

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

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NEW YEAR ADDRESS

January 1, 1963

Dear comrades,

Having seen out 1962, a year in which our efforts to build socialism were rewarded by a brilliant victory, the Korean people today greet the new year 1963 with great hope and confidence, as we all look forward to a still happier and brighter future.

In greeting the new year I would like to offer, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, my warm congratulations and greetings to you here present and to all the Korean people.

Last year the election of deputies to the Third Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea took place successfully, amidst the ebullient enthusiasm of all the working people, and we also achieved great successes in every sphere of socialist construction.

Grappling with the tremendous task of attaining the six goals, our Party and people have launched a heroic struggle in each branch of the national economy. Our working people—who rose in response to the Party's militant call—have displayed unexcelled patriotic devotion and creative activity in their endeavours to increase the prosperity of the country and the well-being of our entire population, and have thus admirably fulfilled the militant task which was set by the Party.

With the active assistance of all the people, our cooperative farmers overcame frequent and severe natural calamities, and again harvested a

bumper crop, thus fulfilling their honourable and challenging task of producing 5 million tons of grain. It is unprecedented for agriculture to surmount such natural calamities and to reap a bumper crop year after year. This is indeed a victory for our Party's agricultural policy, and is the splendid fruit of the heroic struggle which was waged by all our peasants.

Allow me to extend my warm congratulations and thanks to our diligent and faithful cooperative farmers and state farm workers for their brilliant feats of labour in attaining the goal of 5 million tons of grain.

The ambitious goal of producing 250 million metres of fabrics was also successfully attained, thanks to the devoted efforts of the workers and technicians in our textile industry. This means that our output of fabrics last year increased by 38 per cent over that of the preceding year, and was 20 times that of the prewar year of 1949.

I offer warm congratulations and gratitude to the workers and technicians in the textile industry, who so honourably reached the challenging target which had been set by the Party for the production of fabrics, and to all workers in our light industry who have achieved great successes in the production of consumer goods.

Last year our fishery workers surmounted very unfavourable oceanic conditions by displaying their creativity and mass heroism to the full, and thus attained the goal of 800,000 tons of marine products as early as the middle of December, producing 840,000 tons by the end of the year.

I would like to extend warm congratulations and thanks to all our fishery workers who reached the target for the production of seafood by displaying their indomitable fighting spirit and by braving all hardships.

Thanks to the devoted efforts of our builders and to the nationwide assistance which they received, a great success was also achieved in the struggle to build 200,000 dwellings. Last year we started to build urban and rural dwellings for 244,000 households. Of these, more than 180,000 dwellings have already been offered to the toiling people, and

some 23,700 flats are nearing completion. Thus, a large number of working people in both town and country are today joyfully welcoming in the new year in modern dwellings.

I send warm felicitations and thanks to all our builders who have scored such a brilliant victory in their struggle to attain the housing goal.

Great progress was also made in the sphere of heavy industry. Last year the ferrous metal industry produced more than 1.2 million tons of pig and granulated iron. Although steel production fell a little short of the target, we achieved the great success of increasing it by 36 per cent over the previous year.

All the workers and technicians in the iron and steel industries accomplished great feats of labour through their heroic struggle. For this I would like to tender my wholehearted congratulations and thanks to them.

The coal industry failed to attain its production target because of the unprecedentedly long spell of rain. But thanks to the brave struggle of the workers in this sector, coal output grew by 11 per cent as compared with the previous year.

I would like to offer warm congratulations and thanks to all the workers and technicians in the coal industry who fought on indomitably, overcoming all hardships and obstacles.

Rapid progress has been made, in all fields of the national economy, thanks to the efforts made to attain the six goals. Preliminary results show that last year industrial output increased by 20 per cent over that of 1961. Not only the centres of heavy and light industry, but also the material and technical foundations of our agriculture, were further consolidated. Great successes were achieved in the spheres of education, science and public health; and literature and the arts are in full bloom.

Last year we achieved brilliant successes in attaining the six goals and in developing our national economy as a whole. This constitutes a very important asset in our fight for the successful fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan and for the conquest of the high peak of socialism.

We are now in a better position to cope with the problems of food, clothing and housing for our people, and we have opened up a definite prospect of bringing about a major improvement in the people's standard of living within the next two to three years. Our working people have enriched their valuable experience in socialist economic construction, and now have a firmer belief in victory.

Today we can confidently claim that a decisive victory has already been won in the accomplishment of the tasks for the first half of the Seven-Year Plan.

At present our entire population is ever more firmly rallied around our Party and is continuing in high spirits its vigorous advance towards the lofty peak of socialism, while enjoying a happy and worthwhile new life in our socialist society.

Greeting the New Year, I would like to offer my heartfelt congratulations and thanks to all the people—including our workers, peasants, technicians, office employees and scientists, educational and public health workers, writers and artists—who actively supported the efforts to attain the six goals and who have accomplished brilliant exploits in all fields of socialist construction.

I also express my warm congratulations and thanks to the valiant officers and men of the People's Army and to the members of the Security Forces, as well as to our public security men and Worker-Peasant Red Guardsmen, who are steadfastly defending the happy life and peaceful occupations of our people, and the prosperity of our socialist country.

Comrades,

Our compatriots in south Korea, under US imperialist occupation, are seeing in the new year amidst cruel repression, contempt for their nation, and unbearable hardships.

The US imperialists and their stooge, the military fascist clique, are manoeuvring more viciously to ensure permanent US colonial rule in south Korea, and are resorting to all sorts of sinister schemes to drag in even the aggressive Japanese militarist forces.

All the people of Korea, north and south, will unite in their efforts

and fight even more resolutely against the US imperialist aggressors and the Japanese militarist forces which are trying to reinvade our country. We will completely drive out the aggressive foreign forces from our territory and we will assuredly attain the peaceful reunification of our country.

I extend warm fraternal encouragement and support to our south Korean compatriots who are fighting against the US imperialists and their stooges, and for democratic freedom, the right to life, and the peaceful reunification of the country; and I wish them greater success in their endeavours in the year ahead.

I send warm congratulations and greetings to our 600,000 Korean compatriots in Japan who have won a brilliant victory in their struggle to carry out the six major tasks under the guidance of the Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), and I wish them new and even greater successes in their struggle for the democratic, national rights and for the peaceful reunification of our country.

Today the overall international situation is developing in favour of our revolutionary cause. The might of the socialist camp has been further increased, and in the international arena the forces of socialism and peace are prevailing over the forces of imperialism and war. Driven to a tight corner, the US imperialists are going crazy in their desperate efforts to extricate by resorting to aggression and war, and are aggravating tension in all parts of the world.

Shoulder to shoulder with all the anti-imperialist forces of Asia and the rest of the world, the Korean people will continue to fight resolutely against aggressive policies and warmongering of the US-led imperialists.

What is most important in the fight against imperialism, and for the victory of the cause of peace and socialism, is the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp. We will exert all our efforts in order to defend this unity and to consolidate the cohesion of the international communist movement; and we will steadfastly oppose any act aimed at weakening this unity and cohesion.

On behalf of the entire Korean people, I would like to offer the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the progressive people throughout the world my wholehearted thanks for their constant support and encouragement in the just struggle of our people and to wish them even greater successes in their new year struggle for peace and socialism.

In the name of all the Korean people, I send warm encouragement and militant greetings to the heroic Cuban people, who are fighting resolutely to oppose US imperialist aggression and to safeguard their country's sovereignty and revolutionary achievements under the banner of the revolution.

I would like also to extend warm encouragement to the oppressed and exploited peoples all over the world who are fighting for their freedom and emancipation, and I wish them further victories during the year ahead.

Dear comrades,

Seeing the new year in, all our people are filled with determination and confidence to win a new, brilliant victory in socialist construction, and to make our country richer, stronger and more beautiful still. We will continue to forge ahead dynamically by giving full rein to Chollima and thus make the year 1963 a year of a new and great victory.

1963 is a very important year for our construction of socialism: this year we shall have to make all the preparations for achieving a radical improvement in the material and cultural standards of our people in 1964 and 1965, while further consolidating the great successes already achieved in attaining the six targets.

This year our heavy industry is confronted with the important task of decisively reinforcing the mining industry, which constitutes the first stage of the process of industrial production.

By concentrating investments on the mining industry, we should be able to improve the technical equipment of all our coal and ore mines and thus to increase the output of coal and iron ore as well as of all kinds of nonferrous, rare-metallic and non-metallic minerals.

We should energetically continue to put flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry, to regularize production and to make maximum use of the potential of this industry.

Light industry should get itself ready to produce 300 million metres of fabrics in 1964, while further consolidating the success which it has already achieved in attaining the goal of 250 million metres of fabrics. We should make great efforts to strengthen the existing production base for raw materials, create new bases and normalize the output of fabrics. Light industry factories should continue to improve their technical equipment, and, in particular, local industrial enterprises should press ahead with the mechanization and semi-automation of their manufacturing processes.

While maintaining the goal for 800,000 tons of aquatic products, the fishing sector should further increase the proportion of fish within the total output of seafood. We should build more fishing boats, enhance the level of mechanization of fishery operations and further improve the processing of seafood.

Maintaining the 5 million tons of grain output, agriculture should strive to produce in 1964 three million tons of rice, 200,000 tons of meat, and larger quantities of oil-bearing and fibre crops which are needed for the improvement of the people's standard of living. We must improve and extend the irrigation system by continuing to undertake nature-remaking projects in a big way, and accelerate the mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture. It is essential that land adjustment and improvement be effected on a large scale, that seed production be intensified and that the techniques of farming be developed.

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee set forth the main task for the 1963 national economic plan, and clear-cut ways for carrying it out.

The period of the Seven-Year Plan is the age of the technical revolution in our country. Without technical development we can neither build a rich and strong socialist state, nor improve the standard of living of the people. The whole Party and the entire people should be

mobilized to carry out that revolution. We should further develop the machine-building industry, conduct an extensive campaign for technical innovation, make coordinated use of all our machines and equipment, and further improve the preparation and management of technical operations.

Labour administration presents an important problem, on the solution of which we should concentrate our efforts within the context of our work in the economic sphere this year. We should allocate labour rationally, further improve its organization, prevent its turnover and continuously raise the working people's technical levels and skills. In particular, we must prevent farm labour from leaving the land, while factories, enterprises and other bodies must conduct an extensive campaign to assist the countryside by economizing in manpower so as to be able to transfer workers to rural areas.

Building and civil engineering works should not be undertaken piecemeal: they should be carried out on a priority basis, with forces being concentrated on major projects; and an iron discipline must be established so as to ensure that the programme for the construction industry is strictly respected. To this end we must get rid of departmentalism, and reorganize the existing system of construction enterprises, merging the enterprises within each area so as to employ the building force concentrically. At the same time, we must put an end to the practice of undertaking building and civil engineering projects in a rush, as if we were in a shock campaign: all construction work must be undertaken on a normal basis.

By giving full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, all the working people should themselves procure whatever is wanted and should boldly create new things and wage an energetic fight to increase production and to economize. They should continue to innovate and advance, bravely overcoming every hardship and obstacle.

In order to bring about a fresh upswing in socialist construction, we must definitely establish in all spheres the Tsean work system, whose advantages have already been proved in practice, do away with

bureaucratism and formalism and fully apply the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method.

In all branches of the national economy we should also strengthen the leadership of the Party, and thoroughly implement its policies. In strict accordance with the Party's revolutionary mass line, we should give full scope to the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and mobilize all the reserves and potentialities of production.

The aggressive manoeuvres of the US imperialists who are occupying south Korea are becoming more blatant with each passing day. In the light of the present situation we must strengthen the country's defence power in every possible way, in order to firmly safeguard our revolutionary gains and peace in Korea. We must make an invincible armed force of our People's Army, which has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, and also establish a strong all-people defence system. The whole Party and all the people should arm themselves and always be ready and alert, and turn all our territory into an impregnable fortress. All our Party members and working people should build socialism more successfully and, with arms in one hand and a sickle or a hammer in the other, ensure the protection of all parts of the country from enemy encroachment.

We must thoroughly inculcate the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit and our Party's brilliant revolutionary traditions in all our people. We must abjure all sorts of laxity and weariness, and we must thoroughly establish a revolutionary way of life and work in all spheres.

We must continue to fight resolutely against the infiltration of revisionism and all hues of bourgeois ideas that numb the fighting spirit of the working masses and disintegrate our revolutionary ranks. We must oppose dogmatism and establish Juche more firmly in all spheres.

Unity is the source of strength and decisive guarantee of all victories. We must further tighten the ties of kinship between the Party and masses and strongly unite the entire people behind the Party and

turn the whole of our society into a firmly-united large family.

1963 will be a year of further great progress in the implementation of the Seven-Year Plan, that grand programme for the construction of socialism, and a year when the revolutionary base in the northern half of our country will be consolidated more firmly politically, ideologically, economically, culturally and militarily.

Our people have always emerged victorious, braving all difficulties under the seasoned leadership of our Party. In the future, too, they will closely unite around the Party and vigorously advance, upholding the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary banner, and thus achieve a new, greater success.

ON SOME TASKS IN PARTY WORK AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

**Speech to Deputy Department Heads and Higher
Officials of the Party Central Committee**

January 3, 1963

I would like to speak about our tasks for this year: our Party usually discusses the orientation of each new year's work before we actually set about doing it.

Since the direction of this year's work has been clearly set by the decision of the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, today I will touch only on some important problems which arise in Party work and in economic affairs.

This year we should bring about a further change in Party work.

Our Party must direct its main effort to implementing the mass line thoroughly and to steering economic activities properly.

In Party work considerable progress has already been made, but there has been no radical change as yet. Quite a few officials tend to rush things, within the framework of outdated work methods, but are in fact trailing behind others instead of taking initiatives at work. In supervising economic establishments, Party organizations take economic activities upon themselves, instead of steering events; they neglect political work while devoting themselves only to rush jobs.

Just as steady production is important in industry, it is also very important for the Party organizations to work on a regular basis. Doing Party work on a regular basis means that Party organizations steadily

carry on political work, work among people, which is their proper responsibility, instead of rushing things. Political work, work among people, consists of organizational and information activities aimed at ensuring the implementation of Party policies; it is work among cadres, Party members, and the masses. The education of cadres and Party members, and the dissemination of Party policies among the masses, constitute political work. You must not regard holding a meeting or a seminar as all that is required for political work. Party organizations must regularly do their own job—political work, work among people. In case of an iron works, for instance, the Party organizations concerned must work among the men who tend the blast furnaces.

All Party organizations—from the Party Central Committee down to individual cells—should work directly with the people under their charge. The Party Central Committee should work with the cadres of ministries, provinces, counties and factories; the provincial Party committees, with those of counties and factories; the county and factory Party committees, with those of the ri and of the Party cells; the Party cells, with Party members—and each Party member, with the masses. Thus, everyone in the northern half of Korea must become the object of Party work. At present, however, many Party organizations largely confine themselves to holding meetings, adopting resolutions and compiling statistics, rather than work among people.

It is quite true that Party officials are now very active, running about to get jobs done: nobody is idling away their time. But, at the moment, Party officials are totally occupied with rush jobs instead of performing their own duties.

They may well have to rush things now and then. But the main thing in Party work is political work, work among people, not rush jobs. So Party organizations should carry out this work regularly.

This year Party work must be put on a normal basis.

For this purpose, it is important that officials be properly instructed in how to work methodically. At the moment, their shortcoming is not that they lack enthusiasm but that they simply do not know how to work. So you should check up regularly on their performance and

teach them well. You must not do this work only by giving them intensive direction as in the past; you should do it mainly by teaching them how to work properly, after acquainting yourselves with their work by obtaining frequent reports from them.

So far you have only dictated to them, without checking up on their work. You must never fail to examine their work. You can do it through individual talks with them either on the spot or by summoning them to your offices. After checking up on their work you should teach them in a kindly manner. When they do not know how to work, ordering them about will get you nowhere.

At the moment you do not know how to work among senior personnel. Work among such persons is really nothing special. You can meet and talk with them, asking various questions: where they were born, what they like, what they study and whom they mix with. In this way you can get to know them personally. If you are to educate them in Party policy, you can ask them if they have read the editorial of a recent issue of the *Rodong Sinmun*. If they answer in the affirmative, you can get them to tell you about its main content. If they are not properly informed of it, you should explain it to them clearly. You can also talk about revisionism to see how they understand it. If you find any mistake in their knowledge of it, you must straighten them out in the matter. You should explain to them the anti-Marxist, opportunistic stand of modern revisionists and also inform them of the international situation. You should also inform them of the “ROK-Japan talks” and their aim, and the recent warcries of the Yankees. This is the way you should get to know senior personnel and educate them in Party policy in person-to-person talks.

It is also necessary for you to give them practical education. You should get to know in detail how they organize their work and manage the economy, and teach them to do it well if they have any defects. When you deal with a senior factory executive, for instance, you should see how he manages the factory and motivates the men. And if you find any difficult problem in his work, you should help him to solve it.

You must not think that an individual talk is necessary only when a senior executive has committed a serious error: you should meet these executives regularly. Only then will you be able to spot their shortcomings before it is too late and help them to correct them. Summoning those who have committed faults to give them a good dressing down before sending them back to their offices is not the way to deal with such people. While chatting regularly with them, you should draw their attention to the matters which they neglect, and criticize them, thus preventing them from making mistakes. It is too late to give people medical treatment after they have contracted a disease: it is important to take preventive measures.

You must not handle personnel affairs simply by examining personnel files on individuals. If you make a point of getting to know cadres by meeting them regularly, say, for a year or two, to train them and test them in the course of work, before promoting them to higher positions, you will have no problem. If you handle personnel affairs this way, you will be able to deal with the problem of educating cadres, improve their political and practical qualifications, and help them work better.

Officials of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee are now simply running about all over the place, but this is not really our Party's work method. They should meet the chairmen or chief engineers of the county cooperative farm management committees regularly and talk with them, explaining Party policies to them and giving them an ideological education. They should, in addition, educate them properly, asking them about practical matters such as preparations for farming operations, the implementation of the Party's policy on cultivating rice in dry fields, and the conditions of water pumps, as well as about what subjects they study, what books they have read recently, and what they think of revisionism. Meanwhile, they should go out to fields occasionally to see for themselves whether the Party's requirements are being met or not, and then should take any measures necessary. Then, everything will go well. From now on the Agricultural Department must, as I have just

mentioned, change its way of doing things.

If Party workers merely go round, checking up on economic statistics, things cannot go properly. They should work among the senior personnel and leave statistics to those who handle economic affairs. You can, of course, check figures while working with them, but Party workers should to all intents and purposes confine themselves to political work.

I do not confine myself to reading reports from departments: I talk with people now and then. I have conversations with people at factories and in rural communities, and take every opportunity of meeting them for that very purpose. When relatives call on me on holidays, I chat with them. I ask them about various questions: how they spend their holidays; if they have been provided with non-staple foodstuffs; if their children have received school uniforms and study well; which ones are good at study and which ones are not, and how good or bad they are, and so on. In this way I get to know how things are going on at the grass-roots level. You, too, had better go down from time to time, whenever necessary, to Party cells in rural areas or at factories and have talks with the masses.

You must not stay indoors all the time and summon in folk, on the plea of dealing with people. You need to hold meetings from time to time, attend mass meetings, make speeches and have talks with the masses in their local areas. You must not do these things in a perfunctory manner, but by the method of political work, by the method of education.

It would be the manifestation of a bad work style if you think that you have done your duty simply by calling a great number of people to a large meeting hall to listen to you delivering a speech or reading out the text of a ready-made speech or a resolution, instead of working with people. Some people may be aroused to action, but most of them will take no active part in follow-up work because, by such methods, they cannot ideologically accept whatever task it is that you have proposed.

Our system of working is aimed at educating and mobilizing all of

the people without exception. There should be no exception for anyone. All Party organizations should work regularly with everyone under their charge. If all Party organizations and members work among people like this, a radical change will take place in our Party work. If we work properly under this system for about 10 to 20 years, everyone will be imbued with communist ideology and will fulfil their duties admirably and faultlessly.

In the first place, the Party Central Committee should work properly among the people. The department heads and their deputies, section chiefs and instructors should all work among people. Department heads of the Party Central Committee and their deputies should work with the section chiefs and instructors. The deputy department heads, section chiefs and instructors should work with senior executives of the ministry and factory Party committees and also lead the latter to work with the officials in charge of economic affairs.

Ministers and vice-ministers, too, should be induced to do a great deal of work with the bureau chiefs or department heads of ministries and with factory managers. And you should see to it that these officials direct their subordinate units properly.

Next, effective Party direction should be given in economic affairs.

What is important in this regard is to steer administrative executives properly instead of tailing behind them. You can steer either at the bow or at the stern. The choice may depend on the people in question and on the work to be done. In any case the main thing is to give the right orientation.

Party officials must not boss it over the workers who are in charge of economic affairs or keep them from playing their role: they should help everyone to play his own role satisfactorily. It would be useless and wrong for them to tail behind administrative executives and simply wait on events; it would also be wrong for them to arrogate to themselves the administrative functions of others by throwing their weight around. Party workers must not themselves handle economic affairs, but should guide the executives concerned by indicating the

orientation which they should follow and the methods which they should adopt in their work—give them political leadership and activate them to do their jobs satisfactorily. This is the way to give Party leadership in the economic sphere, and to follow the Party's mass line.

Party policy covers the orientation and method of work. Party workers should therefore master Party policies and know the work orientation and methods better than the executives who handle economic affairs. Only then can they show the latter the direction which work should take.

What is important in the Party leadership of economic activity is to coordinate general guidance properly with specific direction.

General guidance means giving Party members and working people a general understanding of our Party's policy through meetings and other political work. But mere indication of the orientation to be given to activity is not enough to show people clearly how to act in specific circumstances. That requires practical examples which are best shown by organizing work in concrete terms. By doing this you will combine general and specific guidance.

You must not try to take economic affairs upon yourselves because you were told to direct things in concrete terms. This would result in the officials in charge of economic affairs being superseded—in which case those officials would have nothing to do.

The method for giving specific guidance is to give people a better understanding of Party policies by the in-depth development of general guidance. At a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held in 1961 we decided on the establishment of a system under which it is for the higher units to ensure that lower units are properly supplied with materials. At that time, many people did not know clearly how to handle the supply of materials. That was why we went to Taean, where we set up such a work system. Thus, we set a practical example that proved the correctness of the Party's decision and showed the way to handle the supply of materials.

Even when, at the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, we proposed a policy for strengthening labour

administration, many people did not clearly understand it. Quite a few of our officials considered it impossible to send a reinforcement of 150,000 workers to the countryside. It was necessary to prove the correctness of this decision. So we went to Haeju and looked closely into the matter. We found that there was in fact a large reserve of manpower available, and affirmed that we could send even 400,000 extra workers, not 150,000, to rural communities.

Comrade Minister of Fisheries seems to be good at combining general guidance with specific direction. When he proposed that sandfish be caught in a particular area, many people said that no such fish were to be found there. So, as a first step, he organized an outing—which was successful—to catch such fish, and thus proved that sandfish were in fact to be found in the area in question.

That general guidance must be combined with detailed direction is a valuable conclusion I reached in the more than 30 years of my revolutionary activity. This is a Marxist-Leninist dialectical method. It must be an iron rule of both economic and military leadership that general guidance must be combined with specific direction.

This is all the more necessary when we have particularly difficult work to do. At the time of the agrarian reform immediately after liberation, we correctly combined general guidance with specific direction.

At the time of the agrarian reform, there were many arguments. We had invited a few foreigners who had experience of agrarian reform, and asked them for some information on the topic, but we could learn nothing of particular value.

The landlords of our country differed a little from those of other countries. In foreign countries landlords with large estates exploited many peasants, while living in rural communities. But in our country, many absentee landlords, while being themselves engaged in trade in towns, exploited peasants by renting out part of their lands. There were many such landlords around Pyongyang. Nobody knew this situation. So I thought that the only way to settle the matter was to ask the farming masses. I visited farm villages to talk with peasants. I had talks

with hired farm hands, sharecroppers and also with those who tilled their own lands.

We did not copy foreign experiences but made a close study of the actual conditions in our own country through direct conversations with peasants in rural communities. On this basis, we defined as landlords those who lent out more than five hectares of land for tenancy. This proved to be absolutely correct.

The methods of confiscating the land from the landlords and distributing it among the peasants were also defined on the basis of close investigations which were made as we talked with peasants in the countryside. When we were visiting Samsok we discussed with the peasants just how the land should be distributed. As a result, we were able to map out more clearly the specific measures to be taken to direct the agrarian reform, to say nothing of the policy in general.

We followed similar methods in the cooperativization of our agriculture and in the socialist transformation of private commerce and industry.

In all affairs, after enunciating the general policy, you must carry out field investigations to define the specific directions which are to be followed. This is the way to combine general guidance with detailed direction. You will thus avoid making mistakes in your work. If you simply launch a general slogan and urge people to implement it, without giving them detailed directions, they will consider that you are uselessly annoying them, instead of working out an effective way of setting about the particular task. If you are to persuade the masses, inspire them with confidence and to let them correctly carry out the task assigned by the Party, you must back up general direction with specific direction.

In doing this, it is important to consult the masses. You must discuss with the masses, to say nothing of the cadres. If you do not consult the masses, you will commit a subjective error. You must strictly guard against subjectivism in the implementation of Party policies. You should go among the masses and consult them, just as we did at the time of the agrarian reform.

Now, I will touch on the work of the various departments of the Party Central Committee.

The economic departments should deal with two kinds of work, namely personnel affairs and the steering of work in the economic field. The deputy department heads in charge of leadership in that field, and the sections responsible for technical and production guidance should play the steering role, and all the other deputy department heads and sections should confine themselves to personnel affairs. Even in the course of handling personnel affairs, you can get lots of information on production; and all such information should be handed over to the steering sections. If, for example, you happen to learn of a shortage of food or of seeds while handling personnel affairs, you must never fail to convey the information to the sections in charge of production. This will help them to avoid subjectivism in their work of guiding. The economic sections should handle personnel affairs and steer work through the Party committees and organizations of the units concerned.

The Organizational Leadership and Information and Publicity Departments of the Party Central Committee should concentrate their efforts on the Party organizations of the provinces, large factories and institutions so as to activate them and to get the organizational life of Party members on to a regular basis. These departments must take in hand whatever questions may arise in Party work—whether or not Party organizations handle personnel affairs properly, whether or not they give cadres and Party members effective ideological education, including education in Party policies, how they endeavour to improve cadres' practical qualifications, whether or not they efficiently play a steering role as an organ of collective leadership and whether or not they give day-to-day guidance in the Party life of the members. On this basis they must give meticulous guidance to the Party organizations so that the latter will function smoothly.

If the Party organizations at all levels and all cadres are brought to action, everything will progress smoothly. What is important both in personnel affairs and in economic management is to rouse the cadres,

Party members and masses to action.

The implementation of the mass line is also aimed at keeping everyone on their toes. You should see to it that all cadres, Party members and working people are ideologically steadfast, do not become degenerate, and show their enthusiasm in carrying out their revolutionary tasks, firmly united behind the Party Central Committee. The fundamental object of our Party's work system, which is based on the mass line, is, in the long run, to awaken everyone ideologically and thus to bring their enthusiasm into full play.

If the mass line is implemented in Party work, economic progress will be successful, revisionism will not infiltrate among us, and there will be nothing to be afraid of. We have fought for several years to establish a system of Party work based on the mass line, and now, in my opinion, good preparations have been made for the implementation of the mass line. This year we must effect a complete switch over to this system of Party work. Only then will the Party be able to propose new questions constantly, and to solve them, free from subjectivism, and mobilize all the nation's forces for the successful building of socialism. Doing work in this way is possible for everyone, young and old. If all officials work in this manner, and the whole Party and entire people stand shoulder to shoulder, we will win greater victories in every sector.

Next, I would like to refer to the struggle against revisionism.

In order to combat revisionism, we should write articles which criticize it or argue against it on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of our Party policy. But it is more important to prove in practice the validity of Marxism-Leninism and of our Party policy. It will be a heavy blow at the revisionists when our Party becomes even more steeled and when brilliant results are continuously gained in the building of socialism.

We are now building socialism successfully, and we should continue to do so in the future, too. Then we will demonstrate the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism and of our Party policy through our building of socialism; and this will constitute a heavier blow at the

revisionists. No matter what our newspapers may say about the validity of Marxism-Leninism and of our Party policy, it will be to no avail if we suffer crop failures and consequent famine, failures to fulfil industrial plans, or corruption in literature and in the arts.

Although I have criticized them for having committed bureaucratic errors, our officials in fact achieved great successes in their work last year. The film we saw yesterday vividly showed the facts as they are. Anyhow, we have produced 250 million metres of textiles and provided all our pupils and students with school uniforms and overcoats. How good it is to see everyone equally well dressed—though there still is a little to be desired in the quality of some clothes! The same is true of the food problem: although not everyone can afford to live on rice, we are freed from any serious worries about food. If we continue our efforts in the coming two to three years, we will be better off. Then, we will indeed be able to demonstrate even more indisputably the superiority of the socialist system and the justness of Marxism-Leninism and of our Party policy.

It would be impossible to prevent, by words alone, the penetration of revisionism. If our economic basis is weak and if our efforts to build socialism are unsuccessful, vacillators may appear. But we have a distinct prospect of being able to improve the people's standard of living by our own efforts—to such an extent that they will live on a diet of rice and meat soup, in fine clothes and in tile-roofed houses. So no matter how specious a clamour the modern revisionists may make, none of our people will be taken in by it. If we were badly off and had no prospects of living well in the future either, there might appear some people who vacillate, hoping that “favours” from the revisionists might make life a little better. In short, if economic construction fails, revisionism may infiltrate.

The struggle against revisionism must be waged not only by the Information and Publicity Department of the Party but also by all the other departments.

This also applies to literature and the arts. If our literature and the arts are not popular among the masses, “jazz” may find its way among

them. But it cannot do so because our arts are superior.

Doctors of Korean medicine say that physical vulnerabilities admit the penetration of all diseases. They are right. Revisionism may infiltrate through weak spots. At the time of the August 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, for example, the anti-Party elements and even international factionalists challenged us because we had some weak spots. However, because we are strong now, the revisionists do not dare to touch us.

To oppose revisionism, we must improve both Party work and economic affairs.

This year is likely to witness a very grave danger of revisionism. We should foresee strong pressure from the revisionists in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture. So we must be fully ready in all sectors to repel revisionism. If we build up our national economy successfully this year by implementing the mass line in Party work, thus uniting all the people and rousing them to activity, revisionism will not penetrate and all our problems will be solved smoothly. When the Party is strong and the economic foundations are solid, revisionist penetration is bound to fail.

We must ensure that good crops are raised, that more fish are landed, and that large quantities of fabrics are produced, so as to provide the people with good food and with decent clothes. If industry develops, if farming is successful and if everyone leads a prosperous life, our people will not believe any demagoguery of the revisionists, but will continue to follow our Party, working with enthusiasm for the building of socialism.

To proceed, I would like to speak about the questions to which we should pay attention in the economic sphere this year. Since everything is pointed out in the ten major tasks set forth at the plenary meeting, I am going to emphasize only some of the problems.

What is important in economic activity is to do away with the habit of rushing things and to see to it that production and construction work proceeds at a steady rate.

Immediately after the ceasefire we rebuilt factories in a rush. Of

course we simply had to; at the time, by rushing reconstruction, we were able to carry out a large number of projects quickly.

But, as a result of our rapid construction of factories, we are now being faced with many problems.

In the first place, our working people's level of technical skill is not in keeping with that of the technical equipment of the factories and enterprises. Therefore, machines and equipment are not being put to effective use.

There is also something crude about the factories, and many things are lacking in their equipment, even though their skeletons exist. This is because they were built in a hurry. These factories have other shortcomings of a similar kind—the lack of proper measures for the production of spare parts and for the strengthening of their equipment. The renovation of an outdated boiler at the Kilju Pulp Mill, for instance, has nearly doubled its heating capacity. This shows that the boiler had originally been reconstructed in a crude manner. Similarly, production at the February 8 Vinalon Factory is not going properly because the equipment is crude. In other sectors, too, the lack of one thing or another means that steady production is not ensured.

We have long since emphasized the need to put industrial production on to a steady basis. This is a very important problem.

In order to achieve a steady rate of production and to raise the utilization rate of equipment, we must give priority to the manufacture of spare parts, step up the inspection and repair of equipment, and also further improve and reinforce the equipment. We must do this in order to make up for the defects which we overlooked in our rapid advance during the postwar Three-Year Plan and Five-Year Plan. This is the way to ensure that our industry operates to its full capacity.

The Party has been emphasizing this task all along, but some officials do not take it to heart. They still slight this problem and persist in pressing for new construction projects.

Had the Hwanghae Iron Works done a proper job last year, it could have produced 400,000 tons of steel without difficulty. However, the works was unable to turn out the 400,000 tons, because it undertook

the construction of a new furnace—allegedly to produce 500,000 tons. Those responsible should have repaired and maintained the equipment of the works properly, but instead they diverted all the efforts of the maintenance shop to a new construction project.

Production must be got on to a normal basis and the utilization rate of equipment increased. We intend to solve this problem; but things do not go well, as is required by the Party, because of lack of understanding on the part of those responsible for handling economic affairs. The first question we should take in hand in this sphere this year is to improve and reinforce our equipment, use it most effectively and to get production going at an absolutely steady rate.

For the reinforcement of equipment we must put flesh on the existing skeleton. At present, however, on the pretext of doing that, those concerned persist in undertaking large construction projects. Last year, on such a pretext, the Hwanghae Iron Works mobilized a large amount of materials, manpower and machines for various projects, including one for a screening plant. In consequence, the works dispersed its forces and failed to do even what was well within its capacity. I am told that the screening plant will not start working even this year. The Hwanghae Iron Works has built a lot of structures, but many of them are unserviceable. What is the good of this for production?

Putting flesh on the skeleton means reinforcing and improving the existing equipment, not building new workshops. In the Hwanghae Iron Works, for instance, expanding the crushing plant and ingot shop is a work of beefing up the works—of putting flesh on the skeleton. Because their capacity is low, expanding these units amounts to reinforcing their equipment. But the iron works undertook an unreasonable project. Building a screening plant is not putting flesh on the skeleton: it is tantamount to growing a wen. At one time, the management made a clamour about building a new converter, instead of using the existing open-hearth furnace. Nevertheless, they committed a similar error again last year.

The Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee,

too, failed to do its job well. We instructed them to play a steering role, but they only trod on the heels of others. So they did not know whether the works was putting flesh on a skeleton or was growing a wen.

I asked the chairman of the provincial Party committee why he had allowed the works to do so. He replied that he had believed what the officials from the Ministry of Metal and Chemical Industries had said, because their words sounded sweet to his ear. Things come to this pass because the mass line is not implemented in Party work. Party organizations do not even know that a wen has been grown, because they tail behind administrative officials, and neither work among senior executives nor direct the implementation of Party policies.

You must not think that the Party committee chairman alone is the man to take the helm, and that all that the rest of you have to do is to run errands. The Political Committee should steer, by adhering to the Party's general line, and you should do the same, sticking to the strategy and tactics which are based on the general line.

If you are to be good at steering, all of you, including the instructors, must have a correct understanding of Party policy and of all other questions. A department head has only two eyes, and his deputies, if there are three of them, have no more than six eyes. These are not enough. All instructors must keep their eyes open and know how to steer. Thus, they will all know how to distinguish between a wen and healthy flesh.

I do not mean to say that North Hamgyong Province is free from shortcomings; but that province does not do things like growing a wen, as is the case with the Hwanghae Iron Works. In that province the provincial Party committee prevents people from growing wens, so they use their equipment effectively.

Predicting possible failure in steel production last year, we switched over to the production of pig iron. Otherwise, we could not even have produced 1,200,000 tons of pig iron. Although we could not attain the target of steel last year, we were at least able to save our faces, for we turned out 1,200,000 tons of pig iron. To tell the truth, we should have concentrated on the production of pig iron from the start.

But we did otherwise, and so we could not produce steel as we ought to have done.

We should see that equipment is inspected and repaired in time, and that spare parts are in adequate supply, so that the best use may be made of equipment. Spare parts must not be supplied indiscriminately, but only to meet demands for essential items, and promptly.

You should see that the maintenance of equipment is commenced in the first quarter of this year. You should assign ministries the task of pushing this work ahead vigorously.

Last year the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant suspended production for 20 days for the maintenance of equipment—which resulted in the fulfilment of its plan two months ahead of schedule. In spite of the 20 days spent on maintenance, they fulfilled two months earlier than the set time the production plan—which was 17 per cent higher than that of the previous year. This is a remarkable success. Putting equipment into good shape and then starting production is much more advantageous. The experience of the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant should be widely disseminated.

Already complaints are being expressed about the difficulties caused by short supplies of one thing or another. We would prefer to see the factories setting about the maintenance of their equipment. They should concentrate on this task in January and February in particular. It is advisable for the State Planning Commission to give them small production assignments for those months, so that all of them can get down to the task of maintenance.

What is important in economic affairs is to put labour administration on a proper basis.

At the moment this work is not going well. It should be put on the right track, as far as possible, within the first quarter of the year. If the job is not completed in that period, it must be finished within the second quarter at the latest.

The present rural situation is not such that farming is impossible because of the shortage of manpower. But there is nevertheless an acute shortage of manpower. Hence, the need to improve labour

administration so as to save a great deal of manpower for the countryside. This may not produce immediately tangible results, but a great change will take place in agriculture in the next year or two. We can say that our Party's decision on sending hundreds of thousands of workers to rural communities is a timely and very wise step.

We set 1960 as a year of adjustment, and concentrated our efforts on the countryside, which brought about a great result. But for those efforts the strain on the food situation would have continued. Thanks to the concentration of our efforts on farming, we were able to dispense with importing food grain, and thus to resolve the problem of foreign currency. With the money thus saved we have imported machines to facilitate the development of our industry.

We have a great deal of work to do in the countryside, but the mechanization of agriculture is not proceeding fast enough to enable us to get it all done. Many of our farming operations are difficult to mechanize, and some of them are done more effectively by manual labour than by mechanical means. Although we have established an excellent system of directing agriculture by organizing the county cooperative farm management committees, the countryside is now short of manpower. Therefore, if we send 150,000 to 200,000 or 300,000 extra hands to work in the rural areas, that will bring good results.

In the future, 800,000 to 1,000,000 young people should work in the countryside. Only then will we be able to increase our yearly grain output to a 6,000,000-ton level. If we do not take such a daring step, we might fail to maintain the level of 5,000,000 tons, let alone 6,000,000 tons.

A successful reinforcement of the labour force in the countryside will improve rural work and strengthen the ranks of hard-core activists in the countryside. Then, political work in the countryside will be effective, and the technical and cultural revolutions, too, will progress more rapidly.

The Taaen work system must be fully adopted in all spheres.

One year's experience with the Taaen work system proves that it is

very good. Since it is the system whereby superiors go down to the lower units to help them, it cannot be bad.

To put it plainly, the Taean work system is a system whereby superiors help their subordinates. In other words, it is a system whereby superiors bear heavier responsibilities than their subordinates: instead of issuing vouchers, they are personally responsible for ensuring that materials are in fact delivered to lower units, and they go down to help them in technical matters. The essence of this system lies, after all, in implementing the mass line. Establishing the Taean work system means doing away with the bureaucratic work system and setting up a work system which is based on the mass line.

We must uncompromisingly combat departmentalism which is manifested among officials dealing with economic affairs.

At present departmentalism is much in evidence in many economic sectors. It greatly hinders production.

Vehicles, if pooled in automobile stations, can be used effectively. But some officials try to keep them at their disposal. Ministries and bureaus even insist on undertaking construction works separately and on having their own machine factories. The Minister of Fisheries wants to be placed in charge of shipyards, and the Minister of Public Health says that his department will take over the production of medical appliances and medicines. All this amounts to denying the need for the Ministry of Metal and Chemical Industries, the Ministry of Machine Industry, the Ministry for Urban and Industrial Construction and the Ministry of Transport. If they go on like this, they will, in the end, demand that each of them should have their own railway wagons,

The Ministry of Fisheries wants to have shipyards at its disposal, but shipyards come under the category of machine plants. The Ministry of Machine Industry, with a massive force of designers and machinists, is in a better position to run machine factories than the Ministry of Fisheries which is ignorant of machinery. Can they deny it? Vehicles, too, should be used effectively under the management of the General Transport Bureau, where the requisite technicians are concentrated.

Should vehicles be used recklessly by the establishments which know nothing about technology?

At one time in the past, schools were placed under the management of each ministry, at its request. The university of agriculture was turned over to the Ministry of Agriculture, but the ministry could do nothing to direct it.

True, transport is not efficient at the moment. But it is right to help the General Transport Bureau in its work by pooling lorries under its control and reinforcing it. The machine factories, too, should be brought under the unified control of the Ministry of Machine Industry so that they can be well managed technically. The same is true of building and civil engineering work, which should be placed under the unified supervision and direction of a specialized construction establishment. The ministries in charge of production now try to involve themselves in all the affairs of the country, instead of concentrating on production in their respective fields. That is why things do not go smoothly. The officials of these ministries have no time to work among people, no time to study Party policy and no time to read books: they simply bustle about, behaving in a bureaucratic manner. Thus, departmentalism is doing enormous harm to work.

It is also because of departmentalism on the part of officials that Hamhung has not been developed properly. Hamhung and Hungnam should have been developed under a unified plan from the start, but each has carried on construction works in a random fashion. Each factory built its workers' residential district separately, as well as its own hospital, barbershop, cinema, etc. Even when they are not making use of their clubhouses themselves, they do not lend them to others. So, whenever they build a new factory, they insist on including a hospital, a clubhouse and the like in the project. If three factories in Hungnam, for instance, had joined their efforts to build workers' dwellings and a large cinema or clubhouse in the centre of the city, they could have built Hungnam as an excellent town, while economizing much material and manpower in the process. But each has undertaken small

schemes here and there in its own way, with the result that the streets look unsightly, in spite of the large expenditure in materials and manpower. Hygienic conditions are bad because residential quarters have been located carelessly—around factories which emit fumes. If the hospitals had been combined, instead of a separate one having been built for each factory, a large hospital could have been established and provided with a competent medical staff and with all the necessary departments. As it was, supplies, too, were being handled by each factory, and this entailed a great deal of waste.

We have since eliminated these shortcomings, and the situation has now improved a little: the Hamhung street has been laid out straight and commuter bus and train services are available. In addition, we have taken measures to prevent factory managers from getting above their station. By nature, Hamhung is an industrial city, so if each of its many factories had everything at its disposal the Hamhung city administration would be left with nothing to do.

Formerly, factory managers never bothered to go and visit their district offices. They did not need to do so, because they had their own hospitals, their own clubhouses and everything else. But now they are obliged to visit their district offices regularly.

Why should we try to have everything in our own hands, just like capitalists, when we are building communism? Departmentalism is an expression of bourgeois ideology. Without doing away with it, we cannot build socialism successfully.

Building and civil engineering enterprises should all be merged. Establishments in charge of production need not take construction work upon themselves: they should devote themselves to production and have construction work undertaken by other enterprises. Ministries which are responsible for production will be doing well if they repair their own machinery and equipment by themselves. Strong criticism is needed to correct the erroneous view of the officials of these ministries who consider that their work will be successful only when they have their own construction enterprises.

All machine factories should be transferred to the Ministry of

Machine Industry. It will suffice if other ministries have just repair shops.

Construction, machine-building and transport must definitely be merged, function by function. This is the way to use and manage equipment more effectively and to facilitate production.

Vocational training must also be handled by each of the economic sectors concerned. At the moment, construction labour is diverted to production when there is a strain on production. When a factory has been built, the construction workers are assigned to the job of production because labour is hardly available from other sources. In consequence, construction enterprises can neither strengthen themselves nor improve the technical and skill levels of building workers.

In short, an important thing in the building up of our economy at the present juncture is to regularize production by setting up a system of equipment inspection and repair, to rectify shortcomings in labour administration, to thoroughly establish the Taaen work system in all sectors of the economy, and to wipe out departmentalism.

Now, to deal with some problems relating to different economic sectors.

In heavy industry, mining must be given definite priority. Forces must be concentrated particularly in the Musan, Komdok, Ryongyang, Hasong and Unryul Mines. Building up the reserves of coal and ore by giving priority to the mining industry must be the main thrust of our work this year. You must build up and maintain reserves of coal and ore sufficient to meet the demand for 15 to 20 days or a month.

This year every factory must keep a 20 days' reserve of coal. Of course, this task will be a little difficult in the first half of the year, but it must be implemented after August 15 at the latest, by organizing the operation properly. The establishment of such a system will effect a great change in our industry, please the workers and ensure the fulfilment of production plans.

We must also work hard to ensure the production of large quantities of nonferrous minerals.

The metallurgical industry should increase the proportion of steel output and widen the variety of the steel produced. This question has been emphasized since 1961, but the sizes and kinds of steel are not yet sufficiently diverse, though a modest success has been scored. We must further increase the sizes and varieties of steel. Thus, we will ensure that we can meet on our own the defence industry's demands for steel.

The chemical industry must see to it that production at the February 8 Vinalon Factory and the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill takes place at a steady rate. In addition, we must concentrate efforts on the production of fertilizers and weed killers.

The machine industry must concentrate on the production of lorries, tractors and excavators. Moreover, we should strive to put cooperative production on the right track.

It is important that our light industry improves the quality of its products and that local industries be mechanized.

Fabrics may not be good enough, but clothes should be cut well. Our officials now look ugly because their trousers are too baggy and their coats do not fit them. On my visit to North Hamgyong Province, I noticed the people on the stage, who were wearing shapelessly loose trousers. We need not put on tight-fitting trousers like foreigners; we should make them moderate, not too loose. You should organize meetings and short courses for workers of clothing factories so as to improve the quality of clothes. Weavers, tailors, shoemakers, and toy makers should all be encouraged to improve the quality of their products.

Last year the shoe production plan itself was incorrect, so that the output was inadequate. This gave rise to adverse public opinion. This year we must produce footwear in large quantities.

We should also produce a large quantity of children's clothes, including stockings. Young girls in overcoats but without stockings are not good-looking. They must be provided with stockings. Stockings should be produced in adequate quantities to meet the demand on the basis of an accurate estimate of the number of girls. Light industry

should radically increase the proportion of children's articles produced. Stockings, children's shoes and caps, sweaters and jackets should be mass-produced in various forms and colours.

The farmers' demand for cotton fabrics is great, but this year we will have to produce quantities of linen. Linen is more durable than cotton cloth and will meet their demand. We must ensure that sufficient quantities of flax yarn are produced for local industry factories, so that they will be able to weave all the linen needed. It would also be a good idea to mix a little hemp yarn with flax.

I will not talk much about farming. The main thing is to make good arrangements for production from now on. You should organize, well in advance, 15-day or 10-day campaigns. Every institution and enterprise should hand over a list of participants in the 15-day campaign to the cooperative farm and conclude a contract. The agricultural sector should concentrate on preparations for farming for the new year, while assessing the past year's work.

The educational sector should emphasize the problem of training pupils and students to be fully prepared mentally, morally and physically. They should be educated to dress neatly and to be well-mannered. They should be taught how to salute their elders, respect teachers at school, obey their parents at home, wear clean clothes and put on their cap straight so as to be neat in appearance when they go out. This question should be stressed at meetings of the Children's Union and of the Democratic Youth League, too. Why should they go about looking slovenly nowadays, when everyone is well-off and everything is supplied by the state? Pupils and students should be educated to dress well.

There are, indeed, adults who walk about the streets in their working clothes, and they should not do so. It is necessary to wear working clothes while working, but people should be properly dressed when going out. The Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union should strive to get everyone to dress well.

Those who walk about unkempt and unshaven in an attempt to show off a "proletarian fashion" are uncouth people who insult the

working class. The working class is the noblest in the world. Some people try to find fault with people with neat appearance, regarding them as vain. They are seriously wrong. We are building communism so as to be well-off, not badly off. In former days proletarians were ill-clothed because they were poor. But why should they still live in a slovenly manner?

