build many parks, pleasure grounds and similar ones before we build houses. Even in case of constructing parks and pleasure grounds, this must be done after dwelling houses are built and the evacuated families move in. Many houses and schools should be built next year.

Pyongyang should reinforce building enterprises and carry out construction projects well under a long-range plan.

For a success in construction, the Heavy Industry Commission must ensure the production of a great quantity of calibrated steel. This kind of steel is inadequate now. So, much steel is being wasted because thick rods are used in place of thin ones.

Next year the Heavy Industry Commission should increase the rolling facilities and make effective use of them to produce more steel of various sizes. The building industry should refrain from rush work as far as possible and make it a rule to build with steel of appropriate sizes. This is the way to build more by using steel economically.

The building industry must struggle harder to lighten structural components and economize in building materials. They must relentlessly combat the waste of building materials and economize in them by 7 to 8 per cent and drastically lower the building cost.

Building workers must be settled down on their job, and building operations actively mechanized. This will enable them to raise the level of their technical skill quickly and ensure a high tempo of construction.

To proceed, some of the urban labour force should be transferred to the countryside.

It is very important to guarantee a proper balance of manpower in socialist construction. Only then will socialist construction proceed successfully.

At present, however, a proper balance of labour is not ensured because of careless work on the part of officials in labour administration. In cities and factories labour is superfluous due to its

expansion, whereas the countryside is short of labour, which makes it impossible to produce more grain. An additional weeding would raise grain production by some five per cent. Because rural communities are short of labour, every year we have to mobilize a large number of workers, office employees and students to assist the countryside.

At present factories have more labour than they need and their labour productivity is not so high. For example, the Pyongyang Textile Mill employs excessive labour only to waste it. I am told that after completing its yearly plan around July and August this year, the factory kept only one shift of labour and mobilized hundreds of workers for cotton picking. Factories need not have excessive labour like this.

The factories will help to increase grain production if they reckon with their production plans, available raw materials and the rate of growth in productivity, and then keep only the workforces needed for three-shift operations throughout the year, and send the surplus labour to the countryside. Suppose a man produces three tons of maize by tending one hectare of land. Then 300,000 tons more of grain will be produced if approximately 100,000 factory workers are reduced and sent to work in the countryside.

Needless to say, it is not easy to send 100,000 factory workers to the rural areas. But, if effective political work is conducted among workers, this will be quite possible. If you go among them and give them a lucid explanation of the importance of producing a million more tons of grain and call upon them to do their tasks with nine people instead of ten, by reducing one worker to be sent to work in the countryside, they will respond actively. A nationwide campaign should be launched to send about 100,000 factory workers to farm villages.

The Agricultural Department should properly allocate those who go to the countryside. It is desirable to send many of them to South Hwanghae Province and Ryanggang Province which are very short of hands.

Next, commodity supply service for Pyongyang should be improved.

Pyongyang is the capital of our revolution where the Party Central Committee is situated. Scientific and cultural establishments are concentrated in the city and many foreigners pay visits to it. Therefore, improvement of goods supplies to Pyongyang is of tremendous political significance. Efficient commodity supply service in Pyongyang is prerequisite for the improvement of this work in other cities.

We have constantly emphasized the need to supply adequate commodities for Pyongyang and assigned specific tasks to officials in the relevant sector.

At present, however, this work is not satisfactorily carried out. Citizens are not provided with adequate meat, fish and cooking oil and shops are not richly stocked. What is worse, daily necessities such as soap are in short supply. Though they talk about lack of cooking oil, our officials do not take measures to produce it at the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory with the maize piled thick in storehouses. This is because they retain the bourgeois idea that it is enough once they eat and live well, without regard to the livelihood of the working people. As long as they are affected with this idea, officials will be unable to carry on a proper commodity supply service for the working people. An intense ideological struggle should be waged among the officials to wipe out the bourgeois ideas remaining in their minds.

To improve goods supply to Pyongyang, work should be organized meticulously.

The Ministry of Commerce has officials who are exclusively in charge of the supply service for Pyongyang. They do not organize work properly but amply keep their post. How can the commodity supply service for Pyongyang be efficient under these circumstances? In order to supply Pyongyang citizens with fish, we gave the Ministry of Transport a task of bringing every day a wagon of fish from the Sinpho Fishing Station to Pyongyang.

If the officials organize work properly, they will be able to provide Pyongyang citizens with fish regularly and supply ten grammes of cooking oil per head every day. Those who are in charge of this matter

must organize the work meticulously and ensure that maize oil will be produced at the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory and five tons of it supplied to Pyongyang every day.

If the commodity supply service for Pyongyang is to be improved, all officials must give positive assistance to this work.

For the improvement of supply service to the people, strict discipline must be established in the commercial sector.

Currently this sector is lacking in discipline. As was already criticized, this year North Hamgyong Province supplied its population with whole maize for several months. However, no legal action has been taken against it by the authorities concerned. All this is an expression of indiscipline. Without discipline it would be impossible to run a country, nor would it be possible to improve the supply service for the people. In future appropriate sanctions should be applied against those who violate state discipline and cause inconvenience to the people.