As I said more than once, O Ki Sop pursued the “proletarian fashion” immediately after liberation. Once I dropped in at his office and found it littered with crumbs of bread and his desk covered with dust. He was unkempt and unshaven and was sitting with his legs stretched out on top of his desk. I asked him why he was like that, and he answered that his hair was “Marxian hair” and that his way of life was the “proletarian way of life”. So I rebuked him for his insult to the working class. Capitalists insulted the working class, saying that workers were illiterate, knowing neither music nor literature nor how to dress. Who make good clothes and build good houses? It is the workers. They lived miserably in the past, not because they were ignorant, but because they were poor.

They are now well-off in a good world, but some of them still persist in that outdated way of life. They have been provided with modern houses, but they do not take good care of them, nor do they clothe themselves neatly or look after their children properly. All this results from ingrained habits. We must strongly combat such habits. Moral education should be intensified at schools, discipline tightened at work, and there should be strict control.

Rural women must not be compelled to return to the past. I am told that they are allowed neither to have their hair bobbed nor to wear working clothes: they are required to work always in skirts. Can there be more glaring evidence of a feudal manner than this? It seems that farm management board chairmen still retain feudalistic ideas in their minds. If women have long hair, they may find it inconvenient to care for, and may also be involved in accidents at work. There is no need to object to women having bobbed hair just because it is a Western style. If women like permanent waves, they should be allowed to have them.

You should not object to women wearing slacks. Chairmen of the Party committees and management boards seem to dislike them, but they should not. It will be enough for women to wear slacks during working hours, and to change into skirts when they go out.

We must launch a vigorous campaign to take good care of houses and villages and encourage people to keep themselves clean. Educational establishments, too, should be provided with whatever is necessary towards this end, even if it requires a little more textiles. Pupils and students should be provided with spring, summer and autumn wear and with overcoats as well. The light industrial sector should ensure that all our pupils and students are well clothed.

At the moment, there are many houses which are not furnished with floor papering. This problem must be settled rapidly. The construction sector should effect strict control to prevent new houses from being turned over before their floors have been papered.

I looked through the magazine *Chollima* and found its content fairly good. It should be properly illustrated so as to give wide publicity about how to develop a cultured life-style. The Women's Union and trade unions should also give close attention to encouraging working people to live in a civilized way.

Now, I will touch on increasing our defence capabilities.

You should correctly understand the decision of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee on increasing our defensive power. We are going to do it not because the situation is critical or because war is imminent, but because we can maintain peace and prevent war only when we are fully prepared.

In order to strengthen the national defences, we should build up the ranks of factory workers as well as cadres. The whole Party and the entire people should be mobilized to implement this task.

Before long we will celebrate the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, and this should be an occasion to intensify aid to the People's Army. The light industry sector should produce a bag of toilet articles including soap, a towel, a tooth-brush, tooth-powder and a hand-mirror for each soldier. A cup of enamelled

ironware and high-quality cigarettes should also be supplied to them. Party and Democratic Youth League organizations should make arrangements to send letters of encouragement to the men of the People's Army.

The Party organizations should form people's delegations to visit units of the People's Army and should organize proper assistance for families of the servicemen. Assistance should be given by helping these families in obtaining firewood and in repairing their houses so that these activities will not be an undue burden on the neighbouring farmers.

Our People's Army now has very strong combat power and the morale of the soldiers is high. The army is experienced in battle and is well equipped. A little more effort, and our defence will be impregnable and will deter any enemies from attacking us.

In conclusion, I would like to mention the orderly performance of work.

You now work too late at night, but you should not do so. You have got into this habit since immediately after liberation. Things have now come to such a pass that going home at the normal time at night is regarded as out of order, and that some people stay on in their offices even when they have nothing special to do. Right after liberation we had no alternative but to work late at night, because we were short of cadres and under heavy pressure of work—which, moreover, was not well organized. But now there is no need for us to work through the night. Since you go home very late after office hours, you have no time to read newspapers or study the internal and external situation. By behaving in this way you have become automatons who know neither Party policies nor the situation. That is why you can neither distinguish between wens and healthy flesh, nor can you correct deviations from Party policy.

The maintenance of normal work order is a must also for the good health of cadres. Cadres must not damage their health, lest they should have to cease working before their time.

Work does not necessarily go any better because you sit up in your

office till late at night. If you give your work more thought, and organize it meticulously, you will be able to achieve a great deal even in a short time.

You must not waste time. You must organize work skilfully and do it methodically. You should prepare meetings well and keep them short, have more individual talks, and plan all your work carefully so as to achieve great results in a short time.

The rule of two hours of study every day should also be implemented at home. Study can be done before going to bed or early in the morning when you are at home. You can learn a great deal by studying hard for just two hours every day.

If you go home early in the evening, you can read newspapers, for instance. But you must not take Party documents home with you: you must on no account read them elsewhere than in your office.

You should organize work well so as to achieve great results, study, and relax so as to preserve your health. This year you must establish such an orderly way of doing your work, and then stick to it permanently. The Party Central Committee should set the example and the other institutions should follow suit.

ON CONDUCTING A NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR LABOUR ASSISTANCE TO THE COUNTRYSIDE AND ON IMPROVING THE SYSTEM OF DIRECTING THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

**Concluding Speech Delivered at an Enlarged Meeting
of the Political Committee of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

January 7, 1963

Today I would like to speak about solving the rural manpower problem and improving the system of directing the construction industry.

1. ON CONDUCTING A NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR LABOUR ASSISTANCE TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

At present there are lots of things to be done in our countryside. While pushing ahead vigorously with the technical revolution in the rural areas, we should try to attain the 5 million-ton target of grain production, turn out large quantities of meat and fruit, develop sericulture and carry out rural capital construction on a large scale. At the same time, the ideological and cultural revolutions will have to be stepped up.

For the successful fulfilment of these enormous tasks a large labour force will be needed in rural communities.

Nevertheless, the fact is that—as we learned from members of a guidance group of the Party Central Committee who were sent some time ago to Haeju, Sariwon and Nampho to do a survey—manpower is very short in the countryside.

What, then, are the reasons for this rural manpower shortage?

They are as follows.

First, because the demobilized soldiers have thus far been sent only to work in cities or at factories, not in the countryside; and because there was an inordinate increase in the number of students.

Second, because there has been a sharp increase in the numbers of non-productive and managerial personnel: during the last few years useless bureaucracies have swollen greatly which has resulted in raising the proportion of office workers who do not participate in production.

Third, because housewives in towns have not been drawn into work. At present quite a few institutions and enterprises are unwilling to use them as leading personnel, or even to accept them as workers. So they have no choice but to remain idle at home.

Due to such poor labour administration, rural workers have continued to congregate in the cities, thereby creating a surplus there but leaving the countryside short of manpower.

At the moment some senior officials take pride in the excessive increase of the urban population, instead of worrying about it. I am told that one leading provincial worker actually boasts about the population of his provincial capital now exceeding a hundred thousand.

This is a manifestation of outdated remnants of capitalist thinking, and an expression of dogmatism in mechanically following the examples of other countries. In a capitalist society, the cities are over-populated because peasants, deprived of their land, leave their native places and swarm into the cities in search of jobs, after wandering about aimlessly. In a socialist society, on the contrary, peasants need not come to the cities for jobs, because they are the

eternal masters of the land. In the present situation of our country—where, due to the prevalence of slopes and to the small size of fields, the mechanization of agriculture will take a long time, and where, because of the limited amount of arable land, intensive farming methods have to be adopted—we cannot deplete the rural labour force in order to develop industry.

Should we fail to take these realities into consideration and continue to draw farming workers into our cities, we will simply be unable to develop our socialist agriculture any further. It is therefore wrong that so large a farming population gathers in the cities at the present stage of the socialist development of our country: this conflicts with the legitimate exigencies of our socialist construction.

Poor rural labour administration also causes a diminution in the ranks of our Party's hard cores, and is weakening the class positions in the countryside. At present the recruits to the army from rural areas are all good people from the class point of view, but when in due course they are demobilized they are assigned not to the countryside but to cities or factories. Moreover, numerous ex-service men assigned to cities or factories marry girls who work as core elements in rural communities, and bring them to the cities. This phenomenon is not limited to the army: schools, too, are keen to enrol first-rate students, but send their graduates to cities or factories, and not to farm villages.

Moreover, those who are from good origins and who work hard in the countryside are often promoted as cadres.

Let me take an example. The year before last, when we went to Rihyon-ri in the Sungho District of Pyongyang, we highly praised the chairman of the ri Democratic Youth League organization for his competence and for his efficient work among rural youths, and gave him a specific assignment to improve his DYL work thereafter. However, some time after we left, the Sungho District Party Committee promoted him as its instructor. Since this district has a big cement factory and many other institutions, they could have selected as many instructors locally as they want, but they picked on just the one person whom we had set in the countryside on purpose.

Since the rural ranks of core elements become thinned in this way, there are now few people left in the countryside who are capable of leading the masses.

At present, no matter how competently a county cooperative farm management committee may issue technical directives for farming operations, there is no one on the individual farms to accept and execute the directives. We have planted 100,000 hectares of orchards in a mass movement after the Pukchong Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, but at present in rural areas there are few people who can manage the orchards in a scientific and technologically correct way. As a result, fruit trees have been so poorly tended that they did not grow well. If there had been workers in the countryside with the necessary horticultural know-how, and they had cared these trees properly, the trees would have sprouted out many branches by now and would bear plenty of fruit in a few years' time.

The countryside is also short of personnel who can take charge of ideological and cultural activities. At present we can find big halls for the study of Party history, democratic publicity halls and libraries in the countryside. But only a few people ever go there, because they are not in operation. Old folks sit together on the well-heated floor only to talk about old times, because, due to their ignorance, they feel no interest in reading educational material.

Since the rural ranks of core elements have become so depleted, the chairman of the Sowon Cooperative Farm in Pyoksong County, South Hwanghae Province, overcome with anxiety about the situation, has asked us to send hard cores to work in rural areas. This is a very good suggestion. It seems to me, however, that quite a few leading workers will not even think of it.

Fourth, the labour shortage in the countryside is largely due to a prodigal waste of manpower.

When giving on-the-spot instructions at Chongsan-ri, and thereafter several times whenever the opportunity has arisen, we have emphasized the need to stop the waste of manpower.

Nevertheless, many cooperative farms mobilize young and

middle-aged people in busy farming seasons to participate in sports or amateur art circle activities. Worse still, the Saenal Cooperative Farm in Sinchon County, South Hwanghae Province, is said to have formed a specialized art troupe to participate in the national art festival, and its members are allowed to do nothing except practise singing and dancing day and night. This is all wrong. It is of no use that just a few persons should be enabled to sing and dance, without art being really popularized. If we want to listen to songs of a specialized art troupe, we prefer to listen to those of professional artistes who are at an international level. Why should we see a performance by members of an amateur art circle from the Saenal Cooperative Farm? We encourage the cooperative farmers' amateur art activities insofar as they produce vivid works reflecting actual realities, and give performances without diminishing their output at work. Such performances, moreover, inspire the audience with courage, because all the sun-tanned and wholesome singers and dancers on the stage look lively and vigorous.

In my opinion, the Ministry of Culture is much to blame for making even cooperative farms have their own specialized art troupes. Such practices could not have occurred if only the ministry had prevented anyone, who had failed to get 300 work-points, from taking part in the national art festival. In the past, however, the ministry let cooperative farmers enter for festivals irrespective of their work-points, and it gave them high praise when their art performances were excellent. As a result, ambitious leading workers in the provinces organized specialized art troupes in order to enable the members of these troupes to avoid working so that they could spend all their time practising singing and dancing. Rice, meat and fruit are produced by peasants' labour. If they do not work but only sing and dance, nothing will be produced. Of course, cooperative farms should carry on amateur art activities. But they can carry on such activities as much as they like during the winter season and without reducing their output at work.

The practice of wasting manpower in the countryside is also manifested in the fact that city and county Party committees often get

people to come up needlessly for meetings or seminars.

When we gave directions to the plenary meeting of the Kangso County Party Committee, we already said that county Party committees must not call up ri workers but that their officials must go directly to the ri to hold meetings and give short courses on the spot. At present, however, quite a few county Party committees in South Hwanghae Province are adopting a new form of assembling people for meetings at district level, lest they be criticized for summoning people to meetings in the county towns. But in the final analysis, there is no difference between calling people to the headquarters of a county Party committee and assembling them by districts.

The waste of manpower in the countryside is also found in the fact that the provinces, cities and counties mobilize the rural labour force at random.

At the moment, leading provincial, city and county officials very often mobilize rural workers, unable to touch labour in institutions or enterprises. Though factory managements insist that they cannot spare even one man because they have to fulfil their own production plans, rural communities have no clear picture of manpower statistics nor do they know how to complain like factory officials. That is why leading provincial, city and county officials succeed in mobilizing rural young and middle-aged people to pave roads and build houses even during busy farming seasons, for they regard such mobilization as an easy matter. Then, having diverted this rural labour force to such non-agricultural tasks, the same officials would assign students, who are strangers to farming, to agricultural work. This is no way to ensure that farm work is done properly. If the officials had not mobilized the rural young and middle-aged people, these people could have done farming jobs in a really competent manner—and the students would have been enabled to study without being sent to the countryside.

These shortcomings in labour administration in the past are mainly because many leading workers did not have the right attitude to the countryside.

The concern of our Party for the rapid advancement of agriculture has, as you all know, been expressed in many practical ways. Thus we have taken a series of measures for carrying out many irrigation projects and forestry and water conservation works, for supplying a great number of tractors and farm machines to the rural areas year after year, and for the electrification of the countryside.

However, senior officials of the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Labour and many other state and economic bodies devote scant attention to the development of agriculture: they have a marked tendency to disdain the countryside, because they retain old ideological leftovers of capitalist society, and maintain a habit of considering private farming as the real norm.

Let me take some examples.

In the past, officials of the Ministry of Labour often went to factories and tried to study work norms, wages and labour productivity, but they did not prevent manpower administration in the countryside from going wrong.

As for investment in agriculture, for instance, the officials concerned take it lightly, as compared with industry. In the past, officials of the State Planning Commission were more than forthcoming whenever investments in cities or in industry were sought. These officials made large-scale investments in the construction of houses, bridges and roads, even for local industrial factories, the value of the output of which was low, or for state agro-stock farms—but they did not build these properly in the countryside.

In past years the State Planning Commission made little provision for expenditure in rural areas like this but would impose huge production quotas on the peasants: on the pretext of the acute food situation and on the plea of improving the people's diet, they dictated to the peasants the exact amount of grain which they had to produce, and the quantities of vegetables, fruit and tobacco which they had to deliver. Believing that, due to the nation's tense money situation, the state was genuinely unable to make any investments in the countryside, our cooperative farmers endeavoured to raise crops in question as best

they could, and thus complied with the dictates of the State Planning Commission.

Officials whose function it is to purchase commodities also lack a proper attitude towards farmers. Instead of being grateful to farmers, they become arrogant and make complaints when purchasing goods which were produced by the devotion of farmers. I am told that at present, therefore, farmers are simply no longer willing to plant troublesome crops: the drop in cotton output in the last few years is perhaps due to the small amount of cotton which was cultivated by farmers; and that, in turn, may be because the officials in charge of procurement had not been too civil when purchasing it.

The widespread contempt in which peasants are held is also manifested in the supply of materials.

Industrial workers are provided with free overalls, shoes and houses, though the value of their per-capita output is not any higher than that of farmers. But our farmers are supplied with neither working clothes nor shoes. It is therefore no wonder that the standard of living of the farmer is much lower than that of the industrial worker.

Some time ago we called on a country widow who lived with her many children. Although she had earned 400 work-points all by herself last year, she could not afford to dress her children well or to have good furniture because, owing to the weak foundations of the cooperative farm to which she belonged, what she actually received as her share of the farm income, for all her work-points, was so small. Had she not been living in the countryside but been a worker in a city factory, she would have been supplied with 700 grammes of food grain and her children with 400-500 grammes each, and, in addition, she would have received overalls, shoes and a dwelling, all free. And if she could save a little money out of her monthly wages, she would be able to buy clothes and shoes for her children and get proper household furnishings, too.

Films are not distributed properly in the countryside, nor are farmers ensured enough time for study.

Since senior officials have scant concern for rural communities and

look down upon fanners, some of the farmers develop an inferiority complex about their occupation. What is worse, some rural youths try every stratagem to get out of the countryside and to slip in to towns or to jobs in factories; and some demobilized soldiers do not like to be assigned to the countryside. Even country old folks blame young people for working in rural areas, saying: "I am obliged to suffer all this misery in the countryside because I didn't get a chance to study. But how is it that you, with all your learning, are working here?" When they marry off their daughters, they resort to every device to get them settled not in rural areas but in a city.

In order to do away with such practices we should wage a strong ideological campaign among officials so that they may acquire a proper attitude towards the countryside.

As proposed by the Party, this is the only way to solve the rural question correctly and to obliterate the distinctions between town and country. If we fail to clear up this problem, we will be unable to build a socialist, communist society in our country.

We should continue to pay the closest attention to rural development and we should eliminate once and for all the distinctions between towns and countryside in our country. At present these distinctions in our country are not so great as in European countries. However, we cannot be content with this. If we confine our attention to the development of towns and neglect rural progress, the disparity between them will grow larger and larger, and it will then become very difficult for us to abolish it. Since this disparity is not at present serious, we should pay continuous and close attention to rural development so that it will steadily diminish.

Our immediate task is to ensure that all the people give labour assistance to the countryside.

First of all, we should send many discharged soldiers to work in the countryside, and, for about five years from now, army recruits should be drafted not from rural communities but from institutions or enterprises. This will have the additional advantage of increasing the proportion of soldiers of worker origin in the army.

In addition, it seems desirable to lower a little the intake of new students in our universities and higher technical schools.

In order to bring about an increase of the rural labour force, institutions and enterprises should take the plunge and reduce the numbers of their regular staff both at the managerial level and amongst the rank and file—at both of which levels there have been useless increases—and send the selected good persons to work in the countryside.

What is most effective for increasing the rural labour force is to dispatch to jobs in the countryside large numbers of the young and middle-aged men who are at present engaged in the light-work sphere, replacing them by women.

In institutions, enterprises and towns, there are lots of jobs which could be done by women but which are at present being done by young and middle-aged men.

In establishments and enterprises with cinemas, the operators are all men. But this is a job which can easily be done by women: since projectors are operated in a stationary condition, unlike lorries and tractors, there is no need to employ men to work them. If films were shown every day, it would be a different matter. But it is unreasonable for a young or middle-aged man to be retained to do such a job once a week at most, nor is there any need to employ a worker full time for an easy job like this: the operation of a projector can well be entrusted to a telephone operator or to a driver.

At county libraries, women can do the work perfectly well, but all librarians are men. What is worse, they are healthy young men. Since librarians should work till late in the evening, it would of course be a somewhat difficult job for housewives with many children. But there should be no problem in employing women with no or only a few children. It seems that male librarians have no sense of shame at all. At present some women crew a whole fleet of ships by themselves and go out to the deep sea, braving wild waves to catch fish, while other women plough fields with tractors in spite of rain and wind. So how can young men idle away their time, merely lending books in libraries?

Women can work at courts of justice, too, but most of the judges are men; and women teachers or doctors are few. Nor is there a large proportion of women in light industry, commerce, public service facilities, procurement and food administration, city management, finance or banking. There are many other sectors where men do what women could easily do.

We should not hesitate to pluck men out of such sectors and send them to work in the countryside, and to employ many housewives in their place.

If we take all these measures, we can send some 300,000 workers to rural areas this year; and if we continue with this action for about five years, we can send one million. Three hundred thousand extra rural workers this year will enable each cooperative farm to have 80 more workers and one million in the future will be tantamount to an extra labourer in every farmhouse. When this has been achieved, it will be possible to service an extra million hectares of land, and to consolidate the ranks of core elements in rural communities by appointing reliable persons as Party-cell chairmen, workteam leaders, Democratic Youth League chairmen, platoon leaders of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards, and all other junior cadres.

Along with sending a large number of extra hands to the countryside, we should intensify labour assistance during each main farming season.

Although a great deal of labour is to be sent to the countryside on this occasion, as decreed by the Party, manpower is still short there, and it is all the more so during the sowing, rice-transplanting and harvesting seasons. Therefore, before the end of February, institutions and enterprises should conclude contracts with cooperative farms and thus give really meaningful help to the countryside. If large numbers of people are sent at a time to rural areas in “15-day battle” or “20-day battle” campaigns, but without proper contracts having been made in advance with cooperative farms, as was the case in the past, much of this manpower will be wasted because, due to the shortage of farm implements, the farms will simply not be able to give each of those

who are mobilized a meaningful job to do. Moreover, if manpower is assigned at random, without any contracts having been made in advance with the cooperative farms, much help may go to where there is no need for assistance, instead of where it is really needed. In addition, if large numbers of people are mobilized all of a sudden, the output of factories can be seriously disrupted.

In order to eliminate such situations, establishments and enterprises should enter into contracts with cooperative farms, within the framework of a properly thought-out plan. In other words, factories should draw up their production plans, taking such temporary release of some of their manpower into account. Similar provision should be made by the army in drawing up its combat training programme, by offices in their work programmes, and by educational establishments in their curricula, and each should then commit itself in advance to sending a specified number of persons to cooperative farms in the sowing and in the rice-transplanting seasons. If, for example, the Pyongyang Textile Mill can thus release 1,500 persons, it should enter into contracts with cooperative farms detailing the total number of people to be mobilized, the period of mobilization and the numbers to be sent in the weeding and harvesting seasons respectively.

Institutions and enterprises should of course be remunerated by cooperative farms according to the amount of assistance given. Since workers and office employees have to be paid and provided with rations by the state, they cannot be sent to work gratis. Moreover, if these extra working people are not paid for by the cooperative farms, the peasants will get into the habit of simply depending in an irresponsible way on the state for things which they can do perfectly well themselves. Only when there is a system such that any aid given must be paid for, will the peasants' unprincipled dependence on the state disappear and will institutions and enterprises be prepared to help farms in a responsible way. Therefore, after giving assistance to cooperative farms, the institutions and enterprises should calculate in detail the remuneration to which they are entitled, and they should receive it in the autumn, at the same time as the state is paid for the

work done on the farms by tractors. However, industrial workers and office employees should not be paid at the same rates as farmers: since they are less skilled than peasants at farm work, they should receive about 28 or 27 *jon* per work-point, if farmers are paid 30 *jon* for a work-point.

For the correct operation of such a system, the cooperative farms should meticulously establish the work-points gained by each of those who are mobilized, and should clearly certify all work done.

Factory and office workers should assist peasants not only in farm work, but also in all other ways, by going out frequently to rural villages to conduct information work and to teach bookkeeping methods.

Another important thing in rural labour administration is to eradicate the waste of manpower.

During busy farming seasons, cooperative farms should not indulge in amateur art activities or sports, nor should they organize useless meetings or training courses.

At the same time, the provincial, city and county authorities should discard their past habit of mobilizing peasants at will: from now on, for paving roads and building houses, they should enlist workers and office employees from institutions and enterprises.

In order to set rural labour administration on the right track, it is imperative to raise the role of the Ministry of Labour and of the Cabinet Secretariat, which are directly responsible in this area. So far neither has ever exercised any control over such administration, even when things went wrong, but from now on they should pay close attention to it. It would be advisable for the Cabinet Secretariat to give the chairmen of provincial people's committees a short course on the Red Letter of the Party Central Committee, which was addressed to each Party member, and on the improvement of labour administration.

The vice-chairmen of the Party Central Committee and the members of its Political Committee should each take direct charge of a province, go there together with department heads and deputy heads, section chiefs, and instructors from the Party Central Committee: they

should ascertain the manpower situation and, in addition, bring the contents of the Red Letter, as well as the decision of the current Political Committee meeting, home to all Party members and working people, so that they will have a clear understanding of the Party's intentions.

It will be also well for the provincial, city and county Party organizations to discuss this problem at their plenary meetings. Since the decision of the current Political Committee meeting is essentially just a further presentation of the ten major tasks, I think there is no need to convene plenary meetings of the provincial Party committees exclusively for it. Moreover, it will suffice for the plenary meeting of each county Party committee to confine itself to a discussion focussing on the problems of sending manpower to the rural areas, and on making good preparations for farming operations. These plenary meetings can therefore conveniently discuss these problems when considering the ten major tasks. It would be as well for the plenary meetings of factory Party committees, too, to discuss them.

We should thus be able to finish off this work within the first quarter of this year. Only when we complete it in a revolutionary way, can we feel real pride in fulfilling the tasks of the Red Letter. If we simply drag it out for a long time, issuing the letter will not have been worthwhile.

In addition to the provision of extra manpower, material aid should be given to the countryside.

As we sent off the Red Letter recently, our farmers must by now be mobilized ideologically. However, the sending off of this letter alone cannot raise their enthusiasm for production, nor can it stabilize their livelihood. We should give precedence to political work but, at the same time, strengthen material assistance so as to bring about a further improvement in their living standard.

By increasing investment in rural areas, we should be able to ensure that more tractors, farm machines, fertilizers and agricultural chemicals are sent to these areas, and that they are provided with paved roads. In particular, a large number of dwelling houses should be built

for farmers. At present in our farm villages there is a shortage of housing and, moreover, the existing houses are not being repaired in time. What is more ominous is that, as large numbers of people are soon to be transferred to rural areas, the shortage of houses can be expected to become even more acute. We should spare no funds in building modern rural houses, and should see to it that decisive action is taken to pull down substandard dwellings and that cozy new modern houses are built in large numbers.

If we can but achieve these things, more rice, meat and fruit will be produced in our rural areas, which will be transformed into a rich and modern socialist countryside.

2. ON IMPROVING THE SYSTEM OF DIRECTING THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

As I pointed out at the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held some time ago, many shortcomings have been revealed in the construction industry.

The first shortcoming in this industry is that the standard of planning is very low.

In quite a few cases, plans have not conformed to reality because the officials concerned drew up the plans on their own at their desks, without discussing them with the people who would have to carry them out.

Let me cite some examples.

Just because some people averred that there was an unlimited export market for black lead, if only we exploited our resources of graphite, we invested much funds in the Pakchon Mine, in building an ore-dressing plant and dwellings and in laying out roads. But there is no country that wants black lead, so the ore-dressing plant has become a white elephant. If, before you started to plan the project, there had

been a realistic assessment of how much black lead could be exported, such an instance could not have occurred. However, because of the failure to do the proper market research before drawing up the project and commencing construction work, we only wasted a large amount of state funds.

The same happened in the case of the building of a screening plant at the Hwanghae Iron Works. Here, the officials concerned thought that the building of such a plant was all that was necessary to enable the works to produce 1,200,000 tons of steel right away; and they went ahead and constructed the plant at great expense. However, it is not in operation now. If, instead, they had allotted the money to the crushing plant or ingot shop of that same works, they could have turned out and supplied more steel to every branch of the national economy. And if they had invested it in the Musan Mine or another iron mine, they could have mined more iron ore and kept the furnaces supplied. But they just built the screening plant without having made the detailed calculations in advance. The State Planning Commission and the Cabinet, too, danced along with the officials of the State Construction Commission, and the Construction and Transport Department of the Party Central Committee, too, let them all go ahead, claiming that the project would put flesh on the existing skeleton of industry.

Apart from such failures to prepare projects methodically, discipline is not enforced in the carrying out of construction works.

Hitherto, the senior officials in this industry made no revolutionary or serious effort to complete projects ahead of schedule. As a result, in the past several years there has hardly been a year in which this industry properly fulfilled its assigned programme.

The second shortcoming in the construction industry is that the quality of the building and civil engineering work done is low.

The buildings now under construction are very precious; they must be handed down to our posterity, generation after generation. Hence we should build functional and strong houses if we build any. Without letting any such serious thoughts as these go through their minds, however, those concerned in this industry did their design work in a

slipshod manner, nor was the actual building work carried out to the requisite standards of quality. As a result, there were many cases in which newly built factories were unable to commence production in a normal fashion: they could be started up only after much labour and money had been expended on rectifying faulty building work.

It is not only factories but also modern rural houses which are being jerry-built. Some time ago we went to Pyoksong County, South Hwanghae Province, where we made a round of new houses which had no appeal.

The builders had erected houses but had not laid out any yards, or tidied up the immediate surroundings or papered the floors of the dwellings. Since they were short of hands, they might have been unable to put the immediate surroundings into good shape, or to finish off earthen verandahs, but even if labour was short, they should have papered the floors properly, so that people could live decently. This they did indeed do—but only for the houses near the highway, where cars are frequent, the more distant houses not being so equipped.

It has come to my knowledge that there are new houses the floors of which are not properly heated. In order to get floors heated well, the ground floors of the houses should be raised and the kitchens appreciably lowered. In olden times our ancestors would also lay the foundations of their houses firm and high. However, the builders that I have in mind never gave a single thought to this desideratum, but only tried to economize funds, with the result that they built houses without any foundations whatever. This is why the floors cannot be warmed up properly and why the rooms inevitably get damp.

Houses look neat when their walls are plastered with slaked lime. But these builders simply daubed them with mud, claiming that the yellowish colour was fine. In practice, we could not tell whether it was yellowish or another colour.

Although they built such poor-quality houses, they consumed far more money, man-hours and materials than the standard amounts. Elsewhere, cozy houses were built with far less expense than the amount reckoned by the state as normal. But South Hwanghae

Province expended more than 1,000 won per house. They had reported us that one ton of cement and one cubic metre of wood would suffice to build a house, but, in practice, they consumed 1.7-2 tons of cement and over two cubic metres of wood per house, and employed far more labour—including farmers, office employees and students—than had been planned.

The third shortcoming in the construction industry is that the level of mechanization in building and civil engineering work, and the rate of utilization of equipment, are low.

As we always emphasize, it is of great importance that active steps be taken to mechanize construction operations. Until machines are used in construction, we cannot free workers from difficult and arduous toil, nor can we ensure a high degree of efficiency in building and civil engineering operations. Furthermore, in our circumstances, where workers are very scarce, we cannot solve the manpower problem without introducing machinery on a wide scale.

It is for these reasons that our Party has always shown deep concern and solicitude, and that it has taken a number of essential measures to ensure the mechanization of the construction industry. In order to mechanize arduous and labour-intensive operations, such as carrying, loading, unloading, and digging, we have built large machine factories and manufactured a great number of heavy machines such as cranes, bulldozers, excavators, and lorries for construction sites. Nor have we spared anything necessary for mechanization.

However, as they lack the correct ideological view that they should do all they can to free the people from arduous labour, the senior personnel in the construction sector have not made any serious attempt to implement the Party's policy on mechanization.

Conveyor belts, if used on construction sites, will enable builders to work more easily and, at the same time, more efficiently. However, the officials in charge of this sector are reluctant to use them. Once, indeed, they made quite a fuss about their going to have a conveyor belt in operation on every construction site, but they are quiet on the topic now. Senior staff in the industry are said to explain that at present

they are unable to manufacture the conveyors, because various technical difficulties which it entails still remain unsolved. In my opinion, however, there is no great difficulty in making it. Needless to say, if they were to set up conveyor belts at all construction sites, there would be a shortage of rubber belting, but in that case straw matting will do, at the worst, as a substitute.

On building and civil engineering sites, trolleys can do away with the carrying of loads on workers' backs, and can improve efficiency, but workers at present carry earth on their backs, or else use lorries for very short hauls, thus wasting precious gasoline.

What is even more serious is the widespread unwillingness to utilize the existing machinery. In the past the construction industry took no systematic measures to raise the technological competence or skills of its workers, with the result that they are now unable to use the existing machines because they just do not know how to operate them. And because those responsible failed to set up a plant to manufacture spare parts, priceless machines are left standing still on sites for lack of a particular part.

It seems that it is largely because the Ministry of Labour has always ensured that the construction industry is provided with a large labour force that so little has been done to mechanize building and civil engineering operations. Were it not so, the industry would most certainly have gone all out to mechanize. As, however, it was provided time and again with all the manpower it asked for, it carried out its projects simply by increasing manpower, instead of having resort to machinery.

The main reason for these shortcomings of the construction industry lies in inefficient management, control and supervision over building and civil engineering work.

Hitherto, the State Construction Commission, unable to direct construction institutions in a coordinated manner, has virtually abandoned construction affairs to the individual ministries concerned. As a result, quite a few ministries have set up their own construction units and are undertaking construction works independently. Even

those responsible for education and public health are carrying out such works with their own construction units.

Since, as we have seen above, every sector has its own construction unit and lords it over its own works, the construction industry as such is totally lacking in cohesion, and the unified control and supervision over construction work have in practice become impossible. As a consequence, there is simply no order or discipline in this sector—of which no one is in charge, although there are many masters.

In order that these shortcomings may be eliminated as soon as possible and that radical changes may be effected in the construction sector, we must see to it that decisive steps are taken to improve management throughout the entire sector.

First of all, the construction units which at present function under separate ministries should be merged and placed under the control of the State Construction Commission so that centralized and coordinated direction will be ensured. Only then can we have efficient direction and control over construction, ensure that instructions from higher bodies get to lower units quickly, eliminate departmentalism, establish order and discipline in building and civil engineering work and make really effective use of manpower, equipment and materials.

At the same time, we should set up new construction commissions in six regions to take over the administrative and operational functions formerly discharged by the State Construction Commission. And the State Construction Commission, while continuing to be responsible for the construction sector before the Cabinet, should assume the role of headquarters for the industry and concentrate on issuing technical guidance for the carrying out of building and civil engineering works; and in addition it should supervise and control administrative and operational activities, such as manpower administration and the supplies of building materials.

If these steps were not to be taken, and if the State Construction Commission should purport to take charge of the administration and operational work as it did earlier, it would be unable to do this work properly, no matter how its staff might be increased: even if he worked

from morning till late at night, its chairman would find it difficult to sign all the papers in his office, and it would be quite beyond him to give any meaningful direction to construction activity. The commission's record tells this only too well. I am told that when it purported to take upon itself all the administration and operational work in the past, there were too many papers so that its chairman failed to see quite a few of them which were sent down for action. In the light of these realities the commission should not hesitate to entrust this work to the regional construction commissions.

For all that, the State Construction Commission cannot just shed all administration and operational work. It should have reserve units, such as a mechanized unit and a special technical unit. Only then can it realistically tackle the construction of big power stations or large-scale irrigation projects which the state undertakes, or carry out urgent construction work with success. Therefore, it should be in a position to ensure the necessary materials and manpower directly for such units.

Next, the designing units which at present come under different ministries should be merged into an independent body, which should be run on industrial lines.

In the past, senior officials in different ministries set up separate designing units, and often dictated to the designers arbitrarily, saying, "Do this today and alter that tomorrow." This resulted in many rejected designs. When the Party criticizes designers for this state of affairs, they point out that they had, as a matter of record, objected to orders to put certain ideas on paper, because the ideas were manifestly incompatible with designing principles, but they had nonetheless been obliged to do so by pressure from a particular vice-minister.

We should once and for all eliminate such reprehensible practices from designing. The new designing body should take its instructions exclusively from the Cabinet and should not undertake any design work before it has received a specific order for that work. The State Planning Commission will of course keep the designing body informed in advance of any long-term construction projects which are being mooted, but the latter should commence actual designing only after it

has been expressly ordered to do so. In case ministries request designs—sidetracking, as was the practice in the past, the ordering system—the designing body must not comply with the request in any circumstances.

However, the designing body, if ordered by ministries, should prepare top-quality designs, to be subject to the approval of the Science and Technology Commission and of the Cabinet. At present, however, the Cabinet has no department in charge of designing work, so they should set up a bureau for the purpose.

If designs are subjected to successive examinations like this at different institutions, there may be some people who may feel irritated by the procedure, but they should not be.

Only when provision has been made for designs to be subject to several checks in this way, will defects be promptly discovered and corrected. In the past wrong designs were not spotted, because they were checked only once. But a screening process incorporating several checks will rectify the situation. This procedure will facilitate the emergence of good designs, evolved after careful consideration has been given to many people's opinions; and it will also deepen the sense of responsibility of the designing organizations and ministries.

We should radically improve the system of design work and thus keep designing well ahead of construction. Because proper priority has not been given to designing, there have been instances in which designs were not being drawn until onsite operations were already in full swing—and there have been some cases in which the designs had not been finished even after the projects were completed! From now on, however, we must enforce strict discipline so that such instances will not recur. Just as the army cannot fight a battle without a plan of operations, so builders cannot carry on construction work properly without a design. During the immediate postwar reconstruction period there were cases where an all-out effort, in the manner of a shock campaign, had to be made to get building work done, without waiting for designs, simply because all our factories and houses had been destroyed. But the present situation is fundamentally different. It is

impossible for us now to develop the economy unless everything is planned in a scientific and technologically correct manner.

We should see to it that no construction is undertaken without properly calculated designs. A meeting of the Presidium of the Cabinet should re-examine all the construction projects for this year and should reject those for which no designs have been prepared.

In order that the ever-increasing demand for building materials may be fully met, we should ensure that the production of chemical building materials, including cement, as well as of steel and timber, is put on a specialized basis.

Our taking all these measures to rationalize building and civil engineering operations does not imply any retrogression of our work. On the contrary, these are wise steps to develop the construction industry still further, just as the army sets up powerful regular units by giving intensive training, both politico-ideologically and in military technique, to its soldiers.

Now I would like to speak briefly about some problems which arise in connection with measures to increase the efficiency and enhance the responsibility of the State Construction Commission and of the regional construction commissions.

Before everything else, the standard of planning for construction projects should be raised.

Senior officials of the State Construction Commission and of the regional construction commissions, on receiving orders for construction, should personally visit building and civil engineering sites and, in the light of wide-ranging consultations with builders, should draw up scientifically-motivated plans for the projects. The State Planning Commission should also draw up a clear programme, after correctly examining both the order of priority of the various construction projects which have been proposed, and the resources which can be deployed to carry them out.

I think it would also be a good idea to set up a system of fines, so as to enhance the sense of responsibility of officials of the State Construction Commission and of the regional construction

commissions.

Now, when the construction organizations have made such a mess of their work, the building and civil engineering workers are poorly paid—but the senior officials of the construction commissions get regular salaries, so they could not care less about efficiency in the industry. It seems advisable, therefore, that if ever construction work goes wrong, the chairman, the chief engineer and the Party committee chairman of the regional construction commission in question should be subjected to fines, to be deducted from their salaries over several months. In addition, a penalty can, if necessary, be laid even on the vice-chairmen and on people of lower rank. In future the Cabinet should discuss this problem and make the requisite detailed regulations.

In accordance with the above-mentioned indications you should take early steps to improve the construction commissions' management system and thus further tighten the direction and control of building and civil engineering activity and establish rigid order and discipline in the work of all concerned.

**OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY IS AN ARMY
OF THE WORKING CLASS, AN ARMY
OF THE REVOLUTION; CLASS
AND POLITICAL EDUCATION
SHOULD BE CONTINUOUSLY
STRENGTHENED**

**Speech Delivered to People's Army Unit Cadres
above the Level of Deputy Regimental Commander
for Political Affairs and the Officials of the Local
Party and Government Organs**

February 8, 1963

Our People's Army has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, and it has grown and been tempered in fierce struggle against foreign imperialist aggressors headed by US imperialism. Our People's Army is honourably defending the freedom and independence of the country and the life and property of our people from enemy encroachment, and is firmly safeguarding our Party and our revolution. The invincible might of our People's Army stems from the fact that it is a genuine people's army, firmly armed with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and composed of the best sons and daughters of the people, led by the working class. To strengthen the People's Army, therefore, it is necessary, first of all, to thoroughly equip all soldiers with the revolutionary spirit of our Party so that it becomes a genuine army of the revolution, of the Party and of the working class. It is important for

you to ensure military training and build up defences, but most important of all is the intensification of political work among the soldiers.

The Central Committee of our Party has long since considered it essential to do good political work in the People's Army, and, with a view to strengthening this work, it set up Party organizations in the army as early as during the war, and in recent years it has introduced the Party committee system and has taken many other important measures towards the same end.

A matter of pressing urgency in political work in the People's Army today is to further intensify the ideological work of heightening the class consciousness of the soldiers.

By fully equipping all the soldiers with class consciousness we must turn our army into a solid class army.

If imperialism were completely overthrown throughout the world and the exploiting classes thoroughly liquidated everywhere, people's class consciousness might not be such an important question. But it will be a long time before that happens.

Today a fierce class struggle is being waged on a world scale between the international working class and the reactionary forces of imperialism; and an acute class struggle is also going on between revolution and counter-revolution here at home. Our People's Army considers it its duty to combat the imperialists, landlords and capitalists and to fight for the complete liberation of our nation, in the interests of the working class and other people. If the class consciousness of our soldiers grows dull and they become ignorant of the landlords and capitalists and of the heinous nature of imperialism, our People's Army will not be able to fight well like a revolutionary army against the enemy.

You should not think it sufficient to simply stand guard on our frontiers, preventing serious incidents; you should arm all the soldiers with the revolutionary ideas of the working class, and see to it that each of them knows the enemy and hates him and is capable of fighting him with highly-developed class consciousness.

1. ON THE NEED TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN CLASS EDUCATION AMONG THE SOLDIERS AND THE WORKING PEOPLE

Our Party has long directed great attention to the strengthening of class education among its members and the working people, and this work is now, on the whole, going well. Yet, today we feel keenly the need for the further strengthening of this work.

Communists are all well aware of the necessity of class education for the working people.

And yet we must re-emphasize this question, because the reality of our country and the general international situation urgently require it.

Today our country is divided into north and south, and our people stand face to face with the US imperialists. The socialist revolution has triumphed only in the northern half, while south Korea, one half of the territory of our country, is still under the occupation of the US imperialists. There, the landlords and capitalists are harshly exploiting the workers and peasants, and foreign aggressors are brutally killing and insulting our compatriots.

Our Party and people should, first of all, drive the aggressive forces of imperialism out of our territory, complete the national-liberation revolution, and then accomplish the socialist revolution throughout the country. This is a very difficult revolutionary task.

The enemy we are confronted with is US imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction. US imperialism is not only the enemy against whom our people are fighting, but is also the enemy against which the working class, in common with peace-loving people throughout the world, are fighting. Accordingly, the question of chasing the US imperialists out of south Korea is closely linked with the common struggle of the world's people against their policy of

aggression. That is why our revolution against US imperialism assumes a protracted and arduous character.

The more arduous and protracted becomes the character of the revolution, the more fully all the Party members, working people and, particularly, the men and officers of the People's Army whose duty it is to defend our country, need to be equipped with the revolutionary spirit of the working class.

And today there are conditions which might make us liable to forget the enemy of the revolution and relax our vigilance.

In our country those who have fought against Japanese imperialism and experienced exploitation and oppression at the hands of the landlords and capitalists in the past are now getting old, while a new generation—who neither know imperialism, landlords and capitalists nor have undergone any hardships—are growing up and emerging as masters of our society.

In former days, we were subjected to all sorts of oppression and contempt by the Japanese imperialists, and we suffered harsh exploitation at the hands of the landlords and capitalists. So we felt a strong hatred for the enemies of our nation and class, and we did not hesitate to give our lives in the battle against them.

For those of us who suffered oppression and lived in poverty before, our life today is, indeed, boundlessly happy and worthwhile. Among the division or regimental commanders present here, there must be some who once served as farm hands for others or who toiled under the lash of the capitalists. These comrades know well how miserable their past life was. They could not even think of going to school, and were subjected to indescribable maltreatment by the landlords and capitalists. This is why they have always possessed the resolute will to dedicate their lives to defending the Party which has brought them the happiness they enjoy today and to fight devotedly to safeguard the gains of our revolution from enemy attack.

A few days ago, I saw a film based on a story about Height 1211. There is a dramatic scene in which Comrade Ri Chol Jun, son of a former hired hand, who suffered every manner of ill-treatment at the

house of a landlord in the past, shoots down the landlord's son who fled to the south to become a puppet army officer. The Fatherland Liberation War was an extremely fierce struggle because it was a national-liberation war against foreign aggressors and, at the same time, it was such an acute class struggle.

But nearly ten years have already passed since the cessation of hostilities against the Yankees, and our living conditions have radically changed as compared with the past. In the northern half, we knocked down the landlords and capitalists long ago, and have built a socialist system free from exploitation and oppression. In the southern half, there are still the US imperialists as well as the landlords and capitalists, whereas in our northern half there are neither imperialists who humiliate and oppress our nation nor landlords and capitalists who exploit the working people. An end has been put to centuries of backwardness and penury in our country and our working people all enjoy a happy, new socialist life.

It is under this fine socialist system that the new generation is growing up, never having gone through the hard life of the past.

There are increasing numbers of young people who did not even suffer the brutal outrages of the American scoundrels during the war, to say nothing of the oppression by the Japanese imperialists, and they are already finding their way into both the factories and the People's Army. In fact, we cannot say that the young people of 17 to 18 years of age at present really experienced our people's Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist aggressors.

Our younger generation does not really know what landlords are like, what capitalists are like and how malicious the imperialists are. For this reason, many questions which surprised us greatly are said to have been raised at the political classes which are at present being given by platoon leaders. I was told that some young soldiers are ignorant of words such as "straw sandals", "farm rent" and "hired hand", and that the platoon leaders have had to explain these things to them. I wonder if these young people who are ignorant of straw sandals, of landlords, capitalists, exploitation and oppression, can ever

fully understand the villainous nature of imperialism, landlords and capitalists, even when they are told about it.

Further, as our living conditions improve, there appears to be a tendency among some of our youth to disdain struggle. They say they do not like war films because they are boring. They simply desire to have a good time, seeking only pleasure while avoiding all difficulties. But bravery and perseverance can be cultivated only through a vigorous struggle to overcome difficulties. However, they are not waging such a struggle: they just vegetate, so that the spirit of fortitude is waning, and a loose and indolent atmosphere is gradually pervading our youth.

You comrades gathered here say that you are indebted to the Party for your schooling because it was not before, but only after, our liberation that you could go to school. However, the new generation takes for granted all the educational facilities which are provided for them, and they are not even grateful for having had the opportunity of graduating from university.

When attending school before liberation, we found ourselves in a difficult situation indeed. There were few schools and it was very hard to enter even a secondary school, to say nothing of university. At that time we had no money to buy books, and as for Marxist literature, it was very difficult even to find it. So in order to study, we borrowed books from libraries. And once a book came into our hands we read it deep into the night because we might be fined in case we failed to return it by the fixed date. When we were fortunate enough to get a Marxist book, we read it in secret, forgetting everything else.

But today, you can obtain as many Marxist-Leninist publications as you want at the bookshops and, moreover, they are very cheap. But young people today do not read much, even though heaps of good books are available to them. It seems that they want to put as little effort as possible into their studies.

If we do not educate the younger generation and just leave them alone, they will become so addicted to a soft life that they will only wish to live in tranquility and will lose the staunch combative will to

make revolution in the teeth of difficulties.

If the people in our country, who are face to face with the US imperialists, were to forget the enemy of our class and nation, and to live in indolence, it would be a very dangerous thing, tantamount to disarming themselves completely before the enemy.

The US imperialists are not likely to get out of south Korea soon. Nevertheless, the Yankees will not be able to hold on to the south for ever. Japanese imperialism was destroyed after 36 years of occupation of Korea, but things are different now from what they used to be in those days. The American scoundrels have already been occupying south Korea for 17 years. Now we can say that the day is drawing nearer when they will be driven out. Though it is hard to foretell the future with certainty, we can say that the Yankees will probably go to ruin in Korea in 10 to 20 years or so. But if we do not fight well, it may take 20-odd years or more.

Of course, 10 or 20 years is not a short period. Many things will change within that space of time.

Indeed, there is not a shadow of doubt that, in 10 to 20 years, almost all those who in the past had suffered from cruel exploitation by the landlord and capitalist classes and from national oppression by the imperialists will have grown old, while the new generation that did not experience exploitation and oppression will have become the masters of our state and society.

Our revolution is not over and we still have much to do. If we fail to accomplish the revolutionary cause in our generation, we must leave it for the next generation to achieve. And if the younger generation forget the enemy, become shy of struggle and only like to lead a life of ease, they may not only be unable to carry forward our revolutionary cause but also could even be deprived of the achievements we have thus far made.

Further, you must not think that those who are of worker and peasant origin or went through hardships before, are all fully armed with class consciousness. If they lead a comfortable life for a long time in the absence of any ideological education, even people who are of

sound class origin and have gone through hardships may virtually forget their former plight in which they were oppressed and humiliated; they may gradually become lazy and their class consciousness may be paralyzed.

Therefore, in order to drive the US imperialists out of our territory, achieve the reunification of our country and carry the Korean revolution through to the end, it is necessary for us to further intensify class education among the working people. We must never feel complacent just because the socialist system has already triumphed, the hostile classes have been liquidated and our living conditions have improved in the northern half of Korea. We must continue to be deeply concerned with heightening the class consciousness of the working people, and especially, with firmly arming the younger generation with working-class ideology.

Class education of the working people, and particularly of the new generation, is not a problem faced by the Korean communists alone. It is a matter of concern common to the communists of the world. In the countries where the revolution triumphed in only a part of their territory and not on a nationwide scale, and in the socialist countries where the revolution emerged victorious at an earlier period—under conditions in which the world revolution has not yet been accomplished and imperialism remains in existence—class education becomes a matter of great importance now for the international communist movement.

Today, world imperialism is slipping towards decline and ruin. But imperialism still remains a dangerous force and machinates nefariously against peace, socialism and national independence everywhere in the world. We should not just believe that imperialism will be totally overthrown in a matter of a few years. To rout imperialism once and for all and accomplish the world revolution, the people of the world must still wage an arduous and protracted fight.

The longer the world revolution lasts, the more important becomes the question of the class education of the working people in the socialist countries where the revolution has triumphed earlier.

It is already 40-odd years since the socialist revolution emerged victorious in the Soviet Union and nearly 20 years since the triumph of the revolution in other socialist countries. Therefore, it can be said that the replacement of the old generation by the new is a common phenomenon taking place in all the socialist countries. Besides, in most of the socialist countries, construction has continued in a peaceful atmosphere ever since World War II, and the material and cultural life of their peoples has markedly improved. This entails the danger that a peaceful, comfortable life may make the people forget the revolutionary spirit they had in the past when they were fighting hard battles.

Under such circumstances, if class education is discontinued among the working people, on the grounds that the socialist revolution has triumphed on a nationwide scale, people will gradually slide into laziness and degenerate ideologically. They will end by losing their hatred for imperialism as well as their will to carry the revolution through to the end and, worse still, they will seek only their own welfare, not caring whether others are oppressed and exploited. This would mean that the peoples in triumphant socialist countries would give up the struggle for revolution and renounce the world revolution. To seek only the prosperity of one's own country without regard for the world revolution is a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism and is fundamentally contradictory to Marxism-Leninism.

To desist from the revolutionary struggle and renounce the world revolution means to betray Marxism-Leninism and degenerate into revisionism. At that rate one could not build socialism and communism even in one's own country.

In some socialist countries, due to the neglect of ideological work with the working people, a dissipated and indolent way of life is now in evidence among the youth. Bad tendencies—an unwillingness to work or join the army and a desire for only an idle and licentious life—have appeared among them. This lazy, dissipated and non-class way of life provides favourable soil for the growth of revisionist ideology, and

under the influence of revisionism, people are degenerating all the more.

Consequently, many young people, with their class consciousness paralyzed, fail to see things from a revolutionary point of view. They know little of the aggressive and brutish nature of imperialism, and are dubious about the anti-imperialist struggle, harbouring illusions about US-led imperialism.

Such ideological degeneration of the youth in some socialist countries constitutes a great danger both to building socialism and communism in their countries and to the revolutionary struggle against imperialism on a worldwide scale.

It is incumbent upon communists throughout the world to be totally loyal to the revolution of their own countries and to fight, at the same time, for the final victory of the world revolution. In each socialist country the work of class education should be energetically carried on in order to carry each country's own revolution and the world revolution through to the end. Strengthening class education among the working people, it can be said, is an important task assigned to all communists of our era by the cause of the world revolution.

We are duty bound to crush the imperialists and their lackeys, the landlords and capitalists, in Korea, accomplish the socialist revolution throughout our country and fight, as a detachment of the international communist movement, for the ultimate triumph of the world revolution. A protracted struggle is required both for the triumph of the Korean revolution and for the triumph of the world revolution. That is why we must consistently carry on the work of class education among the working people until our revolution is crowned with final victory.

Further, the strengthening of class education among the working people has come to the fore as a still more vital necessity in connection with the emergence of revisionist ideology in the present period.

At present, revisionists are spreading all sorts of anti-Marxist, opportunist theories and widely propagating reactionary bourgeois ideologies and the corrupt bourgeois way of life, thereby paralysing the class and revolutionary consciousness of the working people and,

especially, ruining the younger generation ideologically.

The modern revisionists betray the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and deny the necessity of revolutionary struggle and class struggle. Clamouring that “All men are equal; the whole world is one”, the revisionists repudiate the class outlook and preach the supra-class “outlook of mankind”, or “universal outlook”.

In the field of art, too, they draw no distinct line between the revolutionary art of the working class and the reactionary art of the bourgeoisie, and advocate the supra-class “art of mankind”. The revisionists consider that the working class ought to learn the corrupt capitalist way of life, and believe that the revolutionary working class ought to learn the foul songs and dances which the capitalists enjoy when getting drunk and taking licentious pleasures. They maintain that the class character of art is absolutely unnecessary.

Where revisionism has found its way, people are more and more bereft of love for and pride in their socialist country and are being reduced to egoists who only want a life of luxury for themselves. This means a return to the bourgeois ideology of mammonism. What sort of unselfish struggle for the state and revolution can be expected from a person who knows only money and pursues only personal pleasure? If a person chooses this path, he will not even hesitate to betray his country. One case resulting from this was that of a girl student in a certain country who was so infected with revisionist ideology that she thought it an honour to marry an American espionage agent.

One of our students got himself contaminated with revisionism while studying in a foreign country and was gradually tempted into a depraved life. It is said that he has finally arrived at a point where he feels sorry that he was born a Korean. This is of course a peculiar case. But at any rate, once people are affected and demoralized by revisionism, they will end up by rejecting their country and seeking only their own pleasure.

The revisionists are the agents of the imperialists. At present the imperialists are using the revisionists as their stooges in their manoeuvres to spread counter-revolutionary, non-class ideologies

within our ranks and to soften up our camp. Therefore, in order to prevent the penetration of revisionism, further cement the ideological unity of our revolutionary ranks and carry on a successful struggle against imperialism and the landlord and capitalist classes, it is more urgent than ever that class education be intensified.

2. ON THE MAIN CONTENTS OF CLASS EDUCATION

Class education is a work of ideological education aimed at arming people with the working-class ideology. Its main object is to arouse the class consciousness of the working people so that they may combat the class enemy uncompromisingly and fight resolutely to defend the interests of their class through thick and thin.

We should thoroughly expose to the working people the malignant and insidious nature of the class enemy, cultivate in them a strong hatred for that enemy and, at the same time, convince them deeply of their class position and the justness of the revolutionary struggle, thereby inducing all working people to resolutely fight the class enemy to the end, for the good of their class, their Party and their socialist country, and for the victory of the revolutionary cause.

The question on which we should lay primary stress in class education is that of cultivating among the working people a hatred for imperialism.

Imperialism is the first target of our struggle. All imperialism is bad, and the imperialism which we have to fight—US and Japanese imperialism—is particularly bad. We must, above all, educate our soldiers and working people with the idea of hating US and Japanese imperialism.

There are countless instances of barbarities committed by the Americans and the Japanese in Korea. We should tell our soldiers and

working people clearly how the US and Japanese imperialists killed, insulted and oppressed our people. We should let them know about all the atrocities that the American scoundrels perpetrated while in north Korea and are perpetrating now in south Korea. In south Korea today, when the Yankees go hunting, they shoot down Koreans who are gathering firewood and claim that they thought they were pheasants or hares; they shoot children to death, branding the victims as thieves merely for approaching the barbed wire fences; they rape Korean women and even shave off their hair; they strip Korean women naked and paint their bodies, and so on. All these represent an intolerable insult to our nation. We should inform the working people of all these facts. In this way they should be imbued with hatred for the enemy of our nation.

The Kwangju Student Incident, touched off when Japanese male students jeered at a Korean schoolgirl, led the Korean students throughout the country to rise against Japanese imperialism. We should fully expose the outrages the US imperialists are now perpetrating in south Korea and make them all known to our people.

What is most important in educating the soldiers and the working people to hate imperialism is to bring home to them its aggressive nature. We should not just tell the working people about a few cases of the imperialists slaughtering people in our country or savagely bombing our towns and villages; we should make the working people fully understand, on the basis of historical facts, that aggression and plunder emanate from the very nature of imperialism.

In the past, the imperialists gobbled up our country, and deprived it of vast amounts of resources and wealth; and also today, they have got hold of south Korea and are plundering the south Korean people, and even trying to swallow north Korea. All imperialism, without exception, is aggressive in nature, be it Japanese imperialism or US imperialism, the imperialism of yesterday or the imperialism of today.

Just as the brutish nature of a wolf cannot change, so the aggressive nature of imperialism can never change. Catch a wolf cub and raise it; the beast will still do harm to people and flee into the mountains when

it grows up. If the aggressive nature of imperialism changed, it would mean that imperialism had already ceased to exist. So long as imperialism remains, its aggressive nature will remain. We should categorically reject the allegation of the revisionists that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed.

From the first days of their contact with our country, the Japanese and US imperialists tried to swallow our country and schemed to plunder our people of their wealth. The Americans robbed our country of great quantities of gold. The gold they took away from the Unsan, Taeyudong and Suan Mines alone amounts to a tremendous figure. In many places there still remain traces of those Yankees who pottered about the high mountains and deep valleys to rob Korea of its gold. I found a Western-style house on the mountain pass of Changsong, and asked the old men there what it was. They said that it was built by an American who lived there for a year, during which time he made trips on horseback in search of gold. I suggested that it would be a good idea to maintain the house in good state so that we can show it to our future generations.

The crafty Yankees plundered Korea of a huge amount of gold, of which they spent a negligible sum to set up a few “charity hospitals” and the like, and distribute some bags of quinine to Christian converts. Besides, in order to train the spies they needed, they picked out some Koreans and sent them to study in the United States. In doing so, they proclaimed that they were benefactors and were helping Koreans.

Today also, the Americans are trying to deceive people by similar methods in south Korea. They have occupied south Korea and turned it into their colony. And yet, they assert that they are giving “aid” to the Korean people. We should fully expose the true nature of the several hundred million dollars of “aid” which they are said to give annually.

In actual fact what is plundered by the Yankees in south Korea every year is incomparably greater than what they offer in the so-called “aid”. In the first place, the Yankees maintain as mercenaries a puppet army of 700,000. If they were to station that size army of their own in Korea, it would cost them scores of times more than the amount of

their “aid” to south Korea. The Americans, however, feign ignorance of the fact that they use the young and middle-aged in south Korea as cannon fodder and plunder vast resources there. On the contrary, they vociferate as if they were feeding the south Korean people. In south Korea, too, many people seem to have started realizing by now that so-called US “aid” is a means of ruining the south Korean economy and completely reducing it to an appendage of the United States.

We must also get the people fully acquainted with the fact that the Japanese and US imperialists have long since collaborated with each other for the purpose of invading Korea. Thus, basing ourselves on historical facts, we should expose the ambitions of the US and Japanese imperialists to commit renewed aggression against our country.

Of late, the US imperialists, in an endeavour to prop up their colonial rule in south Korea which is on the verge of collapse, are even manoeuvring with the military fascist clique in the south to let in the Japanese imperialists.

Men like Park Chung Hee and Kim Jong Phil in south Korea are special agents of the United States and are also stooges of the Japanese scoundrels. They are now holding the “ROK-Japan talks” with a view to ushering in the Japanese. These traitors intend to reduce to only 300 million dollars the reparations to be given for the plunder committed by the Japanese imperialists against our people for 36 years.

Our Government has made clear its determined opposition to the “ROK-Japan talks”. A broad sector of the Japanese public as well as the working class is raising their voices to denounce the illegality of these “talks”.

We must firmly oppose the Pak Chung Hee clique bringing in Japanese imperialism, and sharpen our vigilance against the Japanese imperialists who are scheming to invade our Korea again.

Racial discrimination and misanthropy are ideas inherent to the imperialists. We remember clearly how the Japanese looked down upon Koreans and brutally slaughtered them in the past. The rabid racial discrimination of the Yankees is widely known to the world.

They regard the whites as a superior race, and believe that the yellow and the black races ought to be dominated and maltreated by the whites. We should thoroughly reveal the history of atrocities committed by the Americans in insulting and murdering Koreans and the criminal acts they have committed and are still committing against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this way, we should see to it that all our people profoundly hate Japanese and US imperialism and that not only our generation but also our future generations remember the aggressive nature of imperialism.

Besides, we should make our soldiers and working people fully acquainted with the evil nature of the landlords and capitalists. Today, landlords and capitalists still remain in south Korea, and they continue to exploit the workers and peasants ruthlessly. In north Korea the landlord and capitalist system had ceased to exist—but the former landlords and capitalists, though overthrown, are still alive today.

The younger generation has no idea of landlords, but the former landlords have never forgotten their confiscated land. Although 17 years have already elapsed since the landlords' estates were confiscated they still keep the property records. They say that one of them, helped about by his grandson, points out to the young grandson all the lands he has been deprived of and tells him that he must do everything to regain the lands when the time comes, even after the grandfather's death. In Pyongyang, of late, a 71 year-old erstwhile landlord, who had kept grumbling and complaining, turned against us despite the fact that, thanks to the solicitude of the state, all of his sons had gone to school and had even graduated from university. The members of his people's neighbourhood unit made every effort to educate him but it was all in vain, and finally, it is said, they had no other choice but to expel him from the unit, entrusting his re-education to his sons. I think this is an instructive instance which shows that the true nature of the landlords does not change. Just as the true nature of imperialism is actually unchangeable, so is the true nature of the landlords and capitalists.

The landlords have not forgotten that we expropriated their lands—

so how can we forget the landlords? We should continue to hate landlords and capitalists and fight them to the end. It is necessary for us to produce many films and dramas exposing the criminal acts of exploitation and pillage by the landlords and capitalists, and also to write more novels based on similar subjects. Our youngsters should be made to see and read all these films and novels so that they can fully understand how their parents were exploited and oppressed by the landlords and capitalists in the past.

And it would be good for the army to occasionally invite and hold round-table discussions with some of the old country folks who in the past eked out a scanty living as farm hands and became better off after liberation. Through such round-table discussions we should make our soldiers fully aware of how miserable the plight of our peasants was, and how cruel the exploitation by the Japanese and the landlords was in former days.

Another very important thing in class education is to bring home to the soldiers and working people the corruptness of the capitalist system and the superiority of the socialist system.

Exploiting classes like landlords and capitalists are inseparable from their exploiting system. We should hate not only individual landlords and capitalists but the exploiting classes as a whole, and should fight against the exploiting system itself, in which they rule the roost.

To have a full grasp of the class essence of the capitalists, one must be well informed about their system. We should help the working people to fully understand that the capitalist system and the landlord and bourgeois way of life are bad, whereas the socialist system and our people's way of life are good.

Capitalist society is a society where a handful of the privileged classes, including the landlords and capitalists, oppress and exploit the toiling masses. State power and the wealth of society are exclusively in the hands of these privileged classes. The toiling masses are starved and ragged. If they fall ill, they cannot afford medical treatment. Although humiliated and oppressed, they are powerless to defend their human rights.

Under the socialist system, on the contrary, the masses of the people are masters of everything. In socialist society, no one is subjected to exploitation or oppression. Everyone works and lives equally well, people study and develop together. Although they may not be in a position to live in luxury like the landlords and capitalists, they all live free from worry about food and clothing, are entitled to work and study, and receive medical care. Moreover, under the socialist system, all the people are united and work conscientiously, so that they develop the society rapidly and show great vigour in the fight against foreign aggressors.

In conveying the superiority of our system, it is very effective to compare the northern half with the southern half of our country.

A contrast between the superiority of the socialist system and the corrupt, reactionary nature of the capitalist system is manifested most strikingly in the diametrically opposed situations in north and south Korea. Our struggle today is, in fact, an acute struggle between two entirely opposite social systems, established in north and south Korea, a struggle between the classes that support the socialist system and the classes that support the capitalist system. We are striving to get people to choose for themselves between the two systems. It is therefore very important to prove fully the advantages of socialism over capitalism, by making comparisons between the social systems in north and south Korea.

In south Korea, the landlords and capitalists continue to exercise their authority and to live in affluence, while the workers and peasants lead a wretched life. Since power is not in their hands, the workers and peasants, far from being protected by the state, are simply oppressed. The police beat, arrest and imprison workers and peasants, and subject large numbers of toiling people and youths to forced labour and pressgang them into the puppet army as cannon fodder for the Yankees. There are over 6 million unemployed and underemployed, and hundreds of thousands of child beggars are roaming the streets, but the rulers do nothing whatsoever for them. They arrest, imprison and slaughter at random those who advocate the rights of the people, and

herd people off to desolate and distant lands in South America across the Pacific. We should thoroughly expose the criminal emigration scheme of the south Korean rulers who banish innocent south Korean people to faraway places so that they may never return, under the pretext that poverty is caused by a shortage of land, while they lay waste hundreds of thousands of hectares of cultivable land.

North Korea is inhabited by Koreans, just as is the south, but the situation is entirely different here: all the landlords and capitalists have been eliminated in the northern half and the exploiters and oppressors have all been liquidated. The state is now run by the people themselves; all of the factories and farms are owned by the people, who manage and operate them for themselves. Everyone works, studies and lives free from worry about food, clothing and housing.

In south Korea, countless people go about begging with cans in their hands, many dying under bridges from cold and hunger. We, however, now all eat hearty meals though they be boiled rice and maize, half-and-half, and there is no one who lacks shelter or who has to sleep under bridges.

In south Korea today, large numbers of children and young persons cannot go to school, and students even sell their blood so as to be able to pay their school expenses. But in the northern half, all pupils and students—who account for one-fourth of the population—study at schools free of charge; and everyone is even provided with conditions for receiving higher education.

As everyone has an occupation and works in our society, our enemies are carrying on a malicious propaganda campaign, alleging that north Koreans are subjected to forced labour. Contrary to their expectations, however, this sort of propaganda will backfire—so that, in fact, the Koreans in the south will long to be in north Korea.

An espionage agent, who had infiltrated into north Korea and fled to the south, slanderously claimed that the streets in the north were like a living hell in the daytime with not a soul to be seen because everyone had been dragged off for forced labour. Such a crude lie can deceive no one, nor can it evoke the sympathy of the south Korean people. If the

south Korean people, who are jobless and languishing in hunger and poverty, hear this, they would say they would prefer to get any job, even if it did mean forced labour. What pride can anyone have in streets filled, even in the daytime, with parasites who live without working and with the unemployed and beggars wandering about with no job to do and nothing to eat? And what good is it to have many yelling hawkers urging people to buy some product? Only madmen could be against eliminating such things and having everyone working and living well.

A few years ago, an airliner flew over here from south Korea. A stewardess from the plane gave her impressions of the streets of Pyongyang, saying that the cosmetics and other luxuries in the shops were not worth mentioning and that there was only plenty of ordinary fabrics suitable for plain people and of mass consumption goods. These remarks, too, can be construed differently from opposite class positions. When they hear the words, the landlords and capitalists may consider that north Korea is a poor society since it lacks toilet articles and luxuries. As for the working people in south Korea, they may think life in north Korea ideal for working people and say: "It doesn't matter if we have no cosmetics and luxuries. So long as there are plenty of the goods that the working people need, that's enough."

The bourgeoisie like to talk about freedom. Their freedom, however, is the freedom for the landlords and capitalists to exploit the working people and the freedom for the workers and peasants to be badly-clothed and hunger-stricken.

I was told that some of the south Korean reporters who come to Panmunjom extol bourgeois freedom. When our correspondents asked them what freedom they had after all, a south Korean counterpart reportedly answered: "You all go to office at eight in the morning and work, but we don't do that. Once we write a good story and make money, we drink or take a rest at home for days. And no one is bothered about it. What is this if not freedom?" This fellow, however, shuts his eyes to the fact that in south Korea now great numbers of people, unable to earn a living, are going hungry, far from loafing for

two days on one day's earning. He does not care whether others are starved or frozen to death, whether the country goes to ruin or not; he only wants to make a good living for himself. What a mean idea! It is most disgraceful to idle away time at home, drinking wine, instead of concerning oneself with the community, the state and the sufferings of one's fellow countrymen.

The freedom to eat the bread of idleness as long as one has money in one's pocket is a freedom for the rich bourgeois exploiter class, not for the working people. Genuine freedom for the working people lies, above all, in extricating themselves from exploitation and oppression by the landlords and capitalists, and in all being able to work, not for the good of the exploiters but for their own sake and for the sake of their country and society.

The capitalists talk about human rights, but in capitalist society the working people actually have no right to work, no right to live, no right to receive medical care, no right to study. Only socialist society ensures genuine freedom and rights for all the working people to work and live happily together.

A brief glance over one aspect of capitalist society may fascinate some with the pomp of bourgeois life. The streets blazing with varicoloured lights and shops stacked with luxurious and flashy goods may give an impression that everything is prospering and thriving. In contrast, our shops, which fulfil their function as supply organs for the working people, are not concentrated in any one place but are distributed evenly in each district, and their goods are all ordinary ones. People fresh from capitalist countries may think that our towns are much less splendid than capitalist ones. But everything that is sumptuous and brilliant in capitalist society is designed for the rich capitalists, not for the poor workers. People who fail to observe things from the class point of view may see only the flamboyant side of capitalist society, which has nothing to do with the working people, and be fascinated by it.

We should always draw comparisons between capitalism and socialism from the class point of view, and thoroughly convince our

soldiers and working people of the superiority of the socialist system. Only then will they love their system, make devoted efforts to further strengthen and develop it, defend it and their socialist homeland from enemy invasion and fight on with firm confidence in the justness and victory of the cause of socialism.

In the army, too, when political lessons are given, it is advisable to dwell on the south Korean situation a great deal, not only stressing the socialist construction in the northern half. You should give the soldiers a good analytical explanation as to how the landlords levy farm rent in south Korea; why south Korea, once called the granary of Korea, has had bad harvests all the time and why millions of starving peasants subsist on grass roots and tree bark year after year, whereas mountainous north Korea gathers good crops every year and has sufficient provisions; why in south Korea the number of unemployed is constantly on the increase and even university graduates cannot get employment and in the end find themselves in the miserable situation of the jobless A-frame carrier, while the northern half is concerned about its manpower shortage; and so on.

We must also make the soldiers understand clearly that the fundamental cause of the miseries and sufferings of the south Korean people lies in the colonial, predatory policy of US imperialism and of its reactionary ruling system.

In the pre-liberation days when we were struggling against the Japanese imperialists, we taught the guerrillas in detail how the Japanese were bleeding the Koreans white and how the landlords were exploiting the peasants. We explained to them how much the landlords collected in farm rent, how the Japanese deprived the Koreans of their lands, how they levied taxes, and even what the monopoly system was.

Our soldiers should be thoroughly acquainted with the situation in south Korea as well as in north Korea. Only then will it be possible for them to have a deeper understanding of the superiority of the socialist system and greater determination to safeguard the revolutionary gains. And only in this way will our soldiers come to hate the US imperialists and their lackeys, the landlords and capitalists, and increase their

revolutionary enthusiasm to overthrow the US imperialist aggressors, the landlords and capitalists in south Korea at an early date and to make our south Korean compatriots as well-off as we are.

Class education of the working people is a fundamental class struggle in the realm of ideology. Without waging an uncompromising battle against the ideology of the hostile classes, it is impossible to equip our soldiers and working people with the working-class ideology, the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, we must wage a powerful struggle against all types of reactionary bourgeois ideas, anti-Marxist-Leninist ideas and opportunist ideas. At the present time particularly, when revisionism has raised its head internationally, it is of great significance in class education to expose the reactionary nature of revisionism.

The modern revisionists, with a view to paralysing the class consciousness of the masses, deny the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship, preach class collaboration and bourgeois liberalism and obscure the fundamental difference between the capitalist system and the socialist system.

While beautifying imperialism and alleging that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed, they call for a halt to the anti-imperialist struggle and oppose the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and exploited peoples.

On the question of war and peace, too, the modern revisionists have put forward a pernicious “theory”. Peace can be won only through the struggle of the broad masses of the people against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. However, the revisionists pin their hopes on the “reasonableness” of the imperialists and beg them for peace while repressing the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of the people. They are compromising with imperialism and capitulating to the imperialists’ policy of war blackmail, while spreading war-phobia and bourgeois pacifism.

Revisionism is bourgeois ideology which has penetrated the working-class movement. The revisionists, renegades of the revolution, craftily using Marxist-Leninist propositions in

camouflaging their reactionary nature, actually preach bourgeois ideology and serve the interests of the imperialists and the reactionary classes.

Modern revisionism is exerting an extremely harmful influence upon the struggle of the masses for peace, national independence and socialism. Where revisionism finds its way, the class consciousness of the masses grows blunt and they degenerate ideologically, thereby becoming unable to carry on the revolutionary struggle.

So, at present we cannot successfully give the working people a class education or mobilize them for the victory of the revolution other than in conjunction with the struggle against revisionism. We should fully lay bare the non-class and reactionary nature of the revisionists so that all the working people can draw a distinction for themselves between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. We should thus see to it that all our Party members and working people, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of struggle against imperialism and for national liberation and socialism, fight on resolutely for the triumph of the revolutionary cause.

Another important thing in class education is to firmly arm our soldiers and working people with the ideas of socialist patriotism.

We must learn not only to hate the enemy but also to love our friends. Love of one's own class and people and the ardent love of one's own Party and country is one of the loftiest characteristics inherent in the working class.

Nothing is dearer to us than our country. Our people have felt in their bones how miserable is the colonial slavery of a stateless nation.

The true mother of all people is their native country. We cannot live nor be happy, apart from our country. Only by virtue of the prosperity and well-being of the homeland is it possible for us to take the road to happiness. All the finest sons and daughters of our people were ardent patriots before anything else. It was also for the restoration of our country that the Korean communists fought against the Japanese imperialists before liberation, braving hardships and tribulations.

Ri Su Bok, a hero who displayed unprecedented valour in the Fatherland Liberation War of our people against the invasion of the US imperialists, said that he had to devote his life to the interests of his own country. This is the feeling of real patriots. All our soldiers and working people should possess this patriotic spirit. Patriotism is all the more indispensable for us who have to drive out the US imperialist aggressors and accomplish the national-liberation revolution.

However, as our people had long lived in colonial slavery without their own state, quite a few of them are not proud of their country and nation and, accordingly, they lack in love for their people and motherland. So, in many cases, some people become transformed into Japanese when they are in Japan, into Russians in Russia and into Americans in America.

True, our people retain much of the sycophancy which has been handed down historically and lack a sense of national pride. However, our big defect is that we have so far failed to give the working people a thoroughgoing education in patriotism. As a result, some even seem to think the working class does not have to be patriotic, while others think that socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism conflict with each other.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism constitute an inseparable whole. Some people betray their country under the sign of internationalism, which is very wrong.

Fundamentally speaking, proletarian internationalism is internationalism between independent nations, between states, and internationalism is inconceivable apart from nations and states. To hold that one needs neither state nor nation, but only internationalism, is not an internationalist stand but that of a ruined people who have forgotten their own country and nation and depend on others.

Needless to say, it will be another matter after imperialism is completely overthrown and socialism and communism emerge victorious throughout the world in the future, and the boundaries of nations vanish and states cease to exist. Then the question of patriotism

will never arise and its relationship to internationalism will pose no problem.

However, while frontiers continue to exist and people have their respective countries and live on a national basis like today, one cannot forget one's country and nation.

It would be meaningless for Korean communists to talk about revolution apart from the Korean nation and the 3,000 *ri* of Korean soil.

Those who were born in Korea are duty bound to make revolution and build socialism and communism in Korea. The Korean revolution is the internationalist duty devolving on the Korean people. For this reason, only when the Korean people satisfactorily carry out the Korean revolution as their first priority, will they be performing their internationalist duty faithfully. Everything we have must be subordinated to the fulfilment of the Korean revolution. Moreover, inasmuch as we are still at the stage of revolution in which we must accomplish the national-liberation revolution throughout the country, it is essential to enhance the national pride of our people.

The question to which we should pay particular attention in educating the working people in patriotism is that of making them fully understand the great importance of national independence. The Party is demanding that Juche be established in all domains, and special emphasis should be laid on political independence and economic self-sufficiency.

From the outset, communists make it their rudimentary task to fight for the liquidation of all kinds of subjugation and for the attainment of independence. He who denies political independence and preaches sycophancy is not a communist.

The man who lacks political independence will practise revisionism if others do it, accept dogmatism if others fall into it, or capitulationism, if others do so. How can anyone who keeps swaying with the wind ever become a real communist responsibly leading the revolution of his country?

A person who simply follows in the wake of others, without

political independence, is out of his senses. Such a stupid man can neither love his country and people, nor do anything in a creative way to suit his own actual situation. The man who thus lacks the spirit of independence works not for the good of his people but to curry favour with others. Therefore, this sort of man may eventually play into the hands of the great-power chauvinists who try to subjugate other countries, and he may go so far as to degenerate into a traitor who sells out the interests of his own people.

Without economic self-sufficiency, no political independence can be ensured. A state can be fully independent and sovereign only when it has political independence and economic self-sufficiency. Above all, it is of prime importance for us Korean communists to turn our country into a state which has complete political independence and economic self-sufficiency. Only political independence and economic self-sufficiency will enable us to solve our country's problems on our own.

It should be a fundamental principle that the problems of a country should be solved by its own people. It would be very stupid and mistaken to think of winning independence by relying on others and of living well on the favours of others. The Korean revolution must be accomplished by the efforts of the Korean people themselves and the Korean question must be solved by the Korean people themselves.

We must show the people in the southern half that political independence and economic self-sufficiency have been firmly established in the northern half, and must continue to inspire them to take the path of political independence and economic self-sufficiency, without relying on the United States or Japan. Some of the south Korean people still maintain that the reunification of the country should be accomplished by the United Nations. We are fundamentally opposed to this. Why should we ask for the help of the United Nations to solve the question of Korean reunification instead of settling it among us Koreans? To do so would mean disbelief in our own strength and would be an insult to our nation. There remain quite a few people who are not ashamed of relying on external forces because sycophancy

has been a powerful influence in our country from the past.

In the last days of the feudal society of the Ri dynasty the situation of our country was particularly appalling. People were not concerned with saving the country by their own efforts; on the contrary, different factions did their utmost to get the assistance of foreign powers in order to achieve their partisan ends whenever an opportunity arose. So some secured the backing of Russia, others the backing of Japan and still others the backing of Qing—each group got the backing of a foreign power. This vice found expression even after the August 15 liberation. The factionalists played the same old game in 1956. All the anti-Party factionalists came out against our Party, each with the backing of a big power.

Today the idea of reliance on external forces which remains in the minds of some south Korean people offers a big obstacle to the reunification of our country. Therefore, we must energetically instill the idea of political independence in the south Korean people and youth.

Of late, south Korean youth have begun to insist that economic self-sufficiency is necessary to secure political independence. This is a very good sign. Certainly, economic self-sufficiency is unthinkable under US imperialist colonial rule, and if such ideas continue to grow among the south Korean youth, a powerful struggle may break out against the US imperialists and their lackeys. Especially, if we north Korean people oppose UN supervision or foreign supervision and continue to strongly demand reunification by the Korean people themselves, the south Korean youth will definitely rise in response to this.

We are now building socialism in the northern half, but we must remember that our country still remains divided. So if we were to conduct educational work in exactly the same way as in the countries where the revolution has triumphed on a nationwide scale, it would simply not suit our reality. How can we forget the question of national independence and sovereignty when we have not yet liberated the more than 20 million south Korean people? If we were to confine

ourselves to the building of socialism in the northern half alone, we could just sit idle, singing the praises of socialism. But we must never do this, for we are making revolution. We must carry the national-liberation revolution to the end and accomplish the socialist revolution across the country, come what may. For this, we should strengthen education in patriotism and lay a great emphasis on the question of national liberation and on the independence and sovereignty of the country. Otherwise, we will not be able to carry through the revolutionary tasks entrusted to the Korean communists and the Korean people. Herein lies the very reason that education in patriotism should hold a particularly important place in class education in our country today.

Another important thing in educating our soldiers and working people in the revolutionary spirit is to strengthen their confidence in the victory of the revolution and cultivate in them a spirit of looking forward to the future.

Faith in the victory of the revolution is all the more essential in our country. When the revolutionary struggle assumes a difficult and protracted character, those whose belief in the revolution is unstable may become weary and vacillate. It should, therefore, be driven home to the entire population that the revolution will definitely triumph.

If our present revolutionary cause were not to emerge victorious, people would become disappointed and dispirited and few would continue to devote themselves heart and soul to the cause, no matter how just and good it is. But if they are certain that the revolution will ultimately triumph, they will devote their all to the struggle, even though final victory may not be realized in their lifetime. It is precisely because of their firm conviction of the victory of the revolution that true communists are able to fight on heroically for the triumph of the revolution, fearing no enemy, however mighty, and courageously overcoming all difficulties and trials.

The downfall of imperialism and the victory of socialism is an inexorable law of history. Historical facts prove that imperialism is doomed to ruin even though it appears to be strong. Japanese

imperialism was ruined, the German and Italian imperialisms were also crushed. American imperialism, too, will yet go to ruin. Already there are clear signs that US imperialism is declining. We must make it thoroughly known to our working people that imperialism will be destroyed, that all forces of reaction will be destroyed and that socialism is certain to emerge victorious. We must thus encourage everyone to fight to the end for the accomplishment of the revolution, with firm confidence in its triumph.

Furthermore, our youth should be educated to love not only the socialist system, already established, but also communism, to be built in the future.

We must not rest content with the present state of affairs. If we do, we cannot develop or make progress. We should always set our goals higher and higher and struggle to attain them. Uninterrupted struggle and continued advance will enable us to complete our revolution and build a paradise of communism.

Those who look forward to the future, who always set high goals for themselves and strive to achieve them, are capable of living more frugally and more militantly, always leading a cheerful and active life. So education in looking forward to the future is of great importance in establishing a revolutionary mode of life among the working people.

The work of arming our soldiers and working people with the revolutionary spirit of the working class must always be conducted in close combination with education in the Party's policies and in the revolutionary traditions.

In order to carry out our country's revolution with a mind of our own, it is necessary for us to equip ourselves fully with our Party's policies and our revolutionary traditions. The policies of our Party are a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Korea and are the guide for our action. Our revolutionary traditions are the indomitable fighting spirit and the priceless experiences and achievements gained by the Korean communists in the course of their protracted, heroic struggle to carve out the road to victory for the Korean revolution, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. If we are

fully armed with our Party's policies and revolutionary traditions, we will be able to adhere to our revolutionary position and wage an uninterrupted, resolute revolutionary struggle in all adversities and ordeals, without losing the spirit of Juche. Neither revisionism, dogmatism nor sycophancy can ever infect those who are armed with the Party policies and revolutionary traditions. Only such people can be said to be true Korean revolutionaries in whom the ideological system of the Party is firmly established. We must train all our soldiers and working people to be revolutionaries of this sort.

This means that our soldiers and working people must be well acquainted, first of all, with the objectives and tasks of the revolution and know the methods of revolutionary struggle and its future prospects. We should explain to the soldiers and working people what the basic tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are as well as how rich and strong our country will become, how well-off our people will be and what great significance it will have in relieving the plight of the south Korean people when it is fulfilled. They should also be made to realize fully how we are building socialism. All these matters are explicitly stated in the report to the Fourth Congress of our Party. All our soldiers and working people should be induced to make a deep study of the Party documents and become well informed of the Party's policies put forward in each period of the revolution, and of the intentions of the Party Central Committee. Thus, we should see that all people think and act as the Party Central Committee does, and fight to carry out the Party's policies through thick and thin.

We must expect an arduous struggle in the future, too. We should follow the examples of the heroic struggle of our revolutionary forerunners and assimilate and develop their fighting spirit. In this way, we should see that everyone fights for the reunification and independence of our country and for the final victory of the Korean revolution with the same revolutionary spirit and unflagging fighting will that the anti-Japanese guerrillas displayed in the deep forests of Mt. Paektu.

Along with class education, it is necessary to strengthen communist

moral education still further. So far our Party has paid a great deal of attention to communist moral education, and has already achieved considerable success. The communist pattern of work and life has begun to take root among our working masses and there are many examples of people fighting devotedly for their comrades and collectives. Many glowing and impressive accounts of communist deeds have been coming forth from among the workers and peasants, and from intellectuals like teachers and doctors, whose level of consciousness is relatively high.

But we cannot rest content with the successes already achieved: there still are many shortcomings in the work of communist moral education.

Quite a few people still do not love the collective, do not love labour and do not cherish and protect state property or common property.

Even in our society, if people are left alone, without moral education, hopeless egoists may appear. If people become selfish, they will be wild with a desire for a life of plenty, just for themselves, not caring even about their parents, brothers and sisters, relatives, friends and comrades—just as in capitalist society. What is the good of living this way? Since we intend to build a communist society and get everyone to live equally well, we cannot allow anyone to become an egoist like that.

The survivals of obsolete ideas and old habits of life, which have come down through thousands of years, cannot disappear of their own accord in a brief period, just because a new socialist system has been set up. The complete eradication of outdated moral concepts and habits of life from among the working people requires a long, persevering struggle and positive education for the building up of a new, communist morality.

However, we have failed to successfully conduct communist moral education among the working people in a systematic way. For an effective moral education, social and home education should be conducted well, and should be properly combined with school

education.

In the future, communist moral education should be the subject of textbooks, booklets and articles in magazines; and we should also produce many films and dramas on the theme of moral education.

Education in communist morality should be intensified in the People's Army, too.

Most important of all here is to have the traditional virtue of unity between officers and men further developed in the army. In the past, among the anti-Japanese guerrillas, commanding officers and soldiers shared sleeping quarters and meals, joys and sorrows with each other. At that time the commanders did not have a family life and they took care of their men at all times, living together with them.

At present, however, the officers have a family life, and do not share sleeping quarters or meals with the soldiers. This is right and necessary, of course: there should be differences between the officers, who will serve the army all through their lives, and the soldiers, who will go back into society after three or four years of military service.

However, we should be deeply conscious of the risk that, since they do not share sleeping quarters and meals with the soldiers, the officers could become estranged from the life of their men, which would then make it difficult to ensure unity between officers and men. As a matter of fact, if officers do not go among the soldiers and live with them constantly, they will be unable to have a good grasp of the mentality of the soldiers, and a gap could open between them.

If we do not manage to give a full communist moral education to the officers, in conjunction with education in the revolutionary traditions, they will not be concerned about the life their men lead, while themselves living a comfortable life in a well-heated home with meals served by their wives: and they will only seek a still more comfortable life. As the saying goes: "Put a man on a horse, and he will demand a footman." And they will, in the long run, come to hate even walking, and they will want a car; once they get a car, they will want a bigger one so as to stretch out their legs comfortably in it. Then they can no longer make revolution.

If you want to make revolution, you must discard the egoistic idea of living well only for yourselves. A revolutionary must be ready to sacrifice his private life.

Officers must organize their daily life in the spirit of always sharing the sweet and the bitter with the soldiers and, make conscious efforts not to become estranged from their men. Whenever you enjoy a special delicacy, you must think of your soldiers; when it rains, or when your troops camp out or are on an arduous march, you must not go home to sleep but stay with your men.

Officers should be strictly prohibited from following such pernicious practices as having their men chop firewood or carry water for them to make their family life more comfortable. This is little less than the behaviour of officers in a privileged caste. There are very acute contradictions between officers and men in an imperialist army, where officers exercise such privileges. We must take all precautions against the slightest expression of such evil tendencies in our revolutionary army.

In the revolutionary army, officers and men are all comrades who share life and death, sweet and bitter, for the sake of the revolution. Superiors should love and help subordinates, and the latter should respect and defend the former, thus ensuring firm unity between them. Officers must always love their men as their own brothers and show day-to-day concern for their daily life; the divisional commander should give assistance to the regimental commander, the regimental commander to the battalion commander, the battalion commander to the company commander and the company commander to the platoon leader. The unity between officers and men must be maintained in this way. It is very important to ensure unity between officers and men so that our army will become the army of our Party, a class army and a revolutionary army. Only in this way will our army always overcome difficulties through unity and be assured of victory under all circumstances.

Also, soldiers should be educated in the spirit of taking good care of weapons and economizing on ammunition. Without weapons and

ammunition you cannot fight the enemy. We should know how the anti-Japanese guerrillas treasured their weapons.

Only when our soldiers are educated in the spirit of taking good care of weapons and saving ammunition, will they manage state and cooperative farm property well and display patriotic devotion in socialist construction in the future, when they are given assignments to work at factories or cooperative farms.

I visited units in the forward area this time to see how they are getting along and found that the living conditions of the soldiers are not bad. What we have to do now is to fully equip them all with the revolutionary communist spirit by strengthening their class education and communist moral education. Most important today in strengthening the fighting capacity of our army is to conduct this political and ideological work among the soldiers in a thoroughgoing manner.

3. ON ENHANCING THE ROLE OF LITERATURE AND ART IN CLASS EDUCATION

I should like to express some views on how to make better use of various educational media, literary and art works in particular, in class education.

We have a lot of educational media—newspapers, magazines, novels, plays, films and so on. However, none of the numerous educational media plays its part properly today.

We have at our disposal a wealth of good materials for the education of our working people. A proper comparison in explaining the diametrically different realities of north and south, for instance, will enable the working people to get a profound understanding of the advantages of the socialist system. However, we are not attending to this work well.

Besides, we have many splendid achievements to our credit: there are too many praiseworthy things to enumerate—the great successes our people have scored in socialist construction, the peerless heroism which they are displaying, and the hosts of fine communist stories which are being created among the working masses, etc. But we fail to give proper publicity to them.

This is why everyone who visits our country, whether he is a foreigner or a young person from south Korea, comments that we are understating our actual achievements in our propaganda. It is true that our information work is below par.

Why do we fail to make the best use of our excellent achievements in our information work? The main reason is that such work is left to a few writers and journalists, and the broad masses are not actively enlisted in it.

As I have said time and again, it is wrong to make writing something mysterious. There is nothing mysterious about literature and art. Anyone who has graduated from middle school can write about what he feels and thinks.

A great many middle school graduates can be found in the countryside, too, not to speak of towns, and still more in the army. There are ever so many people who are able to write. It is advisable to get all of them to write what they have seen and felt. Then you can collect their writings and have highly qualified writers pick out good stories and give them a bit of artistic polish. That is all there is to it.

This method can be applied also to scenario and play writing.

Generally, the cultural level of our working people is not low today. We also have a good many professional writers and composers. Nothing is impossible for us if we mobilize all our forces.

When we were waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we had neither writers nor composers, but we nevertheless staged dramas, made up songs and put out magazines and pamphlets.

We got together and had discussions about writing a play or composing a piece of music. And yet, the masses warmly acclaimed our plays, and many young people who were moved by them vied with

each other to join the guerrillas. From this experience it is at least evident that our plays captivated the hearts of the audience.

Magazines, pamphlets and the like were also put out by primary school graduates or at best by middle school graduates.

True, some crudeness was unavoidable in these works, but they were enough to educate the masses effectively.

There is nothing extraordinary about literature or art. The essential thing is to depict the truth. A certain degree of clumsiness does not matter so long as the masses can understand well.

As for magazines, I think the design of *Chollima* is agreeable. It would be better to increase the staff of reporters and correspondents for this sort of magazine, and to induce many people in each village, factory and school to write about different things that take place in town and country, and to send their writings to the magazine.

At first they may be not good at writing, of course. But it is advisable that even though poorly written, their writings should be published, after having been given a good polishing. This encouragement will stimulate and help them to write a better article next time. Their qualifications will also improve as a result of doing this repeatedly.

We should thus induce workers and farmers, workteam leaders and managerial personnel to write, and the chairmen of county Party committees and of county people's committees, too.

Scenarios and dramas must be created on a mass scale. When many people are drawn into creative work, a variety of talent may emerge and this will, in turn, stimulate such work on a mass scale.

This will make it possible to obtain plenty of good material. If there are outstanding items among them, journalists or writers may go to the authors to help perfect them.

Why do we consider the play *A Red Motivation Worker* to be a good piece? Because it gives a good portrayal of a stirring event taking place in our countryside as it really is. People like Ri Sin Ja are to be found not only in Rihyon-ri but in many other places, too. If a lot of people write about such laudable happenings taking place around them, and

professional writers and artists produce their works on that basis, they can produce as many first-rate works as are desired. Our literary and art works must always be based on such live sources.

We must find many good stories by enlisting the masses of the people who have a vocation for writing, and publish them in the newspapers or work them up into literary pieces to educate the working masses.

Next, let me tell you about how to deal with subjects based on the revolutionary traditions in novels, films and plays.

In the light of the present situation of our country, it is natural that literature and art should take many of their themes from our revolutionary traditions and war experiences. But these subjects must be dealt with in such a way as to suit the feelings of our young people of today.

At present, the young people find our films on the theme of the revolutionary traditions or war to be too stiff and boring. This means that these films are not properly attuned to our life of today.

So, I say our comrades do not know how to administer medicine effectively. People are unwilling to take a bitter medicine, however good for them it may be. A bitter medicine should be sugar-coated before it is administered. The point is that you do not know how to sugar-coat skilfully.

When you make a war film, you should not present only battle scenes from start to finish: you should reduce the number of such scenes, and link them as much as possible with scenes of today; and you should also strive to make your works rich in emotion so as to meet the feelings of young people.

Suppose you make a film based on the battle of Height 1211. You can start it with a soldier's reminiscences of a hero who fought well on Height 1211, and properly associate the hero's life in the past with his present life. In this way, you can produce an interesting film. You might also show the hero's childhood; what education he received from his parents in his early days, how he studied at school, how he kept on good terms with his friends, and what sort of girl he fell in love

with. You can further describe how bravely the hero fought the enemy on Height 1211 after joining the army, and what the soldier himself was doing at that time and what impressions he got from the hero's struggle; you can also portray how actively he is participating in the building of socialism at present, how he fares today and how his heroic friend and his parents are getting along and so on, thereby introducing topics of today's life. Thus, it is possible to deal with both past and present, introduce valour and heroism in battle and give a good description of life's emotions as well.

But the film entitled *Defenders of Height 1211* which was put out recently is nothing but fighting from beginning to end.

By contrast, the film *Under the Bright Sun* is a fine piece. It gives a true portrayal not only of the revolutionary struggle of the anti-Japanese guerrillas but also of today's struggle for socialist construction and the people's happy life under the socialist system. True, the sequences of the recollection of former times seem a little long, but, it is, in my opinion, anyway a good work, suited to our present-day life.

We must bring about a great improvement in film production.

Films are a very important means of mass education. But our cinematographic art is in a very backward state today.

It has been several years since the February 8 Film Studio was set up but it has not produced any war film worth mentioning.

We are to blame, of course, for having failed to educate writers and artists properly, but the chief reason is that script writing has been shrouded in mystery. You are gravely mistaken if you think only certain professionals can write scenarios. Anyone can write an excellent piece, if he just goes among the people and depicts the truth. The fault lies with writers and artists who make a mystery of literature and art and who do not delve deeply into real life.