LET US CREATE LITERATURE AND ART SUITABLE TO THE CHOLLIMA AGE

Talk with Writers, Composers and Film Workers

November 27, 1960

Today I would like to make a few remarks to you about the problem of developing our literature and art.

Our literature and art have long historical traditions. We have had beautiful songs and dances from olden times. After liberation our literature and art made rapid progress, and now they are blossoming magnificently. Today our art really deserves the distinction of the “golden art”.

In past years our writers and artists have done a great amount of work, upholding the Party’s policy on literature and art. I greatly appreciate the efforts you have made in your dedicated struggle to develop our national art, which had been under the heel of the invaders for so long, into what it is today.

However, we cannot be satisfied with the successes we have already achieved. Our life is advancing rapidly and the people are asking for a more beautiful and dynamic art.

Currently, our literature and art are lagging behind the developing life of our people and are failing to keep up with their demands.

People are right when they call our age a Chollima age, and they consider themselves infinitely blessed to be living and working in this great era.

We are struggling in all spheres of socialist construction in the spirit

of making a hundred steps when others take ten, and running a hundred *ri* while others run ten *ri*. In fact, the Chollima spirit has become the life and soul of our people.

Maintaining the grand Chollima advance for several years, we have built the basis of socialist industrialization and laid firm foundations for the construction of a rich and powerful socialist country. Though we cannot say as yet that we are living in affluence, our people are free from the worries and anxieties about food, clothing and housing, while everybody enjoys a happy and promising life. By the time we have braced ourselves once more and have fulfilled the Seven-Year Plan, our country will have become an advanced socialist industrial state and the people's standard of living will dramatically improve. Our achievements are great and we have a bright future ahead of us.

Naturally, our literature and art should forcefully represent this great, creative life of our people who are pushing ahead in the Chollima spirit. Our literature and art should depict the meaningful life and heroic struggle of the people of the Chollima age and vividly express their hopes and desires.

To our regret, however, our literature and art are lagging behind in reflecting the spirit of our age and giving a vivid representation of the sentiments and aspirations of the builders of socialism.

First of all, there are very few works based on the vibrant daily life of our people. The traditional opera, *Tale of Chun Hyang*, is all very well, and so is the play *Admiral Ri Sun Sin*. We should, of course, have a good knowledge of our past. But what we need more urgently is the present rather than the past. Even when we use the past, we should start with the subjects directly associated with the revolutionary struggle of our people today.

For education in the revolutionary traditions and class education, we should continue to create many works that represent the indefatigable battle of our revolutionaries during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the heroic struggle of our people at the time of the democratic revolution, the Fatherland Liberation War and the postwar reconstruction. Quite a few of the works which have dealt

with these subjects have been successful. And those works have contributed greatly to educating the working people in the communist revolutionary spirit.

What we lack most right now are works which portray today's realities. We have very few works of art which portray the new heroes our Chollima age has produced. Our writers and artists exalt the heroes of the past, but they fail to see the heroes of today who are creating a new, meaningful life. This is one of our contemporary writers' great weaknesses.

Of course, it is true that it is far more difficult to depict the life and heroes of the present than to depict the life and heroes of the past. Life today has a more complex and diverse content than in the past. Much study and effort are needed to give an adequate representation to the complex and rich contents of our contemporary heroes' life. But if we can succeed in producing an excellent work of art about today's realities, it will be able to play a far greater role in the education of the working people than one that depicts the past.

All works of literature and art should, after all, serve to teach our people of today how to live, work and struggle. That is why writers and artists should pay more attention to contemporary realities than to the past. The more closely a work portrays actual life, the more valuable it can be.

A foreign writer said to us that the play *Admiral Ri Sun Sin* is often staged in Korea, but the Korean people's Fatherland Liberation War must have produced many a Ri Sun Sin. I think he was right when he said so. In our contemporary times, there are numerous patriots who are wiser and braver than Ri Sun Sin.

We can find new men everywhere, and our literature and art should represent them. Many Chollima riders work in factories and enterprises such as machine-building plants, metallurgical works, textile mills, etc., and in the countryside and the fishing villages. At present, Chollima workteams alone number more than 850 and model agricultural cooperatives, over 1,000. The Chollima riders are all admirable heroes of our day. The trouble is that our writers and artists

fail to recognize today's real heroes.

The film art is notably backward in literature and art. As a means of mass education the movies have a very important role to play. Our cinema, however, is at a low ebb. There is no film which has portrayed our heroic working class and also none worth seeing which has depicted our peasantry.

We accomplished the revolutionary task of cooperativizing individual farming and abolishing exploitation and poverty for good in the countryside in the brief span of only four to five years. But there is not a single film that records this great change. It is true that a film has emerged which shows the efforts of the workers of the Ryongsong Machine Factory to produce machines and equipment for the Hwanghae Iron Works. But it is not satisfactory. I will not mention the defects of this film. Many works based on our realities should be produced, and we should not mind a few deficiencies in them.