We have been producing films for years now, yet we have not had a film dealing with the working class. Our country has thousands of factories and a heroic working class. There are no end of examples of the valiant struggle of the workers that can be described. But no film

has ever appeared depicting the working class.

One day I saw a Soviet feature film *Bright Path* together with some writers and artists, and then consulted them as to what had to be done in the future to improve motion picture work in our country. The film was about a woman, a former maid at an inn, who distinguished herself as a weaver, bringing about an innovation at the time of the Stakhanov Movement and in time became a Deputy to the Soviet. It depicts the struggle of the working class well and has healthy music that gives courage to the audience.

So, I told out writers and artists that they, too, should make films that way.

How many examples there are of the heroic struggle of the working class in our country, where the Chollima Movement is being unfolded! What we have built on the debris during the postwar years has not come all by itself: it is the result of the heroic struggle waged by our working class which displayed extraordinary patriotic devotion.

Our working class fought well, indeed. In order to save their factories from the enemy's bombing, they dismantled machines and carried them on their backs across mountains and rivers; they fought hard battles for postwar reconstruction, under conditions of great austerity.

But when told to depict something reminiscent of the past, you merely show scenes of utter destruction caused by desperate bombing by the American imperialists. Why do you present desolate scenes of ruin only, instead of the heroic battles of our working class? Only those who are ignorant of the people's struggle can do that.

As I said once last year, documentary films, too, are poorly made.

In our documentary films today there appear spool after spool of fine landscapes with flowing waters and towering rocks like Mt. Kungang and Mt. Chilbo, but few of them depict how people work, struggle and learn at factories, schools, hospitals and other places. That is why I once said: "You shoot too many waterfalls. Do you think of living on the waterfalls of Mt. Kungang?"

Also appearing quite often in documentary films are meeting halls.

These halls are usually shown in the first sequences of documentary films. We have had enough of meeting halls. Why do you always do this? What is the use of screening the platform of a meeting in every documentary, or of filming leading dignitaries delivering speeches or awarding prizes? The audiences will lose interest in such films because similar scenes are being constantly repeated.

Documentary films ought to show people labouring heroically at factories, farms and fishing ports. Such scenes can make a real newsreel. If a newsreel just presents the same men you always see and the all-too-familiar conference halls, how can it be worthy of its name?

As for the conference halls, you should shoot them a couple of times a year when there are meetings of special importance like a people's assembly or a Party congress. That is enough. How can you film all the activists' meetings which are held almost everyday?

A newsreel is supposed to show lifelike scenes of the struggle as it actually develops, and present them when they are still fresh. It must show how people are working all over the country—at factories and farm villages, schools and hospitals. Only then will it be attuned to our feelings, reflect the superiority of the socialist system and, accordingly, enjoy popularity with the audience and have an educative value. Our cinema is too backward. We must rapidly raise the level of both feature films and documentaries so that they vividly reflect our life.

To raise the level of our literary and art works, writers and artists must delve more deeply into real life.

We have a bad practice of awarding prizes too often. Prizes are awarded whenever a work is created or a piece of music is composed fairly well. And the rest, that receive no prize, are regarded as rejects.

Of course, I have no objection to awarding many prizes. But I think we had better work a little more, and only then receive an award. We should be a bit more modest and make more serious efforts to improve our work. Getting together for drinking is not the right thing to do when you win a prize for your work. That could lead to dissipation and ruin.

We must work harder to intensify class education and communist moral education, propagate the Party's policies and show the heroic struggle of the people. We must produce many better works.

Besides, in order to keep our people better informed of the actual situation in south Korea it would be desirable to publish an illustrated magazine with plenty of photographs showing the realities of south Korea. This is the way we must induce people to feel sympathy for the hard lot of our south Korean compatriots, to hate the US imperialists and their stooges and to resolve to accelerate socialist construction in the northern half, live a frugal life and fight persistently to carry our revolution through to the end.

If we continually strive to enhance the role of the educational media such as the radio, newspapers, magazines, novels, dramas and films, and if we impart class education and communist moral education according to the requirements of our reality, we will register greater successes in this work.

4. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK IN THE ARMY

Now I should like to touch briefly on Party work in the army. Those who think that Party work generally means holding meetings, admitting new members into the Party and penalizing those who make errors are grossly mistaken.

The essential element of Party work is work with cadres and rousing the Party organizations to action. Party work is, above all, work with the people who make up the Party. Most important in work with these people is work with cadres. We can say that Party work is going well when work with cadres is done well. Cadres in the army mean the officers. The Party committees must give top priority to doing a good job in work with officers.

Work with cadres can be performed either through private conversations or collectively at a meeting. If the commander, deputy commander for political affairs, and the chief of staff of the regiment and other executive committee members of the regimental Party committee coordinate their efforts in buckling down to work with cadres, they can get to know all the cadres in the regiment like the palms of their hands.

But you are not doing your work with cadres regularly; if all you do is to have a talk with them whenever there is some trouble. That is not doing a good job of keeping in constant touch with cadres, studying their merits and demerits and educating them. You cannot have a grasp of the actual conditions of the cadres if you only see them at meetings or simply issue orders or receive reports.

When you meet and talk with the cadres often, you will surely discover their good and bad points and come to grips with various questions which call for solution. In the case of comrades who have a low political level, the problem of raising it will come to the fore; with comrades whose cultural level is low or who are loose in their moral conduct, the problem arises of enhancing their cultural level or setting their moral life on the right track; and with those who have insufficient knowledge of military affairs, the problem of elevating their level of practical know-how comes up.

I am holding a meeting with you now, but with this meeting alone I can hardly get a full grasp of the actual conditions of your units. It is of course impossible for me to talk with every one of you personally. I, for my part, have cadres with whom I have to work every day. I do my routine work chiefly with the vice-chairmen and department directors of the Party Central Committee, vice-premiers and ministers of the Cabinet, responsible officials of various social organizations, and with high-ranking generals in the army. In the course of my conversations with them, I discover quite a few problems.

A little while ago a deputy regimental commander for political affairs told us that he held talks with eight persons a month. That is too few. He ought to talk with about 20 persons. He can have talks with at

least one person a day, while attending to other business.

You might send for the man you want to talk with, but you can also go down to a unit and have talks with your comrades while living with them or helping them in their work, or take advantage of their presence at a meeting.

Your private conversation could cover any problems ranging from their political and ideological life, their army life in the unit and their cultural life, down to their personal life. If a comrade's weak point is political knowledge you might recommend books on politics to him, and if his cultural level is low you could advise him to read some novels or poems. And then you could tell him to relate the knowledge he has obtained from books to his own work, so as to check up on whether he has a proper understanding of the contents of the books. In this way you will be able to give our cadres a class education, education in the revolutionary traditions and education in Party policies, too, in a more concrete way.

Work with cadres can also be done by having the executive committee hear a report by a given comrade on his work. This type of work should be accomplished by understanding the actual work of the cadres, by giving them good advice and helping them to work better, instead of digging into the faults of comrades who have committed serious errors and scolding them at a meeting. At present the overwhelming majority of our cadres are all hard-working, good people. Their only drawback is that they have insufficient qualifications and do not know how to do their work properly. That is why work with cadres should be done with the main emphasis on the educational work aimed at teaching them work methods and improving their qualifications.

You must not think that political work with cadres is done exclusively by the divisional political department chief or the deputy regimental commander for political affairs. It should be carried out by divisional and regimental commanders and by all Party committee members.

Our experience tells us that it is of paramount importance to

educate people through private talks and meetings. In the old days, when we were engaged in guerrilla warfare, we used to go down to the units, carrying our bundles with us, and march together with the men, and we broached some questions among the guerrillas during rest periods so as to conduct information work and educate them. Since we were always having talks with individual guerrillas, we had a full grasp of the strong and weak points, character and even hobbies of each comrade. So, even when a comrade committed an error, we could offer him criticism suited to his level and character. This led those criticized to accept it without taking offence and to correct their errors readily.

If we work with cadres in this manner we will prevent them from making mistakes and build our ranks solidly. We did not carry on work with cadres in this way before, and as a result, we were unaware that the anti-Party factionalists were spoiling lots of people and we could not prevent them from doing harm. If we do not pay proper attention to the work with cadres, much the same thing could happen again in the future.

Our cadres are the priceless wealth of the state. In the years of the Fatherland Liberation War they fought bravely, without hesitating to give their lives, and safeguarded our Party and country, and they fought devotedly in the postwar years as well, to strengthen and develop our People's Army. We should give active assistance to these cadres so that they unite around the Party as firmly as ever and achieve splendid results in their work, avoiding errors. Meanwhile, we must always give class education and education in the revolutionary traditions to the new, young cadres, so that all of them inherit the glorious traditions of our People's Army and develop into excellent military cadres, totally loyal to the Party and the revolution.

Another important thing in Party work is to keep the Party organizations constantly on the go. It is necessary always to see whether the Party cells and Party committees hold meetings in time to consider essential matters, whether they have dealt with them correctly, how they organize studies for the Party members and how

they conduct mass education and so on; and to supervise the Party organizations at all levels so that they ensure a proper organizational life for the Party members according to the principles set forth in the Party Rules.

When the ranks of cadres are firmly built and the Party organizations do their work normally, then all the Party members will be roused to activity, and when this happens all the soldiers will be roused to activity. Therefore, the Party committees in the army should make every effort to normalize the work with cadres and the work of keeping Party organizations in action.

5. ON STRENGTHENING THE TIES WITH THE LOCAL POPULATION

Now, one of the most essential problems in strengthening our People's Army is its work with the local population.

As you all know, "As fish cannot live without water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people" was the motto of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. This motto, in the last analysis, emphasizes the importance of the mass line. In the army, the commanders cannot live without their men, while the army as a whole cannot live without the people.

However strong the army may be, it can never show its strength unless it is supported by the local population. This is as true under our present government as in conditions of guerrilla warfare. If the people in the areas where the army is stationed are badly off or not well-disposed towards our government and army, it will greatly affect the morale of the soldiers and will also be very disadvantageous in the fight against the enemy. Therefore, the People's Army must always maintain close ties with the local population and actively help them to achieve a comfortable living standard.

There are two most important questions to be solved in work with the local people. One is to help them to live decently, and the other is to awaken their class consciousness.

To do this work well it is necessary, first of all, to have a correct grasp of the actual conditions in the areas where army units are stationed. The political department of the regiment, at least, as well as of the division, must have full knowledge of the general conditions in the county where its units are stationed, and must acquaint itself with the concrete situation in the ri where the troops are quartered. In order to grasp the local situation, it is necessary, above all, to know the local Party organizations well. You should know in detail what sort of man the ri Party committee chairman is, what the makeup of the ri Party committee is, what kind of people the cooperative farm management board chairman and workteam leaders are, what the composition of the population is, what shortcomings they have in their work and so on.

After having become completely familiar with the actual situation in the locality, you must take measures to help the local Party organizations. Up to now the People's Army has assisted the local population in various ways. It has given them a helping hand with work, as well as technical and economic assistance. This is, of course, necessary. But this sort of help alone is not enough to solve the basic problems. People in some individual villages in the mountain areas are badly off, primarily because of unsatisfactory Party work, though this is also partly attributable to a shortage of manpower or other unfavourable material conditions. Until Party work is set on the right course, no amount of material and technical assistance will do any more good than pouring water into a bottomless pot—there will be no end to it.

The People's Army should, first of all, render political assistance to local Party organizations, so that they may perform their work well. It is a good thing that you attend Party meetings to help the organizations and that you explain and disseminate the Party's policies among the masses. The army has many qualified lecturers and many comrades experienced in Party organizational work. If

these political forces in the units are mobilized to assist the ri Party organizations in their work, it will help greatly to improve the work of these organizations.

Some suppose that, because the forward areas are mostly mountainous, the people there are not well-off, but that is not true. As far as the natural conditions are concerned, those of Changsong and Pyoktong are more unfavourable than here. And yet, people over there are all well-off now. When we visited a unit yesterday we had a talk with a soldier from Changsong. According to him, his family in Changsong received 2.5 tons of grain and 2,500 *won* in cash, whereas here in this farm village the average share per household amounted to some 1.6 tons of grain and 100 *won* in cash. The soldier also said that the natural conditions here are not less favourable than in Changsong.

Needless to say, it is not that the Changsong people were well-off from the outset. It took us four or five years to get them to develop the prosperous life they lead today.

When I visited Changsong for the first time in 1955, the living conditions of the local people there were terrible. For a year or two I tried different methods of shoring up the work of the county and improving the livelihood of the people, but failed to solve the problem.

Therefore, the Party deemed it necessary to improve the work of the county Party organization first of all, selected an excellent cadre for the chairmanship of the county Party committee, and built up the county Party committee with fine comrades, before pushing the work ahead energetically.

As in all other work, a very important question in county work is that the county Party committee chairman and other cadres in the county themselves set an example in implementing the Party's policies. The chairman of the Changsong County Party Committee had remarkable executive capacity, though he spoke little. He personally went out to direct Party-cell meetings, delivered lectures to the masses and took the lead in carrying loads on his back at the construction sites of locally-run factories. Since the county Party committee chairman

came out at dawn to work with an A-frame carrier on his back, not only did vice-chairmen and section heads of the county Party committee do the same, but even the nurses from the hospital came out. In this way they built levees to ward off floods and erected houses and factories. They were active in gathering and processing large quantities of wild fruit and extensively developed stockbreeding by making use of the mountainside. Farmers each got a hundred *won* in cash just for the wild berries or haws they collected, and earned another hundred *won* with a calf they raised to sell. In doing so, they set a fine example of putting into practice the Party slogan: "In mountainous areas make proper use of the mountains!" and thereby proved that people in the mountains can live as well as those on the plains.

This area abounds with mountains and grass but I could not find a single sheep or cow in the valleys. Farmers here seem to be relying only on tiny tracts of land at the foot of the mountains, without turning the mountains themselves to good account. Worse, the officials of the Party and government organs here fail to do proper political work among the peasants, with the result that farming is unsatisfactory. This is why people are still badly off.

You are communists who are ready to fight for the revolution at the risk of your lives. It would be quite absurd if you could not even lead your neighbours properly. A genuine revolutionary army should not only be able to fight the enemy proficiently but also know how to conduct political work well among the people. The anti-Japanese guerrillas were very brave fighters when fighting the enemy arms in hand, and all of them were excellent political workers among the local people.

Those who are not fully aware of the real state of things may think that the Changsong people have become well-off because the central authorities gave them plenty of things. But we did not give them anything special. If we gave them anything, it was the handful of competent cadres whom we assigned to work with them. We helped the people in Changsong mainly with their Party work.

The basic problem cannot be solved so long as you confine

yourselves to helping people by providing them with some manpower, as you now do. We must help people politically and revolutionarily. By helping them in their Party work, we must induce all the local people to actively implement the Party's policies on their own initiative, and to do their best to build up their localities in a beautiful way, and raise their living standard.

The Party's policy for improving the living conditions of the people in the mountain areas has been set forth clearly. It is necessary to extensively develop local industry, stockbreeding, fruit growing and the like by making effective use of the experiences gained by Changsong and Pukchong. If the people come to take an interest in their work and are roused to action in that way, all problems will be solved.

Now, as soon as the people in Changsong hear about a newly issued Party resolution or directive, they willingly come to visit the Party and government bodies to inquire about its contents. Everything will go smoothly if everyone becomes thus sensitive to Party policies. We must see to it that people are awakened on their own and achieve a prosperous life by their own efforts. If we do good political work, the people here, too, will come to lead as plentiful a life as the people in Changsong.

It is necessary to improve the living standards of the local population in the forward areas rapidly, in two or three years, and unite them more closely around the Party.

At the first stage, we must start with the work of bringing the Party's policies home to them. If people come to understand the Party's policies and put them into practice, their living conditions will also improve and their unity will naturally be consolidated still more.

The vicinities of the zones where the People's Army troops are stationed must thus be built up properly. Only then can you enlist the aid of the masses and confront the enemy without any preoccupations.

The method to be adopted for political work is now set forth explicitly in the Party's documents. They explain everything

lucidly—how to get a grasp of the actual conditions of the masses, how to propagate the Party’s policies, how to carry on work with the families of former “peace maintenance corps” members, with the families of those who went south and other groups with complex backgrounds, and how to fight against scoundrels. All you need to do is study and understand them more thoroughly and give effective help to the local Party organizations.

Bad people may be found even among local Party officials. In such cases you should submit your opinions to higher-level Party bodies. It is also necessary to stimulate the county Party committees and the provincial Party committees incessantly so that they are obliged to do their work with the people in the forward areas.

When the local Party organizations and the People’s Army join efforts and energetically carry on political work in this way, the work in the forward areas will rapidly improve, the people there will become well-off, and your rear will truly be consolidated.

6. ON MILITARY AND OTHER PROBLEMS

Now, I should like to say a few words on military problems.

So far you have done a great deal of work. You have carried out a lot of defence construction and the ranks of cadres have been built up properly. The morale of the soldiers is high; you have enough reserves of the necessary materials, and everything is in full combat readiness. Both officers and men lead a good life.

My personal inspection this time has further convinced me that you really have a good life, though I had already formed a general idea of it from the reports of the Defence Minister and the General Political Bureau Director. Your life seems quite different from what I saw in 1954 when I visited Phanmun County.

However, we should not be complacent with the results we have

already achieved. We must conduct combat training more effectively and make consistent efforts to further perfect our combat readiness.

We must remember that most of our recruits lack actual combat experience, and we must also take into consideration the fact that new types of weapons are coming out one after another and, accordingly, constant changes are taking place in tactics as well. We must acquire a thorough mastery of the new kinds of weapons and continue to study defence tactics against the new weapons which the enemy has shipped in.

The People's Army is entrusted with the weighty responsibility of defending our country for the Party and the people. You must be thoroughly prepared in all respects so as to be completely able to smash any enemy and must equip yourselves more fully with new, continually-developing military science and technology.

You must not tell yourselves that you can beat the enemy hands down just because you had been as far as the Raktong River area and fought the Yankees over three years, or think you do not need to learn any more because you have fought since the days of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle. We should try to read just one more book in order to acquire knowledge of the latest military science and technology.

You should make a study of the enemy's weapons and strategy and tactics, too. We can defeat the enemy if we know him well.

In modern warfare it is important to make better use of artillery, tanks and the like and ensure higher mobility. We must, therefore, ensure that each of the arms raises its technical and skill levels, and that everyone constantly improves his marksmanship to become a crack shot.

We should never miss the target, so as not to waste precious shells. If the enemy scores a single hit out of a hundred, we should not miss once in a hundred shots.

All our weapons and war materials belong to the people. Those who do not value and take care of the people's property are not patriots.

Today our people are performing two difficult tasks

simultaneously. We are effecting all-round industrialization while at the same time carrying out the great work of increasing the nation's defence capabilities. Thanks to our advanced social system and our Party's correct policies we are successfully carrying on these two difficult tasks by our own efforts. These two tasks should be carried out simultaneously. In fact, if we had not established a powerful industry, we could not have the great defence capabilities we now possess. And if we had not increased the country's defence capabilities, our people would not be able to build socialism today with a sense of security.

In proportion to population, our country has the largest army among the socialist countries. While undertaking economic construction on a large scale, we allocate a huge amount of materials and forces to the construction of the nation's defences. A colossal amount of steel and cement has been invested in the tunnels you have driven. With the same equipment and material we could build huge numbers of factories and dwellings. It is therefore necessary to cherish and take good care of the tunnels and all the other military installations we have built, and to economize on arms, ammunition and other war materials to the maximum. Only then will it be possible for us to build up our national economy and defences on a larger scale.

From olden times a strong man who distinguished himself in battle has been called a "match for a hundred", which means that one man can beat a hundred foes. If we do our training better and strengthen our defences, it is possible for us to become a "match for a hundred".

We are not in a position to expand the army at present: we are already short of manpower. Further expansion of the army would hinder the construction of the national economy.

Therefore, the only correct way is to strengthen our positions by making the best use of our existing military personnel, conduct military training better and equip all the soldiers fully with the revolutionary spirit, so that each of them can handle a hundred foes. If defence construction is carried out more adequately and all our

soldiers become crack shots and arm themselves with an indomitable fighting spirit, it is quite easy to make everyone a match for a hundred.

Only when you increase your fighting capacity and make our defence line impregnable can our people continue to advance in the saddle of Chollima in socialist construction. That will amount to putting into effect the Party's slogan that both socialist construction and national defence must be ensured properly, with a hammer and sickle in one hand, and a rifle in the other.

Only if we build socialism better and increase our strength still further can the question of national reunification be solved at an early date.

Two things are essential for the solution of the question of the revolution in the southern half of our country. One is that we build socialism more successfully in the northern half and turn our revolutionary position into an impregnable fortress; and the other is that the people in the southern half themselves be encouraged to rise up. The revolution in the southern half cannot be accomplished unless the people there rise up themselves.

Certainly, this does not mean that we are going to leave the revolution in the southern half to the south Korean people only. It is the common duty of the entire Korean people to drive out the US imperialists and to reunify our country. We must therefore continue to wage a stubborn struggle to bring our revolution to final completion. We must not forget our south Korean compatriots; we must strengthen our revolutionary forces.

However, it is impossible to accomplish the revolution in the southern half without the struggle of the people in the south, no matter what else may be done. This we keenly felt during the first southward march.

Pak Hon Yong, a spy on the American payroll, bragged that south Korea had 200,000 Party members and that in Seoul alone there were as many as 60,000. But in actual fact, this guy, in league with the Yankees, totally destroyed our Party in south Korea. Although we

advanced as far as the Raktong River area, no revolt broke out in south Korea. Pusan is located a stone's throw from Taegu, and if only a few thousand workers in Pusan had risen to hold a demonstration, the question would have been different. If some people in the southern half had risen in revolt, we would have definitely liberated even Pusan and the American troops would not have been able to land.

Therefore, it is most important to awaken the people in the southern half and induce them to participate in the revolutionary struggle.

It will be some time before all the people wake up. The south Korean people are constantly being trained and aroused by hunger and poverty. People are aroused only after they have been deceived time and again and undergone bitter hardships personally.

When Syngman Rhee was ousted, I met the students of the Songdo University of Political Economy, who were very excited, for most of them were from the southern half. They were overwhelmed with joy, exclaiming in unison: "Everything is settled now, isn't it, Premier?" At that time I spoke to them in this way: "When Syngman Rhee is toppled there will appear a Syngman 'Jang'. When Syngman 'Jang' is overthrown, a Syngman 'Pak' will appear. By this process of repetition, the people in the southern half will be fully aroused and will eventually rise up against the enemy. Only then will the problem of the revolution in the southern half be solved and will you be able to return to your native places."

In fact, Syngman "Jang" was installed after Syngman Rhee was ousted. When Jang Myon was in power, repression eased somewhat, and people started rising. At the time the question of reunification seemed to be really ripening into solution. But it is not so simple as long as the Yankees are there. Scared by the move of the south Korean young people to rush up to Panmunjom to meet the youth of the north, the Yankees instigated their spies to overthrow the Jang Myon "regime", and installed the military gangsters in office. Sooner or later these military gangs, too, will be thrown out. But it is a foregone conclusion that yet another scoundrel will assume power in their stead.

We should not think that everything will be over when Park Chung Hee is ousted. The point is that the people should be aroused. All young people should be aroused, the workers and peasants should be aroused, and, further, the “National Defence Army” soldiers should be aroused. They are now being gradually aroused. We must actively help them to wake up quickly.

If the young people of the south come and see at least Pyongyang, how soon they will be aroused! If we build socialism successfully, show the south Korean people the happy life of the people in the northern half and conduct tireless educational work in order to arouse them, all the south Korean people will come over to our side. Then the Yankees will find no way out, and the question of the revolution in the southern half will be solved once and for all.

The Chinese people, too, had long suffered from infighting among the warlords. Wu Feifu, Zhang Zuolin, Feng Yuxiang and many other warlords assumed power and were ousted one after another. This was repeated over and over again, and in the process the people came to open their eyes, followed the Chinese Communist Party to expel Jiang Jieshi and, in the long run, accomplished the revolution.

Subjective desire alone is not enough to carry out the revolution. Victory in the revolution presupposes the maturity of all objective conditions. For the triumph of the revolution in the southern half of our country it is necessary to further strengthen the revolutionary forces in the northern half, and it is especially important to arouse the people in the south. Just as the young people of the south rose up and beat down Syngman Rhee, so must all the south Korean people rise against US imperialism.

If we conduct proper work also with the puppet soldiers in the southern half, it is possible to win them over to the fold of the people, to the fold of the revolution. The puppet army officers may be sons of landlords and capitalists, but the rank and file are all sons and daughters of workers and peasants. If they are awakened to class consciousness, they may level their guns at the American scoundrels.

We must continue to intensify work with the enemy troops. It is no

secret that a revolutionary army does political work among the enemy troops. Once the army turns to the side of the revolution, the ruling classes are ruined inevitably. Therefore, it is very important to work with the enemy troops, aiming to convert the puppet army to the side of the people.

It seems that you have not yet fully understood that the revolution in the southern half requires the awakening of the south Korean people and, chiefly, their struggle. It is, of course, no easy job to educate the enemy troops to come over to our side. This should be done strenuously under a detailed plan over a prolonged period. You must not give up after a few unsuccessful attempts.

Preparations are necessary for a revolution. From now on you should untiringly conduct work with the “National Defence Army” and make ample preparations. Such preparations may seem insignificant right now, but they will become a big asset as they accumulate.

The revolution in the southern half is also related in a large measure to the international situation. A struggle against the US imperialists should take place everywhere in the world, driving them into blind alleys. First of all, the Asian peoples must all unite and drive the Yankees out of Asia. US imperialism is being isolated from the people more and more, and the day of its defeat is drawing near.

Today the general international situation is favourable to our revolution. In the international arena the forces of socialism are much stronger than the forces of imperialism. Furthermore, the national-liberation movement in the colonies is growing steadily. Contradictions are being further aggravated within the imperialist camp. France is opposed to the United States and a deep-going antagonism is also being created between Britain and France. The situation is disadvantageous for the imperialists while it is advantageous for us.

The same is true regarding the situation in south Korea. Today the US imperialists occupying south Korea, and their lackeys, the military fascist clique, have reached a dead end: the military rulers are at loggerheads with one another, and even groups of the former

Democratic Party and Liberal Party have come out against Park Chung Hee.

All this tells us that there are prospects that the south Korean revolution will continue to develop in the future.

We should prepare ourselves well; but not because of the situation being in any way unfavourable for us, or because there is any great danger of war. When our Party adopted its resolution on increasing our defensive might it aimed at arming the entire people, turning the whole country into a fortress and thus preventing our enemies from venturing to provoke us. We strengthen the defensive power of the country not so much to cope with a war that might be launched by the enemy as to make good preparations for coming to the aid of the south Korean revolution when required by the growth of the revolutionary forces in south Korea and by the intensification of the people's struggle, and as to deter the enemy from daring to set off a war.

Enemies always look for a weak point, and once they spot it, they attack. It is in the nature of imperialism to attack the weak. If we doze off without vigilance or loaf about all the time, the enemy may raid us. Therefore, we must increase our defence capabilities, be alert, mobilized and always in full combat readiness.

The Yankees hate Cuba like a thorn in their flesh and Kennedy, the rascal, is still looking for a chance to invade Cuba. But the Cuban people led by Premier Fidel Castro have resolved to fight to the last man and have categorically rejected on-the-spot inspection by the Yankees.

Today Cuba has a large number of militiamen besides the regular army. Because Cuba had been a colony of the United States, she must know the Yankees better and harbour an even deeper hatred for them. We saw at the time of the recent crisis how the whole people rose up, shouldering rifles with a determination to fight. The saleswomen wore revolvers while at work, and the factory workers all carried automatic rifles, ready to fight the enemy at any moment. When everyone is thus mobilized, even the Yankees are impotent. So they failed in their attempt to invade Cuba after all.

The most essential thing is unity. There is nothing to fear so long as

the whole Party and the entire people are united.

Needless to say, Cuba finds herself in a far more difficult situation than we are. She is just a short distance away from the enemy but far away from the socialist camp. Nevertheless, thanks to the heroic struggle of the Cuban people, Cuba will be there to stay. As was announced by our Party, the Cuban people, under the leadership of Comrade Fidel Castro, started the armed struggle with seven rifles when the Yankees had atomic bombs, and finally overthrew the US puppet regime by their own efforts, bringing about the triumph of the revolution. If only the Cuban people remain knitted closely together, they will continue to safeguard their revolution.

It is really wonderful that Cuba has accomplished the socialist revolution under the very nose of the United States and has held out already for four years. In the past, when the Spanish revolution occurred, the Soviet Union and many other countries dispatched volunteers, but the revolution was frustrated by the fascists in the end. Now things are not as they used to be. It is obvious now that a revolution can be won anywhere if the people fight in unity. The Latin-American peoples are valiantly rising in the revolutionary struggle, following the example of Cuba. In the future more people will rise against imperialism in all parts of the world.

The present situation is very favourable for revolution. My only and greatest worry is lest you should slacken your vigilance and get weary, since you have been confronted with the enemy for a long time. Because of the protracted armistice in our country you might tend to feel weary. You must guard against this. It is also necessary to prevent the penetration of revisionism. Revisionism undermines our unity and dampens the fighting spirit of the people.

The enemy will not dare attack us if we are all united ideologically and keep ourselves in hair-trigger readiness for action. We must never relax; and we must prepare to assist the south Korean people in their struggle.

Our people have attained great successes both in increasing the nation's defence potential and in building socialism. Today both our

forward and rear areas have been consolidated and the morale of our people is very high. We can say with confidence that we have laid firm foundations on which to achieve a greater victory.

Making an inspection tour of the forward areas on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the People's Army, I have been very much gratified to see what you have done. I will report to the Party Central Committee that the officers and men of our People's Army in the forward areas are in high spirits and that you are all reliably guarding the defence line of the motherland. I wish you ever greater successes in your work. We will continue to win as in the past.

ON THE TASKS OF NAMPHO CITY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Nampho City Party Committee

March 18, 1963

We have attended the plenary meeting of the Nampho City Party Committee which has been held for three days. We can say that this meeting has discussed the measures to implement the ten major tasks for this year and has summed up the work of the group which had been sent from the Party Central Committee to direct the Nampho City Party Committee.

This group has done its job here in the city of Nampho for nearly three months since last October. Other groups from the Cabinet and ministries have also been here for a similar purpose, and some of them are still at work. This has been a good chance for us to get a clear picture of the situation of the Party organizations in Nampho and will be an important occasion to improve the work of the Nampho City Party Committee as a whole.

A considerable success has been achieved by the Nampho City Party Committee. In the postwar years many factories have been reconstructed, expanded or newly built in this city. Nampho has developed beyond recognition in all respects as compared with the city in the prewar years. This success is unthinkable apart from the role of the city Party committee.

However, judging from the findings by the guidance group of the

Party Central Committee, from the impressions of our personal inspection of factories and other enterprises and from the questions raised in the report and speeches at the plenary meeting of the city Party committee, I cannot but comment that the Nampho City Party Committee has had many shortcomings in its work.

The most serious defect is that the city Party committee is still not up to its task and, accordingly, does not know clearly what it has to do.

The city Party committee has thrashed about aimlessly up to now, unaware of its own tasks. Neither in dealing with intra-Party affairs nor in the direction of economic construction has it properly discharged its leadership functions. It failed to control and activate all the Party organizations in the city, to acquaint itself well with how they guided the organizational life of their members or to build up the Party and cadre ranks. It was not until the present occasion when it received the instruction of the Party Central Committee that it has begun to build up the ranks of cadres.

In short, the Nampho City Party Committee could not play its role as a true vanguard detachment of the working masses in the city, or as a general staff.

Another major fault is that the city Party organizations could not give efficient leadership in socialist economic and cultural construction. We can say that the defect in this field is more serious than that in internal Party work.

Hitherto, Party organizations have totally neglected to supervise or control how Party policies were carried out in each sphere of the national economy. Some comrades attempt to explain this state of affairs by arguing that their functions of directing factories and enterprises passed into the hands of the province after the establishment of the Tæan work system, but the trouble does not by any means lie there. It is only eight months since those functions were transferred to the provincial Party committee from the city Party committee, but the same was true of the situation before this transfer. Even if you comrades had directly guided the enterprises for one more year, the present situation would not be any better. The point is that the

Nampho City Party Committee failed to keep a firm hold on Party policies and to establish a distinct system of doing its work,

Since the city Party committee did not familiarize itself thoroughly with Party policies or study them, it was in no position to perceive where they were infringed or unfulfilled, and was unable to push dynamically ahead with the work of driving Party policies home and carrying them through.

Moreover, even today—and it is 17 years since the Nampho City Party Committee was formed—it has not yet adopted a systematic method of doing its work. So it is inevitable that its functions of controlling administrative bodies and economic establishments have not been discharged effectively.

It is essential that factories and enterprises in Nampho should be not only under the control and direction of the provincial Party committee but also under the control of the city Party committee. However, because the Nampho City Party Committee did not guide or control them in the past, most of them just did as they pleased, free from Party control. The result has been that those factory Party committees which were steadfast in principle fought comparatively well against saboteurs and factionalists, and correctly organized the struggle to implement Party policies, thus achieving great successes in socialist construction, whereas the factory Party committees which were at a loss what to do failed to wage such struggles and committed many serious errors in their activities in the economic field.

It was because its Party committee discharged its duties properly that the glass factory did not commit a blunder in the past; but the Nampho Harbour Party Committee worked very badly. As the son of a man who was a policeman during the period of Japanese rule was installed as the chairman of the Nampho Harbour Party Committee, things could not go well. The city Party committee had not even been aware of the situation until recently; the guidance groups have now brought it to light.

Nampho is such an important port city of our country that whenever it is mentioned everyone may think of its harbour before anything else.

So the Nampho City Party Committee should always pay the closest attention to the efficient management of the harbour and to improving its functioning. Hitherto, however, the officials of this committee, although they frequently visited neighbouring locally-run factories, never visited the harbour, and seriously neglected the leadership of its operations.

Some comrades attempt to explain why the work of the Nampho harbour has gone wrong by pointing out that there was no unified system of administration which would enable coordinated direction to be given to the different bodies in the harbour—such as an organ under the Ministry of Public Security and the customs house which comes under the Ministry of Foreign Trade. It is of course true that an administrative step which would enable coordinated direction to be given to these different bodies to galvanize them into action would, if taken, facilitate the operation of the harbour. But the trouble is that the harbour Party committee lacks decisiveness and is unable to play its role. The different bodies in question are of course administratively separate, but all their staffs come under the harbour Party committee. Therefore, if the Party committee only did its work correctly, it could take all of them in hand and arouse them to action in a unified way.

However, as the committee plays its role badly, the working of the harbour is in an atrocious state: owing to clumsy management Nampho harbour is at present very unclean and lacking discipline and order. When loading or unloading ships, the dockers throw precious materials such as cement, nonferrous metals and even imported goods into the sea, but nobody cares.

The relevant ministry is, of course, responsible for such disorder in work at the harbour, but the city Party committee is largely to blame for it. Since Nampho harbour holds an important place in the development of our foreign trade, we restored it with the expenditure of enormous amounts of money, manpower and materials, and took various necessary steps to improve work in the harbour during the postwar period, despite the difficulties with which the country was faced at the time. On top of this, I have been here to emphasize more

than once the need to build Nampho harbour properly and to improve its functioning. However, the Nampho City Party Committee was totally unaware of the fact that serious shortcomings existed in the operation of the harbour—a harbour which is of great national significance—nor did the committee take any measure to improve the functioning of the harbour.

Let us mention also the case of the fishery station. The Party Central Committee has issued instructions several times that small- and medium-scale fishing should be undertaken extensively, but the fishery officials here in Nampho simply gave it up as soon as they pleased. Though these officials abandoned Party policies in this way, the Party committee of the fishery station failed to take any effective action, and the Nampho City Party Committee, for its part, did not really press the fishery officials in the matter. How can Party organizations which tolerate such flagrant violation of Party policy be called active organizations?

Because the fishery officials in Nampho do not carry out Party policies as they should, even its citizens are unable to eat fish. As Nampho is a port city, there should always be fresh fish in the shops and people should be able to have grey mullet soup at restaurants. But we cannot find fish being sold anywhere, nor can we even get the smell of raw fish at restaurants, far from dining on grey mullet soup. The hard fact is that the citizens of Nampho, beside the sea, cannot have even as much fish as the inhabitants of Hyesan, a remote mountainous region, do.

It is not the harbour and fishery station alone that do not execute Party policies. In Nampho, those concerned do not comply with Party policy on carrying out capital construction work by concentrating efforts on the projects of priority. The Nampho Smeltery, for instance, gave up halfway the construction of a sulphur shop, a nonferrous metal rolling shop, a zinc ore yard, a zinc roasting oven and an evaporative cooler one after the other. Since those concerned carry on construction in this way—giving it up halfway and starting on something else, which will be given up halfway again—nothing is in actual operation, though

they boast that they undertake construction works every year. So all that really happens is that huge amounts of money, manpower and materials are wasted. The projects abandoned at this smeltery when only half-completed cost no less than 640,000 *won*. This is only the case of the smeltery; and if all the other factories were to be counted, the losses inflicted on the state would be seen to be far greater. Had the Party organization at the smeltery been active and had the city Party committee fulfilled its supervisory functions properly, in accordance with Party policies, such a practice could not have continued for two to three years, though it might have arisen in the first year.

The Nampho Dockyard builds 200- and 300-ton boats in a slipshod manner, as if making secondhand trousers for children, and thus produces substandard ones. Moreover, it has not yet completed the building—which we had called for—of a two-boat trawler, even though it is now three years since the work started.

The haphazard manner of working in the commercial and distributive sector does much to diminish the citizens' standard of living. By neglecting the timely purchase and collection of vegetables, the procurement of which had been the subject of contracts entered into with peasants, commercial establishments left the uncollected—and unpaid-for—vegetables to rot, and thus inflicted losses on the farmers, while dodging any responsibility themselves. It is wrong to inflict losses on farmers, but it is all the more intolerable to spoil plenty of good vegetables owing to the mistakes of commercial executives, while workers are unable to get the vegetables they want.

They say that many families cannot have a fire because of the shortage of coal supplies for the population. The manageress of a department store mentioned in her speech that her store has been unable to warm itself for a month for lack of coal. Worse still, coal is supplied in a chaotic way: some families are provided with two tons but others get less than half a ton. As a result, there is one family which sells off its surplus in secret and another which cannot make a fire for lack of coal. Even though commercial executives work carelessly like this, nobody reprimands them.

At present there are hundreds of lorries in Nampho, and their rational use would enable you to do much to solve the city transport problem. However, as the city authority lends them at random to anyone who asks for them, they are used to transport goods for a distance of three hundred metres or even for as little as fifty metres, while, for lack of lorries, vegetables are not brought in time and are left to rot; nor is city refuse collected promptly, either.

I am not sure if the banks regard making big loans of money as good thing, but they make loans only and do not bother to collect the repayments when they are due. This being the case, the money is constantly released, and financial control over production activities is considerably weakened. As a result, even when factories and enterprises spend state funds recklessly and keep materials in stock haphazardly, they are never hard pressed. What kind of a financial policy is that?

The city Party committee was not any better at directing farm-related operations, either. Nampho has many large factories, including a general machine factory, but cannot even make oxcarts enough for cooperative farms. The Sinhung Cooperative Farm has 60 head of cattle but only 12 oxcarts. It is unacceptable that oxcarts are not made in sufficient numbers in such a big industrial centre as Nampho. This is entirely because the city Party committee fails to pay attention to such matters and to organize its work.

According to the report on work in the educational sector, schools in Nampho have produced many failed students. This is a very serious matter. Needless to say, if students take an unexpected examination without preparation, their results might be poor, but how can there be so many failures?

I cannot believe it. But anyhow, it is a grim reality that the students' school records are very poor and that educational work here has many shortcomings; and the Nampho City Party Committee must bear due responsibility for it.

In the past this committee could neither give effective Party direction to socialist economic and cultural construction activities, nor

educate Party members and working people to undertake such activities in a proper manner.

Another major defect revealed in its work is that bureaucratism is conspicuous among its officials.

Party officials have to study Party policies, read many books and use their brains in order to do internal Party work and to direct socialist economic construction. In the past, however, the officials of this committee did not study Party policies, nor did they, resorting to bureaucracy, do internal Party work properly, or give correct guidance to economic affairs. They only roared commands, issued orders and dictated to others, instead of going among the masses to do political and ideological work to imbue them with Party policies, rally them around the Party, and to mobilize the people for the implementation of Party policies.

Let me cite an instance of the extremely bureaucratic behaviour of the city Party committee.

The Sinhung Cooperative Farm is only six to seven kilometres away from the city. However, the senior officials of the city Party committee gave no thought to going out to see the actual situation at the farm; instead they dictated to the farm people that they must produce compost even before they had finished weeding. This resulted in the farm's reaping only three tons of rice per hectare from 20 hectares of paddy fields. This is the case of just one cooperative farm. So if we were to check up all on the cooperative farms in the area administered by Nampho, the loss caused in agricultural production due to the bureaucratic practices of the city Party committee would prove to be enormous.

I am told that the pomposity of the chairman of the city Party committee is so awful that the chairman of the city people's committee always remains standing in his presence, even when talking informally with him. The chairman of the people's committee may possibly do so for the purpose of currying favour because he committed some errors. However, it only encourages the chairman of the Party committee to put on all the grander airs and to order the people's committee

chairman about. Since the chairman of the Party committee behaves in such an impossible manner, the vice-chairmen, department heads and instructors follow suit, all roaring commands.

We can conclude that the defects of the Nampho City Party Committee are three, that is, failing to uphold its position and rouse Party organizations to action, being unaware how to give guidance for socialist construction, and practising severe bureaucratism.

I think that these shortcomings are not confined to Nampho. Other cities may also have these faults to a greater or lesser degree. The year before last when I dropped in to the city of Kim Chaek I found that it could not supply the working people with cooking oil or even soy and bean paste adequately, and that the houses and streets were very dirty due to poor management. So the situation in other towns may possibly be no better than here.

All city Party committee chairmen present here, to say nothing of the Kim Chaek City Party Committee chairman, had better critically examine their own work in view of the experience of the Nampho City Party Committee.

What, then, are the major causes of these shortcomings?

The first cause is that the provincial Party committee did not give proper guidance to the city Party organizations.

Needless to say, the Party Central Committee should be responsible for the activities of all Party organizations, but it directly guides the work of the provincial Party committees and the latter, that of the city and county Party committees. In the past, however, the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee confined itself to summoning city Party committee workers from time to time to attend meetings or to receive general instructions, but scarcely concerned itself with correcting defects in their style and method of work or with raising their qualifications.

The chairman of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee has already told us several times that the Nampho City Party Committee chairman was seriously bureaucratic and each time we instructed him to take action to correct the city chairman's bureaucratic

style of work. But he took no such action, nor did he even summon him for a heart-to-heart talk.

It is bad enough that the provincial Party committee did not straighten out the chairman of the Nampho City Party Committee, but what is worse is its failure to instruct the vice-chairmen, department heads and instructors of the city Party committee in the tenets of proper behaviour. The serious faults now revealed in the work of the city Party committee are related largely to the work style of its chairman, but the main cause is that none of its officials can discern good from bad owing to their low qualifications and their ignorance of Party policies. The provincial Party committee is largely to blame for this.

Hitherto, senior officials of the provincial Party committee hardly ever came to Nampho to explain Party policies or give practical lessons to the city Party committee officials—whom they did not even gather to learn properly how to hold a meeting. It is said that the chairman of the provincial Party committee has not given the city Party committee instructors even a single lecture so far on Party policies. He has done nothing of the kind to teach people at lower levels, and has confined himself to demands that they work well. So how can things go well? Judging from the fact that the provincial Party committee is unable to give efficient guidance to workers in the city Party committee, it seems to me that the provincial Party committee officials themselves lack in leadership ability and are poorly qualified.

It is not only the provincial Party committee but also departments of the Party Central Committee which have failed to guide Nampho well. Each department of the Party Central Committee should have brought Party policies home to the city Party committee officials down here in Nampho, should have put them to work in order to ascertain their strong and weak points, and should have given them individual tuition whenever necessary. However, they did not do any of this sort of work at all before the intensive guidance was given this time.

Ministries also failed to render effective assistance to Nampho. If the work of the enterprises in this city which come under the different ministries is to go well, the city Party committee which directs this

work from the Party standpoint should do its job well. But no minister has ever given a lecture to the city Party committee on the Party policy relating to his own sector, or on the measures to be taken to put it into effect.

If neither the province nor the central authorities provided any guidance, the city Party committee itself should have trained its officials properly, but it did not even do that.

For the city Party committee to discharge its functions properly, its chairman or vice-chairmen should devote close attention to the work of its department heads and instructors, and should provide them with continuous training so as to improve their qualifications. This training should cover in detail how to do Party organizational work, how to guide economic, educational and cultural activities in the light of Party policy, and to which Party documents or decisions they should refer in connection with specific questions. But either the chairman or the vice-chairmen neglected this work.

At present, quite a few Party workers are graduates of Party schools. However, judging from their ignorance of how to do such Party work, it seems that there are many shortcomings in the work of Party training centres as well: city Party schools and communist universities do not teach the specific methods to be adopted for doing Party work, and confine themselves to the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, graduates of Party schools know what books Marx wrote and when, and what he said, but they do not know how to carry on Party organizational or ideological work, or how to rouse Party cells to action.

The same is true of the training of officials who are to deal with economic affairs. Since the University of National Economy only teaches the general principles of political economy—and not the Party's economic policy or the concrete methods of economic management—its graduates are unable to direct economic affairs properly, to say nothing of their capacity to perceive the reasons why Party policy is not carried out in economic work.

Because the substantive methods to be adopted for Party work and

for the management of economic affairs are not taught to the officials in concrete terms, it is no wonder that no improvement takes place in Party work or in economic affairs.

Hitherto, the work of training officials has not been undertaken by the central authorities, the provincial Party committee or even by the city Party committee itself. As a result, the work of the officials of the city Party committee, and of its instructors in particular, is at a very low standard. Wherever they may go, these instructors cannot locate anything which may be wrong; they behave like illiterates and do not know how to handle situations which have arisen. Since they have become oblivious of the realities around them, the instructors are unable to perceive that the Party's policy for the execution of building and civil engineering works has not been implemented, that Party's instructions for developing small- and medium-scale fishing have been simply ignored, or that equipment has not been utilized rationally. They are incapable of even thinking of having garbage removed, notwithstanding the fact that it is piled high and stinking throughout the city, and they just consider that nothing can be done about rectifying the unpleasant taste of soy and bean paste.

Because the instructors are so poorly qualified, even when they do report a problem to the city Party committee, the committee is not put clearly in the picture, and it cannot make out whether the report is true or false, much less take any steps to deal with the matter. So the city Party committee cannot activate Party organizations nor guide government organs and economic agencies; and even when these bodies do as they please beyond the control of the Party, the committee simply leaves them alone. Unaware that the city Party committee was so oblivious of reality, the Party Central Committee has believed till now that all was going well because the city committee existed. It is a foolish idea itself to think that things will go well if they are entrusted to a blind person. But, we can say that we have one melancholy consolation: the city Party committee at least did not act against the Party, thanks to the fact that in recent years our officials acquired the Party's ideological system.

Next, we can say that the fact that the Nampho City Party Committee was not composed of sound people, and that it failed to display even such collective wisdom as it possessed, is another major reason why it made so many mistakes in its work.

At present there are far more than ten thousand Party members in Nampho. This means that ten per cent of its population are Party members and that the ratio of its Party membership to the total population of the city is by no means lower than that for the country as a whole. Among so many Party members there must be some who have experience in Party work, as well as engineers and intelligent people with a strong Party spirit. It is scarcely thinkable that none of all these Party members can work properly. Therefore, if good people are selected from among them to build up the city Party committee and if the collective wisdom of the committee members is enlisted, the committee will prove well able to become a militant organization.

However, a look at the present composition of this Party committee shows us that it is not satisfactory. Many of its members are primarily persons responsible for the running of an individual establishment, because a few members were chosen from each establishment in an egalitarian way. Of course, they are not bad people, but there must be many people who have a stronger Party spirit and are also capable of putting forward constructive opinions. Moreover, as long as the committee is formed of the chiefs of establishments, the wishes of the masses of Party members will not be voiced directly in its deliberations. In cases where incompetent persons or flatterers have got jobs as chiefs of institutions, the actual conditions of lower units will be given all the less expression.

An election to a Party committee must be a prudent affair: it must not be the perfunctory passing of a plan drawn up by a few people without due thought. In addition, its members should not be selected on the basis of one from each establishment, but rather by sticking to the principle of making a choice from amongst competent people whose Party spirit is steadfast. If stalwart people become members and alternate members of the city Party committee, they will be able to

criticize the chairman lest he resort to bureaucratism, and give full play to their collective wisdom in the work of the committee.

It is not enough to build up the city Party committee with good people, however. After that has been done, the members' qualifications should be improved and democracy brought into full play in the functioning of the committee so as to enable them to display their collective wisdom. Each member of the committee should criticize any shortcomings severely, collective intelligence should be given a free rein to solve all problems, and nobody should be allowed to rule the roost.

As I always say, a general without an army is no general, one cannot assist oneself and, no matter how eminent he may be, a chairman relying on his intelligence alone, cannot do the work of his committee.

Our Party has set up the Party committee system with a view to doing away with the arbitrariness of individuals and ensuring collective direction in all spheres. That we put an end to one-man direction by the manager in factories and enterprises and made the factory Party committee the highest in-plant authority was aimed at strengthening collective leadership in the management of the factories and enterprises.

The Nampho City Party Committee should immediately put an end to the practice by which its chairman and a few others have hitherto bossed the show in its proceedings; it should take care that it operates democratically so that the wisdom and creativity of each of its members is given full expression.

Another major cause of the defects revealed in the work of the Nampho City Party Committee is that its officials did not mingle with the masses.

The masses judge the work of officials accurately and are tantamount to a mirror, in effect. When people stand in front of a glass, they can see whether they have put on their clothes properly, whether they have combed their hair neatly and whether their faces are not smeared with soot. Likewise when officials are among the masses,

they will come to know whether their work has been done well or not. Moreover, when they mingle with the masses, they can clearly see whether Party policies are being correctly carried out or not, just as they see themselves in a mirror.

Let me speak about an instance that occurred the year before last. Once I asked the Ministry of Commerce how preparations for the provision of winter clothes were going and the ministry officials replied at the time that good winter clothes had been prepared in abundance. However, some time later I was chatting with some women at Wonhwa-ri and asked them what was the most pressing problem in the countryside those days. They replied that though other things were all right, they were having difficulties because of the lack of wadded clothes. I inquired into the matter, because I had been told that the Ministry of Commerce had produced and distributed enough wadded clothes. As a result, it was revealed that its officials had lied: they had indeed provided industrial workers with wadded clothes but had made only a small quantity for the peasants. We therefore later took steps to ensure that additional quantities would be produced for the peasants.

If we were to ask executives of the light and local industrial sectors what they think about the taste of soy sauce and of bean paste, they would say that they are pretty good, but the peasants who take them would say they are no good. As you have just seen, we cannot deceive the masses, and when we are in their midst everything soon becomes clear.

If Nampho City Party Committee workers had gone down to lower units and mixed with the masses, they would soon have learnt all that was wrong and could have taken the requisite measures.

Over the past years, however, they stayed cooped up in their offices, shouting commands and summoning people, instead of going to the lower units. I am told that in the past year alone they summoned ri Party committee chairmen for as many as 109 days. This means that they summoned them to the city Party committee once in every three days. This single fact shows us vividly how indifferent the committee really has been to the Chongsanri spirit and method, notwithstanding

all its talk on the subject.

Since the committee works in such a way, the city wholesale depot also summons the shop managers, floor heads and even saleswomen from retail shops to attend meetings, and instead of delivering goods to the retail shops, obliges workers from those shops to come and collect them at the depot. The Chongsanri work method means that superiors go down to help their subordinates. But in Nampho, on the contrary, it is the subordinates who go up to their superiors. It is, so to speak, applying the method in reverse. Although the whole Party has come out to apply the method, the Nampho City Party Committee does not give the matter a thought, nor has anybody raised this problem for criticism even at this meeting.

Because the city Party committee neglects to go among the masses and listen to their opinions, and only roars commands and dictates to them in a high-handed manner, people are afraid to go next or near it, and no one would think of opening his heart to it. Consequently, the committee has inevitably become out of touch with the actual situation in its subordinate units, and does not realize what is going wrong. This being the case, it has got so far out of touch with the actual conditions in the city that it could not see officials of the city people's committee carousing at frequent drinking parties and becoming degenerate, while imposing burdens upon the people over and above their taxes. How dare they, in times like these, impose such burdens upon the citizens and go boozing?

It is reported that in south Korea "politicians" are given to holding grand drinking bouts these days. It is no wonder that they lead a dissipated life by squeezing the people, for they have not the slightest intention of people. But it is simply unforgivable for officials of the people's committee, who should be the servants of the people, to go boozing with money collected from the people. This is precisely the result of the bureaucratic way of doing things on the part of the city and provincial Party committees.

Because the city Party committee itself—to say nothing of the provincial Party committee and the Party Central Committee—has

neglected the education of its officials and is unable to display any collective wisdom which it may have, and because its executives do not mingle with the masses, the chairman and other dignitaries of the committee cannot but become remote from reality; and it is obvious that its work goes amiss. It seems that here, and nowhere else, lies the basic cause of all its defects.

Strengthening the collective leadership of the Party committee and managing it in a democratic way; improving the qualifications of the officials and giving them a proper education; and going among the masses to learn from them—these are what we have always emphasized: they are not new questions we have raised today. If the Nampho City Party Committee had properly complied with even one of the requirements on which the Party has continued to put stress, there would not have been such serious defects as have been revealed today in its work.

Today I have pointed out many shortcomings which have been revealed in the work of the Nampho City Party Committee, but you need not in the least feel disheartened: we should never become defeatists. If one's disease is not diagnosed, one may feel uneasy, but once it is identified, one can cure it with medicine. Likewise, your ignorance of shortcomings is something to worry about, but if you realize them, you need not fear because you can remedy them by taking the proper measures.

It can be said that the shortcomings in your work and their causes have been examined in detail and confirmed over a long time. The guidance groups from the Party Central Committee have been here already for nearly three months to give you guidance; and we, too, have inspected some of your large industrial plants such as the smeltery, the glass factory, and the communications equipment factory on two occasions and have conversed twice with the chairman and vice-chairmen of the city Party committee. Our inspection of factories was to check whether the judgment of the guidance groups was correct or whether it was exaggerated. In my opinion, the groups seem to have rightly judged the work of this committee.

As I have just mentioned, your diseases are that you neglected to teach your officials, to run the city Party committee in a democratic way, and to go among the people, while you indulged in bureaucratism.

You should improve your work in the light of this diagnosis. If you buckle down to the job with determination, you will be fully capable of rectifying your shortcomings in a short time.

Now I would like to pass to a few tasks which need to be tackled to improve the work of the Party organizations in Nampho.

First, I will touch on Party work.

What is of capital importance in improving the work of the city Party committee is to strengthen its collective leadership. To this end, the committee should be well built up and its chairman must not rule the roost.

Its members should not be chosen in such an egalitarian way as some being selected from this factory and some from that establishment; instead, the very best people, totally loyal to the Party, should be selected from among all the Party members in Nampho. Loyalty to the Party is evidenced by making an in-depth study of Party policy and by resolutely fighting for its implementation—in other words by having a revolutionary world outlook and a strong revolutionary spirit.

He who neither studies Party policy nor strives for its fulfilment is not faithful to the Party, no matter how intelligent he may be; and neither is he who resorts to bureaucratism and leads an indolent and tranquil life.

There are all kinds of people among our cadres these days. A certain county Party committee chairman does not attend a Party meeting on the pretext of his wife's illness, and another one is absent on that of the sickness of one of his children. It is true that wives and children are valuable, but the Party and the revolution are more precious for us Party members and Party officials. Moreover, since they are not doctors, what is the use of their sitting by the patients' bedsides? Such practices are manifestations of unfaithfulness to the

Party and are proof that the officials in question lack a revolutionary world outlook and are not ready to fight devotedly for the Party and the revolution.

The Nampho City Party Committee should never choose this sort of people as its members. You should on every score select as members only those who are determined continuously to study and implement Party policies and who are imbued with a steadfast revolutionary world outlook; and you should never depart in the slightest from this principle. If you have any reservations about an applicant for membership, you should not hesitate to disclose your opinion that he is not fit to be a member—because, for example, on one occasion he vacillated or acted indiscreetly in carrying out Party policy. By the same token, you should never simply rubber-stamp a proposal which has been prepared by a handful of people on the basis of their subjective criteria. If you are really loyal to the Party, you should speak up on all such occasions; and whenever you clearly realize that a particular proposal is wrong, you should not let the matter pass.

After the city Party committee has been reconstituted with the best members of the Party, it is important that it be run in a completely democratic manner: each member should advance his views freely for discussion, and should also contribute to a wide-ranging debate on each proposal which is presented. The confrontation of different views is all to the good.

Once, however, a decision has been taken by the committee, all its members should carry it out unreservedly. Even if it is repugnant to your personal opinion, you must obey it unconditionally, because it is a decision which has been taken by the committee according to the will of the masses. The application of the principle of democratic centralism like this will enable the Party committee to display collective wisdom and ensure solidarity in the presentation of its directives.

Next, you should strengthen the education of the city Party committee workers, both in Party policies and in practical affairs.

The Party Central Committee must give a good education to the city

Party committee chairman and vice-chairmen; and the provincial and city Party committee chairmen must do the same for the department heads and instructors in their charge.

It is necessary to continue to strengthen ideological and practical education among the officials and to give them a proper education—particularly in Party policy.

Every senior official should become fully versed in the Party policies relating to his field of activity. For instance, officials of the Department of Commerce should be familiar with Party policy in the commercial sector, and those in the Department of Heavy Industry, with that in its sector; and all Party officials should be better acquainted than anybody else with the fundamental line of the Party and with the immediate tasks which, in application of Party policy, have to be tackled in their respective fields.

As I always say, the Party policy is the same as a yardstick. If senior officials are unaware of Party policy, they will be unable to judge whether things are going well or not in any particular locality. There is a saying that one has to measure it to know whether it is long or short. Similarly, it is only when you judge things that you can know whether they are going well or not—and the only yardstick by which to judge them is Party policy. Only the yardstick of Party policy will enable you to establish quickly what is wrong and where, and therefore to correct it promptly. If the senior officials of the Nampho City Party Committee had firmly armed themselves with Party policy, they would not have let the Nampho Smeltery give up a capital construction project halfway and set about a new one every year. If they had been imbued with Party policy, they would have immediately found out why such practices prevailed at the smeltery notwithstanding the fact that the Party had required it to comply strictly with its programme for capital construction and, instead of launching construction projects on a random basis, to complete successive projects in order of priority; and they would have tried to ascertain whether responsibility for this state of affairs lay with the smeltery or with the ministry. If they had only done this, the practices of infringing the Party policy in relation to

carrying out construction works, and of thus freezing huge state funds would already have been corrected a long time ago.

We should therefore regard education in Party policy as the most important task in educating officials. In future we should provide every branch with teaching materials on the Party's policy relating to each sector so as to facilitate the education of the officials in that policy. If one is to study Party policy, one should read my writings from volume one to six, but one may have difficulty in locating in them instantly the specific policy relating to a particular sector. We should therefore compile separately the Party policy for each branch and publish it as a handbook, so that ready access may be had to the Party policy for the sector in question. For instance, that for the commercial sector should contain the Party documents and decisions about the basic line of the Party on trade, and about the tasks facing this sector, while that for building and civil engineering should include those on capital construction and on the tasks of that sector. The compilation of such a handbook on Party policy for each branch will be most helpful in educating officials in Party policy.

Along with their education in Party policy, the practical education of workers should be further strengthened. The need for this education has become urgent, particularly because the general level of Party workers is not high.

At the moment officials are only initiated in the principles of Marxism-Leninism, with quotations from Marx or Lenin, but this alone is not enough. It is of course true that education in the Marxist-Leninist principles is necessary in order to establish each official's outlook on the world. However, these principles do not elucidate any specific problems how to conduct Party work, how to manage capital construction works, or how to arrange trade. If the education of our officials is confined, as at present, to basic principles, they will not be equipped to form a correct judgment on many of the issues which arise in the course of practical management, to say nothing of taking the necessary steps to deal with the matters in question.

The provincial Party organization and the Party Central

Committee should accordingly pay close attention to raising the practical qualifications of the officials of the city Party committee. The Party Central Committee must educate its own department heads, section chiefs and instructors so that they will pass what they have learned on to the provincial Party committee; the latter's officials in turn must pass it on to the city and county Party committees, and the senior officials of those committees must teach their subordinate department heads and instructors. The organizational department should show the officials how to bring the Party organizations into action, the information department should teach them in detail how to educate Party members in Party policy and ideology, and how to motivate the masses, and the economic departments should impart the Party's economic policy and methods to be adopted for its implementation.

In practical education it is best to draw on actual experience as much as possible. The dissemination of experience is very important, because there is no rigid formality in Party work. It would be advisable in future to keep even the city Party committee instructors informed of all the questions arising in the Party as a whole, other than personnel affairs and military secrets. It is only when officials are informed that a specific shortcoming has appeared in a certain county or province, or that some useful experience has been gained in a certain place, that they will be capable of benefiting from it, absorbing useful experience and enhancing their competence.

On-the-job training is the best way to raise officials' qualifications. Of course, it is good to send them off to study, but we cannot send all of them away. You should therefore send some off to study and encourage the rest to learn while working. Even those who have graduated from the city Party school or the communist university will be unable to keep abreast of the developing reality, unless they study continuously while working.

At present we have favourable conditions under which everyone can study. The Party sends its officials to learn at the Party school for a year or six or three months, and frequently organizes seminars,

lectures, etc. for their benefit.

During our guerrilla days it was not easy for us to study for a single week, to say nothing of a year. In those days each one of us would bring his own food and would study, eating bean gruel. However difficult the conditions were, we would call the cadres together for about ten or fifteen days to brief them on the line of struggle and on our work methods, and to acquaint them with good experiences. Then they would return to their units and carry out their revolutionary work in exemplary fashion, thanks to what they had learned.

Our present conditions are too good compared with those of that time. Taking advantage of such favourable conditions, you should all study hard and patiently teach your subordinates, so that every Party worker will be properly equipped with Party policy and will attain a higher level of competence.

To proceed, we should raise somewhat the status of the Nampho City Party Committee and of other city Party committees in the provincial capitals.

Till now we have treated Nampho like a county, but it is unreasonable to treat a large city with a population of over 100,000 like a county. Although they belong to the provinces, the status of large cities such as Nampho should be raised and they should be placed under the immediate administrative control of the central authority in order that it can pay direct attention to them.

Some comrades claim that it is administratively difficult to do so because Nampho has no districts; but there is no set rule that only those cities with administrative districts can be placed under direct control of the central authority. We can make such arrangements if they seem necessary for efficiency in our work, even though the cities in question may have no districts. I think it is better to attach such large cities as Nampho and Sinuiju, with many factories and a large population, directly to both the provinces and the central authority, so that not only the provinces but also the central authority will always be able to come and assist the city Party committees.

The Party Central Committee's instructors should not be the only

people that it sends out to the cities: its department heads and deputy heads should visit cities personally to give lectures or seminars. Since the department heads and deputy heads hear more than anyone else what is discussed at the meetings of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, and what its Chairman has said, their direct statements tend to be more informative than those of the instructors, who get such details only at second hand. The former should therefore personally visit subordinate Party committees as frequently as possible and convey decisions or important instructions from the Party Central Committee.

If we raise the status of the city Party committee in this way and officials come down from the Party Central Committee to give lectures or seminars and to provide it with continuous help, the Nampo City Party Committee will quickly be able to correct its shortcomings and its work will soon be on the right track.

The work of the city Party committee will not improve, however, merely because we raise its status and the provincial Party committee and the Party Central Committee intensify their guidance and assistance to it. Along with this assistance, it is important that every department of the city Party committee be strengthened and induced to conduct its work efficiently—for the work of this committee depends, in the long run, on the activities of each of its departments.

Not only the organizational and information departments but all the economic departments of the committee should do their job well; and there should not be a single department which is incapable of doing its duty. The organizational department must concentrate on strengthening the ranks of cadres and of the Party as a whole; the information department should direct its efforts to educating the cadres and Party members in Party policy and ideology; and the economic departments should put the stress on explaining the Party's economic policies to the senior officials responsible for dealing with economic affairs as well as to the working people, and on carrying them out. For instance, the department which leads the fisheries and the department which is in charge of trade should explain the Party's

fishing and commercial policies respectively to the Party members and working people, and mobilize the masses for their implementation.

In addition, all departments without exception should pay the greatest attention to personnel affairs.

What is important in personnel affairs is the education of cadres. This education is given by two methods—the collective and the individual. The collective method may include meetings, short courses and various other forms of collective activity. There is no hard and fast rule that a short course must on all accounts last for three or six months: it can be organized for a day, or for two or three days. Individual education also takes various forms, including talks with individuals. You should not wait until they are faced with some trouble before talking with cadres: you should meet them regularly, whether or not they have made any mistake, to converse with them, educate them, grasp the state of their work and to assign them tasks.

If each department handles personnel affairs, it will be able to know whether Party policies are being correctly implemented and, if not, why; and it will therefore be in a position to take any necessary measures promptly. Under all circumstances, therefore, each department of the Party committee should put the main stress on personnel affairs.

Next, the officials' method of work should be improved decisively.

First of all, senior officials should do away with the bureaucratic style of barking commands and giving orders while remaining seated; they should continuously manifest the people-oriented style of mingling with the masses, teaching them and simultaneously learning from them.

They need first to understand clearly what we mean by mingling with the masses. Going out to cooperative farms or factories and enterprises does not of itself mean mingling with the masses. Of course, if they are to find themselves among the masses, they should go to cooperative farms, factories and enterprises. But even if they go there, we cannot say that they are among the masses unless they make

actual contact with them.

Even if they do not visit cooperative farms or factories every day, provided they make a point of contacting the workers on each of their visits, and actually meet and talk with them, this will mean mingling with the masses. If they do not meet the workers and farmers on such occasions, it cannot be said that they have been among the masses. Senior officials should visit factories or cooperative farms, where they should mix with Party members and working people, and whenever they may be prevented from paying such visits they should invite their subordinates to come to them for contact and talks. In doing so, they should share their knowledge with the masses and, in turn, learn from them. And they should ascertain whether Party policies are being implemented or not, and if they are not, find out the cause, accept constructive opinions from the masses, correct any mistaken ideas, and take steps to rectify the situation.

If officials simply order people about and roar commands, and do not mingle with the masses, ordinary workers will not try to approach them and will rather fear to meet and talk with them; and the result will be that the officials will be divorced from the masses. The officials will thus grow out of touch with reality, fall into subjectivism and, finally, start to make mistakes.

When instructed to go among the masses, some comrades travel around here and there by car, and think that the matter is dealt with. But they are wrong. They may do so when they guide foreign guests for sightseeing or when they go for an outing during a holiday, but they should not discharge managerial functions in a sightseeing manner. That way of doing things cannot be called management—and all the less can it be considered as mingling with the masses.

Senior officials should correct such methods of management as soon as possible. They should acquire the people-oriented habit of mingling with the masses to explain and see that they understand Party policy, to mobilize them for its implementation, to teach them and to learn from them.

Then, the departments of the Party committee should abandon the

habit of arrogating to themselves the administrative functions of others, and should skilfully play a steering role.

They should do personnel affairs, propagate Party policy and act as helmsman in administrative and economic affairs; they should not take administrative work directly upon themselves. You should learn that the economic establishment itself is similar to a department of our Party: our Party has established a people's government and has set up ministries, bureaus and other economic agencies, with a view to having them discharge administrative and economic functions. Party officials should give good training to those who are engaged in administrative and economic establishments so that they will carry out their tasks with credit; but they should in no way act as a guarantor, taking upon themselves the actual work of the officials assigned to deal with administrative and economic affairs, or tailing after these officials. When hard pressed on any problem, some officials handling economic questions try to shirk their responsibilities, claiming, "I consulted the Party on it. I went out there with a department head of the city Party committee one day, and it was then that the matter was decided." This is what happens when Party workers backstop the work of administrative officials. Party officials should never do this.

Party officials should, in addition, always work through the relevant Party committees and organizations when dealing with government bodies or economic agencies.

Now in many cases Party organizations work directly with managers or chief engineers while excluding the relevant Party organizations, but they should not do so. Party workers should in all cases work with Party organizations, leaving ministers and bureau chiefs to work with managers and chief engineers. It is none of their business whether a manager has been summoned by a minister or bureau chief. Their job is to stir Party organizations and members into action and in this way to ensure that administrative and economic matters are properly handled. Only then will they be able to spot mistakes in economic work in time and rectify them; and only then will the Party be really able to act as helmsman. It is in this way, through

the Party organizations, that the Party must steer the work of economic and government bodies and keep its hand on the tiller.

In the next place, in order to raise the qualifications of officials, the running of Party schools and of economic cadres' schools must be radically improved.

As was discussed at a meeting of the department heads of the Party Central Committee, in the future the city Party schools and the provincial communist universities should put the main stress on teaching the practical methods of Party work. Meanwhile the economic cadres' schools should lay emphasis on imparting essential economic management know-how, such as how to care for equipment, how to minimize power consumption, how to organize labour, how to direct production and technological matters, and what are the respective duties of a manager and a chief engineer. This will be of help to the officials in their work, even though their study of these matters may have been limited to a few months.

The study of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism must be supplementary, and for their further education everyone should be encouraged to study on their own or to enrol in a study-while-working scheme such as a correspondence course.

Second, I will speak about economic affairs.

The most important economic task assigned to Nampho is that the industrial enterprises—such as the smeltery, the dockyard, the glass factory and the communications equipment factory—which are run by the central state authority fulfil and overfulfil their national economic plans for this year and carry out the ten major tasks which have been set forth by the Party.

The ten major tasks highlight many specific problems which have to be tackled, such as enhancing the role of the Party committee, continuously applying the Taean work system and the Chongsanri method in the work of economic establishments, improving planning and labour administration, and launching a large-scale movement for technological innovation.

At the present stage we should concentrate our efforts on increasing

the value of output per worker, particularly by improving labour administration and by vigorously promoting the technological innovation movement.

The per-worker output value of our country is at present lower than that of other countries. This is why manpower is under pressure and the volume of production and the national income are small. Within the coming two or three years we should raise this output value at least up to the level of some 7,000 *won* per worker per annum throughout the country. Only then can we increase the wages of workers and enrich the material wealth of the nation.

What is of decisive significance in this respect is to conduct a vigorous movement for technological innovation. Accomplishing the technical revolution is a fundamental task of the Seven-Year Plan put forward by our Party at its Fourth Congress, and is the most important revolutionary task facing us today. We should radically increase labour productivity by accelerating the technological innovation movement throughout all sectors of the national economy, starting with the centrally-run industry, and by organizing manpower rationally, and thus more than double the output value per employee over the next few years.

Next, you should do everything to regularize production through the proper care of equipment, effective heat control and good technical preparations.

Because it is still not settled satisfactorily, I emphasize this problem yet once again today, though I have already mentioned it on several occasions. All factories and enterprises should eliminate fluctuations in production by procuring plenty of spare parts, checking and repairing equipment in good time, managing power consumption efficiently, and by giving clear priority to designing work and to other technical preparations. They will thus set up a system under which production will be got on to a regular basis, so as to fulfil plans daily, monthly and quarterly, and on all indices.

Moreover, as is fully emphasized by the ten major tasks, each factory and enterprise should effect a great innovation in industrial

management by adopting the Tae'an work system.

This is a system under which higher units go and help lower units. It is easy enough to say, but it is by no means a simple job to stick to this principle in the day-to-day running of an enterprise. Each official should make a strenuous effort to master this system—which was created by our Party—so as to ensure that it will be followed in the management of enterprises.

In order to improve enterprise management as required by the Tae'an work system, the managerial and technical staff of factories and enterprises, and all working people, should familiarize themselves with the tenets of socialist economic management and enterprise management. The Party is now preparing teaching material on industrial administration, and when this becomes available it should be used for study. Without waiting for it to become available, however, you should do everything to apply in the management of factories and enterprises any useful experience which has been gained in the past, and share it with each other, and thus steadily broaden each official's knowledge of economic management.

An important economic task devolving on the Nampho City Party Committee is to develop the fishing industry.

Nampho is a coastal town. A long time ago our Party advanced the slogan that in coastal areas people must make good use of the sea and in mountainous areas people must turn the mountains to good account. Just as an important task of Hyesan is to develop forestry, that of Nampho is to develop the fishing industry.

Over the past years, however, the Nampho City Party Committee has scandalously neglected the direction of the fishing industry. The provincial Party committee did nothing to direct the fishing industry: its members just waited for the fish to pop into their mouths. And the relevant departments of the Party Central Committee also failed to give the industry any effective guidance. What is worse, even the officials of the Nampho City Party Committee situated right on the coast, neglected to direct it. Therefore, it is only natural that not much fish could be caught. It is really stupid to want to eat fish without managing

the fishing industry.

You should once and for all take the management of your fisheries properly in hand. Precisely here in Nampho there is the Fishery Management Bureau of South Phyongan Province, which comes under the city Party committee. So the committee is well placed to give advice on the development of the fishing industry in South Phyongan Province as a whole. So the Nampho City Party Committee should bestir itself to ensure Party leadership of the development of fisheries.

Because the Party's policy on developing fisheries is clear, I do not intend to speak about it at any length today.

What is of paramount importance in the fishing industry is to carry through the Party's policy on developing pelagic fishing and medium- and small-scale fishing simultaneously. Nampho has limited itself to pelagic fishing; it has given up medium- and small-scale fishing. By developing pelagic fishing we do not mean abandoning medium- and small-scale fishing. It is the Party policy to make big catches in the deep and adjacent seas by doing medium- and small-scale fishing in a big way, while simultaneously developing pelagic fishing. In future, you should see to it that many fishermen's cooperatives are organized and that small boats capable of accommodating some five or six fishermen are built in large numbers, so that they will be able to do medium- and small-scale fishing extensively, using hooks, gill-nets, circular fixed-nets and various other devices. You should give preference to setting up cooperatives with a membership of 50-60, or at most 100, fishermen each.

In addition to striving for large catches of fish, you should endeavour to process them properly and to see that the people are supplied with larger quantities of fresh fish. As I criticized you yesterday, you neither make effective use of the good refrigerators which you have, nor have you built even a single transport ship in spite of the fact that you are capable of building ships for the rapid transport of fish to ensure supplies for the population. Already three years ago when I was here, I assigned you the task of building transport ships, but you have not yet carried it out. You should ensure that the cold-storage

plant is better equipped and that many transport ships are built to provide the people with greater supplies of fresh fish throughout the year.

Meanwhile, you should provide the working people with a larger amount of high-quality processed fish which is both clean and tasty.

Furthermore, you should make sure that vessels are kept in better repair and that attention is paid to the production of fishing implements, so that hooks, nets, and similar things are made on your own for your own use.

In the next place, you should pay close attention to the work of the harbour.

The harbour facilities are the valuable property of the country and serve as a great asset for the development of foreign trade. Therefore, it is very important that the harbour facilities be properly developed, and that the harbour be kept clean and well-managed.

What is most important in harbour work is to establish strict order and discipline. The harbour must be kept in good order and rigid discipline must be maintained. There must be separate places for unloaded goods and for goods awaiting loading and the turnaround time of ships must be kept to a minimum. You must put an end to such disorderly and undisciplined practices as letting valuable goods fall into the sea—as happens now during loading and unloading—and failing to discharge or load cargoes in good time. From now on discipline as strict as in the army must be decisively established at the harbour, too.

Since there are many contacts with foreigners in the harbour, the mistakes of one or two persons can lower our national prestige. You should, therefore, build up the ranks of the cadres at the harbour with good people with a strong Party spirit, and you should constantly impress on the officials of the harbour that they should at all times manifest a high sense of responsibility, maintain a neat appearance and be prudent in word and in deed. At the same time, you should instruct them properly in how to behave towards foreigners, in the procedures for dealing with foreign vessels, in international law and so on. The Ministry of Transport is quite indifferent to what is happening at the

harbour and to the problems of building up and training the ranks of harbour officials. It must straight away discard such indifference and irresponsibility.

You should build a good club for seamen, and provide shops, hotels, etc. in the harbour for the convenience of foreigners. If these things are done well, you will be able to earn foreign currency.

Next, I would like to touch upon local industry briefly. The local industrial sector must thoroughly carry out the tasks put forward at the Changsong joint conference.

Local industry must employ as many housewives as possible. When we first built the local industry factories, we intended to use a great deal of female labour, but it seems to me that these days that intention has somehow been frustrated.

The mechanization of local industry must be realized gradually and insofar as is possible by using equipment and materials already available, and with minimum expenditure of money. If you are to build large factories and install many modern machines at great expense, you might as well build factories which will be run by the central authority—in which case you need not take the trouble to build local industrial plants. Therefore you must see to it that mechanization is not used as a pretext to cover impossibly ambitious projects or the illegal utilization of materials and manpower, which would be wasted on such projects. But this never means that you are not allowed to do what is permissible or to make full use of reserve capacity.

An important question in local industry is to establish reliable sources of raw materials and to improve the quality of products. The further development of local industry is impossible without establishing such sources of raw materials. At present, shortages of raw materials prevent quite a few local factories from keeping production going as it should, and in some cases the factories can resume production only after they have received raw materials from the central authority. And a factory which is supplied with raw materials by the central authority cannot be called a local industry factory. That is why all local industry factories should be primarily

concerned with establishing their own sources of raw materials.

The people are unwilling to buy consumer goods of poor quality. Local factories must strive to make solid and serviceable articles if they make any, and must take effective steps to improve the quality of their products.

The agricultural sector must strive for the production of vegetables. Ensuring enough supplies of vegetables to the citizens is the most important task devolving on the farms around Nampho. While inducing the farms to allocate larger areas to the growing of vegetables, you should raise the farmers' enthusiasm for production by purchasing and carrying away their vegetables in good time.

Nampho should also strive to supply the people with more meat and eggs by developing livestock farming. As the irrigation scheme for the area has been completed and as all the other requisite conditions exist, it must not fall behind others in grain production.

Your city should show a greater interest in the development of fruit growing. In olden days the environs of Nampho, including Ryonggang and Onchon, were famous for an abundance of apples. Owing to your defects in work, however, in recent years the fruit-growing areas have decreased in the outskirts of Nampho, and fruit production has been insignificant because of the lack of proper care of the remaining fruit trees. You should take good care of these trees and plant large numbers of fruit trees on vacant hillocks so as to supply fruit to the people in and out of season.

In the direction of agriculture it is necessary to enhance the role of the city cooperative farm management committee. The committee should manage farms not by the administrative method but by the industrial method. The steps we took in connection with the composition of the committee were also aimed at ensuring that agriculture would be managed by this industrial method. In this connection, you would be well advised to refer to the questions presented when we discussed the work of the cooperative farm management committees in South Phyongan Province.

I would like to emphasize in conclusion that Nampho should step

up its assistance to agriculture. You should take radical measures to increase agricultural production by carrying plenty of compost to the countryside, making more farm implements for it and providing it with a lot of labour aid.

Third, I will touch on the work of the people's committee.

As the people's committee has been divested of the functions of directing agriculture and local industry, it has come to work exclusively for promotion of the people's well-being. But at present the committee fails in this work. By bringing about a decisive improvement in the work of the committee, you would enhance the functions and role of government organs, in conformity with the expectations of the Party and the people.

One of the most important things in the work of the people's committee is to manage commerce effectively.

In a socialist society the function of commerce is to ensure supplies and services for the people. In our society this function constitutes an important means of ensuring economic ties between towns and rural areas, whereby goods produced in towns are sold to the rural areas, and the towns are supplied with agricultural produce from the countryside. The efficient management of commerce is therefore of enormous significance for the improvement of our people's standard of living and for speeding up the economic development of the country.

At present commercial workers think it suffices just to sell industrial goods, but they must not confine themselves to selling. Particularly in cities like Nampho, commercial establishments should engage in extensive re-processing operations. At times when large quantities of vegetables are produced in the countryside, for instance, these establishments should make such organizational arrangements as are necessary to have appropriate quantities preserved or otherwise processed so as to permit their being released for sale at times when there are no fresh vegetables on the market. Since there are many housewives in towns, there should be no shortage of manpower for such processing. There can be no question of expecting the farmers to process vegetables, but you people in the city have done nothing to

deal with this matter.

When commercial establishments receive poorly-processed fish, seaweed or other seafood from the fishing sector, they should do the necessary re-processing themselves. In former days, private merchants sold seaweed by laying it out tastefully, so as to look attractive and appetizing, but now we have the unsightly spectacle of its being on sale in shops where it is simply dumped in a corner.

Of course, the fishing sector should process aquatic products better, but the commercial sector itself must do simple processing. A little effort on the part of workers in the commercial sector will easily enable them to process shrimps, shellfish and similar products by salting them tastefully or to make pickled roe and entrails from pollack. When a fishery station makes a good catch, those concerned in the commercial sector should urge the station to get it to the market without delay, or arrange the necessary means of transport themselves for the purpose. How delighted the public will be if they get fresh fishes!

At the moment, however, the commercial establishments, instead of making efforts to serve the people better, behave as if they could not care less whether people eat or not, and simply complain about the lack of transport and what not. And shops, having received a delivery of fish from the fishing sector, leave it unattended to in a heap, and if it gets rotten, they sell it in that condition.

This situation is not confined to Nampho: the same is true of Pyongyang and other localities.

This shows that the officials in the commercial sector still lack the idea of serving the people better, as well as a sense of honour and responsibility as socialist workers.

You should intensify political work among the workers in this sector so as to heighten their sense of responsibility, and you should encourage the commercial sector to undertake re-processing on a wide scale. Restaurants and similar establishments should preserve dried fish and vegetables and other items, and commercial establishments should reprocess seaweed, fish, salted shellfish and so on.

In addition, the commercial establishments should make clothes. I

think that, between them, commercial establishments should easily be able to make and sell smart clothes for children.

An important task of commerce is to ensure regular supplies of soy, bean paste, cooking oil, etc., for our working people. The establishments concerned in this sector should strive to produce more appetizing soy, bean paste, cooking oil, bean curds and other items, and should ensure that the public receives regular supplies of all these items; and when these establishments fail to do so, they should be ashamed of themselves for not having fulfilled their duty which has been assigned to them by the Party and the people.

The workers in commerce should be deeply concerned about providing the working people with regular supplies of fuel.

Needless to say, the main fuel at home is coal, but wood should also be available for lighting a fire or for when people are out of coal. The Ministry of Commerce and local government bodies should therefore endeavour to create a base for the production of firewood. We are planning to have the Cabinet take a decision in this matter in the future and designate a mountain for the establishment of this base. The people's committee should plant acacias and similar fast-growing trees on the mountain which will be designated by the Cabinet, and create the firewood base, thus providing a new facility for the working people.

At the same time, you should further increase the number of service establishments such as barbershops, laundries, suit repair shops and tailor's shops. If you only build houses and fail to expand these service establishments, the working people will suffer hardship. You should allocate some from the funds for housing construction to the building of such establishments.

Another important thing in the work of the people's committee is city administration.

Nampho is not efficient in this respect. There are many houses in which the roofs are leaking and the floors do not get properly heated, and where a lot of water runs to waste because the system is not repaired in time. These practices must be eradicated at the earliest date.

Because Nampho is short of water, it is at present carrying out a project to obtain water supplies from a distance. If, however, even before the completion of the project, you were to mend all the leaks in your existing water supply system, and if you were to control the system effectively so as to ensure that the supply is distributed evenly, you will be far better off as regards water supply than you are now.

While improving the management of your waterworks, you should remove rubbish in time, ensure the smooth flow of traffic in the city and take proper care of parks and recreation grounds, and thus bring about a radical improvement in the administration of your city.

You should strive to effect land management—which includes the improvement of roads and rivers—more satisfactorily, to tighten up the supervision of construction works, and to raise the quality of building.

The people's committee should also devote close attention to education and to the public health service,

What is most important in education is to raise the quality of teaching and education by more intensive work among teachers. The people's committee should prevent schoolchildren from being mobilized for non-academic work assignments more often than required, lest they should drop out, and it should also pay close attention to providing the schools with the appropriate facilities.

There is a need for further improvement in work relating to health and hygiene.

The Nampho city hospital has fairly good facilities, and many beds. But if it should be short of beds, you had better enlarge the harbour hospital and transform it into the city hospital. At present there are as many as 15 doctors for the 20 beds in the harbour hospital, and why should there be so many? Put in some five doctors more and increase the number of beds and you will make it another excellent city hospital. Bearing in mind that today many women go out into society, you should expand the children's ward.

The city people's committee should devote keen attention to strengthening the work of the people's neighbourhood units.

The experience of Pyongyang illustrates the great importance of this

work. As was shown in the film about the activities in people's neighbourhood unit No. 30, Kyongsang-dong, Pyongyang, everyone there lives and works in a communist manner. They help each other, and unit members buy eggs and other foodstuffs and necessities for the households from which both members of a couple go out to work. For people to help each other voluntarily is a communist trait, and it is an aspect of the people's management of their own affairs. Following the example of Pyongyang, Nampho, too, must strengthen the work of the neighbourhood units, and the city Party committee must regard this as an important task requiring the close attention of the Party. If the neighbourhood units function smoothly, it is natural that things go smoothly at the people's committee as well.

The people's committee should exercise political power so that state property is properly respected. There are now many bad practices, such as the slipshod construction and haphazard rebuilding of dwellings, and their occupation without approval.

You should ensure that the working people are properly educated to manage state property—which, after all, belongs to the people—with due care; and you should enforce a strict legal control to this end.

Nampho is a port city through which hundreds of thousands of tons of goods are imported and exported, an industrial centre, a fishing base, as well as a gateway to the capital city of Pyongyang. The Party Central Committee is constantly and deeply concerned to ensure that Nampho is built well; and the committee has on several occasions given directions to this city. According to the recent inspection, however, Nampho has achieved no particular betterment in its work, and we are very dissatisfied with this state of affairs. All Party members and citizens in Nampho should bestir themselves and unite in effective action to correct as soon as possible the shortcomings which have been revealed in Party work, in economic affairs and in the activities of government bodies, and transform Nampho into a beautiful, thriving and cultural port city and into a modern industrial city where the people lead a prosperous life.

THE DUTY OF SCIENTISTS AND TECHNICIANS IN CARRYING OUT THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Speech at a Conference of Scientists and Technicians

March 22, 1963

Comrades,

We are holding a scientists' and technicians' conference after an interval of eleven years.

The decade that elapsed between the first conference of scientists and this conference has witnessed an amazing growth in the ranks of our scientists and technicians. Immediately after liberation, we had only a few dozen national technical cadres. When we held the conference of scientists in 1952, the number of scientific and technical workers was no more than several hundred. Today, after a period of ten years, engineers and specialists alone number 60,000 and if we add junior specialists, the number of scientists and technicians totals as many as 180,000.

Not only have the ranks of scientific and technical cadres increased greatly, but a great achievement has been made in the development of science and technology as well. In this ten year period, our nation's economy has progressed significantly. We carried out the Three-Year Plan on the ruins of the war and then fulfilled the Five-Year Plan; now we are successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Plan to achieve the country's industrialization and technical revolution. Our scientists and

technicians have grown markedly in the course of this great struggle for construction.

The biggest success our people have achieved in socialist construction is that we have learned how to design, build and run factories on our own. This brilliant success is in very large part due to the devoted efforts of our scientists and technicians.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I avail myself of this opportunity to express our high appreciation of your conspicuous achievements in scientific research, and to express warm gratitude to the scientists and technicians for having made an important contribution to economic and cultural construction.

Comrades, our conference is now in its third day. Many of you have discussed the work to be done in the future and have advanced valuable suggestions. This conference of scientists and technicians we are holding today, a year and a half after the Fourth Party Congress, seems somewhat late. The delay, however, has not been a bad thing. During the interval, while implementing the tasks set forth by the Fourth Party Congress, we have tried out many things and have accumulated varied experiences. In many fields, we have got a clear idea of whether or not the tasks given to the scientists and technicians at the Party congress were wholly feasible; we now have a better idea of our strong points and our defects. So I think it is more advantageous for us to have this conference now, to sum up all those matters and discuss our tasks, after having accumulated some experience and familiarized ourselves well with our strengths and shortcomings.

To begin with, I would like to remind you of the tasks which were set by the Fourth Party Congress for scientists and technicians. The Party congress entrusted them with the tasks of making great efforts to solve the urgent scientific and technological problems which have arisen in the practical work of socialist construction, and, by assimilating the scientific achievements which have been attained by advanced mankind, bringing our country's science to the international level in the near future. It also called upon our scientists to take an active part in carrying out the technical revolution; to do their utmost to

achieve the mechanization of all branches of the national economy, including agriculture; to effect the complete mechanization and automation of certain branches of the economy; and to establish firmly an independent industrial structure based on the natural resources of our country. In a word, these tasks amount to the industrialization of the country.

The Party has set forth the task of achieving industrialization within the period of the Seven-Year Plan. We have been tackling it for three consecutive years now, and during this period we have had great successes in the economic and cultural fields and in the advancement of science and technology.

But, when we take a sober look at what we have done so far, we have to admit that our science and technology have not yet developed in depth and scope, just as our industry is still inadequately equipped in various respects. In many areas our science and technology are incomplete, unbalanced and fragmented.

In particular, mechanical engineering in our country is still at a low level, so that we are faced with many difficulties in carrying out research and in putting its results into practice. Our machine-building industry has fallen down in its task of providing us with essential machinery and equipment. Because of its short history and lack of experience, our machine-building industry has only a small number of designers and they are inadequately qualified. Moreover, our metallurgical industry fails to supply sufficient quantities of different kinds of steel, and especially of materials such as alloy steel and light metals which are needed by the machine-building industry.

These are the defects and shortcomings we have seen and the difficulties we have encountered in the course of carrying out the technical revolution, of implementing the tasks for science which were set by the Fourth Party Congress. In the last analysis, these are the defects which you mentioned in your speeches—and which we cannot completely avoid in our rapid advance.

We have many weaknesses, and a lot of work to do in the future. We have no reason whatsoever to be complacent with the results

already achieved. We have only now just laid the foundation.

As you all know, it took Britain three hundred years to realize her industrialization, and it is almost a century since Japan began to develop modern industry.

And how long is our history of industrial construction? It is only ten years, beginning with the year of the ceasefire, and no more than 17 years if we count from the year of liberation. In the course of this period we rehabilitated the economy from the debris of the war, laid the foundations of industrialization and built up the ranks of scientific and technical workers fully capable of managing on their own all our factories and enterprises. This is a notable accomplishment.

A period of ten years, however, is too short a time to industrialize a country, and particularly an extremely backward country like ours. How is it conceivable that the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from our past can be completely eliminated, that scientists and technicians can acquire wide and deep knowledge and accumulate a wealth of experience in such a short period? It is obvious that the industry which we built in this brief span of time is unable to achieve everything which our scientific and technical workers would wish.

The potential of the infrastructure of our national economy has not yet been fully exploited. The experience we have accumulated in the field of science and technology is not yet rich enough and the knowledge of our scientific and technical workers is as yet neither comprehensive nor profound. All this proves that we have no grounds whatsoever for self-complacency. We must continue our persistent study with a modest, sincere attitude. To brag that we can do anything once we decide to, now that the foundations of our industrialization have been laid and a large number of scientists and technicians have been trained, and to make banner headlines about some tiny success—without even testing it properly—all this shows an immodest attitude.

We should realize that a lot of work still remains to be done if our science and technology are fully to meet the requirements of industrialization and, furthermore, that a considerable time is still

needed if they are to attain an international level. We should train more scientific and technical cadres and, on your part, you should strive to acquire more comprehensive and more thorough knowledge.

Our scientists and technicians also lack the sense of responsibility and indomitable will befitting a revolutionary. In research, many comrades do as they like, or concentrate on problems of secondary importance, rather than apply themselves primarily to solving those problems in socialist construction which are particularly urgent. Some, unable to overcome the difficulties in their research, also show an irresponsible and weak attitude of leaving their projects half-finished and of dabbling in this or that subject. Scientific and technical workers should correct such a wrong attitude, take a responsible attitude towards the Party and the state, and acquire the revolutionary quality of overcoming any difficulty.

In order to develop scientific research, the State Planning Commission and the ministries in charge of economic affairs must provide scientists with every possible facility for their work. In this respect, too, many defects have been revealed so far. We do not deny that many circumstances prevent us from providing scientists with all the conditions necessary for their work. But this is not the point. The question is that some of our economic personnel have such a shortsighted view that they only pay attention to immediate production without giving any thought to the requirements of our long-range national plan. It is for this reason that we have failed to provide our scientists with even those facilities which we are well able to provide.

We did not ensure them research facilities that were readily available. Let me give an example. As far back as right after the armistice, we decided to build a science library in Pyongyang, and even arranged to buy tens of thousands of books. The bulk of the books we ordered arrived long ago. But, to this day, the library has not been built. Although we press for its construction each year, it has been put off on this or that pretext. The fault does not lie with the State Planning Commission—which includes the project in its plan every year. Rather, it is the city of Pyongyang that leaves it out every time, claiming that

there is too much pressure on the construction industry. This case alone proves that our personnel who are responsible for dealing with economic affairs have very little regard for scientific research work.

In addition, our financial institutions are not concerned with getting foreign books for scientific workers. Technical books in themselves contain neither capitalist nor revisionist ideas, so there is no reason to fear foreign technical literature. We should gather as much information as we need from all countries of the world. Because we fail to ensure the necessary material conditions for research, scientific workers waste their time on insignificant questions, unable to put their energies into essential research. This situation must be rectified.

They are not even provided with pilot plants as they ought to be. It is a matter of common sense that the results of scientific research should be applied in full-scale production only after they have been fully tested in a pilot plant. It is an intolerable adventure to put research results directly into production, skipping over this step. Accompanied by the department heads of the Party Central Committee, I gave guidance to the Nampho City Party Committee some time ago. The chief engineer of the Nampho Smeltery may possibly be present at this meeting. This smeltery abandoned many new workshops and facilities, such as a sulphur shop, a zinc ore yard, a roasting oven and a rolling shop—as many as five in all—in the middle of building them. By its course of action the smeltery wasted large quantities of materials and manpower. These many projects were abandoned in the middle of construction mainly because the smeltery tried to put into production processes what had not been fully worked out technically, although the problem was also due to the incorrect assignment of projects. If pilot plants had been built and all the technical problems had been satisfactorily solved by adequate experimentation before each of the processes involved was put into full-scale production, there would not have been such waste. The people who are supposed to deal with economic affairs, however, take such a huge national loss for granted, while stingily begrudging money for the building of a pilot plant.

Personnel responsible for economic matters should not be

concerned with immediate production only. They should be far-seeing and willingly allocate money for the construction of pilot plants. It is thus that the necessary facilities should be provided to enable scientific workers to fully confirm and perfect the results of their research through pilot plants.

Next, we must improve the guidance we give for research in scientific fields. At present, many defects are evident in the organization and direction of such research. Neither the Academy of Sciences nor the State Commission of Science and Technology properly manage scientific research. The first defect in their management is to have dispersed the resources available on too many problems instead of concentrating, in accordance with the Party's policy, on the problems which have become the most urgent for the accomplishment of industrialization and of the technical revolution. Efforts were not directed to key problems, the solution of which would have helped resolve other problems. Scientists also wrongly tend to concentrate on subjects which will not lend themselves to any practical application for a long time, or they get immersed in problems which have already been solved by others. It is of course necessary to study problems which have already been solved theoretically and technically in order to work out just how to apply the solutions in the actual conditions of our country. We are in no way opposed to research for that purpose.