Lately, I have given serious thoughts about how to help our cinematic art portray the meaningful life and struggle of the new men of our times, of the heroes who have come from the working people and of the Chollima riders. If we produce even one good film of this kind, it will greatly encourage our working people and become a powerful weapon to educate thousands upon thousands of people to become new men.

In producing films that cater to the demands of our times, it is most important to truthfully reflect the struggle between the new and the old and vividly show the superiority of the socialist system which opens up broad and unlimited vistas for the people.

These films should emphasize the idea that it is not machinery but men that play the decisive role in production. The films should give prominence to the Marxist-Leninist outlook that a meaningful life is created not by the strength of one or two eminent persons, but by the struggle of millions of working people who are conscious of their historical mission. The hero of such a film should be portrayed as a typical new man who is cheerful and optimistic, a man who does not surrender to difficulties and has a very strong will to move forward.

We should skilfully show a course of life in which a man, once subjected to humiliation and oppression, labours devotedly in the face of ordeals and succeeds at the end due to his strenuous efforts and moral improvement.

In our country there are now countless people who are qualified as heroes of this type. Our Chollima riders numbering thousands upon thousands are all heroes of our era, smashing all that is behind the times and creating a new, good society by their heroic struggle and creative labour. It is, indeed, regrettable that there is not a single film which represents the Chollima riders.

Indeed, there are also shortcomings in the performances of our actors and actresses in our films, but that does not seem to matter much. There are people who say that no good films are produced because the studios do not perform their work properly, but this is not the case. The job of the studios is mainly the technical side of the production and not the ideological content of the films.

The main point is the ideological content of the films, which is unsatisfactory.

For instance, I saw a film which handled the love problem. It had no ideological content at all; it was quite insipid. To depict love for love's sake is nonsensical. Love for love's sake is only a manifestation of naturalism. It has no educational value for anybody and, what is more, it can be rather harmful.

Love between men and women of a new type must serve the noble aims of the revolutionary cause, and be closely linked with the struggle for victory in the revolution. Our films, therefore, should criticize the decadent love of those who forget the revolutionary cause indulging only in personal enjoyment, and should exemplify the noble and beautiful love of a new type of young people who are waging a heroic struggle for the great aims of socialist construction, helping and leading each other forward.

The question of ideological content should be settled first of all by the scenario writers. No good film is being turned out because the scenario writers fail to write works of value. If the scenario writers turn

out good scripts, there is no reason why good films cannot be produced even though the studios have some failings and shortcomings. The trouble now is in the scenarios.

The musical setting is also largely responsible for the poor quality of our films. Scenes of valour ought to be accompanied by songs that are stirring and hopeful. But they are not. Because inappropriate songs that do not correspond to the scenes on the screen are thrown in haphazardly, the audiences are not impressed.

Our music, too, is lagging a long way behind the realities. It fails to express truthfully the great forward movement of our people who are rushing ahead like the wind. There are no good new songs being turned out for our Chollima riders to sing vigorously and cheerfully. Blue water runs across the mountains and the rivers to wet the paddies and dry fields; tractors and lorries work the fields and carry the loads in place of human hands and feet; still we do not hear lively and beautiful songs which sing the praises of this epoch-making change in the countryside.

The music and dance epic *Our Glorious Country* is indeed a great piece of work, but it is a medley, and not a great unified work. There is no ground whatsoever for complacency merely because a work like this has been created.

Songs must be composed to suit the sentiments of the people. When a battle is on, songs suitable to the battle are needed, and when work is being carried out, songs appropriate to labour are needed. Songs sung when rice seedlings are bedded out should be different from those hummed when earth loads are poled in pairs, though they are work songs. Thus, only when songs are sung to suit the given occasions, can the soldiers fight valiantly and the workers and peasants increase production. There can be no song that suits well every place and time, and only those songs which reflect the spirit of the times and suit the given circumstances can appeal to the hearts of people.

This is not a time to sing only the pear-blossom ballad. Today, more than ever we need joyful and stirring songs which rouse people to creative labour. When people sing encouraging, stirring songs, they

forget weariness and fatigue.

People are fond of the *Chollima March* because it has reflected the spirit of our era and is in keeping with the sentiments of our people. *A New Song Flows Out of the Village across the River*, sung in the way they sing the western provincial ballad, appeals to me. It has a Korean flavour, and encourages us when we hear it.

The weavers' song and song of the well side are also valuable. However, we cannot sing just these few songs all the time. We should have many new songs. But when we hear many of the new songs that have been turned out recently, such as the song of smelters and song of machine workers, we do not feel anything new, because they are all rehashes of old tunes in one way or another, and there is little to choose between them in their melodies.

In songs, too, the important thing is the ideological content.

A song for song's sake is of no use, and those which merely sing the praises of nature are also of little value. True, songs which eulogize the beauty of nature please people, but more valuable are songs which give expression to the real life of the people and their struggle for the attainment of their great aims. The attitude of singing the praises of nature alone, keeping aloof from social life, is an expression of naturalism or the "art-for-art's-sake" doctrine and it has the harmful influence on the working people to abandon the struggle.

The people like songs of a high ideological standard. Only those songs which the people accept, love and sing with pleasure are useful; what is the use of songs which only a few experts understand and like? The ideological viewpoint that art can be understood only by experts, is fundamentally wrong.