Those who organize and direct scientific research should thoroughly implement the Party's policy, which calls for science's efforts to be directed to solving the practical problems which arise in the building of socialism.

The second defect in the management of scientific research is that ministries have organized work in a departmentalist way. Instead of forces being allocated rationally so that the small number of inexperienced scientific and technical cadres we have at present may cooperate with each other in their research, each ministry maintains its own research institute and laboratory. Ministers do not regard those research institutions which are under the Academy of Sciences or

under other ministries as theirs, and feel comfortable only when their particular ministry has one of its own. Accordingly, many similar research institutions exist and there are many cases where the same subjects are studied separately in different places. For instance, the forces engaged in television research alone are dispersed over a number of places such as the Ministry of Communications, the broadcasting committee and the Ministry of Machine Industry. Because scientific research forces are scattered about in this way, no one problem can be thoroughly solved. We must centralize the dispersed scientific research forces if we are to put an end to this bad practice. Moreover, a long-term programme should be made for scientific research in keeping with the development of the national economy, and our research forces should be concentrated on solving the practical problems which arise in the construction of our national economy. This will enable us to accomplish a great deal of work even with our present research forces.

Next, we must intensify the education of scientists in our Party's policies. This meeting has shown unmistakably that the education of scientists and technicians in the Party policies has been poorly conducted. The Party's policy is a yardstick for the correct solution of all matters. Unless one understands it, one cannot properly solve even a single problem. You are all absorbed in research and have read extensively. But if you are not acquainted with the Party's policy, you cannot clearly understand if the subject you are studying is considered by the Party as urgent; nor can you correctly assess which is the main problem requiring a decisive solution today. It is either because the scientists and technicians concerned are unclear about the Party's policy or because they do not try hard enough to carry it through in their research, that good-quality farm machines have not yet been made. If you had had a clear understanding of our Party's policy on the technical revolution in the countryside, you would have been quite well able to make good-quality farm machinery suited to the conditions of our country. Scientists and technicians ought to devote all their knowledge and talents to the Party and the people. To become

scientists of the people, technicians of the people, you must study the Party policies deeply, master them completely and always work in the right direction according to these standards.

Now, let me tell you about some problems concerning the technical revolution. As you all know, the Fourth Congress of our Party highlighted the carrying out of an overall technical revolution in all branches of the national economy and the industrialization of the country as the most important task which has to be tackled.

If capitalism had developed normally in our country, technology would have been developed and, accordingly, the task of the technical revolution would not have to be raised today as an important problem in socialist construction. In those countries which have gone through the normal stage of capitalism and have a highly advanced technology, socialism and communism can be built without a technical revolution, merely by turning the means of production owned by the capitalists into the property of the people by means of socialist revolution.

When the industrial revolution was going on and technology was developing rapidly in the capitalist countries, we long remained quite stagnant, backward agrarian country, subject to feudal rule and to the colonial domination of Japanese imperialism. That is why our country must now carry out a technical revolution in the course of our building of socialism.

Our Party put forward the task of an overall technical revolution after carrying out the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in the northern half of our country. We are thus in a position to push ahead with the technical revolution more rapidly, relying on the superiority of the socialist system.

True, our country was formerly backward and stagnating, and it is carrying out its technical revolution now, later than the advanced countries. Is it then impossible for us to catch up with industry in the developed capitalist countries? Most certainly not. We can do in a matter of decades what capitalist countries have taken centuries to do. We are fully capable of overtaking and outstripping them because our

socialist system is incomparably superior to the capitalist one and opens up broad prospects for rapid economic and technological development. This is clear merely by comparing the northern half of Korea with south Korea.

The national economy develops at a very rapid pace in the northern half of Korea where the means of production have been turned into the property of the people, and where the socialist system, free from exploitation and oppression, has been established.

On the contrary, the economy cannot develop rapidly in south Korea, which has not only been backward from the first but is also treading the path of capitalism. In today's south Korea the factories have gone bankrupt, the rural economy has continued to decline, unemployment has increased and the people's living conditions have gone from bad to worse. The south Korean people have been struggling to break out of this plight.

As a result, the Syngman Rhee "regime" was overthrown and the "regime" of Syngman "Jang" fell. Syngman "Park" was the next to come to power; and judging from the present situation, the day is not far off when he, too, will meet his downfall. Ho Jong and the like may rise to power tomorrow. But regardless of the ruler that appears, things will never change as long as US imperialist colonial rule continues to exist.

Japan, for instance, has nearly a century-old history of industrialization. However, if we do not become complacent with the successes already achieved, if we do not make mistakes and if we maintain our present rate of development, we will be able to catch up with and outstrip Japan technologically not in a hundred years, but in 15 to 20 years. It is therefore most important to keep up our country's high tempo of economic development by taking advantage of the superiority of the socialist system.

We can keep up the Chollima pace if, on the basis of that superiority, we ensure the planned and coordinated development of our national economy, the proper balance between accumulation and consumption and the correct equilibrium between industry and

agriculture. We can maintain this speed if we do not rest content but continue learning and studying to effect the rapid development of science and technology.

We have already permanently eradicated the sources of exploitation and poverty by reorganizing the relations of production along socialist lines. This alone, however, is not enough. What we need now is a technical transformation so that people can work easily and earn a lot while living in comfort. We cannot advance further without a technical revolution.

As you all know, we are saddled at present with a manpower problem in all fields of the national economy. When we want to develop more mines, we find ourselves short of manpower; when we set out to reclaim more land or catch more fish, we are up against the need for men. Without a technical revolution in all spheres of the national economy, we cannot ease the pressure on manpower, increase production, and thus further raise the people's standard of living.

What is the slogan our Party has put forward to raise the people's living standard today? To provide all our people with a full life, that is, supply them with rice and meat, dress them in attractive clothes and warm overcoats in winter and build more houses for them. To this end, industrial and agricultural production should be radically increased. Only when production grows will the national income increase and the people's living conditions improve. That is why the Fourth Congress of our Party put forward the task of increasing the total value of industrial output about 3.2 times during the period of the Seven-Year Plan.

There are two ways of increasing the total value of our industrial output; one is to increase the number of workers; the other is to raise labour productivity by carrying out the technical revolution. As regards this problem, the circumstances of our country will never allow us to raise the output value by increasing the number of workers: we have an acute labour shortage at present, and the manpower needed for expanded production cannot be satisfactorily guaranteed with our present rate of population growth. Moreover, growth of population

means increased consumption, so an increment of the numbers of workers alone gets us nowhere. Our only solution lies in mechanizing and automating the existing factories and enterprises so as to augment the value of per-employee output, and in using the labour force thus freed for the expansion of production in other branches.

Right now we have many things which we ought to do but cannot do because of the inadequate supply of labour. We must, therefore, carry on the technical revolution. With the work force which it releases, we should prospect for mineral resources abundant in our country, develop more coal and ore mines and build more new factories. The fishing industry should also be developed so as to increase our catch, and in the rural economy, more land should be reclaimed and per-hectare crop yields markedly boosted.

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party directed a Red Letter to the entire membership of the Party calling upon them to save manpower in enterprises and to send the labour force thus freed to the countryside. During my visit to the Nampho City Party Committee in order to give guidance a while back, I discussed with technicians at the Nampho Smeltery how to carry out the technical revolution rapidly and successfully and increase production while saving on labour. At that time I asked them how many workers the smeltery had sent off to work in the countryside and whether they could fulfil their production plan even after sending them away. They answered that they had sent about five hundred, and that they could fulfil their plan creditably. Then I asked them why they had those extra five hundred workers before. They said that they had kept them in order to get through their work more easily!

If we are lazy, we will never be able to carry out the task of the technical revolution set forth by the Party. We must be able to overcome many difficulties and obstacles in order to accomplish it. So I proposed the following task: they should strive to raise the present per-worker value of output from 15,000 *won* to 30,000 *won* per annum with the existing labour force, by mechanizing and automating the production processes, and without using those five hundred workers.

Then, the technicians held a Party meeting to discuss the matter and reached a conclusion. They attended the plenary meeting of the city Party committee and said that they would achieve that target by 1967. Of course, they have made such a hasty calculation that it may be rough. Yet, such determination is, in itself, a very good thing.

If everyone studies and tries hard to make progress towards accomplishing the task of the technical revolution advanced by the Party, we will be fully capable of reaching the target. Our country has the necessary conditions for this revolution: we have established a heavy industry base with the machine-building industry as its core, and laid firm foundations for industrialization.

The matter now depends on whether or not the scientists and technicians actively push themselves to fulfil the task of the technical revolution set by the Party. We have really a great deal of work ahead of us in the fields of science and technology.

Take the mechanization of agriculture to begin with. In industry mechanization and automation are comparatively easy; but, in agriculture, mechanization is a more difficult and prolonged process. We cannot, however, for that reason, simply wait around without stepping up mechanization in agriculture. The peasants' intense workload cannot be lightened without a technical revolution in the rural economy. In factories, workers have to work at their lathes for only eight hours; where the plant has been fully automated, they just sit around, pushing buttons a few times during those eight hours and then go home. However, in the countryside, peasants usually work more than 12 hours a day, and during the busiest farming seasons 14 hours: there is no slack season for our peasants. Even in winter they have no time to rest, what with dealing with manure and making straw-bags. That is why young people do not like to remain in the countryside, but prefer to go to factories.

The peasantry in our country have been freed from oppression and exploitation and their standard of living has reached the level of the former middle peasants. However, we have not completely relieved them yet of hard and backbreaking labour. Today, we communists face

the lofty, the honourable task of emancipating our peasants from the arduous toil they have endured for thousands of years since the time of our ancestors.

But our scientists and technicians are apparently not concerned about the difficult work of the peasants and do not consider the technical revolution in the countryside a vital question. If we go on like this, while living on the rice produced by the peasants, how can we look them straight in the face! We must think harder and push ahead with rural mechanization so that agricultural work will be no more arduous than industrial work.

Furthermore, the peasants' income and living standard should also be brought as close as possible to those of industrial workers. As you know, in order to build a communist society we must eliminate the distinctions between town and country. You should not think simply that this problem can be solved by building houses and cultural establishments in the countryside like those in town. This alone is not enough. The physical exertion required, the income, living standards and all other conditions should be equalized between the industrial workers and the peasants to get rid of the differences between town and country. In order to raise the peasants' income and standard of living to those of the workers, agricultural production should be developed more intensively and this is another reason why the technical revolution should be carried out in the countryside. We can go over to communism only when we develop the agricultural productive forces further, eliminate the distinctions between industrial and agricultural labour and make it possible for all the peasants to enjoy the same prosperity as the industrial workers, thanks to the technical revolution in the rural areas.

The rural technical revolution in the northern half of Korea will also constitute a great inspirational force for the south Korean people in their struggle. In south Korea there are considerable numbers of industrial workers, but the overwhelming majority of the population is peasants. In the northern half we have already freed our peasants from exploitation and poverty, and if we accomplish the rural technical

revolution to free them from difficult and arduous labour and provide all of them with a comfortable and happy life, the peasants in the southern half will support us and rise up more vigorously against US imperialist colonial rule and the system of feudal exploitation.

The technical revolution should be carried out in industry as well as in the rural economy. What is important for the technical revolution in this field is to replace outdated by new machinery and equipment, mechanize what has not been mechanized, and automate what has been mechanized. When we build new factories, we should invariably mechanize or automate them. True, industry cannot be compared with agriculture, but here, too, there are still a lot of tough jobs and much outdated machinery and equipment. This is the case with the centrally-controlled industries, with construction, transport, fishing and local industries—things are more or less the same in all branches.

Let me cite the case of the mechanization of the operation of pollack-gutting in the fishing industry. Though our country catches about 300,000 tons of pollacks annually, we are not eating a lot of salted pollack roe and entrails. This is mainly because the scientists and technicians in the field do not think a lot about mechanizing such an arduous operation as gutting pollack; they do not attack the problem energetically. It is said that they have been working on a pollack-gutting machine for as much as ten years now, but they have not yet succeeded in making anything worth mentioning. What is more, facilities have not been properly provided for washing and processing pollack in winter, so that pollack processing is way behind.

At the time of Japanese imperialist rule people were forced to gut pollack and prepare and sell the salted roe even during the winter, shivering in the cold weather to eke out a bare living because they could not get any other job.

But things are quite different today. All the children and young people go to school or serve in the army, and housewives live well on their husbands' wages. Who would think of gutting pollack, shivering in cold winter weather? As I always say to the State Planning Commission, no one would willingly work at pollack-gutting

nowadays unless we put up buildings, provide machines and equipment and install running water for the workers so that they work comfortably seated indoors.

In local industry as well, we do a poor job of mechanizing production and use too much labour. For that reason, I called the Changsong joint conference last year and recommended that they at least introduce semi-mechanization. This work, however, still has not been carried out properly because our officials do not fully understand the problem.

We should actively step up the technical revolution, clearly recognizing that without it we cannot further advance industry, agriculture, fishing or any other field, nor can we solve the question of improving the people's standard of living as we now intend to.

Now I would like to mention some important problems in the technical revolution.

For the technical revolution, scientists should, among other things, direct their efforts to the deeper study and development of mechanical engineering.

As you correctly pointed out in your speeches, our country has in fact laid extensive foundations for the machine-building industry and this industry, well used, can make any machine.

However, progress has been halted because of bad design work: because of crude designs and inaccurate calculations, large machines and precision machines are not yet being properly made.

We took great pains to make the *Chollima* tractor. Since we did not even have a blueprint, we bought a tractor, took it apart, designed the pieces one by one and managed to make our own. Needless to say, to produce a tractor by ourselves that way was a great success. However, we still do not know how to design different kinds of tractors that suit our agriculture. We can barely manage to imitate what others have done.

At present our country has nearly 900 scientific workers in the mechanical engineering research institutes alone. Numerically speaking, this is a considerable force. But our scientists and

technicians are not yet proficient in design, in mechanics and so on because they lack practice and profound knowledge.

As was discussed yesterday, many factories that we built on our own have defects. Of course, we speeded up the construction of factories in order to develop the economy rapidly in a short span of time. This meant that some of them were roughly thrown together. But we see defects even in those factories which were not built in a hurry. These shortcomings are all caused by lack of precision in our designs, and in our knowledge of mechanics, thermodynamics, etc. In other words, many factories still fail to run at full capacity because of inadequate solutions to mechanical engineering problems.

The same is true of coal production. We can bring about innovations here as well if only we mechanize our coal mines completely, taking account of their realities. The present variations in coal production by our collieries are due to the fact that they either use foreign machines which are unsuitable for the actual conditions of our mines or use machines copied from them. Consequently, productivity is very low. Since we are still unable to make machines that fit the specific conditions of our country, we have no alternative but to use foreign machines.

However, I do not want you to think that the state of our machine-building industry and machinists is all that appalling. It is a major accomplishment to have laid the foundation of the machine-building industry and built up the ranks of scientists and technicians as they are today, in such a short period of time. It is inevitable that our capabilities should still be limited since our machine-building industry has a short history and our newly-trained technicians have not had the time to accumulate wide experience. We can easily eliminate this defect if we direct our attention from now on to improving the quality of these ranks of cadres.

If we have endeavoured to increase the numbers of our scientists and technicians over the last ten years, from now on we should devote our efforts to raising their quality and strengthening their fighting capacity.

The few facts which I have just mentioned are enough to demonstrate clearly that we must make a great effort to develop mechanical engineering. If we do not, we will be in a position neither to solve the urgent technical problems that arise in connection with the development of the national economy nor to accelerate the technical revolution. Your scientific achievements in the fields of chemistry and metallurgy, moreover, cannot be applied unless mechanical engineering is developed. After all, everything depends on machines.

The immediate, important task now confronting the machine-building industry is the vigorous mechanization and automation of each branch of the national economy. The productivity of the existing machinery and equipment in the machine-building industry will be more than doubled if this industry introduces forging equipment, mechanizes casting, and uses highly efficient motors and jigs. We can solve many problems, indeed, if the existing machine-building factories will only more than double their capacities.

A radical development of the mining industry, one of our country's urgent tasks today, can also take place only with the support of the machine-building industry.

At present, the Hasong and Jaeryong Mines are not supplying iron ore in adequate quantities to the Hwanghae Iron Works; the Musan Mine is not working at full capacity and the Ryongyang Mine also has a difficult situation. All this is due to the inadequacy of the mining equipment. If these mines are provided with 30- to 40-ton trucks and excavators with huge buckets, they will be able to mine much more iron ore than they do now and supply it to different spheres of the national economy.

Our Party has instructed the machine-building industry to manufacture larger machines than those at present being produced. It has assigned the difficult task of turning out, first of all, large mining equipment and means of transport such as large excavators, bulldozers, tractors and ships.

Scientists and technicians should actively assist in the accomplishment of this task. At present there are some difficult matters

which the personnel under the Ministry of Machine Industry cannot cope with alone.

Take the testing of designs for an example. At present there is no agency which tests the designs produced at various machine-building factories. Therefore, they are used arbitrarily, without their practicability having been examined. But the truth is that, even if they were to be checked, there is simply no one competent enough to examine them: ignorant people cannot test them by themselves. The Academy of Sciences should be made responsible for testing designs from here on in.

The same is true of centralizing the production of castings. Many comrades spoke about the problem of raising the quality of castings, and their opinions were all sound. And, in fact, this is one of the difficult problems which face the machine-building industry today. Yet the most important thing in solving this problem is to centralize the production of castings. Our Party has for a long time repeatedly emphasized this point. Only by centralizing casting production is it possible to mechanize physically arduous work with relative ease, raise the technological level of the equipment and improve the quality of the castings as well. This task, however, has not yet been fulfilled.

It is true that this problem arises because of the lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of the personnel in the institutions concerned, including the Ministry of Machine Industry. But the cause also seems to lie in the failure to solve various technical and economic problems. Scientists should render active assistance in finding solutions to these problems.

While endeavouring to carry out these immediate tasks, we should strive to develop mechanical engineering continuously and anticipate the training of the designers well in advance, in order to develop our country's economy in a planned way.

Instead of dispersing its research, the Academy of Sciences should devote major efforts to the development of mechanical engineering, which is the most important problem to be solved in accomplishing the technical revolution. We should concentrate the scientists and

technicians in mechanical engineering by consolidating the research institutions in this field which are now scattered in all the areas of the national economy. Moreover, the relevant state organizations should adequately equip mechanical engineering research laboratories and provide all necessary conditions for the carrying out of this work. To begin with, the Ministry of Machine Industry should construct a well-equipped factory to produce the pilot machines and equipment needed for the research work of the Academy of Sciences. We will get nowhere by merely talking and leafing through books in the office. Only by building up a good pilot factory and pushing ahead with experiments is it possible to obtain substantial results.

Another important task for the further progress of our national economy is to develop radio engineering and electronics.

Our Party has been emphasizing this matter for a long time. Yet research work in this field so far has not been conducted very seriously.

Radio engineering and electronics are not only necessary in the fields of communications and radio and television. Foreign experience indicates the extensive application of electronics to fields such as the metallurgical, chemical, machine-building and power industries as well. In particular, it is impossible to control or develop rapid and complex processes without electronic equipment.

Therefore, to avoid falling behind other countries, we must pay due attention to future development in electronics.

Some time ago I had a talk with the workers and technicians of the communications equipment factory. At that time they said that they would produce television sets by themselves this year in cooperation with the personnel of the Broadcasting Committee. Of course, it is important to make television and radio sets with imported electron tubes. But what is even more important is to produce our own electron tubes and semiconductors.

Electron tube production furnishes the groundwork for the development of electronics. The Cabinet and the State Planning Commission should build an electron tube factory soon, as well as a semiconductor factory, thus providing better conditions for

accelerating research in electronics.

Although mechanization is right now a prime task in our country, automation will become the priority before long. So we need to make farsighted preparations for automation. It is precisely electronics that is the key to such preparations. Accordingly, research in electronics is inevitably an urgent task both for carrying out the technical revolution and for the future development of our national economy.

Now I would like to talk about some of the tasks for the development of heavy industry related to carrying out the technical revolution.

The important task before the metallurgical industry is to assure the satisfactory supply of the materials which are needed for the technical revolution.

Last year we were able to turn out large quantities of steel in fighting to reach the target of an annual output of 1.2 million tons. Yet, although we are not using all the steel we produce, there is a shortage of certain types of steel: we do not make enough steel and structural steel of varied kinds and standards and, therefore, still fail to fully satisfy our needs in this area.

That is why we are not only still unable to manufacture the machines we want to produce and cannot properly ensure the quality of those we do produce, but are wasting huge quantities of steel.

The immediate task facing the metallurgical industry is therefore not to increase the absolute amount of steel produced but to multiply the assortment and standards of steel so that what we do produce can be effectively used.

We plan a large-scale expansion of the Kim Chaek Iron Works in the future. But, for the present, efforts should be made to expand the assortment and standards of rolled steel by reinforcing the rolling facilities of our existing metallurgical plants and to develop the production of alloy steels and light metals.

Our country has abundant supplies of the elements used in alloys and has favourable conditions for the development of alloy steel production. Alloy steel is indispensable for the technical revolution.

We should further diversify steel production by expanding the variety of alloy steels we produce and, in particular, should turn out large amounts of heat-resistant, acid-resistant and ferro-magnetic materials.

There is a very urgent demand for light metals along with alloy steel. The Seven-Year Plan envisages the production of 20,000 tons of aluminium. We should begin with the production of at least 10,000 tons as soon as possible. With only 10,000 tons of aluminium, we can have a substitute for large quantities of copper wire and can make many light machines.

Judging from your speeches yesterday, it seems that aluminium production still has a dim future. It is necessary right now to begin moving forward courageously with your research in the field. Worrying about things will not get you anywhere. You have to act boldly. Had we been overwhelmed with fear after the armistice, we would not have been able to build even one house properly. You should buckle down to the production of light metals with courage and unravel the complex problems involved as soon as possible.

Scientific workers in the metallurgical industry should direct their efforts to solving the problem of the materials needed for the technical revolution, and particularly to producing the many kinds of steel, standard steel components and light metals needed for the development of the machine-building industry.

In your speeches, you suggested that the scientists should strive to raise the annual output of steel at the existing metallurgical factories to 1.5 or 1.6 million tons. I think this is a very good idea.

One of the central tasks facing scientists in the metallurgical industry is precisely that of taking concrete measures to increase the productivity of the existing equipment by actively improving it, by mechanizing or automating production processes, and by furnishing all the accessory equipment. If we produce 1.5 to 1.6 million tons of steel with the existing equipment, make alloy steel, light metals and various kinds of standard steel components and use them rationally, we shall be able to meet all the demands of our national economy for some time to come.

The Ministry of Machine Industry now consumes a total of 200,000

to 300,000 tons of steel annually for the production of various kinds of machines and equipment, and it is still wasting large quantities of steel. Our machines are heavy, clumsy and shapeless compared with those of other countries. If we mechanize casting work, raise the precision of cast products and develop the power press method, it will be possible to save tens of thousands of tons of the steel we now use to produce machines.

Even if the machine-building factories double the present utilization rate of their equipment and make more large machines and precision machines in the future, 500,000 tons of steel will satisfy the needs of the machine-building industry for the time being. If we only turn out approximately 1.5 million tons of steel, that will be enough, even if a lot of steel is used in capital construction and in other fields.

It is not necessary, therefore, to expand the capacity of our metallurgical plants any more right now. Capital investment should be made in rolling mills and in the production of alloy steel and light metals.

In the chemical industry as well, scientists should pay primary attention to increasing the utilization rate of the existing facilities.

The scientific workers concerned should not disperse their forces but rather unite their efforts, first of all, to normalize production at the vinalon factory and the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill, and to complete the construction of the Sinuiju Chemical Fibre Mill.

It is very important to normalize production at the vinalon factory because our people today demand fabrics which are warm and durable and not just cloth of good quality. I think scientific workers can bring the annual vinalon output to 20,000 tons and later, to 30,000 tons if they concentrate on steadily lowering the amount of raw material consumed per unit of product and on further improving and expanding the existing equipment of the factory.

The regularization of production at the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and at the Kilju Pulp Mill, both very important in fibre production, is an urgent task which scientists should solve at the earliest possible date. We must use all means to raise the annual artificial fibre

production to the 30,000-ton level and stabilize it at that level as soon as possible. Scientists should, moreover, play an important role in completing the Sinuiju Chemical Fibre Mill.

Only by these methods will we be able to solve the urgent need for fibre.

While concentrating our efforts on solving the immediate fibre problem, we should do long-range research on the future production of chemical fibre through oil processing.

Another important problem facing the chemical industry is how to produce synthetic rubber.

We are now manufacturing a large number of tractors and trucks, but we cannot produce the rubber they need. We should produce at least around 10,000 tons of synthetic rubber a year as soon as we can.

The demand for rubber should thus be met partly by our own production and partly by foreign imports. It is not safe to rely solely on imports. The Party hopes that our scientific workers will begin to produce synthetic rubber in the near future.

Another important problem in the chemical industry is to increase the production of chemical fertilizers and various kinds of chemicals needed in agriculture.

We are now planning to continue to raise grain output, but this task cannot be carried out unless large amounts of fertilizer are produced. So the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee is going to discuss the question of increasing fertilizer production with our technicians.

It is important that technicians do their utmost to solve this problem. And it certainly can be resolved if our technical forces are properly mobilized.

We should produce more chemical fertilizers for use in our countryside. This is the only way to improve land fertility and reach our goals for grain output.

In addition, we should see to it that weed killers are extensively used. In our agriculture, weeding is one of the most laborious jobs and an important one which has a decisive influence on crop yields. Since

our country has a long, heavy rainy season, grass grows easily and grain output drops owing to the weeds. Merely eliminating weeds by applying herbicides will bring a 15 to 20 per cent increase in grain output. Therefore, we must produce and supply agricultural chemicals in large quantities that will help to improve land fertility, control blight and harmful insects, kill weeds and so forth.

Next, we should give careful attention to economizing electricity.

Today our country ranks third or fourth in the socialist camp in per-capita power output, but it is not so in the value of gross industrial output. This means that we waste too much electricity. With a view towards eliminating such irrationality, the Party congress set forth the task of converting those industrial branches which consume a lot of electricity into ones that use little or no electric power. Our scientists should use their heads to solve this problem.

At present, however, this important task is being performed in a very passive way. The cause of this would seem to lie in the fact that the personnel in this field have a poor understanding of the importance of economizing electric power.

First of all, you scientific workers here present should clearly understand that the bias of our industry towards those sectors using a great deal of electric power is the evil consequence of the predatory colonial policy of Japanese imperialism: since the Japanese imperialists could not transfer our electric power to the industrial centres in their country, they organized a number of irrational, wasteful processes for producing raw materials in an attempt to plunder the abundant power resources in our country.

We have built an independent economy and intend to develop the machine-building industry and many other new branches of industry; so we need lots of power right now. In order to meet the rapidly increasing demand for power, we should develop a number of new power stations and economize on electricity to the utmost. It is very important to economize on electricity by changing irrational, wasteful production processes into ones that make little or no use of electricity. Therefore, our scientists should show great concern over this problem

and solve it once and for all at the earliest possible date.

Now let me speak briefly about the fishing industry. Our country, which borders on the sea on three sides, should make serious efforts to develop this industry. Scientists, however, hardly bother to study how to develop it. They think it should be studied only by graduates of the university of fisheries. This is wrong.

In order to develop the fishing industry, it is not enough merely to know the kinds and quantity of the fish we have and where they are abundant. To develop the fishing industry you should approach the problem from every angle, studying what kinds of fishing boats should be made in the light of our specific conditions, how to conquer the sea and how biology can help to breed and preserve fish.

The fishing industry should be rapidly developed in the future through the extensive application of scientific fishing methods by the concentrated efforts of scientists and technicians in studying fishing tackle, in making plenty of equipment for the conquest of the sea and in producing highly efficient shoal detectors. The fishing industry cannot go any further by handicraft methods. Therefore, the Academy of Sciences should also allocate definite scientific forces to its development.

Lastly, I would like to mention the problems of agricultural science.

In your speeches you suggested many good ways of improving different varieties of farm crops. I agree with the great importance of such improvements. In particular, we should pay great attention to this problem and prevent wind damage.

Today our country has overcome the threat of drought with the result that crops grow well, not being affected by lack of rain. But flourishing crops are considerably damaged by the typhoon that comes every August. Last year, too, the crops grew well in spite of a long dry spell; but a lot of maize and rice was damaged by a typhoon. This phenomenon recurs almost every year.

Decisive measures, therefore, should be taken to improve crop varieties and to minimize typhoon damage. We must produce new varieties—for example, crops that are short but large-eared and ones

that are tall but can withstand the wind.

In addition, research should be done on the rational use of the hillsides which make up such a large part of our land. Our country, with a total of only 1.8 to 2 million hectares of arable land, including hillsides, cannot afford to discard 300,000 to 400,000 hectares of hillsides simply because they may give low yields. At present such farm land is not even fertilized with manure. And no one would manure it in any case, since it is all washed away by rain.

Scientists should therefore study how to plant perennial crops on such hillsides, prevent soil erosion, and improve the soil. If we succeed in at least properly using our hillsides to cultivate crops for fodder, it will be a great help: we can have meat if we produce a lot of animal fodder.

And research should promptly be undertaken on the exploitation of tideland. There are hundreds of thousands of hectares of land to be reclaimed from the sea. It is therefore a very urgent task for us to take prompt measures for exploiting this land.

I have mentioned above several of the important problems in the development of our national economy that call for prompt solutions by our scientific and technical workers.

The central task confronting our people today is the technical revolution. Our scientists, therefore, should serve this revolution more faithfully. They should devote all their know-how and energy to improving the existing facilities in the metallurgical and chemical industries and in all other branches of the national economy, thereby helping us to get the most out of these facilities, to developing industry, agriculture and fishing rapidly, and to raising the people's standard of living more quickly.

I firmly believe that following this conference our Red scientific workers of the Party will greatly contribute to the development of the national economy, to the further consolidation of the foundations of the independent economy and to raising the people's living conditions to a higher level, by devoting themselves completely to the battle to accomplish the task set forth at the Fourth Congress of our Party and making brilliant scientific advances.

ON IMPROVING EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES

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

April 18, 1963

We have now heard the work report of the Party Committee of Kim Il Sung University; great successes have been achieved in the work of this University.

The University has trained a large number of cadres, and this is a great achievement, of course. However, what is more important is that, by their own efforts, our universities have laid solid foundations for training technicians, specialists and scientists. This is a most precious asset that cannot be bartered for anything.

Especially conspicuous among the successes gained in the University's work is that the Party ideological system has been established among the faculty members and students and that Juche has been built up in education. They are now armed with our Party's ideology, and education is conducted in the basic direction required by the Party. It is true that some people still retain flunkeyish attitudes. However, we can say that tendencies towards national nihilism are basically non-existent; that is, tendencies to look up to foreigners as being the only persons capable of training technicians and specialists with advanced science and technology. Moreover, unlike in former days, the students, as well as the teachers, are now immediately able to

distinguish right from wrong when someone gives a lecture contrary to the Juche idea. All this is good.

Although the University has achieved great successes in its work, there remain a number of shortcomings. But they are shortcomings revealed while progress has been made, and they in no way imply that the University's work has retrogressed or that they are doing a worse job than before. For example, the poor qualifications of the teachers have been keenly discussed at this meeting. This does not mean that the quality of the University professors is lower than before; it means that their scientific and theoretical level is low compared with the requirements of the rapidly-developing world. With the speedy expansion of the University, many young teachers have been appointed. However, the present scientific and theoretical level of the teaching staff as a whole is incomparably higher than right after the armistice, not to mention the early days of the University. The defects revealed in the work of the Party committee and in the educational administration of the University, as well as in the provision of material facilities, are minor ones. They are caused by the leadership personnel of the University who, lacking a clear understanding of the Party's requirements, did not pay due attention to these problems or worked in a slipshod manner. Those defects can be easily corrected. We must quickly rectify them, put the University's work system to rights and further improve education to meet the demands of our revolution.

1. ON CONSOLIDATING THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY PARTY COMMITTEE

The intensification of the University's educational work requires, above all, an increased role to be assigned to its Party committee. The Party committee is the supreme organ of leadership in the University. It should control and guide every aspect of the work of the University

and take responsibility for education, the University's basic function.

What, then, is the basic duty of the University Party Committee?

It is to establish our Party's ideological system firmly among teachers and students and, rallying them to the last man around the Party Central Committee, to train all students to become fine cadres and first-rate builders of communism as required by the Party. Therefore, it should concentrate on organizational and political work so as to establish the Party's ideological system among teachers and students.

The central concern of the University Party Committee, as with other Party committees, is to work with people. It is by no means exceptional in this, and it should regard this as its first duty. In other words, it should work with teaching staff and students, and concentrate on hardening their Party spirit and on training them to be revolutionary fighters unswervingly loyal to the Party.

The University Party Committee should be tactful in its work with students.

However skilfully the University may teach science and technology, students cannot become revolutionaries unless they arm themselves with the ideas of the Party. Even if a person has a wide range of knowledge, he is of no use if he does not equip himself with the ideas of our Party and serve our revolution. In the past there have been cases in which a small minority of university students have been badly behaved and have not soundly established the Party's ideological system. Such phenomena should not be tolerated at the University, an important cadre-training centre of the country. So the University Party Committee should work carefully with student Party members and make great efforts to firmly build up the ranks of students.

This means arming all students, through good instruction, with our Party's ideas, rallying them closely around the Party and training them to be its true fighters, communists. Trouble-makers should not be perfunctorily expelled from the University on the pretext of building up the ranks of students. School is an institution to educate people: it

should educate, reform and train even trouble-makers to be fine persons.

Of course, the University makes it a rule to enrol good people and train them. But everything is not settled merely by enrolling good people. Even though his class origin may be sound, a student may degenerate, influenced by evil ideologies in his school days. Survivals of old ideologies still remain in the people's minds, we are surrounded by capitalism and, in particular, our country is divided into the north and south. Under these circumstances, capitalist ideas constantly penetrate from without. So students may be contaminated by evil ideologies if proper education is not given them. The University Party Committee should therefore intensify ideological education among students so that while attending their courses they may rid themselves of any survivals of old ideologies and arm themselves firmly with communist ideas.

During their university days people mature physically and mentally, and their character and world outlook take shape, so it is very important to educate them properly. Of course, it is by no means an easy job to train university students who have not yet passed the test of society and who think themselves important. But if the Party committee gets students into good habits and educates them circumspectly from the outset, they will all be set on the right track. It is worth the Party committee's while to do this; but the committee would have nothing to do if the University enrolls only communists fully equipped with a revolutionary world outlook.

The University Party Committee, in particular, should urge students to take part voluntarily in the life of the Party or of the Democratic Youth League. In this way students should be encouraged to value their organization and accustom themselves to participating loyally in organizational life during their university days.

The main job of teachers is the education of students. They should become communists first in order to train students to be communists. Sometimes, ideologically unsound students may enter university. But the main reason why students make mistakes at university is that, in

many cases, their teachers' ideology is unhealthy. That is why the University Party Committee should intensify work with teachers and pay close attention to steeling them in a revolutionary way.

The report of the University Party Committee chairman shows that the committee has so far failed to work with teachers properly. They say that some teachers are nervous about whether or not the Party trusts them and even think that it is really due to the Party's lack of political confidence in them when their degree theses are not approved because of poor quality. There is no more important or honourable undertaking than bringing up students to be cadres of the nation; the Party shows great political confidence in teachers by entrusting them with the education of the rising generation. Needless to say, those who are doubtful about the Party's political confidence in them are wrong. Yet, the University Party Committee should also find shortcomings in its own work.

The University Party Committee should work with teachers properly so that they acquire a high sense of honour and pride in their work. It should tell them what their shortcomings are, if any, both in and out of work, so that they may remedy them in good time. If a teacher's degree thesis is too poor to be passed, the committee should inform him of the reason for its failure that it lacked adequate ideological content and scientific value because he did not arm himself thoroughly with the Juche idea of our Party. And it should help him to equip himself with the revolutionary ideas of our Party more solidly and to raise his scientific and theoretical qualifications.

Trusting, educating and taking intellectuals into communist society is our Party's consistent policy. The University Party Committee should work carefully with intellectuals, thereby rallying them closely around our Party and inducing them to be faithful to our revolutionary cause to the end.

As we always emphasize, in work with older intellectuals it must be assumed that they have a revolutionary, anti-imperialist spirit but, at the same time, that they may waver because of their class position. Without putting them to the test, it would be a mistake to think that,

simply because they manifest revolutionary, anti-imperialist leanings, they are revolutionary of their own accord; but it would also be wrong to doubt them for no reason at all, while allowing oneself to be swayed by the mere fact that they may vacillate. Taking these two points into consideration, we should trust and educate older intellectuals, and test and steel them in practice.

In peacetime, unlike wartime, it is difficult to check people in a short period. In the Fatherland Liberation War, particularly in the hard days of temporary retreat, we could test many intellectuals. Many of our intellectuals went to the sector of the Raktong River, and then followed the Party, scaling steep mountains, during the period of temporary retreat. In such a trying period, a hard-and-fast line can be drawn between those following our Party and those going over to the enemy side. But in a period of peaceful construction like today, it is rather difficult to fathom people's revolutionary spirit without testing them for quite a long time. Moreover, it is hardly possible to evaluate teachers in an all-round way merely from the fact that they are good lecturers. Under the present peacetime conditions it is necessary to work with intellectuals more profoundly so as to understand them closely and give them a properly-planned revolutionary education.

The University Party Committee should, in particular, work carefully with teachers from south Korea.

Those who came from south Korea, trusting and following our Party in the days of the Fatherland Liberation War, are precious people; their following us is one of the great victories of our Party's policy towards intellectuals. We should treasure, love, trust and pull them forward. Those who are eligible for membership we should enrol in the Party. Admittance into the Party should in all circumstances, of course, follow the principles and procedures stipulated in its Rules, and no exceptions should be allowed. But it is wrong to doubt them or to hesitate to accept them into the Party simply because their past records in south Korea may have been equivocal. Those who are not yet ready for membership should be helped to prepare themselves better, and those who are eligible should be boldly admitted in the Party.

Organizational life is of great importance in steeling people in a revolutionary way. In particular, the intensification of organizational life is more urgent in the revolutionary steeling of those intellectuals who are separated from production activity. The University Party Committee should properly guide the teaching staff to participate conscientiously in the life of the Party or in that of other organizations.

It is said that some intellectuals are reluctant to take part in Party meetings, complaining that there are too many of them. This attitude is wrong. Party meetings are a school for Party members to steel their Party spirit. To participate actively in Party meetings is the duty of every Party member. He should contribute to all debates at Party meetings; he should implement Party decisions unconditionally and execute Party assignments faithfully. He who shirks from participation in Party meetings and fails to carry out Party assignments is ineligible for membership. The Party committee should vigorously oppose any tendency among intellectuals to neglect organizational life.

The University Party Committee should not take upon itself educational administration or the provision of material facilities, but it should regularly and untiringly work with teachers and students. There may be various ways of doing this: individual education through talks, assignments given to Party members to educate each other, collective education through meetings and studies, and many other ways. This has always been emphasized, so I shall not discuss it further now.

The next thing to which the University Party Committee should attach importance is the establishment of the habit of study among both students and teachers.

The first and foremost task both for all Party members and for the working people is to establish the ideological system of the Party. And moreover, everyone has his own main revolutionary task. Therefore, all Party members and working people should strive to establish the Party's ideological system and, at the same time, make vigorous endeavours to discharge their own revolutionary tasks faithfully.

The main revolutionary duty of students is to study hard. The word "student" literally means "a person who studies". The Party has sent

students to the University to read assiduously and to study hard. Students should hold fast to the study-first principle, and the University Party Committee should give proper guidance so that students may study diligently.

The habit of study should be established among teachers, too. The main revolutionary task of teachers is to teach well. To this end, teachers themselves should study a great deal. It is of course by no means easy to prepare a good syllabus for any subject. Since teachers cite many examples in lectures and set exercises to be discussed, they should read many reference books and study actual problems at all times if they are to compile a good syllabus.

The loyalty of students and teachers to the Party should be manifested in their studying and teaching, which are the main revolutionary tasks assigned them by the Party. The University Party Committee should always pay attention to establishing the habit of study among students and teachers, and should evaluate them according to how they demonstrate Party spirit in carrying out their duties. Students should be rated by whether they study hard or not as required by the Party, and teachers, by whether they conduct teaching in the direction that the Party wants.

Further, the University Party Committee should direct efforts towards the communist education of students.

One of the important objectives of higher education is to encourage students to acquire communist moral traits. However much knowledge and technology they may have, they cannot become revolutionaries, the commanding personnel of the revolution, without having acquired noble communist moral traits. The University Party Committee should intensify communist education among students, so that all of them, during the four to five years of their course, become fine workers in the service of the Party and the state, with a strong Party spirit, a wide knowledge and communist moral traits.

At present, not a few young people lack due moral qualities. Some fail to observe even primary etiquette and public morality. As the result of a struggle over a definite period, there has been considerable

improvement. Yet, some university students are slovenly and their gait is not right. Some even smoke and drink. The University Party Committee should strengthen communist moral education among students so that they abandon obsolete customs, have pride in themselves and self-confidence as revolutionary fighters for the Party, love their comrades and collective, lead a frugal life, dress neatly and behave politely.

Education in socialist patriotism should also be intensified among students. In the past this was so inadequate that some of the graduates lacked national pride and self-confidence. It is obvious that those without national pride and self-confidence cannot show patriotism, and that those without patriotism cannot serve as national cadres. The University Party Committee should intensify education in socialist patriotism among students, encouraging them all to love their homeland and people ardently and to devote their all, with national pride and self-confidence, to the struggle for the country's prosperity and development, the welfare of the people and the cause of communist construction.

It is also of importance to educate students to take due care of the property of the state and society. Now some students and young people are not sufficiently conscious of the fact that the precious wealth of the state and society is the fruit of the bloody struggle of their revolutionary forebears and the devoted labour of our people. That is why among university students there are found many practices which show a lack of any sense of economy or love for property of the state and society. Some not only treat the precious property of the country without due consideration, but do not even mind if school children vandalize roadside trees and street-lamps. Those students who use desks and chairs carelessly at the University will do the same with furniture at home and, after graduation, with the valuable property of the state and society. Failing to value and love the state's precious property, the fruit of the labour of the working people, and mishandling it is an expression of a lack of love for their country and people and of a communist attitude towards labour and its results. The University

Party Committee should educate students to take good care of the property of the state and society and to manage the economic life of the country assiduously and frugally.

Next, the University Party Committee should encourage students to take part in a variety of social and political activities.

Social and political activities are one of the important means of tempering students through practical struggle. Our technicians and specialists are the proud masters of the state and society, unlike those employees who sell their knowledge and skills in capitalist society. University graduates will have a leading role in the revolution. Therefore, it is necessary to equip them with communist ideas and science and technology and, at the same time, to prepare them for social and political activities during their university days. The University Party Committee should pay great attention to this and encourage them to undertake such activities assiduously, while studying diligently.

It should assign to students the tasks of conducting information work among the masses, giving lectures in factories and rural villages, and doing such work at home during their vacations.

The city Party committee, too, should show interest in the social and political activities of university students. In collaboration with the University Party Committee, it should select good students and let them give lectures, and step up the activity of the present students' information corps.

In particular, when the Party puts forth a new policy, the University Party Committee should send out students of social science among the masses to propagate the policy and to mobilize the latter in the campaign to implement Party assignments. I have emphasized many times that Party schools and the University of National Economy should arrange such work on an extensive scale; it is also advisable for the University to follow suit.

If students conduct public and political work extensively among the masses, including giving lectures, they will not only develop the art of oratory and composition but will also notice their own shortcomings:

they are thus given an impetus to study harder. When university students learn a little from books, they are apt to think they know everything. But if they frequently go among the masses, they will encounter various complex problems. Then they will realize their incompetence and study more diligently.

The University Party Committee should encourage students' Party and Democratic Youth League organizations to compel the students themselves to maintain order in the University, keep it tidy and clean and arrange stimulating cultural events such as entertainments and sports. In many cases, this is left to the teachers, but in future, students themselves must be given assignments to organize their own life properly. This will increase their creativeness and self-consciousness and improve their discipline.

To these ends, the University Party Committee should enhance its role as an organ of collective leadership.

The Party committee should be responsible for steering the educational work of the University correctly. It should discuss collectively all the important problems confronting the University so as to take appropriate measures, and conduct organizational work for the successful implementation of the Party's educational policy through the mobilization of Party organizations and members, and it should constantly monitor and evaluate the execution of the Party committee's decisions and assignments.

To enhance its role as an organ of collective leadership, the University Party Committee must be soundly built up. It must be composed both of teachers, prepared politically and qualified scientifically and theoretically, and of senior students who have a firm class stand, study hard, behave well and have an ability to organize social activities. Only then can it understand the opinions of teachers and students quickly and function properly.

Since the University Party Committee has a very important and considerable job to do, I think it necessary to enlarge its structure a little. The Party committees of big institutes of higher learning with a larger enrolment of students such as Kim Il Sung University and Kim

Chaek University of Technology should be invested with the same authority as a county Party committee; they should each have organizational, information and youth work departments. Either the chairman of the University DYL committee or any other person, if necessary, may serve as head of the youth work department.

It is advisable for the city Party committee to guide, under its charge, Party committees of institutes of higher learning in Pyongyang. At present there is virtually no one who is responsible for the control and guidance of these committees. The district Party committees dare not guide these, while the Party Central Committee fails to give day-to-day guidance to their work because it has little contact with them. More staff should be allotted to the educational department of the Pyongyang City Party Committee so that it directly guides university Party committees.

2, ON STRENGTHENING EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN UNIVERSITIES

The basic task of universities is to educate the students, and educational administration is the most important of all their work.

Educational administration simply means directing and supervising educational work so that it is sure to go through the pedagogical processes necessary to train revolutionary intellectuals.

Just as production needs technological processes, so education should go through definite pedagogical processes. If, in a factory, products do not go through adequate technological processes, there will be rejects. The same is the case with education. If universities ignore the essential pedagogical processes, they cannot develop the personnel required by the Party. Basically, there is no difference between production and education in that both rely on necessary processes. We must not conduct education in a random way, ignoring

pedagogy. In most cases, however, the institutes of higher learning are now conducting educational work in a haphazard way, according to worn-out conventions and experience, instead of basing this work on a strictly scientific system. Today one of the most urgent problems in putting educational work on the right track is to establish a scientific system of guidance so that the training of personnel at universities will run the necessary pedagogical course.

The administrative staffs of institutes of higher learning must direct and supervise the whole course of education—from the selection and enrolment of the students to their launching into the world after graduation so that it meets the requirements of socialist pedagogy. The main content of educational administration is this: to prepare proper programmes consisting of curricula and teaching outlines, and to direct and supervise the teachers so that they will prepare themselves well for teaching and do their jobs satisfactorily, whatever forms they may take, so that the knowledge of science and technology envisaged in the programmes is accurately imparted to the students and is completely mastered by them.

An education programme involves preparing and giving instruction, mastering what is taught and then examining how well it has been understood.

Preparing for teaching is something like technical outfitting at a factory; whether it is done well or not is one of the basic factors which will determine the success of education. Therefore, the university administration must first direct and supervise teachers in making full preparation for giving their lectures.

The administration must check their lecture plans. The plans must first be discussed through model or demonstration lectures and perfected before being delivered to the students.

In the army the model lecture is first given to commanders before they go to train their men. For example, lectures are held for company commanders, who are asked to answer theoretical problems, draw maps and make actual movements. Then the commanders are made to prepare their own lecture plans to train their soldiers.