The people are the real critics of art. No critic is wiser than the people. Works that have passed the judgment of the people should be regarded as good works, and those which have not, as bad ones. Novels, poetry, music, cinema and all other arts should be intelligible to the masses of the people and should serve them.

There are certainly shortcomings in the work of our literature and art at present. All our people are racing ahead in the spirit of Chollima

riders, and there is no reason why the scenario writers or composers alone should lag behind. Our writers and artists, too, must and will mount the saddle of Chollima to create great works. The whole question is to eliminate the shortcomings in this branch as soon as possible.

The principal defects in the work of literature and art are, first, that the writers and artists still have not deeply grasped the Party's policies; second, that the writers and artists fail to delve deeply into the life of the people; and, third, that the organizational leadership in this branch is inadequate.

All our writers and artists want our people to build socialism faster and better so they can live more happily, and they support our people's Chollima Movement. However, the Chollima spirit is not well embodied in the creative activities of the writers. This, after all, is proof that our writers have not yet fully accepted the Chollima spirit, and that they are not breathing the same air as the masses of the people. If you accept the Chollima spirit, you should turn out works which express the same spirit.

First of all, I think that our writers and artists need to make a serious study to determine the ideological roots of their failure to grasp the spirit of the times properly. The trouble seems to be that our writers do not, after all, possess a profound comprehension of the Party policy.

The vanguard of our people is our Party. Without knowing the intentions of the Party well, it is impossible to have a correct understanding of the great forward movement of our people. One cannot really understand our realities simply by going into the factories or the countryside at random without deeply studying the Party policy. Only those who are imbued with our Party's policy can distinguish the new and the old and correctly discern the essentials among the complexities of realities. Hence, before anything else, writers and artists should make a deep study of our Party's policy to understand its revolutionary stand and scientific, Marxist-Leninist attitude and methods in relation to the realities.

Our literature and art should by no means depart from the interests

of the revolution and the Party's line, nor should they tolerate those elements which cater to the taste and liking of the exploiting classes. Only revolutionary literature and art based thoroughly on the line and policy of the Party can truly enjoy the love of the masses of the people and become a powerful Party weapon in educating the working masses in the revolutionary spirit of communism.

All the lines and policies of our Party have proceeded from our country's realities and are an expression of the interests of our people. The Party policy is embodied in actual life through the practical struggle of the toiling masses.

Only literature and art born of the realities and closely linked with the practical activities of the masses, can become a truly Party and revolutionary literature and art. Only realistic works of literature and art which give a vivid and profound portrayal of actual life, can appeal to the hearts of the people.

Writers, therefore, should know the realities well and penetrate the life of the masses of the people.

As long as writers and artists remain idle in Pyongyang, nothing will happen. The life and struggle that stir people can be seen only when one visits factories and can be experienced only when one goes to the countryside. A good knowledge of realities can be obtained only when you keep constant contact with the workers and peasants and delve deeply into their life.

You should carefully observe the life of the workers and peasants. But observation alone is not enough. Our writers and artists should plunge themselves daringly into the flames of the workers' and peasants' struggle and acquire the ability to view actual life with the same feelings that belong to the fighting workers and peasants. Only then can they be called writers and artists who have experienced the life of our people, only then can they create works which win the love of the masses and serve them.

Without knowing the people's life well, you cannot depict truthfully our realities and represent correctly the thinking, sentiments and features of the new man of today.

Young people of today are different from those of the past, and old people are not the same as those of days gone by. Nor can actors correctly portray the new men who are constantly changing and developing, unless they penetrate the realities.

What our writers and artists should be particularly concerned about today when they go down to factories or farm villages, is to discover a new type of men and make a detailed study of their life. If our writers make a good picture of the happy and worthwhile life of a Chollima rider, it can be good material for the education of thousands upon thousands of working people.

At present our Party exerts great efforts to educate and remould the masses. School education or information and motivation work alone is not enough for this purpose. Only by mobilizing all forms of literature and art such as novels, poetry, plays, the cinema and music which are excellent means of mass education, can you effectively conduct the work of educating and remoulding the masses.

In particular, those works which portray Chollima riders are very good means for carrying out our Party's policy of educating people through positive examples.

Lately our Party has made some change in the methods of educating people. While in the past the emphasis in the education of people was on criticism of negative phenomena, prominence is now given to positive examples.

We have also stopped carrying satires in the newspapers. The satires are a practice imported from other countries, and they do not quite agree with the natural idiosyncrasy of the Koreans. We have thrown them into the dustbin of dogmatism as an educational method which consists only in seeking the people's defects. Our newspapers carry exemplary facts and impressive and beautiful stories instead of satires, educating people with them.

Following the March 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the guardhouse system in our People's Army was abolished and the internal regulations were also revised. This guardhouse system, also, does not agree with our people. People

should be educated not by coercive methods, but by tireless persuasion and positive examples.

What is the result of the abolition of the guardhouse system? Some time ago, I visited People's Army units and had talks with soldiers. At that time, I asked a sergeant major if there was any violation of discipline after the abolition of the guardhouse system, and he answered in the negative. So I again questioned him how could it be possible that there had not been even a single case of violation of discipline in two years? Then, he admitted that there had been one such case. A private used to doze off at every meeting. So, the sergeant major, thinking that it was because he did not let his men have sufficient rest, sent them to bed early. After that, he said, no comrade ever fell asleep at a meeting.

Later, I visited a certain brigade on the east coast and asked the same thing. An officer answered that there had been a case of breach of discipline. According to him, a private had slipped out secretly at night to see his girlfriend and then returned. I said that if the political workers had delved deeply into the life of the soldiers and had worked on timely solutions to problems which had been worrying them, such a case of breach could have been averted.

People are liable to commit errors and reveal shortcomings because everyone has old ideological residues. It is contrary to our Party's policy to forsake those people who have obsolete ideas, who have committed errors. Our Party has consistently followed the policy of remoulding people who have obsolete ideas into new men through persevering educational work.

Communist society cannot be built by the strength of one or two extraordinary men. To build a society in which all the working people can live a life of plenty, everyone should be brought into activity. We should continue to educate and remould all the working people so they may accept the cause of socialism and communism as their own and struggle voluntarily for it.

Under our social system today, anyone can become a communist new man. Under our system, one who follows the wrong path is an

exception to the rule; the absolute majority are on the right track. So, by helping them a little, they can all become fine communists. Unless everyone is remoulded along the communist lines in this way, the complete victory of socialism cannot be achieved and communist society cannot be built.

In our country a mass movement for educating and remoulding people is now under way. Even young girls have turned out to educate and remould people, declaring with confidence that all people can be remoulded except the class enemies.

Thus, even the hopeless delinquents in our country are being remoulded. There is even a case of a merchant's wife who was remoulded and then reformed her husband who was in a house of correction. She visited her husband once a week to educate him, with the result that the merchant became repentant of his evils and, at last, went so far as to tell his wife where he had buried gold rings and other articles of gold, which, he said, she should dig up and offer to the state.

When we see that even people who have committed serious crimes can all be remoulded in this way, it goes without saying that those who are a little unruly could be educated and remoulded.

As for the families of those who ran away to the south, the Party pursues the policy of accepting and educating and remoulding all of them except a handful of vicious elements. The Party has also sternly criticized the attitude of unwarranted suspicion of the returned prisoners of war, and directs people to treat them warmly. Comrade Jin Ung Won, a smelter of the Kangson Steel Plant, is a prisoner of war who has returned. This comrade is none other than the man who initiated the Chollima Workteam Movement. The Party actively backed up the excellent initiative of Comrade Jin Ung Won. Today the Chollima Workteam Movement has grown and is spreading like wildfire over the whole country, vigorously propelling the socialist construction of our people.

Educating and transforming people is an honourable task devolving on writers and artists. Our writers and artists should educate and remould the laggards in their ranks and turn them all into fine soldiers

of our Party in the field of literature and art. All writers and artists should depict, and thereby give a stronger impetus to, the great mass movement of our people who, united in mind and in spirit, are educating and remoulding men. The more successfully this work of educating and remoulding people is expedited, the greater force our people will display in all fields of socialist construction.

The world people are now watching with admiration the struggle of our people as they are building socialism at Chollima speed, and they are anxious to know the secret of our people's victory. Our writers and artists should clearly demonstrate, through their works, where the source of our people's strength comes from.

The reason that there is little progress in the field of literature and art is also attributable to defects in organizational leadership. It seems that the Party's leadership is weak and the mass line is not well carried out in this domain.

While exercising control by administrative methods, the Ministry of Education and Culture neglects its political work among those engaged in literature and art. I have heard that the Minister of Education and Culture personally examines scenarios, but that is not the way to settle matters. The Minister may sometimes examine scenarios, but that is a job primarily for the writers. The Ministry of Education and Culture should conduct adequate political work to enlist the collective wisdom of the writers and artists, instead of giving administrative guidance, occupying itself with individual problems.

It seems necessary to introduce some changes in the system of guiding literature and art. It will do well to form a federation which covers all branches of literature and art, and for the Party to give direct guidance. It seems necessary to unite groups of writers, composers, dancers, etc., in the General Federation of the Unions of Literature and Arts as before, to make them work collectively under the leadership of the Party.

At present various branches do not receive mutual education and mutual criticism, and each branch is going its own way. Whatever branch of literature and art is working on its own will fail to see its own

shortcomings. All that is wrong can be detected only by others. A composer thinks his work the best, but when others listen to it, they can find shortcomings of which the composer is unaware, and can give him good advice.

It is necessary to organize symposiums frequently. It will be good to invite workers, peasants and students, too, to the symposiums. Writers seem to hold such meetings rather often, but composers do not. The workers and peasants can make good suggestions about songs, too.

Literature and art can also be developed rapidly only by drawing on the strength of the masses. The strength of a few professionals alone will give no results.