Such lectures must also be arranged frequently for teachers in higher education, especially for those teaching a new subject or lecturing on problems which have arisen recently. Some comrades assert that model or demonstration lectures are not frequently organized because teachers have no time. This is untenable. A teacher in an institute of higher learning is supposed to deliver 1,000 hours of lectures a year, so there is plenty of time to arrange model and demonstration lectures. And since they afford precious opportunities for the teachers to improve themselves, all teachers, including those newly appointed, should be made to attend them.

In addition to making teachers prepare themselves adequately for teaching, the administrative staffs must ensure appropriate supervision so that the teachers perform their teaching as they should.

The supervision of teaching is indispensable. If there is no supervision, we cannot find out whether they write lecture plans for themselves or simply copy the plans of others, whether they impart necessary knowledge to the students and whether they are punctual.

The educational administrations of universities should monitor not only lectures but all other forms of instruction, so that they will be conducted without any deviation.

In higher education the lecture is the most important form of teaching. This is true. But we cannot achieve the objectives of education through the lecture alone. Only when you not only imbue the students with definite knowledge but also have them master it and apply their acquired knowledge in practice, can it be said that higher education has achieved its aims. Therefore, each of the forms of instruction which are scheduled in the curriculum—lectures, class discussions, experimental training and the presentation of theses—must be duly carried out.

However, in many cases class discussions and experimental training are neglected. University administrators only organize lectures, thinking that they are free to ignore other teaching methods. This is fundamentally wrong.

The qualifications of the graduates of our institutes of higher

education are low. Some officials who have graduated from the faculties of social sciences cannot even write a brief thesis or draw up a good lecture plan or make a speech. The main reason is that in their school days they did not have enough opportunity to train themselves in practice and that the instructional work to help them consolidate their acquired knowledge was not done properly. The leadership personnel in universities must correct the harmful tendency of concentrating on lectures at the expense of other forms of teaching, and must make sure that every form of teaching is adequately conducted.

Another important aspect of educational administration is the correct assessment of the extent to which the students have actually grasped what they have been taught. At present examination is the principal method of assessment employed at universities, and the students' academic attainments are assessed only by the marks they get in examinations. But it must be admitted that this method of assessment is quite perfunctory. To pass examinations, students simply learn by heart in the space of a few days what they were taught in class, and forget it all immediately afterwards. The educational administration must make it a rule to check closely, through a variety of assessment methods, how much the students have really digested what they have been taught, whether they are armed with the Party's ideology, whether they have a revolutionary world outlook and whether or not they are prepared to apply in practice the theories, knowledge and techniques they have acquired at universities. The students' attainments must be appraised not only by exam marks: an overall assessment should be made, taking into account their performance in class discussions and during experimental training, their writings on different subjects of their curricula, and their social and political activities.

It is also important to tighten discipline in higher education. At present there is no discipline in the carrying out of curricula, and this is a serious defect. I was told that sometimes there is not even a clear-cut plan for the carrying out of the curricula and, what is more, that because the timetable is changed at random, the students do not know

what subjects they are going to be dealing with the next day and cannot make proper preparations. These undisciplined practices in educational administration must be totally eliminated. Just as it is a legal requirement to carry out the state plan in factories and other enterprises, so it must be regarded as a legal requirement that the education programmes be strictly implemented at institutes of higher education. Strict discipline must be established to ensure that these institutes will carry out scrupulously the curricula approved by the ministry and decided on by their Party committees, and that no one alters them at will.

Improving teaching methods is of great importance in achieving the objectives of education. Therefore, the administration of the institutes of higher learning must devote considerable attention to this matter.

In the report and debate, you have dealt with the heuristic method of learning and other improvements in educational methods. This is good. The heuristic method should be applied to every subject and, in particular, visual aids should be widely used for lectures. Teaching by visual stimulus is well-developed at military schools. There, they are using plenty of moving visual aids. For instance, tanks and communication devices are dismantled so that you can see their inner structure. In higher education too, we must deliver vivid lectures by using various visual aids. As for machines and equipment, arrangements should be made to display not only their exteriors but their interiors as well.

Along with lectures, we must see to it that class discussions are properly organized. Discussions are a major form of teaching used to consolidate the knowledge which students have obtained at lectures and to raise their academic level, so we must interest the students in them. They say the students are not interested in such discussions at the moment. There are two reasons for this. One is that they are not very profitable because of insufficient preparation on the part of the teachers; and the other is that the teachers are just as fastidious as when giving exams. In a discussion they should let the students express their views freely and should let them take an active part in the debate.

Having prepared themselves carefully beforehand the teachers should dig into one problem after another, skilfully leading the debate. Then discussions will be highly enjoyable, instructive and popular.

Supplementary lectures and lectures on scientific subjects, and in particular a good many seminars, should be organized to help students in their studies. It is a good idea to have many students speaking in turn at a seminar. If the students prepare themselves well with the help of the teachers, it will be helpful not only in increasing their academic abilities but also in encouraging other students. Seminars must be made obligatory for all students. In this way, through different media, we must cultivate an interest in study and in reading, as well as an enterprising and serious attitude to scientific research.

Increasing teachers' qualifications is another important aspect of educational administration.

Guaranteeing proper teaching as well as the high ideological content of education at universities depends mainly on an improvement of the teachers' qualifications. If they are to give heuristic lectures and lead class discussions properly, the teachers must raise their academic level. Only then can they give good and readily assimilable lectures.

At present our institutes of higher learning do not have many teachers with the academic degrees of Doctor, Master and so on. Generally speaking, the academic level of the teachers in both the social and natural sciences is not very high. The University, a huge collective of intellectuals, should have produced many theses elaborating on the achievements scored by our Party in the revolution and construction but it has failed to do so. This single fact is enough to show that the academic level of our professors is low.

As I stressed at the Conference of Scientists and Technicians held some time ago, our academic level is generally not yet high; we have no ground whatsoever to be complacent. We must make strenuous efforts to improve our academic standards rapidly. Universities must take active measures to raise their teachers' academic qualifications.

This must not be left to the teachers themselves. As our experience

shows, there are not many people who study hard voluntarily. Even the cadres find various pretexts not to study hard, if they are not strictly supervised. There may even be some professors who are reluctant to study. Therefore, we must establish a strict discipline of study among them, instead of leaving it to the teachers themselves.

University teachers have in the past been allowed to stay at home to study, but this is wrong. Domestic homes are not provided with suitable conditions for their study. Moreover, we cannot check whether they really do study at home or not. They must be compelled to attend the schools every day and they must study in the libraries.

Some scientists and university teachers claim that they have not enough time to study because there are too many meetings, campaigns and business trips. It is true that they should not be randomly mobilized for other work and that they should be provided with sufficient time for study. But their claim that they have no time to study is an empty excuse: a diligent man studies at every spare moment. And it is not that they have no time for study. The point is they do not study on the pretext of having no time.

We must establish a strong habit of study among them and quickly raise our general academic level to advanced standards.

The university administrations should organize frequent model and demonstration lectures and should conduct seminars and various other activities to enhance the teachers' academic level.

At the same time, better facilities should be provided for the purpose.

The Party Central Committee and the ministries should show concern for this matter and take measures to publish many more books for teachers and scientists. At present we are unable to print many books because of the paper shortage. We must strive to produce more paper. And if we still lack it, we must even cut down the circulation of newspapers to a certain extent, in order to publish enough books on science and technology. We must also purchase them extensively from abroad. We should set up a translations publishing house to publish large quantities of foreign scientific and technical books. It is also

necessary to publish a journal of translations on the natural sciences. And we must supply Kim Il Sung University with printing equipment so that it can print all the books it needs.

In order to speedily acquire advanced science and technology, it is also necessary for the teachers and students to raise their proficiency in foreign languages. In the past all the institutes of higher learning and schools of different levels in general education only taught Russian. To quickly acquire advanced science and technology we must master many foreign languages. From now not only Russian but English and French must be taught widely, both in general and in higher education. It is also necessary to teach Spanish, German, Chinese and Japanese.

Universities must be provided with better conditions for experiments and training. We must not be stingy with experimental apparatus and equipment. We cannot train capable intellectuals and develop our science and technology without spending money. Military schools have planes, tanks and different types of artillery for training purposes. And it is quite easy to equip each institute with just a few machine tools. As for the requirements of universities, we must be liberal and give them everything. And since we have not enough experimental apparatus and equipment, it will be a good idea for several institutes to pool their laboratories. All the apparatus owned by the Academy of Sciences must be accessible to teachers and students in higher education.

In order to reinforce the teaching staffs of the University I think it necessary to assign capable scholars to it. We must recall some scholars from the Academy of Sciences to make up the numbers of teachers and let them engage in their scientific research while teaching at the University. Also, scholars in the Academy of Sciences should be made to give lectures at the institutes of higher learning.

The central task of educational administration is to ensure the ideology of education. In a nutshell, this means establishing Juche in education.

Higher education is aimed at training the revolutionary intellectuals of the working class who are needed for the completion of the Korean

revolution and for the building of socialism and communism in Korea. Our education should be in accord with the interests of the Korean revolution and of the Korean people and should serve the successful fulfilment of our revolution and construction. This is precisely Juche in education.

The Koreans must complete their revolution and build socialism and communism in Korea and live on Korea's resources. Even after the worldwide victory of communism, Koreans will be living in Korea and in no other country.

The theory of the revolution and construction taught at universities should be one which is indispensable for our own revolution and construction and natural science teaching must show how to build a strong and prosperous country by developing our natural resources.

The same is true of music and the arts. We need arts which suit the Koreans' temperament and tastes; and no matter how good the music of other countries may be, it will be useless to us if it does not fulfil this condition. Recently our artists produced an opera based on a foreign work which was adapted to Korean folk songs. This opera won great admiration from our people. However, previously, when they staged a foreign opera unadapted, it was not so popular among the working people because its music was alien to Korean sentiments. Our music and arts should be in the service of Koreans and consonant with their sentiments.

The Juche that we are emphasizing is by no means nationalism. By establishing Juche we mean to solve all problems posed by the revolution and construction in conformity with our revolutionary requirements and the interests of our people. We must develop both the social and natural sciences to meet our revolutionary demands and our actual conditions. The arts too must be developed to harmonize with the Korean people's feelings.

I was told that because they do not know much about our history and geography, some foreign-educated teachers in their lectures can cite examples of factions in other countries but none of ours, and can inform the students of foreign granite and marble, but not of ours. This

is wrong. The Koreans must know Korea above anything else. It may be necessary for you to know about foreign granite for your reference in comparison with ours. But, however hard we may make a study of foreign granite it will be of no use for us if we do not know about our own.

It is also incorrect to take chauvinistic attitudes and reject foreign science and technology on the plea of establishing Juche. In a historically brief period of time we have liquidated our centuries-old backwardness, handed down from the former society, and we have made a great leap forward in all the realms—political, economic and cultural—of life, but our science and technology still lag behind. We must strive to introduce advanced science and technology in order to assimilate them, and to uplift our science and technology to world standards as soon as possible. We never reject the introduction of advanced science and technology. What we are opposing is the nihilistic attitude of looking down upon our nation, while looking up to foreign countries, as well as the dogmatist attitude of uncritically swallowing up foreign things in disregard of the actual conditions of our country. Establishing Juche is not incompatible with the introduction of advanced science and technology. Only when we strive to introduce them and rapidly develop ours, can we thoroughly eliminate the flunkeyism which still persists in the minds of our people.

Consolidation of Juche in all the political, economic, cultural and military fields is a matter of pressing urgency now that we have to step up the building of socialism in the northern half of Korea, complete the south Korean revolution and hasten the country's reunification.

Our Party's Juche idea and our people's struggle to establish Juche are exerting tremendous influence on the people in south Korea. Of late, we notice in the south Korean publications drifts of argument for an "independent economy", "Juche" and "opposition to foreign forces". This vividly shows how greatly the south Korean people are influenced by the achievements we have scored in our dynamic struggle to build an independent economy in the north and to apply Juche in all realms.

The northern half of Korea, which is striving to build an independent economy, is daily prospering and developing, while, in south Korea—which receives US “aid” running to billions of dollars—the economy is more heavily dependent on others and the people live in dire misery. It is said that every year south Korea imports an enormous amount of flour from the US. However, the number of hunger-stricken people continues to increase. This stark reality convinces the south Korean people more and more that they will never be well-off as long as they depend on others. So south Korean intellectuals and other sections of the people are raising their voices ever higher for independence from US “aid”; they are asking, “Where has all the US aid gone?” and “How long must we live this way?”

The south Korean people are also criticizing more and more strongly the Westernization of Korean songs and the mixing of our spoken and written language with English. Even the south Korean rulers, hard pressed by the people, are obliged to advocate the development of national culture and arts. All this is a manifestation of the great vitality of our Party’s Juche idea; it is also the result of our people’s strenuous efforts to establish Juche throughout all political, economic, cultural and military spheres. The achievements of socialist construction in the northern half of Korea are greatly inspiring the south Korean people. Inclinations to independence and self-reliance are constantly growing among the south Korean people. They say: “What they do in the north, we can do. We must chase out the US imperialists, oppose Japanese militarism and also build a strong and prosperous country relying on our own efforts.”

When we continue with our dynamic struggle to consolidate Juche in all fields, when Koreans in Japan fight in support of our Juche stand, and when progressive people the world over offer us powerful support, then the south Korean people’s national and class consciousness will increase, and US imperialism and its sycophants will be driven further into a tight corner. It is precisely because of this urgent revolutionary requirement that we are emphasizing the establishment of Juche.

The south Korean revolution cannot be carried through unless we

educate the south Korean people in the Juche idea and wipe out the ingrained, servile worship of the US. We must establish Juche more firmly in all domains and continue to develop our independent economy in order to give revolutionary impetus to the south Korean people so that they will rise up courageously in the struggle for national liberation and against flunkeyism.

Universities must meet these requirements of our revolution, and must make sure that the teachers fight against flunkeyism, dogmatism and revisionism and thoroughly establish Juche in their teaching. By establishing Juche in education we mean conducting all educational work in strict conformity with the demands of our Party policy. Teaching outlines and curricula must be prepared in such a way that all aspects of education may conform to Party policy. We must edit textbooks and teaching materials based on Party policy. Scientific research must also be conducted in accordance with Party policy. An energetic ideological struggle should be waged among the teachers to improve the contents and methods of teaching in accordance with Party policy. In this way not only will education have a politically and ideologically clear-cut working-class line, but the scientific content of the subject-matter taught will also fully conform to Party policy.

In order to improve educational administration we must set up a proper system of control and enhance the role of the administrative officials.

We can say the university vice-president for educational affairs is what the chief of staff is to the army. We must build up the staff office with the vice-president as its chief and establish a system of unified scientific leadership taking care of the whole process starting from the drawing up of the educational plan to its execution.

While putting the system of educational administration to rights at universities, we must enhance the role of the administrative officials.

The presidents or the vice-presidents must not only give a unified leadership to the educational administration of the universities as a whole but also personally organize and direct model or demonstration lectures on new important problems.

In order to ensure the adequate guidance of higher education it is important to improve the functions of the heads of faculties and chairs. Those heads must always lead and supervise the teachers' preparations for lectures and the teachers' actual teaching, and they must also organize demonstration lectures in good time.

Those who have rich experience in teaching and academic authority must be appointed as heads of faculties. If you think just anybody can be appointed to administrative posts, you are grossly mistaken. They should be the most capable and experienced members of the institutes of higher learning, because educational administration is their main task. Just as the factory's production processes cannot be properly directed by a manager who knows little about production, so the educational administration of universities cannot be directed by an administrative official who has poor knowledge of pedagogy and a low academic level. The task of the faculty head is not just to find out whether the teachers give lectures in time and what the percentage of the students' attendance is, and to engage in paper work; he is supposed to check the teachers' lecture plans, organize demonstration lectures and always discuss academic problems with the teachers. So one who is inexperienced in teaching and has no academic authority cannot work as head of faculty. For instance, if the head of the physics faculty of the University has no authority in the realm of physics, does not know how to organize demonstration lectures and is unable to clarify novel academic problems, how can he guide the teachers' work? Therefore, we must select people who are well versed in pedagogy and academic subjects as such.

From now, we must make it a rule for the heads of faculties to engage frequently in teaching, and they should correct their erroneous opinion that they need not bother to do so. We must set up a system under which they must devote some of their time to teaching, just as the chairmen of the cooperative farm management boards obligatorily participate in physical labour. The heads of faculties must deliver lectures to the students and, especially, many demonstration lectures.

Some people say that the faculty heads have so much office work to

do that they cannot guide and supervise the teachers' work properly. This is because they poke their nose into trifling affairs which are none of their business. If they organize all their work well, they can do as much work with teachers as they want. If they do have too much office work to do for the faculties, let them select deputy-heads from among the young teachers and have them deal with the work. The faculty heads must direct primary attention to increasing the role of the chairs, the basic unit of education, and to improving the teachers' academic level and the quality of teaching.

3. ON IMPROVING THE PROVISION OF MATERIAL FACILITIES IN UNIVERSITIES

As we have always said, the provision of material facilities is a species of political work; it is very important to improve this service in the institutes of higher learning. The services which provide food, clothing and shelter to teachers and students should never be neglected.

According to our investigations, the universities fail to provide teachers with adequate living conditions, and sometimes the students' hostels and dining rooms have leaks in the roof. Neither in universities nor in any other field have these matters been properly dealt with.

These services are inadequate partly because the state fails to provide the necessary materials in sufficient quantities, but mainly because the senior officials in charge of this sector have not acquired a people-oriented attitude. Even if the state provides the necessary materials, in not a few cases the services are not at all satisfactory. We visited a factory some time ago to find beans stocked in the storehouse, but the workers were not served with cooking oil or bean curd. This implies that the factory management and the staff concerned failed to take care of the working class and to look after them responsibly.

The same is true of a traffic problem in Pyongyang. The Party

Central Committee ordered the production of a large number of buses and ensured the necessary materials lest the working people in Pyongyang should have to wait long in bus queues. Upon this instruction, the workers concerned turned out scores of buses for a limited time only and no more, so that buses are still in short supply and the working people are inconvenienced.

The leaks in the roofs of student hostels are due entirely to the service workers. If they had had a responsible attitude towards the students' living conditions, the fine hostels built by the Party and the state would not have got into such a bad condition.

Some of our workers still retain from the Japanese imperialist days a great many old habits of haphazard working, and do not have the correct mass attitude to providing the workers of their own factories, students of their own universities or their fellow countrymen with good food, proper facilities for rest and with better living conditions.

Therefore, in order to improve these services, the attitude of workers in charge of them should, above all, be corrected. Party organizations at all levels should educate service workers into showing a greater sense of responsibility for their work, and honour and pride in looking after the life of the working people in a responsible manner.

Another reason for the poor facilities is that our officials do not know how to organize this work. At present there are neither books explaining how to run the requisite services nor a system for training staff in this area. Since the workers responsible for such facilities in factories or universities have read or learned nothing, they are simply making strenuous efforts, but this can solve nothing. In order to improve the material facilities at factories or institutes of higher learning, the relevant domains should work out management regulations and in addition establish a system of training the necessary personnel.

The University is now nearly 20 years old, and it is absurd that it has no proper university management regulations. The Ministry of Higher Education should take on the responsibility of compiling a manual for university management, comprising regulations for managing buildings, storing and supplying materials, running dining

halls and the like, and should offer instruction in these matters to the workers concerned in all universities.

The Pyongyang City Party Committee and City People's Committee should pay constant attention to the material facilities in universities in the city. These committees are now interested in whether bean oil and bean curd are supplied to the working people in the city but they are little concerned about the facilities for higher education centres. This is a mistake. Since universities are important centres for training revolutionaries, the Party and the state are duty bound to ensure the necessary facilities for them.

In order to improve the situation in this field in the universities in Pyongyang, I deem it necessary to set up an organ exclusively for this work in the Pyongyang City People's Committee. As university teachers and students in Pyongyang number tens of thousands, it is by no means an easy job to cater for them all. An apparatus specialized in the provision of material facilities in universities should be set up, and under it a building repair station, a school equipment and subsidiary food supply office, a lorry station and the like established. And especially, glass, timber and other materials for the construction and repair of universities should be provided and should not be allowed to be used for other purposes. The university department for the management of these facilities should be placed under and led by the chairman of the Pyongyang City People's Committee, who should ask the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet for the timely solution of any problems that may arise.

In cities like Hamhung which have many universities, it is necessary to set up similar organizations. It is preferable for an appropriate system to handle the facilities in the universities to be established first in Pyongyang and then, on the basis of its experience, for a similar system to be established in other provinces.

I hope that the leading officials of the universities will score greater success in the training of personnel by intensifying education as required by the Party.

ON THE TASKS OF THE PARTY COMMITTEES OF CENTRAL COUNTIES

**Speech Delivered before the Chairmen of the Party
Committees of the Central Counties**

April 27, 1963

You are now about to take up your new functions as chairmen of the Party committees of central counties. Today I would like to dwell on the need to establish these central county Party committees and on their major tasks.

1. ON ESTABLISHING CENTRAL COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEES

In our country the county holds a very important place as the lowest unit of the Party and state administrations which has a leadership function.

As I stated previously at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Officials, the county is the base for linking town and countryside in all spheres of politics, economy and culture, for eliminating the differences between them and for raising the latter to the advanced level of the former. Through the medium of the county, the farmers are informed of the Party's policies, establish economic

ties with the town and come into contact with advanced urban culture and custom.

As a result of the implementation of the Party's correct policy, particularly with respect to a balanced distribution of industries in all parts of the country, almost every county now has a solid industrial base and plays a very important part in the building of socialism and communism.

At the Sixth Plenary Meeting of its Central Committee, held immediately after the armistice, our Party set forth the policy of a balanced distribution of factories and other industrial enterprises throughout the country in order to avoid their concentration in a few big cities. Although the anti-Party factionalists came out against this policy, our Party has striven to carry it out, rejecting their scheme.

As a consequence, major factories and other enterprises now exist throughout the land—in almost every county. Take South Phyongan Province for instance. There are big factories and coal and ore mines in Kangdong, Kaechon, Yangdok, Unsan, Kangso and in many other counties, and fishery stations in the coastal counties. In the mountainous Jagang Province, too, most of the counties close to railways—such as Huichon, Jonchon, Songgan, Janggang and Manpho Counties—have major industrial establishments, and there are many coal and ore mines and lumber stations in those counties which are situated far away from railways. The same is true of other provinces. Several industrial enterprises under the central authority are located in many of the counties, and a dozen local factories are in operation in almost every county.

To take a few counties by way of example.

Huichon County originally had no factory. Today, however, there exist the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory—which is called the mother factory of our engineering industry—the Huichon Precision Machine Factory and several local plants, including a porcelain factory and a flour mill. Kusong County, too, had no factory in the past. Now it has large factories such as the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory, the Kusong Mining Machinery Factory and the Kusong Textile Mill. And in

Kangso County, there are large factories such as the Kiyang Tractor Plant and the Kangson Steel Plant, which are very important for the national economy as well as many medium and small ones including a porcelain factory and a knitwear mill.

Distributing industries evenly in this way was not an easy job by any means. Avoiding the concentration of industries in towns and locating them evenly throughout the country required larger funds and posed a number of knotty problems. Despite all the difficulties, however, we have developed industries in a balanced way in almost every part of the country, in keeping with the Party's policy.

This has proved beneficial in several ways.

Balanced distribution of industrial establishments among the counties fully accords with the law on building socialism and communism.

Industrial concentration in urban areas is one of the most serious drawbacks of the capitalist distribution of productive forces. The massing of industrial productive forces in towns entails long-distance transport of raw materials and manufactured goods, which would otherwise be unnecessary, as well as a great waste of labour. Such a concentration encourages an excessive population influx into the towns and has an adverse effect on supplies of foodstuffs and of other consumer goods.

This type of industrial distribution in particular widens the gap between town and country.

In striving to build socialism and communism we need not follow the fatal capitalist method of concentrating the productive forces. Our Party was quite correct when it took steps to disperse industries evenly in all parts of the country.

Our efforts in this direction have made it possible to prevent any waste of labour, to operate industries rationally and to supply staple and non-staple food products for the people quickly and directly from the production source to the consumer, without the inconvenience of having to concentrate them in towns.

The balanced distribution of factories and enterprises on a county

basis has provided favourable conditions for quickly eliminating the differences between town and country, one of the essential questions that must be solved in building communism.

Our country is blessed with beautiful mountains and crystal-clear rivers, a land traced in embroidery as we call it. Almost all our counties have hills and rivers or coastal areas. Moreover, with the even distribution of industries, small towns with all kinds of amenities have sprung up in all parts of the country. Of course, not all counties as yet have large industrial establishments, but someday they will—if we exploit their mineral resources and develop their industries further on a broad scale. Then, our country will have nearly 200 cosy socialist-type, industrial towns with good living conditions, and the whole country will have developed equally.

In order to eliminate the differences between town and country, we must intensify the ideological revolution in the countryside and at the same time push ahead with the technical and cultural revolutions so as to develop agriculture along industrial lines. Whether or not agriculture is industrialized is a vital matter which affects our prospects of success in building communism.

Our aim in industrializing agriculture differs fundamentally from that of the capitalists. They do so to increase profits; the higher the level of mechanization in a capitalist rural economy, the more people are thrown out of a job. By contrast, our aim in industrializing agriculture is to make the farmers' lot easier and to increase farm output with less outlay of manpower, so that all the working people will be better off.

The creation of big factories in the counties promotes the formation in rural areas of large communities of workers with advanced ideas and modern technical know-how; they exert a beneficial influence on the countryside. The industrial working class not only has a favourable influence on the farmers ideologically, but also helps them to step up the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside. The balanced distribution of industrial enterprises in the rural districts provides favourable conditions for giving greater industrial assistance to

farming. Industrial establishments in the countryside give a natural stimulus to the workers to pay greater attention to the countryside and to give more help to agriculture. They are in a position to make more machines suitable for the specific conditions of the countryside and to render a great deal of technical assistance to it. Moreover, industries serve as models facilitating the introduction of industrial management methods in the running of agriculture.

The balanced distribution of industrial establishments is also of great significance in national defence.

As I said at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, we are directly confronted with the enemy and must bear in mind the possibility of another war. If factories and other enterprises were concentrated in towns, many of them might be destroyed immediately in the event of war. They would have to be evacuated in order to keep production going in wartime. As you are well aware, it is no easy job to move factories.

On the other hand, if they are dispersed across the country, we shall be able to avoid too much industrial evacuation for wartime production.

Our Party's steps to ensure balanced industrial distribution are absolutely correct, both with regard to building socialism and communism and with regard to national defence.

However, now that industries have been geographically dispersed, our officials are not providing the proper management which would enable the industries to prove their value in the building of socialism and communism.

Local industrial enterprises under the central authority are not receiving regular and effective direction from ministries and bureaus.

As I understand from my recent talk with the chief of the mining management bureau under the Ministry of Metal and Chemical Industries, his staff are not well acquainted with the situation in the enterprises concerned, because in most cases they do not go to the workplaces when purporting to carry out their managerial functions. Moreover, they are not sufficiently qualified to help the factories and

enterprises to solve complex problems even when they visit a workplace.

Not only ministries but also provincial Party committees are not efficient in their management of industrial establishments.

In the past few years, we have set up a heavy industry department, a light industry department and other economic departments of provincial Party committees in order to improve the committees' management of those industries which come directly under the central authority and we have authorized these departments to give leadership in economic activities in their provinces. As a consequence, a certain amount of progress has been made in industrial leadership.

In providing direction, however, the provincial Party committees have not yet assumed full control of the industries in their respective provinces. Since they are to direct all branches—industry, agriculture, commerce, education, culture and public health—industrial management is often left in the hands of the staff of the departments concerned rather than in the care of those in leadership positions on the provincial Party committees. As a result, a couple of provincial Party committee instructors go now and again to direct the industrial enterprises in a whole county.

The numerous factories and other industrial enterprises in a county can never receive proper direction from just a handful of instructors. Kaechon County, for instance, has as many as 17 industrial enterprises which are directly controlled by the central authority and ten locally-run factories. In Tokchon County there are eight enterprises under the central authority—including the Tokchon Automobile Plant and the Hyongbong and Tokchon Coal Mines—and 11 locally-run factories. How can one or two provincial Party committee instructors direct the industries in such counties properly?

At present, very few members of provincial Party committees or of their staffs are capable of managing industry. Moreover, Party instructors at a provincial level are not really very experienced or qualified. So even when they go to factories or other enterprises, they cannot suggest concrete steps to improve the work, but just grope

about here and there before going away. Not only are they incapable of educating the industrial officials in Party policy but they are unable to get to the root of any problem; they are limited in mental scope, they cannot see essential points, and often make exaggerated reports on minor shortcomings.

Because of ineffective industrial management, production does not go smoothly at factories and enterprises, workers' hostels and houses are inadequately furnished, and the supplies of vegetables and of other non-staple food for industrial workers' settlements are not satisfactory.

What, then, should be done to improve the management of industrial establishments?

The key to improving the management of these establishments is to enhance in every way the role of their Party committees. So we followed up direction of the Tae-an Electrical Machinery Plant by taking radical steps to strengthen factory Party committees. Now many of them are working well. But not all of them can cope with every task on their own, as is required by the Party. If they are to play their part properly, they must work under the constant direction and control of a higher authority.

The staff of the provincial Party committee might be increased to improve the Party's leadership of factories and other enterprises. But, no matter how large its staff, the provincial Party committee is not able to give regular effective direction to the factory Party committees since they are located some distance away. If it is to take in hand the centrally-run industrial enterprises and to give them efficient Party leadership to improve production, the role of the county Party committee near these enterprises must be enhanced.

The county Party committee, however, is fully occupied. Formerly, the only task of the county was to direct agriculture, but now it must direct both agriculture and industry, and also take charge of the public amenities and of the provision of material facilities for workers' residential districts. For the county Party committee to direct all these activities properly, its role must be correspondingly enhanced.

So our Party has now decided to set up a new kind of county Party

committee in important—or “central”—counties where there are many enterprises under the central authority. Of course, it would be better to organize such Party committees in all counties. But the shortage of cadres prevents us from doing this right now. For the present we have to limit ourselves to establishing such committees—central county Party committees in those counties which have more than three industrial enterprises under the central authority. As for the remaining counties, they will have such Party committees gradually, as the number of qualified cadres and industrial establishments grows. At present we are organizing 30-odd central county Party committees; and if we add another thirty at the next stage and do the same at the ensuing stage, we shall end up with about 100 in all. Then the term central county Party committee will be of little significance, and the role of county Party committee in general will be greatly enhanced.

The formation of central county Party committees is essential not only for the better direction and control of industry but also for substantially elevating the role of the counties so as to strengthen the organic ties between industry and agriculture and disseminate advanced working-class ideology, technique and culture in the countryside and thus remould the thinking of the peasants and promote technical and cultural progress in rural areas.

For the central county Party committees to give effective direction to both industry and agriculture, they must have an organizational structure covering a combination of some of the functions of a city Party committee with those of an existing county Party committee. They need not adopt the whole organizational structure of the city Party committee even if they have to direct the two economic branches. A county differs from a city in that its industrial enterprises are scattered rather than concentrated as in a town, and it includes wide expanses of farming land.

A central county Party committee should have an industry department to direct the industries, both those which come directly under the central authority, and those which come under local authorities. In counties where there are more than three fishery

stations, a fishery department must also be set up at the central county Party committee to direct their work. And each of the ordinary county Party committees, too, should have an industry department to supervise factories and enterprises. As for the industrial enterprises in ordinary counties, those classified in the third and higher grades are advised to come under the direction of the provincial Party committees, and those classified in the fourth and lower grade—under county Party committees.

The central county Party committee should undertake the supervision of urban administration, including the maintenance of dwelling houses, and should set up a commercial department so as to give proper direction to the supply of vegetables, cooking oil and other non-staple food products as well as of different kinds of commodities.

The number of officials on central county Party committees should not necessarily be the same for each committee but should be in proportion to the amount of work to be done: larger staffs should be assigned to those with a bigger population in their area and therefore with more work to be done. Since the central county Party committee will have industrial, agricultural and many other economic departments, there is no need to place too many people in its organizational department. The new draft organization chart for the central county Party committee envisages too many people in the organizational department. True, this department can augment its staff a little since there are many Party members in the central county and many intra-Party problems to be handled. But it should not have too big a staff. A staff of forty-five has been proposed for the organizational department of the Kangso County Party Committee. It would be advisable, however, to cross off five, leaving about 40 persons in all.

Four vice-chairmen or so will be sufficient for the central county Party committee—one for organizational affairs concurrently acting as head of the organizational department, another in charge of the information and educational departments, a third for economic affairs and the last for military affairs. That will be enough. There have been

suggestions for a separate vice-chairman to be in charge of industry or agriculture, but that is unnecessary. The chairman himself should look after industry.

Although he has many other tasks to attend to, the central county Party committee chairman should make a point of taking in hand the factory Party committees and directing their work. He must immerse himself in the work of factory Party committees by attending the meetings of Party committees and Party cells in factories and enterprises, and by working with the Party cell chairmen and technicians concerned.

Now that the first chairmen have been appointed to the new central county Party committees, the existing county Party committee chairmen should be reassigned as first vice-chairmen for rural affairs, for ri Party committees.

If the central county Party committees are to play their role properly, they must have competent chairmen, vice-chairmen and other officials. We have to transfer some officials from the Party Central Committee and provincial Party committees to the central county Party committees and select others from factory Party committees. Ministries, too, should select appropriate workers for the central county Party committees. If ministerial officials are not ready to do Party work right now, they can be appointed to provincial Party committees to acquire the method of Party work, and a corresponding number of officials now on the staffs of provincial Party committees may be sent to the central county Party committees in their place. The transfer of a few officials from ministries will not seriously affect ministerial work. On the contrary, it will help to strengthen county Party committees and the management of factories and enterprises. It will be better than having many people sitting in ministries and drafting a pile of unnecessary documents for subordinate units.

It is most important to appoint well-qualified people as chairmen of the central county Party committees. We have made the bold decision to select for these positions appropriate persons from among the deputy heads of departments, and chiefs of sections, of the Party

Central Committee, and from among ministerial Party committee chairmen, ministers and vice-ministers. If any of you does not like the idea of sending cadres of the central authority to jobs in subordinate units, he is mistaken. If we are to bring the leadership closer to the grass roots so as to have things go better, the lower echelons, and the county Party committees in particular, have to be strengthened, and, to this end, competent cadres must be put to work as county Party committee chairmen.

As we always say when we talk about teachers, primary school teachers who handle small children have to be more tactful and better qualified. Likewise, county Party committee chairmen should be highly qualified because they implement the Party's mass line at grass-roots level and personally carry out Party policies among the masses. So there can be no reason why we should accord the chairmen of county Party committees a lower status than that of officials on the staffs of the central authority.

In order to attain the goal of communism, we must, in principle, eliminate the differences not only between town and countryside, but also between the qualifications of cadres, both higher and lower. If there is too big a gap between them, the officials at higher levels may put on airs and become more bureaucratic. Since we are striving for communism, we should not allow this to happen just because of a gap between the cadres of the central and local authorities. As a matter of fact, I think there is no big difference between higher and lower officials in our country now as regards salaries and other conditions.

The difference in their allowances can be removed easily by an administrative step. But the point is that the gap between their qualifications must be bridged.

Those of you who have now been appointed as central county Party committee chairmen may be considered as an advance party of the higher cadres going to lower units. We will continue to train many cadres at the central authority and to provide the county Party committees with high-grade officials as chairmen. When all the county Party committees will have been thus endowed with competent

chairmen, no one will regard ministers and vice-ministers as VIPs, and all work will be done much better by dint of the greater capabilities which will exist in lower units.

We should also appoint highly qualified and devoted people as heads of the industrial departments on central county Party committees. They must come from among people who are at a level not less than that of managers of enterprises classified in Grade 2. This, however, does not imply that such managers themselves should be chosen but that their equivalents elsewhere be selected for these appointments.

In addition, it is important that the central county Party committees be composed of sound members. Up to now many rural workers have been on county Party committees, but in future this should be remedied somewhat. Now that the central county Party committees are to direct industry, many industrial workers should sit on these committees.

Also, the number of their standing committee members should be increased a little, and the standing committees should comprise the Party committee chairmen of major industrial enterprises as well as officials at county level. Unless the Party committee chairmen of major industrial enterprises including enterprises classified in the special and first grades are on these standing committees, the central county Party committees will be unable to function properly. Since, for example, the establishment of the central county Party committee in Tokchon is aimed primarily at ensuring the effective management of the Tokchon Automobile Plant, that committee would be unable to discuss any question or to take correct decisions unless the Party committee chairman of the Tokchon Automobile Plant is a member of its standing committee. The Party committee chairman of such an important factory, therefore, should become a standing committee member of the county Party committee, even if, as a result, one of its department heads has to be dropped.

This, however, does not mean that every Party committee chairman of an important industrial enterprise in a county has necessarily to be made a member of the standing committee of the county Party

committee; only those Party committee chairmen of enterprises which are located near the county town should be on the standing committee. In Kangso County, for example, it will be sufficient to have the Party committee chairmen of the Kiyang Tractor Plant and of the Kangson Steel Plant on the standing committee, and those of enterprises which are far away from the county town need not be standing committee members.

The presence of Party committee chairmen of major factories on the standing committee of a county Party committee and at its meetings has many advantages. Whether or not they are actually present at a committee meeting which discusses and decides a particular matter can greatly affect the implementation of the decision taken. If they personally participate in discussing and deciding all matters at standing committee meetings, they will make greater efforts to carry out the resolutions adopted. Their regular attendance at standing committee meetings will ensure that they become better informed of Party policy and of many other matters and will broaden their outlook.

We must strengthen the central county Party committees so that they will be able to manage all their county work efficiently, and to educate and mobilize Party members in their counties to carry out the Party's policies.

2. ON IMPORTANT TASKS OF CENTRAL COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEES

The tasks to be undertaken by you in the counties have no doubt been elucidated at a seminar, so I will confine myself to stressing a few important problems.

An important task confronting the central county Party committee is to strengthen the Party control of factories and other industrial enterprises, of the county cooperative farm management committee

and of the county people's committee and to direct them properly so that they can carry out the Party's policy thoroughly. Tightening Party control over administrative and economic work does not imply that the county Party committee chairman can force people to accept blindly whatever he says. He should endeavour to be helpful to the Party organizations at factories and enterprises, to the county cooperative farm management committee and to the county people's committee, and he should promptly report any problems which they may have in their work to the provincial Party committee or to the Party Central Committee for immediate solution.

1) ON DIRECTING FACTORY PARTY COMMITTEES

The central county Party committees should, before anything else, properly direct and help the factory Party committees. Up until now, it has mostly been in connection with work among farmers that county Party committees have contacted ri Party committees; the county Party committees have paid little attention to factory Party committees and have given no guidance whatever to industrial workers. From now on the central county Party committees should take in hand the activities of factory Party committees and make close contact with industrial workers.

At present, factory Party committees are so inefficient that production is not going at a steady rate, nor are the possibilities for increased production tapped. It is essential, therefore, to help factory Party committees to play their role properly.

The importance of their increased role has been illustrated by the experience of the Tokchon Automobile Plant.

Last year automobile production in this factory was not satisfactory because of inefficient work on the part of its Party committee. Although the factory was provided with more equipment, and although production conditions were better than before, there was neither an improvement in the quality of the lorries nor any growth in the

quantities produced. And nobody had a clear idea about what to do to improve production. The Tokchon County Party Committee just looked on, while the provincial Party committee took no effective measures, though they were always said to be going to the factory to give instructions. Many officials of the Ministry of Machine Industry also visited this plant, but none of them could find out what was wrong with lorry production.

To cope with the undesirable situation in this factory, we recently replaced its Party committee chairman and some other officials with good workers who were experienced in enterprise management so as to elevate the role of the Party committee. Soon after the appointment of the new chairman, the factory Party committee discovered what had to be put right to improve lorry production quickly: the technical level of workers and technicians had to be raised, proper links had to be established between different processes in the plant, the working conditions had to be improved and the labour force organized in such a way as to allow the workers to devote all their energies to production without undue fatigue. These matters are not too complex or difficult to solve. According to the factory Party committee chairman, all these problems will be solved before long and the production task given by the Party most certainly fulfilled.

The experience of the Tokchon Automobile Plant shows that the key to a correct assessment of any question and to the steps to be taken to unravel intricate problems in production is to strengthen the factory Party committee.

If they are to function in the right way, factory Party committees must consist of good cadres and must receive sound direction from the chairman of the central county Party committee. It is always difficult for a man to see the shortcomings in his own work whereas his colleagues can spot them more quickly. Likewise, a factory Party committee may hardly notice defects in its own work, whereas the county Party committee can discover them easily. The chairman of the central county Party committee should therefore promptly draw the attention of the factory Party committee to any mistakes in its work and

should steer the committee on to the right track.

However, the central county Party committee chairman should never lord it over the factory Party committees, dictating to them this way and that. The main job of the central county Party committee is to help the factory Party committees to get through their work, whatever the circumstances. The central county Party committee must play the same role as the navigator on an airplane. During flight, the navigator directs the pilot to the right or left, upward or downward to keep the right course so that their plane may move straight to its destination. Similarly, the central county Party committee should help factory Party committees to work properly, by steering them from behind.

What is essential in this respect is to help the factory Party committees to be active and to play their proper part as organs of collective leadership.

The central county Party committee should, above all, encourage the factory Party committees to meet collectively to discuss the important problems which arise at the factories, to plan measures for tackling them and to implement the decisions taken. Some factory Party committees, when told not to take upon themselves administrative and economic affairs, just trail behind the officials assigned to deal with administrative and economic matters, and do not discuss even those problems which they are required to consider in order that whatever steps may be appropriate will be taken. Such a practice must be stopped at once, and the factory Party committees must be encouraged to discuss collectively the new, important questions related to the work of factories so that the managers and everyone else will be unable to avoid the directions of factory Party committees or look down on them. The factory Party committee is the supreme leadership body representing all Party members at the factory, so no one can escape its control or manipulate it.

At the same time, an end should be put to the practice of weakening the individual responsibility of chairmen of factory Party committees, a practice which is due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of enhancing the committee's function of collective leadership. When

advised to strengthen the factory Party committees' collective leadership, some Party committee chairmen often tend to bring up at their committee meetings trifling matters that they could very well decide by themselves. This is an irresponsible attitude. Collective leadership should not be an excuse for putting every trifling question before factory Party committee meetings, or for dodging individual responsibility.

While encouraging factory Party committees to increase their function of collective leadership, the central county Party committee should, through efficient guidance, prevent them from taking administrative and economic affairs upon themselves or from having everything their own way.

At present many factory Party committees are dabbling in minor administrative and economic affairs, instead of doing their own jobs. In an effort to keep everything under their control as the highest leadership body of the factory, they are handling even the supply of nuts and the allocation of dwellings, and the chairmen demand that officials handling administrative and economic affairs should get their approval for even trivial matters. As a result, factory managers are unable to work independently; Party committee chairmen take their place and complicate work for no purpose. If it meddles in administrative and economic affairs in this way, the Party committee will get bogged down in routine matters. It may then see only one aspect of a matter, losing sight of another; it may tinker with one problem overlooking another and mess about at one corner, unaware of trouble at the next.

The central county Party committees, therefore, should help the factory Party committees to steer administrative and economic activities in the right direction rather than overstep their functions and monopolize these activities.

To continue. The central county Party committee should give a lead in running factory Party committee meetings so as to make them efficient.

The shortcoming in running them at present is that they are formal

in the extreme. Factory Party committee meetings are often not well prepared, so that no concrete suggestions are put forward to resolve the question in hand, nor do committee members speak out; they just dillydally and ultimately the meetings break up. Party committee meetings should not be run in this way.

If they are to ensure collective leadership, the Party committees should make thorough preparations for their meetings. When there is a need to discuss a question at a committee meeting, a comrade should be given an opportunity of studying the problem from a certain angle beforehand and put his ideas to the meeting. All members should be informed in advance of the matter to be discussed and the date. At the meeting, the chairman may speak first and then open the debate, or else the manager could be called on to bring up a production-related question. In any case, every member should be encouraged to express his view. In this way collective wisdom will be brought to bear to work out a correct solution to the question under consideration. After that, committee members should be given specific assignments to put it into effect.

At Party committee meetings, however, no member should be allowed to press his opinion to the point of anarchy, nor should objections on the part of a few stop the committee from arriving at conclusions.

If the factory Party committee is to play its due part as an active collective leadership, its members must be competent, and each of them should contribute his full share to the work.

If one of his limbs, lungs, heart, or other organs fails to function, a man may die or he will be unable to work properly, even though he may be alive. Likewise, the Party committee will be unable to play its role with credit if any of its members fails to perform his duties properly.

Central county Party committee chairmen should build up factory Party committees on a sound basis and give them effective leadership so that all the members can carry out their functions. The factory Party committee chairmen will thus be made to play their part as such,

managers will be made to work in their own capacities, chief engineers as required by their particular job and, in short, everybody according to his duties. Only then can the Party committees find out in good time anything which may be going wrong in the factories, and criticize and rectify any shortcomings promptly at their meetings.

The Party Committee of the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant is now working well. They let the manager be a manager and the chief engineer a chief engineer, so each strives to do his job well. And when anything goes wrong in the work of the plant, the Party committee meets to discuss the matter and to take measures to put things right without delay. Other factory Party committees, too, should work like this.

While fulfilling the function of collective leadership, the factory Party committee must go deep among the masses, true to the Party's mass line.

The factory Party committee must work not in a bureaucratic way but always among the masses, looking after the lives of the workers and giving a courteous hearing to the suggestions of the masses.

The opinion of the broad masses makes it possible to deal with all problems correctly, to manage the factory properly. This is not to say, however, that the factory Party committee should blindly accept all suggestions of the masses. Their suggestions may or may not be constructive. If, in making a decision, it accepts uncritically an opinion motivated by petty-bourgeois complaints, it will possibly take a false step. If, therefore, someone offers advice, you must consider what kind of a man he is. If someone says the people are badly off, you should not pass it over but ascertain how he himself fared in the past. Nobody who was badly off before will say such a thing. Instead, they will say that, though they would like to have better conditions, present circumstances do not allow it and that even now they are much better off than in the past. Those who grumble over their humble circumstances must be people who were comfortably off in former days. So you should not take their voice as representing the masses.

Central county Party committee chairmen should give proper

guidance to factory Party committees to make sure that the latter will always listen to the voice of the basic masses, exchange views with them and, relying on their strength, confirm and handle all questions.

The main consideration for the central county Party committees in helping the factory Party committees should be to build up with reliable elements the Party ranks and the ranks of the workers at factories.

This does not imply that people whose background is at all questionable should be discharged from factories. The point is to intensify education of Party members and workers in Party policy and to rally them closely around our Party, true to its mass line. All those who faithfully follow our Party should be educated and rallied around it.

At present, factory Party committees are not building the ranks of the workers as they should, nor do they know sufficiently well who are good and who are bad people. Consequently, they fail to rally even those who should be educated and united around the Party. As a result, some people even waver, dubious of the Party's trust in them, and go to the extent of slipping onto the wrong track.

Central county Party committee chairmen should help factory Party committees in the right way to acquaint themselves fully with the ranks of Party members and workers at the factories so that they can distinguish between good people and bad, and on this basis zealously educate those who can be educated and unite them around the Party. If the sons or daughters of former landlords work well now, refraining from doing evil, you should tell them that though they are the children of landlords, they are not at all bad judging by their actions, that they can work with you and that they should go on working hard and never doing wicked things. You should let Party members know who are the sons of former landlords and what their defects are, but tell the Party members to forgive them and join them in work now that they work hard. If instead you just hum and haw, you will not be able to rally people around the Party,

However, you should never try to embrace hostile elements who

oppose our system and slander our Party's policy simply for the sake of rallying people around the Party. You should not compromise with hostile elements but fight them, and strike mercilessly at those scoundrels who oppose us to the end. When hostile elements are discovered, you should fight them by exposing their crimes before the masses and by isolating them. This alone will enable the masses to be clearly aware of the crimes perpetrated by these elements and to fight the elements relentlessly, unaffected by their evil influence. Factory Party committees should promptly expose each and every crime of ill-disposed elements before the masses. But if the elements in question truly repent of their evil conduct and turn over a new leaf, they should be forgiven. If, however, they persist in their wicked ways, they should be punished without mercy.