It is necessary to have many correspondents everywhere. Since the correspondents always live among the masses, they could write better works than the professional writers who are confined to their office rooms. There are many middle-school and university graduates working in factories. Give them a little help, and they, too, will be able to write works. The mistaken idea that professional writers alone are able to write scenarios should be abandoned.

The viewpoint that only the professionals can compose music is also wrong. Workers or peasants can almost all write music. Compositions by workers and peasants who have insufficient training in music, may have defects which conflict with musical standards. If such defects are corrected by the professionals, that will do.

As you all know, there are now dramatic sketches and other works created by local circles of amateur artists which are better than those produced in the capital. There are also very excellent works among those produced by schoolteachers in the farming districts. It is because these works have been born of real life.

Many of the songs which the anti-Japanese guerrillas sang were produced by the guerrillas themselves. Of course, they were not artists; none had attended a conservatory. Many of them were working youths who had only the knowledge of a middle-school graduate at best; there were but few university graduates. The revolutionary songs which we

are singing today are the natural and truthful representations of what they felt in their life and their struggle.

All this testifies to the fact that there is nothing mysterious about writing scenarios or composing music, and that not only can workers and peasants take part in literary and artistic creation, but that, without their active participation, there could be no blossoming of a really popular art.

We have many talented writers and artists. If all writers and artists make sincere efforts, upholding the Party's leadership, they will be able to rapidly develop our literature and art to fit in with our era.

The writers who have accumulated much experience in literary and artistic activities should personally be in the vanguard and lead the young people forward. Of course, they should lend an open ear to the opinions of the young people, too. They should always hold lively, collective discussions and give active support to all constructive opinions.

The Party will do everything in its power to help you in your work. I sincerely hope you will bring about an epochal turn in the development of literature and art by waging a more energetic struggle to carry through the Party's policy on literature and art.

LET US TRAIN ACTIVE PARTY WORKERS

Talk to the Teaching Staff of the Central Party School

December 18, 1960

Availing myself of this opportunity of meeting you today, I am going to speak about some problems arising in training Party workers.

The Central Party School has so far trained a large number of Party workers. This is a great success. However, you should not in the least rest on your laurels. The reality of today when socialist construction is going on briskly demands a greater number of active Party workers. In order to train many active Party officials in keeping with the developing reality, it is necessary to radically improve the educational work of this school.

Before anything else, teachers and students should make it a rule to go to factories and rural areas.

At present teachers of this school are not adequately informed of the reality because they seldom go to factories and rural areas. Without knowing the reality teachers can neither write useful textbooks nor impart working knowledge to students. The knowledge which has nothing to do with the reality is useless, no matter how profound it may be.

The Central Party School in particular should teach students working knowledge of the reality, though this is true of other schools, too. Only then will the students become active Party workers. If Party policy is taught merely in theory, students will be unable to conduct Party work correctly.

In order to impart useful knowledge to students, teachers themselves should know the reality well. They should not treat the question of Party work only at their desks. They should directly go to factories and rural areas where socialist construction is being carried on vigorously and, while taking part in the life of the Party organizations there, they should find out deficiencies revealed in Party work and learn how to work among the masses and also study methodology of teaching students so that the latter will get accustomed to Party work. If a student fails to acquire fully a viewpoint on the masses, he may have some reasons for it; either he is little acquainted with Party policy or his method of work is not correct. Only when teachers give students an adequate explanation of these matters can the latter be trained into excellent workers required by the Party and tackle their jobs satisfactorily after graduation.

Only by going to factories and rural villages will the teachers be able to give good instructions to students citing vivid examples. If they are ignorant of the reality, they may fall into dogmatism in their educational work.

During our previous visit to Kusong we had an opportunity of listening to a teacher of the Central Party School delivering a lecture on the unemployment problem, which he explained giving an example in France. Why should one cite an example from a foreign country when many striking instances of this problem can be found in the southern half of Korea? If teachers know nothing but read books, they may fall into this kind of trap.

When we were waging an armed struggle against the Japanese, there was a man of extensive learning in our unit, but he did not know how to apply his learning to practical activity. So we called him a “locked chest of knowledge”. No matter how much one is learned, one is useless if he does not know how to put his learning in practice. The Central Party School should not train the students to be “locked chests of knowledge”.

The work style of some of those who have graduated from the Central Party School is little different from that of those who did not

attend this school. Some officials are dissipated, flourish bureaucratism, and even go the length of indulging in factional activities. In such cases, it is not worth educating them at the Central Party School. If one fails to work as one should even after graduating from this school, and if one's graduation is merely recorded in one's personal history, this is useless.

Currently, writers and artists fail to create many good works on the theme of the Chollima Movement mainly because they do not approach the reality, and only remain in their offices. Even when they go to factories and rural villages, some of them fail to see the reality from a sharp class standpoint.

The Central Party School should see to it that its teachers spend much time in factories and the countryside, even though their lecture hours will have to be reduced somewhat. In the future they should be made to study the reality living among the masses in factories and rural areas for 30 to 40 days every year.

Staying in factories and farm villages, teachers should attend meetings of Party cells, and take part in the work of the ri, factory and county Party committees. By so doing they should find out all merits and demerits shown in the implementation of Party policy. Teachers should not only try to get good experiences out in factories and the countryside. They should also know well the shortcomings and demerits revealed in executing Party policy.

For this purpose, they should refrain from going exclusively to model units where work is done well, but should go to backward units, as well. Only then will they be able to teach the students how to bolster up the backward units.

Teachers should also attend meetings of Party cells in residential districts. Since these Party cells contain many housewives, they may have more complicated problems than those in factories and farm villages. Teachers should find out as many complicated problems as possible, study measures for their solution and make good use of them in education.

Out in factories and the countryside teachers should make a deep

study of Party policy in connection with the reality and explain and propagate it extensively among Party members and working people. When they study Party policy in relation with the reality, they can understand its essence and correctness more clearly.

Students should also frequent factories and rural areas.

They are strangers to the reality for a long period during their study at the Party school. It is all the more so for the students in the three-year course. Three years are not a short period. Great changes will take place in the three years since socialist construction is now going on at a very quick tempo in our country. Therefore, if they are made only to continue to study at school for three years without being sent out into the reality, they will be ignorant of our reality, hesitant to speak before the masses and unable to guide Party meetings properly, like those who have returned after studying in foreign countries.

Only when they frequent factories and rural areas, will the students be able to understand fully the reality and acquire a skilful method of mass education. In fact, there are many good examples of mass education in reality.

Take, for instance, the experience gained in the work of Comrade Kil Hwak Sil who educated and remoulded all members of her workteam along communist lines. It is an excellent example Party workers should follow. She said that all people, except the hostile elements, could be educated and remoulded. Now there are countless Kil Hwak Sils in our factories and farm villages. If the students go to their workteams and attend meetings of the Party, Democratic Youth League or trade union organizations or similar gatherings, they will learn from their fine examples in educating the masses. If in this way Party officials work well among people, following these examples, they will be able to educate and remould everyone along communist lines.

Re-education of people along communist lines is of great importance. In order to build a communist society, it is imperative to lay the material foundation commensurate with it and, at the same time, turn everyone into communists by educating them and remoulding their ideological consciousness.

Study of the theory and methods of Party work at the Central Party School is aimed at educating and remoulding all people to turn them into communist-type men.

Re-educating people along communist lines is an extremely difficult and complicated task. This is all the more so in our country where the socio-political composition of the inhabitants is complex.

While occupying our country for 36 years in the past, the Japanese imperialists put a great deal of ideological poison in the minds of our people. During our temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War the US imperialists also spoilt quite a few people by forming various reactionary organizations including the “peace maintenance corps”. It goes without saying that many people joined the “peace maintenance corps” without knowing what it was or reluctantly under threats. Therefore, you should not reject all people indiscriminately because they joined the “peace maintenance corps”. Our Party’s policy is to educate and remould not only those who joined the “peace maintenance corps” but those infected with the ideological poison of the Japanese imperialists as well. It would be impossible to build communism only with those who have a high degree of communist consciousness, discarding people with complicated backgrounds. So we should strive to educate and remould everyone.

With a view to re-educating people, Party work should be thoroughly turned into work among people.

As I always say, the Party is literally a political organization in which the masses of its members are united. That is why Party work should in all cases become work among Party members, in other words, work among people. Party officials should work among cadres and Party members, and Party members among the masses in accordance with their duties prescribed in the Party Rules. If the whole Party works like this, education and remoulding of people will be successful and the building of communism stepped up still further.

However, when he was in charge of Party organizational work in the past, Ho Ka I did not work among people but conducted Party work in a bureaucratic manner, through dictation. After the temporary retreat

was over, he expelled and punished a large number of Party members. This was an anti-Party manoeuvre aimed to wreck our Party. So we dismissed him. The bad aftereffects Ho Ka I caused on the work of our Party are immense.

Since the Third Congress of our Party a strenuous struggle has been waged to implement the Party's mass line and educate and remould the broad masses. As a result, marked successes have been achieved in this work in recent years. This is a great victory for our Party's mass line.

The most powerful method of educating and remoulding people is to influence the negative by means of the positive. In re-educating people it is more effective to disseminate the positive facts extensively and induce them to be impressed, rather than the negative ones. This explains why our Party sees to it that the newspapers introduce many exemplary facts instead of carrying critical articles.

After the March 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee we abolished the guardhouse system in the People's Army. This system was a dogmatic copy from the internal regulations of a foreign country. In the People's Army discipline has been further strengthened since the abolition of the guardhouse system.

Some time ago I visited a unit of the People's Army where I asked a company sergeant major the number of the offenders against discipline revealed since the abolition of the guardhouse system. He replied that a private had once dozed in a meeting and that that was all. Then I asked him what had been done for the private. He said that he had educated the private by making his own criticism because the latter was not to blame for dozing but he himself was responsible for it because he had failed to provide the privates with a good rest.

I inquired the same at another unit. I was told that in that company a private once went out without leave to see his girlfriend. They said that in that company, too, the private who had misbehaved against discipline was not punished but the deputy company commander for political affairs made self-criticism on his failure to read the minds of the privates with a maternal feeling and settle their problems in a right time. The private who had felt the pangs of remorse observed

discipline more strictly afterwards and was more faithful in military service. This is an excellent method of education.

At present good examples of mass education are being set everywhere. However, there are few books that deal with these facts. In future good examples of mass education should be extensively disseminated through books and newspapers, and, at the same time, the students of the Party schools should be sent to factories and rural areas to learn from the actual examples of mass education.

The Central Party School should see to it that the students go to factories and farm villages by groups of two or three, about twice a month, on Saturday afternoons or on Sundays and attend Party cell meetings. In this way, they will hear what will be discussed at the meetings of the Party cell and help people there to rectify their shortcomings. They will be able to give good opinions at these meetings because they have experience in Party work as well as the knowledge they gained at school. While in factories and villages they should judge by themselves what has been done right and what has been done wrong, in line with the theory they acquired at school, and they should compare the work there with the work they carried on before, and study how they could better their work in the future.

They should go not only to factories and enterprises in Pyongyang but to farm villages around the city; they should visit both large factories and small local factories and producers' cooperatives. Members of producers' cooperatives still retain a great deal of selfish thinking in their minds. Students should also go to see where work is not done properly. This is the way they can find ways to correct defects.

I was told that at present students go out to give guidance, and this is a very good thing. However, if they are out for six months a year, as now, they will have not much time for study and it may be difficult to give them holidays. Therefore, it is advisable that the students go out for guidance for some two months a year, and it is better if they are accompanied by the teachers in their guidance work.

The students of this school should be taught well how to work among people.

This is of great importance. Their study at school is aimed, in the long run, at educating Party members and working people to unite them closely behind our Party and at mobilizing them to accelerate the building of socialism and communism. Therefore, educational work at the Central Party School should lay emphasis on teaching the students how to work among people. The main thing in the education at the Party schools is to give the students good instructions on the method of work among people.

Students should also be taught how to write a report.

At present there exist quite a few county Party committee chairmen who are not able to write a report properly. Worse still, those who attended the Central Party School for three long years get other people to write a report, because they are unable to do this themselves.

While giving guidance to the work of the Kangso County Party Committee, we found its chairman having another person write the report because he was incapable of doing it himself. So we taught him in detail how to write a report and made him do it himself.

Currently, our officials regard it as something of a mystery to write a report, but there is no need for this. All they have to do is to sum up well what they have done in the past and to write down clearly what should be done in the future and what measures should be taken.

The Central Party School should properly teach the students how to write reports so that they will be able to do it themselves. The school should not only do this but send them to factories and get them to write reports themselves and examine those written by officials there.

This is the only way they can write proper reports in the future.

A struggle should be intensified against flunkeyism.

Flunkeyism is a very harmful idea of worshipping and following others blindly, regarding everything that is ours as bad and everything foreign as good. Every communist should oppose flunkeyism and use his own brains to judge all problems and act according to his own belief.

Some people consider opposition to flunkeyism to be something contradictory to cementing internationalist solidarity. They are

mistaken. Opposing flunkeyism does not mean opposing internationalism.

Our Party holds very dear the internationalist solidarity with fraternal parties and countries. We are against flunkeyism and big-power chauvinism which undermine internationalist solidarity. Ideological survivals of flunkeyism and big-power chauvinism still remain in the international communist movement.

Big-power chauvinists suspect others without reasons, classify people into this side or that side, and try to win them over to their side. They attempt to impose their views and lines on other countries through the medium of flunkeyists.

But for the flunkeyists who follow big-power chauvinists blindly, chauvinism would become impotent. Therefore, if big-power chauvinism is to be opposed, flunkeyism should be thoroughly eliminated. The more thoroughly flunkeyism and chauvinism are eliminated, the more the internationalist solidarity among fraternal countries will be strengthened.

The Central Party School should intensify the education of the students to encourage them to resolutely struggle against flunkeyism.

What is most important for this school is to ensure that the teaching staff and students think, breathe and act in line with the Party's intentions.

Schools should not have one single person whose thoughts are inconsistent with the Party's ideology. This is particularly true of this school which trains Party workers. This school should have only those who think, breathe and act in accordance with the Party's intentions. Only then can the oneness of ideology be fully ensured and our Party developed into a strong party. So all Party organizations should select the proper people and send them to the Central Party School.

In order to inspire the teaching staff and students of this school to think, breathe and act in accordance with the intentions of the Party, it is important that they are acquainted opportunely with the Party's policy and intentions. From now on, workers of the Organizational Leadership Department, the Information and Publicity Department and

other relevant departments of the Party Central Committee should frequent the Central Party School and inform its teachers and students of the policy the Party puts forward in each period. The teachers in particular should be acquainted regularly with the intentions of the Party Central Committee with regard to political, economic and other important problems.

This school should also pay profound attention to its management. Since its scale has been enlarged and the number of students has grown, proper management is very important. The teaching staff and students of this school should devote great efforts to its proper management.

I hope that the Central Party School will improve the quality of education radically and thus train a large number of Party workers who are prepared theoretically and practically and are capable of educating the masses skilfully and implementing Party policy accurately.