You should consolidate the ranks of Party members and workers, striving mainly in this way to rally the masses around the Party at factories and other enterprises, and at the same time to isolate evil elements through open struggle.

2) ON IMPROVING THE PARTY'S DIRECTION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Giving effective direction to industries should be the foremost concern of central county Party committees.

They should above all give effective guidance to industrial enterprises to help them introduce the Tsean work system properly.

The Tsean work system is, in a word, the application of our Party's revolutionary mass line to economic management. This system requires that superiors help their subordinates, that the better-informed teach the less-informed, that important problems of enterprise management be solved by means of the Party committee's collective leadership instead of by the system of one-man direction by the manager who, in the past, used to decide everything arbitrarily, and that production be run smoothly by providing in advance for the

maintenance of equipment, blueprints, stocks of spare parts and by other technical preparations and by ensuring adequate supplies of raw materials and other necessities.

Work is satisfactory now at every place where the Taean work system has been adopted. The experience of the past year has shown that it is a very advantageous system of economic management.

At the time we were liberated, we had no experience at all of economic management. So we introduced many foreign methods. These methods, however, contained large doses of bureaucracy and other factors liable to breed selfishness in people. Of course, the Taean work system, too, may stand in need of further improvement. But this new method of economic management is superior in every respect to the old one. Accordingly, its introduction gives a definite guarantee of improvement in enterprise management.

We should get the textbook on industrial administration redrafted in line with the Taean work system. Books on industrial administration which are now in the process of being written, lay too much stress on the law of value and devote much space to material incentives. We should make sure that economic management by the communist method of developing collectivism—the method of superiors helping their subordinates and the better-informed teaching the less-informed—be the keynote of industrial administration.

The important task in industry for the immediate future is to spread the technical innovation movement in line with the Party's policy, and thus save manpower and further increase the output value per worker.

Because of a labour shortage we are unable at present to bring to the surface more of our underground resources or to do more work. If we can save a work force of 200,000 to 300,000, then we shall be able to solve a lot of complex problems in the construction of our national economy.

As I said to officials of the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet some time ago, if we extract nonferrous ores in large quantities, the strain on foreign currency will be eased. Since we import crude oil and coking coal as well as no small amount of fibre,

rubber, oil-bearing crops and the like, we need a large amount of foreign currency.

Since our country is rich in mineral resources and also blessed with certain raw material deposits which other countries depend on for their supplies, it is no big problem to earn as much foreign currency as we need, if we try.

Our country has large deposits of magnesite, a fireproof material indispensable for the metallurgical industry. If we produce magnesia clinker, we can sell as much as we want, because the world's deposits of magnesite are small indeed. Magnesia clinker can be obtained by means of baking some stone, and therefore to export it is a worthwhile enterprise. Of course, even now we are selling quite a lot of it, but in the future we should produce it in larger quantities to earn as much money as possible to pay for petroleum. If we produce and export 2.5 million tons of magnesite ore or 500,000 to 600,000 tons of magnesia clinker, we shall be able to meet the cost of our petroleum imports. We also have to pay for imports of coking coal, so we should sell ores by developing more mines and we should manufacture and export electrodes or something similar by building a graphite factory.

At the moment, however, we are not in a position to do this extensively because of our shortage of labour. In order to overcome the manpower difficulty, the technical revolution must be stepped up with all speed.

Only when we increase per-capita output value through a widespread technical innovation movement, can labour and funds be saved to build more factories and to develop new mines and fishing grounds. This is the very reason why our Party is now putting great effort into the technical revolution in socialist economic construction.

The central county Party committees should see to it that factories and enterprises strive to save every possible man-day by actively mechanizing and automating operations through an intensive technical innovation movement and to increase production without using additional manpower.

Another important matter deserving the attention of the central

county Party committees is to prevent factories and enterprises from undertaking too many capital construction projects.

For a long time we have criticized the practice of launching construction projects indiscriminately, but the error has not yet been corrected.

The Nampho Smeltery set about building a sulphur shop without even blueprints or any prior testing of the process which it was proposed to use—but gave it up halfway. True, it is necessary to build such a shop. But it cannot be done at random without proper research and preparation. At this smeltery alone, five such construction projects have been abandoned halfway.

The Nampho Smeltery is not alone in undertaking capital construction haphazardly; almost every factory and enterprise has done the same. In spite of repeated warnings by the Party, no remedy has yet been found for such indiscriminate construction activity. For this the Party organizations, too, should be held responsible. In many cases, factory Party committees approve the building projects proposed by their managements without carefully scrutinizing them, simply trailing behind the managements and neglecting to control capital construction.

In order to tighten control over capital construction, projects must be classified into five categories according to their importance, and it should be made a rule for first-category projects to be given priority. Second-category projects should only be launched when those in the first category have been finished, then the third-category ones and so on in order of priority. Control by the Party Central Committee does not suffice to do away once and for all with the habit of indiscriminately starting construction projects; and both the Party's central and local committees must join efforts to exercise control. This is the only way to keep ministers or ministerial officials from initiating capital construction projects in factories in an uncoordinated way.

The central county Party committees must struggle resolutely to prevent needless capital construction. They should examine each proposal for building or civil engineering works and weigh up whether

or not it is really necessary, even turning to the workers for detailed consultation in the matter. In this way, unnecessary projects can be sifted out; but if, on the other hand, a building project is seen to be imperative, measures can be taken to build it quickly and with least expenditure of manpower and materials.

To continue. The central county Party committees should show deep concern for the preferential development of the extractive industries.

Our extractive industries are lagging far behind the demands of the developing national economy and, consequently, they fail to supply our processing industries with sufficient raw materials.

Because of insufficient coal supplies, our large thermal power stations fail to operate at full capacity, and on account of the coal shortage fertilizer production, too, is not normal.

Under these circumstances, it is essential that we hit the target of 23 million tons of coal set for the Seven-Year Plan.

At present we are not delivering enough ore to our iron works, either.

As a matter of course, we knew earlier that the mining industry was lagging behind. And in the campaign to hit the six targets last year, we realized even more keenly that this industry was in serious difficulties. So we started to direct our efforts to it in September last year, and this year, too, we decided to devote much effort to it. Some time ago we set the task of building ten-ton lorries and large numbers of excavators and bulldozers for the coal and ore mines.

This however is not enough. We should make a large-scale capital investment in this industry and manufacture bigger quantities of the different machines and equipment which it requires.

At present the mining industry has not all the equipment it needs. Take rock drills for example. The industry needs a variety of drills but at present has only one type. It is like an army equipped with only one kind of weapon in a battle against the enemy. It goes without saying that if the enemy is to be fought successfully, the army must have rifles, guns, tanks, planes and various other weapons and items of

equipment and various types of the same weapon. Take artillery for instance. The army needs both long-and short-range guns as well as direct-fire guns and howitzers.

Likewise, collieries and other mines need various types of rock drills to extract coal and ore in great quantities. But our engineering industry does not produce a wide range of machines and equipment. We should pay close attention to providing these mines with greater quantities of efficient, modern machines and equipment.

Central county Party committee chairmen should give effective direction to the mining industry and those, in particular, who have been assigned to the counties with major mining enterprises such as the Aoji and Kaechon Coal Mines and the Musan Mine will have to be more efficient at their work than the rest.

The central county Party committee chairmen should gain some technical knowledge of the mining industry and acquaint themselves thoroughly with work in this field. You should visit coal and ore mines and, while working with the miners, consult them on how to increase coal and ore production before taking the necessary steps towards that end.

Timber production, too, is unsatisfactory. The annual output of timber is now scarcely four million cubic metres, although we should produce five to six million cubic metres. As a result, we are not satisfying even the demand for pit props.

We have made a large investment in timber production and supplied plenty of machines and hauling equipment. These machines and equipment, however, are not used effectively, and many tractors are standing idle because of small worn-out machine parts. Our officials make much ado if an ox dies, but they think nothing of such a large machine as a tractor—which can replace scores of bulls—breaking down.

The situation in the timber industry has failed to improve not because the state has not invested enough in this field or neglected to provide it with equipment, but mainly because the ranks of its leadership personnel have not been built up properly. We should be

bold in promoting people who have had much experience at factories as cadres in timber industry enterprises. So far we have filled the post of manager and other officials at lumber stations exclusively with people who have long service records in this same field. Now we have to reinforce them with cadres who are well-versed in machinery and capable of giving efficient technical direction to production.

Further, the central county Party committees should direct close attention to improving labour administration.

First, Party control over factories and enterprises should be strengthened to prevent them from drawing in manpower from farms at will. The manpower situation in the countryside now is very tense. If farming operations are mechanized to such a degree that a farmer can take care of 15 to 30 hectares of land, a lot of farming manpower will be saved. Our rural economy, however, still has a long way to go to attain that level. Much has to be done to develop agriculture—we have to develop land, build more irrigation facilities, raise good seed suited to our country, and produce many farm machines. Until these problems are settled, we cannot afford to release any labour from the countryside. Industrial manpower, therefore, should be obtained as far as possible from urban areas.

And men should not be appointed to jobs that can very well be done by women.

Right after liberation we severely criticized O Ki Sop for having appointed a man as head of the women's department of the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee. And ever since, we have taken every opportunity to stress the need to place women in jobs that are suitable for the fair sex.

Of course, there are some places where fairly large numbers of women are working. Recently I visited a plant in Tokchon County to find that its manager and Party committee chairman were women and that only 22 of 430 workers were men. This is very good. But in many factories and other enterprises, jobs which are quite suitable for women are not assigned to them. In the Hwangju Textile Mill a lot of men are doing a job that any woman could do. It is unreasonable to leave

women idle and place men in such jobs in a country like ours which has a small population and is so short of labour.

We should improve labour administration so that idle manpower is utilized to the full and women launch themselves into the world of work, to replace the men in those jobs that are suitable for them.

At the same time, we should pay close attention to improving the provision of material facilities for the workers at factories and enterprises.

The central county Party committees should see to it that the houses in industrial settlements are well-built and that the sewerage systems are conveniently laid out. You need not necessarily lay out all the drainage pipes at once. The trenches can be dug for the present and then covered later. And you should ensure that repairs to the workers' houses are done before it is too late to prevent leakages in rainy weather.

In building houses for the workers one must be farsighted. In big centres with large factories and a promising future—like Tokchon, Huichon, Kusong, Sakju, Manpho and Kilju—modern towns should be built that can be handed down to generation after generation. It is advisable, however, to build three to five-storeyed houses rather than high-rise buildings.

Mining villages situated in the valleys do not need big buildings. True, areas with large mineral deposits which will last hundreds of years will need relatively fine buildings. But in mining areas with smaller deposits which will be dug out over a few score years, one-storeyed houses should be built neatly on the slopes, without destroying farmland.

What is more, county cooperative farm management committees should be called upon to work hard and fulfil their responsibility for the production and supply of meat, vegetables, and other non-staple food products.

Next, the central county Party committees should provide efficient direction for agriculture.

They should not become so preoccupied with industry that they

neglect to manage agriculture. They should maintain control over the county cooperative farm management committees and should strive to give correct leadership to the rural economy.

County cooperative farm management committees are not managing agriculture properly. We set up this committee with a view to ensuring the management of agriculture, not in an administrative sense but by industrial methods. Nevertheless, its officials often resort to administrative methods in supervising agriculture just as the county people's committee did earlier.

Agricultural production, too, is a technical process. So this process requires technical management. The county cooperative farm management committees should channel their main efforts towards the technical revolution in the countryside.

County cooperative farm management committees, however, have not taken the technical revolution under their control and supervision; they are not striving to step up agricultural mechanization and other aspects of this revolution. This will be quite clear if only we look at how tractors are used. They are designed for ploughing, weeding, hauling, and various other operations. But after ploughing they stand idle. As I said on many occasions when inspecting Onchon County, why take the trouble to build so many tractors, if that is the way you are going to use them?

Some officials, instead of using their heads to develop farming methods which would lend themselves to mechanized operations, are in favour of farming methods which actually obstruct the mechanization of field work. So they cling to the old farming methods, opposing even the transplanting of rice seedlings on straight lines. That is wrong. If we clung to outdated methods, we would be unable to mechanize farming, and the only logical outcome would be that the farmers would never be delivered from arduous labour.

In order to make more effective use of tractors and to mechanize farming operations on a broad scale we should steadily develop farming methods.

Some people are reluctant to mechanize farming, arguing that it

will result in a lower crop yield. This is a very wrong attitude. Granted, mechanized farming would produce a lower harvest than manual farming. But it does not follow that we must therefore keep our farmers doing exhausting manual work.

At present factory workers have an eight-hour day. The farmers have a longer day and, in addition, their work is harder. That is why young people in the countryside are not at all keen to settle down there.

Of course, greater efforts should be made to instil in them a liking for the countryside and enthusiasm for work there. The problem cannot be solved, however, no matter how you educate them, so long as there is such a big difference between agricultural and industrial labour as there is now.

If communism is to be built, we must relieve the working people of difficult work and eliminate the differences between heavy and light labour, and between physical and mental work. Nevertheless, our officials often forget that they are revolutionaries striving to build communism; and they fail to pay due attention to this important revolutionary task.

We should see to it that the county cooperative farm management committees increase their role substantially and work harder to carry out the technical revolution in the countryside.

It is very important for industries and their workers in the counties to give greater assistance in promoting agricultural development. Industrial workers should not only go to help farmers in the bedding-out and weeding seasons, but also repair farm machines and make new ones for the farmers. They should visit cooperative farms and teach how to arrange production and organize manpower and how to keep accounts and the like, and they should disseminate scientific knowledge.

Factories and other enterprises in the counties, however, do not help the farms in this way; they simply do not care how things go on cooperative farms.

Let me take a few examples.

The Juul Electric Appliances Factory in Kyongsong County has

more than a hundred technicians, but never once have they gone to help their neighbouring cooperative farms in technical matters. Similarly, the Kangson Steel Plant and the Kiyang Tractor Plant in Kangso County give no tangible assistance to cooperative farms. As we reiterated when inspecting these enterprises some time ago, farming operations in the county could be perfectly mechanized if these plants would manufacture different types of farm machines as well as more tractors with the steel they produce, and if they would give several to each farm. This is well within the realm of possibility, provided that the industrial workers concerned are set on the move. But nobody organizes such work. As a consequence, the cooperative farms near the Kangson Steel Plant or the Kiyang Tractor Plant are still backward. The same is the case with the Tokchon Automobile Plant. The land around the township of Tokchon is suitable for mechanized farming, but field work there has not been mechanized so far because of the inefficiency of farm officials and lack of assistance on the part of the automobile factory.

If factories and other enterprises do not help the countryside, supplies of foodstuffs for the workers will not improve. Only when agriculture is mechanized and developed with the active assistance of industrial enterprises can we make arduous farm work easier and increase grain output substantially, and—with the manpower saved through mechanization—produce more meat, vegetables and other non-staple food products. Then both the workers and the farmers will be better off.

The central county Party committees should organize and direct factories and enterprises to help the countryside. Now that, in contrast with the past, they have been authorized to control and direct all industrial establishments in their counties, they can help the countryside as much as they want, if only they try to organize the industrial workers and technicians.

And they should devote due attention to encouraging cooperative farms to introduce specialization in agricultural production by cultivating, over large areas, crops suited to the particular soil in which

they are planted. At present cooperative farms are reluctant to grow tobacco, for example, because it is a labour-intensive crop and also because the purchasing agencies are somewhat finicky. As its purchasing price was recently raised, those farms where it grows well should now specialize in its cultivation.

3) ON DIRECTING CLOSE ATTENTION TO MANAGING THE WORK OF COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

Central county Party committees should give proper direction, along with industry and agriculture, to the county people's committees.

First of all, they should give good leadership in educational work.

The important task in the field of education at the present time is to organize technical schools properly.

As a matter of principle, the technical school graduates from a particular county should be assigned to work in that county. So technical schools must be organized so as to suit the specific conditions of each county.

At present, however, technical schools are not organized on this principle. The subjects in which instruction is to be given at a particular technical school should be determined in the light of a careful analysis of the industrial and agricultural situation in the county concerned, so that they accord with the economic requirements of that county. In practice, however, the subjects are chosen by the rule of thumb. As a result, in some cases graduates from agro-technical schools have to work in factories and those trained in industrial-technical schools are assigned to cooperative farms.

There are only local industry plants and no big light industry factories in the township of Hwangju, but a light industry technical school has nevertheless been established there. Obviously, the graduates of that school will be unable to work in the branch for which they will have been trained. There was really no need to set up a light

industry school in that particular township, but as one has been set up, it should at least be teaching the trades needed at the Hwangju Food Plant. The school, however, is not doing that, so the plant is obliged to recruit its workers elsewhere.

The central county Party committees should give appropriate directions when the subjects to be taught in a technical school are being determined, in order to ensure that the school will cater for the specific conditions of the county in question. The numbers of students enrolled in each course must be adapted to the demands of economic progress in the county concerned.

The ranks of teachers should be built up soundly.

As, at present, county Party committee chairmen are quite indifferent to education, the ranks of teachers have not been built up as they should. Under these circumstances, education cannot be successful.

The quality of education for the younger generation depends mainly on how teachers train their students. It is essential therefore to have competent teachers.

In order to build up the ranks of good teachers, it is of primary importance that the greatest care be taken when applicants are being recommended for enrolment in teachers training colleges and universities of education. Inadequate attention to all relevant factors when recommendations are being drafted and considered often leads to the most promising students being picked for other colleges and universities while the remainder is left to choose between teachers training colleges and universities of education. As a result, these colleges and universities are not allocated promising students in large numbers.

The central county Party committees should pay close attention to building up teachers' ranks and in particular they should give appropriate directions for the improvement of the system of recommendation of applicants for the teachers training colleges and universities of education. They should see to it that eligible applicants are recommended for enrolment in these colleges and universities, and

that they are encouraged to regard their studies there as an important task set by the Party.

The central county Party committees should supervise commerce as well.

Efficient operation of the commercial network is of great significance in improving the well-being of the people. The central county Party committees should be in charge of the commercial and distributive agencies and give them a correct lead so that they regularly obtain and sell the daily supplies needed by the people of their respective counties; and they should purchase various farm produce in season.

Further, they should have a keen interest in the infrastructure and upkeep of the county towns.

The county towns are not in good shape at present. The principal town of Taedong County, for instance, is very dirty, with dwelling houses and streets uncared for. And as things are in this state, the county town will have a bad influence on the villages round about.

All county towns should be well-built, and the towns of the central counties all the more so. The building of a county town does not require great deal of money or material. All that has to be done is to bring stones which are in plentiful supply all over the county, and then put up buildings and lay drainage pipes where necessary. If cement is needed, it can be obtained from the stocks controlled by the provincial Party committee chairman.

When I tell you to build your county towns, I mean that you should think of making them neat by improving the existing houses—which you can do if you try hard—rather than by constructing high-rise buildings only. The principal town in Changsong County looks neat and tidy, but not because it has multi-storeyed buildings: almost all the houses are slate-roofed, but the town looks well because the houses and their surroundings are kept neat and clean, with flower beds along the streets. The principal towns of other counties, too, should be developed in this fashion.

In addition, the central county Party committees should give an

effective lead to public health services and to all the other activities of the county people's committees.

In this way success will be ensured in all the activities of the central counties. Otherwise the establishment of the central county Party committees would be senseless. The committees should give correct leadership both to economic activities and to the work of people's committees so that the central counties can become examples for neighbouring counties to follow in all respects—industry and agriculture, education and culture, commerce and in the development of county towns and of the residential districts for industrial workers. Tokchon County should therefore set an example for Nyongwon and Maengsan Counties, and Kangso County should exert a good influence upon Ryonggang and Taedong Counties. Each central county will thus be a model for one or two other counties so that they, too, will succeed in all their work.

3. ON THE WORK METHOD AND STYLE OF CHAIRMEN OF CENTRAL COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEES

Now, let me dwell on the first thing you central county Party committee chairmen should do when you get to your counties, and on the method and style of work you should adopt.

You should begin with the education of your subordinates. This is your primary task in the counties.

If you rush about here and there as if accomplishing some great task by yourselves without briefing your subordinates to get them on the move, you will not succeed in your work. In order to cope with the work facing the central county Party committees, you should first school your subordinates properly so that they will work hard.

We have long emphasized the need for subordinates to have a good

training. We mentioned this at the Hoeryong County Party Committee when we were giving guidance to the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee, and we reiterated it when doing the same for the Kangso County Party Committee. Nevertheless, county Party committee chairmen have not trained their subordinates well. So the qualifications of the department heads and committee instructors are far below the mark. Consequently, even when they do go to give directions to lower units, they cannot distinguish clearly between right and wrong, and they fail to carry out their assignments properly.

The central county Party committee chairmen should fully understand that the training of subordinates is the most important task, and should strive methodically to see that vice-chairmen, department heads and instructors all get good training.

What, then, should they be taught? You should teach them three subjects—the Party’s policy, fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and economics.

Instruction in the Party’s policies is a top priority in the training of officials. Unless they know the policies of our Party, its ideas, they are useless and unable to work as required by the Party, however well they may be versed in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Since our Party’s policies are the creative application and development of the principles of Marxism-Leninism suited to the specific conditions of our country, a thorough knowledge of these policies is the only guarantee of a clear understanding of the essence of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party’s policy is something like a yardstick with which to measure every aspect of our work to see if it is done correctly or not. So if officials are to work successfully, they must first understand Party policy. This is what a compass is to a soldier on the march, who must first know how to read it and take his bearings. The central county Party committee chairmen should put the main stress on educating their subordinates in Party policy and should equip them thoroughly with the ideas of the Party.

Only when they are imbued with Party policy, the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and a knowledge of different branches of the economy—industry, agriculture, commerce, etc.—can the department heads and instructors of the county Party committees promptly spot problems in production and deviations from the Party policy in factories, enterprises and rural villages. This is the only way for the county Party committee chairmen to grasp the situation in the factories and villages with the help of their subordinates, and give correct direction to economic activities.

The education of officials should be conducted in a gradual and continuous way. You cannot teach Party policy and the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism all at once. By training officials we do not mean that they should be made only to study, putting aside other work. You should always educate them on the job.

There are different ways of educating officials.

In the first place, you can educate them by individual or collective talks. An individual talk means talking with one person at a time; and a collective talk, chatting with a few persons together. You can talk in the office or while walking. You should often meet officials and educate them by giving them assignments, checking their performance, and helping them to correct their mistakes, if any.

Officials can be educated at meetings, or by giving them lectures and short courses. You can educate them at a Party cell meeting, for instance, by hearing them out and then pointing out one by one what is right and what is wrong in what they have said, or at a Party committee meeting while discussing work. You can also teach them by giving lectures or arranging a short course on Party policy, after full preparation. When you yourselves have no time to spare, you can give an assignment to your vice-chairmen or department heads to make good preparations for a lecture or a short course. You will then only have to examine the written text for the lectures before the lecture is given.

It is being said that, as you were told not to hold too many meetings, you refrain from organizing even essential short courses. That is wrong

behaviour. If you have anything that must be made known to the leading personnel on the county Party committees, you should summon them and give them a short course, after full preparations, just as the Party Central Committee does. If you have too many things to deal with in a single day, you can spread it over two or three days.

If you educate officials by different methods as I have explained, you can help them to raise their qualifications appreciably, and in the process you can understand them better. You should become familiar with them while educating them, and train them well to be competent workers.

Next, you should guide your county Party committees in such a way as to help them play the role of steering economic activities skilfully.

If the county Party committees are to be good helmsmen in directing economic affairs, they should first judge all questions in the light of Party policy. In other words, they should use Party policy as a yardstick with which to measure industrial or agricultural activities and so determine whether or not they are correct. County Party committee instructors should go and apply that yardstick to the realities, and their chairmen should do the same. We always send our officials to production sites and we ourselves go to workplaces, to measure things with Party policy and find out whether or not they are correct,

When officials find shortcomings in the light of Party policy, they should ascertain the causes, report them to the higher echelons and take the necessary measures. When you examine the causes of defects, you must consider all factors in detail. You should not draw a hasty conclusion, without going into all the relevant subjective and objective circumstances, you must closely examine all factors one by one, and ascertain whether the shortcomings are due to the low level of qualifications of officials, to sabotage on the part of officials, or to other causes.

When you determine the causes of defects, or take the necessary remedial steps, you should consult many people, rather than try to impose your own views upon others. As the Korean saying goes, you had better ask the way even when following the beaten path; and there

is no harm in consulting people about the problems in your work before you dispose of them.

When we handle a question, we consult the vice-chairman directly in charge of that matter and lower-ranking officials and also bring it to the Political Committee for discussion.

The central county Party committee chairmen, too, should consult their colleagues, subordinates as well as superiors, about questions of capital construction, production, equipment, manpower administration and all other economic affairs before they decide on any action. When you are confronted with an economic problem, you should refer it to your fellow workers and those subordinates who directly handle it, saying: I have found such and such defects. What do you think are the causes and remedies for them, and are the steps which ought to be taken to improve the work? And to your superiors you should report the shortcomings in the work, their causes, and the necessary measures you have in mind, and inquire and consult them as to their appropriateness. Then, you will not make mistakes in your actions, and the work will be set right.

When you have worked out corrective measures you should organize efforts to put them into effect. Some comrades think it sufficient merely to draft a proper resolution and make an impressive speech. That is wrong. You should bring the measures home to the masses, convince them that they can assuredly rectify the shortcomings and carry out their task with credit if they keep to the measures you propose. And then you should give proper assignments to specific persons and show them how to fulfil them. This is precisely what is meant by organizing work.

The central county Party committee chairmen should not try to take the place of those in charge of administrative and economic work, but should conduct organizational work as I have advised and show them how to go about their work successfully.

Further, you must check up on how the tasks you have given are being carried out. You can make an inspection yourselves or send instructors. Inspection can be made by an individual or by many

persons collectively, according to the occasion. But you should not investigate matters like a secret royal inspector. You should go to workplaces and direct the work, talk with the workers and attend meetings, until you get to the root of the matter. Then, you will understand whether the tasks you have set are being properly implemented. After inspection, you should take steps to correct the defects and instruct the officials how to work.

If the central county Party committee chairmen direct economic affairs in this way, they can be good helmsmen.

To continue. The central county Party committee chairmen must work in a planned way.

One of the major shortcomings now in officials' activities is their failure to work in a planned manner. They just dash about here and there without consulting work plans, so that they not only fail to look after all the branches in their charge but also overlook many things, which are consequently neglected and even get worse in the end.

The central county Party committee chairmen have a great deal of work to do because they have to direct industry, agriculture, commerce, education and culture, public health and all the rest. If they are to cover that amount of work well, they must plan their activities. Otherwise their directing will become unstable and they will be unable to keep control of the whole range of affairs.

If you are to work in a planned way, you should draw up your work programme well. A work programme should not be cluttered up but should set out only the main tasks for the month. As I have found, some comrades even include in their programmes the aims and directions of work and the like which are quite unnecessary, not to speak of lists of items that cannot possibly be done. Then these programmes are locked away, never checked or incorporated in their work. They are only produced when inspectors arrive. Such a work programme is simply useless.

The central county Party committee should not draw up complicated programmes of work; it needs only a short list of the meetings to be held. It should estimate the month's work, determine

the issues to be discussed at the consultative meetings and its standing committee meetings, and then include them in the programme. That will be enough.

But making simple programmes does not mean jotting down the topics to be discussed at meetings and nothing more. If the farming season is near at hand, for example, you can plan to bring the matter of farming preparations before the standing committee meeting. In this case, it is not enough to put down in the plan a vague term such as “To consider farming preparations”. You should specify who is to draft and deliver the report. The person reporting on farming preparations may be the chairman of the county cooperative farm management committee or a cooperative farm management board chairman or a ri Party committee chairman. He should be notified of the plan in advance so that he can prepare the item well. When, after this, the matter of farming preparations is discussed at the standing committee meeting, various complex problems will be brought forward—the problems of hoes or other farming implements which are not ready for use, the shortage of draught oxen, manure or manpower, and so on. Then appropriate steps can be taken to unravel these problems.

We think it advisable to arrange approximately three standing committee meetings of the county Party committee a month. If, during the month, you have important problems awaiting solution, say, in industry and agriculture and another in Party organizational work, one of the meetings should consider the matter of industry, the next agriculture and the last Party organizational work.

At present the standing committee of the county Party committee is said to meet several times a month to deal with personnel affairs alone. This is because they are not efficient in Party work. They appoint semi-qualified persons as cadres without fully knowing the appointees, and then leave them to their own devices, without giving them any proper training, until they have to fire them or, as frequently happens, transfer them. That is why the committee has to meet so often. If they promote people to senior positions after they have got to know them well, and if they then let them stay in the same job for five

to six years, there will be no need to discuss personnel affairs so often.

It would be advisable to have a couple of consultative meetings every month on a county Party committee level. These can be meetings with agronomists, industrial technicians, commercial workers, teachers, judicial workers or the staffs of prosecutor's offices.

The programme for the activities of the central county Party committee should thus envisage about five sessions including its standing committee and consultative meetings. And as for the other affairs to be handled by the chairman, they should be included in his own schedule.

In drafting their schedules, the central county Party committee chairmen should leave time for attending the meetings arranged by the Party Central Committee and the provincial Party committees. They will have to report to the Party Central Committee once every two months on the average and to the provincial Party committees a few times a month. At the provincial Party committees they will not only attend meetings but also discuss the different problems in hand. Since transport is convenient, they had better go to the provincial Party committees in person to discuss personnel affairs and other important questions. That will bring them to the provincial Party committees a couple of times a month.

It will be appropriate to reckon that the central county Party committee chairmen will have to spend approximately ten days a month on the average for the standing committee and consultative meetings on a county Party committee level, and in travel to and from the Party Central Committee and provincial Party committees.

The remaining twenty days of the month should be earmarked for self-study, managerial visits to subordinate units and for the training of officials. The schedules can specify attendance at the meetings held by the departments of county Party committees, by factory Party committees, by Party committees, or county cooperative farm management committees. They can also list the subjects on which lectures are to be prepared and given in the form of a seminar for

officials or enumerate the cooperative farm management board chairmen, ri Party committee chairmen, schoolmasters or security workers with whom they plan to talk.

If they make programmes like this and work according to them, they will be able to cope with every aspect of work without bias, taking a grip on all the affairs of the county.

The central county Party committee chairmen should possess a correct style of work, along with the right work method.

They should, above all, be modest and kindhearted.

If Party workers are hard to please and arrogant, people will shun them. Such a quality will therefore hinder Party work. To a machine no narrow mind will be repellent, but towards a man one should never be fussy, even if it goes a bit against the grain. Now some finicky comrades maintain they were born so and that it cannot be helped. They are wrong. Even if they are so by nature they should regard it as an important Party task to remould their characters and strive to acquire a correct work style. If your work among people is to be successful, you should learn to laugh and to behave so that everyone can approach you freely, with an open heart.

This, however, does not mean that you may wink at negligent workers and sympathize with unprincipled people like a man who is always good-natured, irrespective of the situation. In everyday life you should be generous towards people, have friendly talks with them, eat and play with them. But at work you should be assertive and firm. When you give officials tasks to do, you should control them strictly so that they carry them out without fail. If they do not work diligently, you should criticize them severely.

What is more, the central county Party committee chairmen should always set an example in work and everyday life. You should observe work discipline better than anyone else. And when difficulties crop up, you should take the lead in getting rid of them. If there is a meeting to attend, you should not be late but come earlier than others. In everything you should be an example for the others to follow. And you should always lead frugal lives, refraining from drinking wine too

much, and guarding against dissipation.

Always and in everything the central county Party committee chairmen should be thoughtful and handle questions relating to personal affairs with care.

A central county Party committee chairman has to lead more than 100,000 people. This is no easy job. Giving correct leadership to such a large number of people to ensure success in the fulfilment of their revolutionary tasks always requires careful work.

A serious shortcoming manifested by senior officials at present is that they dispose of problems without comprehensive analysis or careful investigation. They see only one side of a problem, overlooking the other, so that when reinvestigated the decisions which have been taken are often found to be misguided. This shows that, after all, their qualifications are at a low level and that they lack self-education.

If a matter is to be handled correctly, all its aspects should be examined.

In particular, when you treat any question relating to a person, you must not be impulsive in taking a decision. The case must be judged on its merits. If somebody has committed an error, for instance, you should weigh the pros and cons of the case, see how the balance tips, judge what the effect will be if he is punished or generously forgiven, and then decide.

Even more care should be shown regarding cadres. You should not simply punish or demote personnel at will when mistakes are made, but educate them properly so that in the future they will work faithfully without errors. In any event no question relating to cadres must be settled until after the provincial Party committee has been consulted, as is the case with other matters too. If you have the case of an official before you, you should make your decision by examining it from every angle, and then bring the matter before the provincial Party committee for consultation, explaining in detail what his merits and demerits are, what is good and what would be bad if he were allowed to stay in office and given education. Then, you will not make a mistake in handling the case.

The central county Party committee chairmen should also be cautious in all other organizing activities to implement the Party's policy. When you have a task to perform, you should find the ways and means to carry it out by weighing all the relevant factors and study in depth how to make it a success.

In conclusion, the central county Party committee chairmen should study hard.

Unless they steadily improve their qualifications, the central county Party committee chairmen will be unable to make progress and carry out their important revolutionary tasks with credit.

If some comrades think it unnecessary to study any further simply because they are graduates of the Higher Party School or a university, they are grossly mistaken. No matter how much they might have learnt at school, it is probable that they can hardly remember it all, and that in any case much of it has become outdated and useless. Still less can they assume that they know all the Party's policies which have been set forth during each period, even if they are university graduates. So everybody should study hard, regardless of his previous academic education.

Above all else, you should extensively study the Party's policies and master them.

Only when you are well versed in the Party's documents, decisions and instructions through profound study, can you promptly spot deviations from the Party's policy, deal with your problems correctly as the Party intends, and always think and act in accordance with its ideas.

In addition, you should study the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and acquire extensive economic knowledge. Only when you have economic knowledge, can you correctly direct industry and agriculture and propel forward the technical revolution.

And the central county Party committee chairmen should also study tirelessly to raise their cultural standards and to increase their general knowledge.

You should strive to establish a revolutionary habit of study, deeply

aware that study is your important task. Since none of you are at all old, you can study as much as you want if you just make the effort.

You should begin by making it a regular habit to study more than two hours a day. You should study on your own after work rather than in working hours. You can find plenty of time to do that. You should cultivate the habit of getting up early in the morning, reading books a couple of hours before going to work and looking through newspapers or magazines on returning home in the evening. Studying will thus become a part of your daily routine the same as eating, so that you will feel you cannot bear to miss it for a single day.

You had better read plenty and take Party school correspondence courses, and be sure to attend Saturday study.

If you are to increase your knowledge, you should talk with technicians, participate in technical consultations, and obtain information from technicians in subordinate positions on problems you do not know. You can also invite technicians to come to county Party committees to lecture on economic and technical matters.

Encouraging technicians to lecture will impel them to do their own studies as well. If you give them assignments to lecture on certain subjects before county Party committees, they will have to read a great deal. We always ask for a report on a certain question from the relevant department of the Party Central Committee, telling them to arrange the report in cooperation with scientists. This stimulates the scholars and the department workers to seek a lot of material and to study a great deal. You, too, should apply this method of giving assignments to technicians to submit reports and deliver lectures so as to stimulate them to increase their own knowledge—and in the process you, too, will learn a lot.

After this, numerous reference materials—and not only materials for the study of the Party's policies but also reference books on industry and agriculture—should be compiled to help the chairmen and other workers of county Party committees in their studies. Economic reference books should be related to Party policy and be simple and easy to understand. It is advisable to publish plenty of economic

magazines and to provide some space for economic topics in the *Rodong Sinmun*, too. Articles for economic magazines should not be too long; they should be brief, but rich in content.

Only when the central county Party committee chairmen study extensively in this way, can they encourage others to do likewise.

That is all I wanted to say today to those of you who are now about to take up your appointments as chairmen of central county Party committees.

You are going to the counties, entrusted by the Party with a really important and honourable mission. So you should work creditably, without making mistakes. If you visit workplaces, directing industry personally, you will find things stimulating and you will learn much from the workers. If you buckle down to work, learning humbly from realities, you will find your jobs interesting and you will meet with great success.

I firmly believe that you will live up to the Party's trust and expectations with credit by striving to carry out your tasks.

**ON STRENGTHENING THE WORK
OF FACTORY PARTY COMMITTEES
AND FURTHER DEVELOPING
THE CHOLLIMA WORKTEAM
MOVEMENT**

**Concluding Speech Delivered at the Sixth Plenary
Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**
May 15, 1963

For the three past days there has been serious discussion of the problems of improving and strengthening the work of factory Party committees and of pushing ahead more vigorously with the Chollima Workteam Movement in all spheres. These problems are of great importance for further strengthening our Party and consolidating its class position and for putting the mass line into practice.

Only when the Party has a solid class foothold and active support from the masses, can it lead the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction to victory. By establishing the Workers' Party through a merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party, we ensured that progressive elements from among the industrial workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working masses could join our Party and that the mass foundation of the Party could be broadened. Ever since its founding, our Party has done everything in its power to carry out the mass line.

The ranks of our Party have now grown considerably. Our Party

members have gone through a multitude of ordeals in the course of the prolonged revolutionary struggle and, in these trials, have been tempered like steel politically, ideologically and organizationally. The veteran communists forming the hard core of our Party made organizational and ideological preparations for the foundation of a party through 15 years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and, after liberation, triumphantly led the masses in the struggles to found the Party, set up people's government and enforce democratic reforms. Through these struggles, all our Party members were further steeled. In particular, during the three-year Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialists, and in the difficult and arduous struggle to build socialism on the ruins after the war, the cadres and members of our Party became fully seasoned and grew to be staunch revolutionary fighters.

It is no accident that today peoples of the world call our Party a tested party which has accumulated a wealth of experience in revolutionary struggle and socialist construction, and a great Marxist-Leninist party which enlists the full support of the masses of the people by carrying through the mass line with credit.

All the successes which have been gained by our Party are the result of its thorough implementation of the mass line. However difficult the times we were through, we were not in the least discouraged but believed in the strength of the masses of the people and roused them to carry out revolutionary tasks. Moreover, our Party has been able to achieve great successes by solving creatively all the problems of the revolution and construction in conformity with our country's realities, firmly maintaining the position of Juche at all times.

Even now our Party is confronted with difficult and enormous revolutionary tasks. The path our Party has traversed so far has not been smooth. Similarly, the road ahead is by no means plain sailing. We have more tasks ahead of us than we have accomplished so far.

Before anything else, we must further reinforce the material and technical foundations of socialism in the northern half of Korea. We should push forward energetically the ideological, technical and

cultural revolutions, carry out socialist industrialization, equip all branches of the national economy with modern techniques and definitely improve the people's standard of living, as proposed at the Fourth Party Congress. In this way the high peak of socialism will be scaled.

And we must drive the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and reunify our country.

Successful fulfilment of all these revolutionary tasks facing our Party depends largely on how Party committees at all levels do their work. We should further strengthen them all and enhance their role decisively. Along with this, we should build up the Party ranks, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and rally all sections of the masses closely around the Party by educating and remoulding them. Only then can the revolutionary tasks set forth by the Party be fulfilled with success.

1. ON STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF FACTORY PARTY COMMITTEES

Most important in Party work at present is to intensify the work of factory Party committees and to increase their function of leadership. By enhancing their role we can equip Party members and workers with the Party policy, unite them closely around the Party Central Committee and carry out successfully the revolutionary tasks facing factories and enterprises. It is, therefore, considered expedient that this plenary meeting discusses the guidelines on the activities of factory and enterprise Party committees and, on this basis, takes measures to develop in depth the activities of such committees.

As is reflected in the aforesaid guidelines, the most important aspect of the work of factory Party committees is to guarantee proper collective leadership.

Nowadays the sphere of activity of factories and enterprises has expanded, and the substance of their work has become complex. The tasks of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions confronting factories and enterprises are very difficult. The puny brain of a single individual is in no way competent to tackle such hard and complex undertakings as laying a secure material basis for production, modernizing equipment or boosting production. In the past, under the one-man direction system, the manager alone assumed charge of all affairs in a factory and directed them, but now the factory Party committee, the organ of collective leadership, has to take all these matters into its hands and direct them. As in all other fields, the Party committee is the supreme body of leadership in each factory and enterprise, too. Without the collective leadership of the Party committee, a factory cannot be run in the right way, the broad masses cannot be organized and mobilized in the struggle for production, and its management cannot keep pace with the rapid development of the national economy.

In order to guarantee proper collective leadership by the factory Party committee, the Party committee itself must first be built up.

The Party committee should be composed of core elements selected from among the Party members. In other words, the Party committee should consist of veteran cadres of working-class origin, tempered in the struggle for the revolution and construction, and of experienced Party members as the hard core, properly combined with shop-floor workers as well as young workers who are open to new ideas and who have a strong enterprising spirit. Only then can the factory Party committee play its role adequately as the organ of collective leadership and only then can it be vigorously active. If, for the sake of including experienced persons, the factory Party committee is made up of veterans only, revolutionary impetus will not be evident in its work.

In order to ensure proper collective leadership by the factory Party committee it is also imperative that the qualifications of its members be raised.

No one can have an encyclopedic knowledge of all problems in

politics, economy and culture. Those who have a mastery of politics may not be well acquainted with economics, culture and technology and those who are well versed in literature may not be familiar with economic and political affairs. Some people profess to be “omnipotent” and “omniscient”. But there is no one in the world who is proficient in everything and clear about everything. The words “omnipotence” and “omniscience” are used by Christians to describe “God”. As a matter of fact, there is no “God”.

Our officials should make efforts to master their own speciality and also to learn about the facts and techniques in other fields. Thus technicians should endeavour to acquire political knowledge and revolutionary theories; workers studying economic affairs should learn philosophy as well as economics, and should read both literary and technical books. Intellectuals should learn from the working class fortitude, stubbornness, organization, unyielding fighting spirit and boundless loyalty to the Party, whereas members of the working class should learn scientific and technical matters from the intellectuals. Veteran revolutionaries should instil in young workers a steadfast revolutionary spirit, inform them of their experiences in their struggle and actively help the young workers in their work. All Party workers should acquire the art of skilfully leading the masses and, at the same time, possess a rich knowledge of science and technology.

In guaranteeing collective leadership by the Party committee, it is important that its members be assigned appropriate tasks. Tasks should always be assigned to suit each member’s abilities, knowledge and character. Concrete assignments for work, study and ideological training should be given to the members so as to keep them constantly on their toes.

In order to enhance the Party committee’s role, not only its members but also all the workers in its staff sections should be well educated in Party policy. Unless the Party workers, and the instructors in particular, are thoroughly equipped with Party policy, the Party committee cannot have a clear idea of the actual conditions lower down. Even if on production sites they happen to see machines

standing idle, some instructors fail to understand correctly whether that corresponds with Party policy or contradicts it, because they do not know Party policy well. The Party committee must see that they have a firm understanding of Party policy so that they may regard all matters, from minor issues to the general affairs of the factory, in the light of that policy. Only then can the Party committee get a good grasp of all the activities at grass roots through the instructors.

Party workers should not only have a clear understanding of Party policy but should also display a revolutionary temperament and drive in their efforts to push it through. Without this, none of the Party's policies can be carried through to the end. Party workers should not form the habit of scamping their work. They should have a lively revolutionary temperament so as to go all out, with persistence, in carrying out Party policy. If they work in a happy-go-lucky fashion to no purpose, they will soon become out-of-date in their thinking. They should be patient, staunch, intrepid and scrupulous in executing Party policy.

Success in the work of the Party committee depends largely on whether or not the Party cadres, including the committee chairman, possess the revolutionary method of work. It will not do to conduct Party work in an administrative way. If Party workers simply issue orders or commands at their desks, without going out to production sites, they cannot rouse the masses to action nor can they give a proper lead to the swift development of the economy. Just giving orders or commands from their desk is not an attitude worthy of Party workers in their work, nor is it a method of Party work.

Party work is work with cadres, work with Party members and work with the masses. Party workers should always go among the masses to solve difficult problems and actively help their subordinates in their work. The Party committee should work with people, instead of engaging in red tape. If one examines statistics or documents without being in contact with the people, one cannot do Party work. One may, of course, turn to statistics for reference. But they remain essentially reference material, nothing more. If you simply thumb through papers,

you cannot tell whether the information is sham or real. If, instead of working with people, Party workers merely examine documents, Party work cannot move ahead.

In working with people the main stress should be put on education and the specific assignments given them, so that they may study their tasks and then set about implementing them. Only when you meet a man face to face and talk with him, can you ascertain whether he works well or not and give him practical help. As things stand at present, some leading officials go out to factories but they do not talk to the workers; they just meet the managers and return after inquiring about production results in percentages. This makes it impossible to get a thorough grasp of the actual conditions at the grass roots.

If the Party committee is to work well as a collective leadership body, its members should develop the habit of helping and teaching each other. Among the members of the committee, some may have more shortcomings and others less, but there can be no one who does not have any faults at all. It is, therefore, important that committee members help each other to rectify their faults in good time, learning merits from each other. If they act at will, covering up one another's faults, the work of the Party committee cannot make progress.

The role of the chairman in the work of the Party committee is of immense importance. The Party committee gives collective guidance in all work, but success in everything it undertakes depends largely on the role its chairman plays.

If an army is to have disciplined ranks with great combat capacity, the commanding officers, including squad and platoon leaders and company commanders, should play their role with surpassing merit. In a workteam too, if everything is to go well, the team leader should do his job admirably. As a headless body can neither move nor live, so a collective without its leader cannot have organizing ability.

The same is true of the Party committee. Only when its chairman plays his role properly, can the Party committee perform its leading function satisfactorily. The Party chairman should give out correct assignments to each of the committee members and give them every

help so that they do their work with credit. For this, he should study the job more than the committee members and set an example. He should be active in whatever work he undertakes and learn to persist in finishing job once it is started, being the first to overcome any great difficulties. If the chairman himself does nothing and offers no opinion, entrusting the task to the members, he cannot lead the Party committee's work.

Placing its trust in the chairmen of factory Party committees, the Party has left a big factory each to their care. But some of them fail to carry out Party policy unflaggingly, and do not even know what amount of production equipment their factories have or how the workers fare. In the event of a factory Party committee chairman attending to his job in an unimaginative way, the work of the Party committee cannot proceed well, no matter how good the persons making up the committee may be. Should the Party chairman neglect his work, the committee members will follow suit and show a marked neglect in their work.

The work of the factory Party committee chairmen is by no means easy. If they are to carry out the tasks assigned to them with credit, they should know Party policies well, acquire economic knowledge and master science and technology, and should always study their own work and make strenuous efforts to lead their comrades. They should give good personal example, particularly in work. If they put on airs and scurry around, without setting an example in practice, they cannot direct the work. There is no room for a Party committee chairman who whiles away his time in a happy-go-lucky mood, loitering about with a briefcase in his hand, leaving the job solely in the charge of his subordinates.

A Party committee chairman should be an example in observing discipline, too. At present some officials do not observe it as they should, thinking it applies only to subordinates. This is quite wrong. Every member of the Party is under the obligation to observe discipline. There can be no dual discipline within the Party. It is out of the question for the Party committee chairman to be late for a Party

meeting or study session, to say nothing of being absent altogether. He should observe Party discipline of his own accord and should respect state discipline more strictly than anyone else.

Through continuous Party training, Party workers should acquire the character of a communist and a revolutionary style of life.

At present many of them behave in a manner unbecoming to Party workers. It is said that a certain Party worker stays away from a Party meeting simply because his wife is a bit sick, and that he does not arrive punctually even when he is called by the upper organization of the Party. Home is important, of course, but it is wrong to violate the Party's organizational discipline for family reasons. This displays a lack of character in a Party worker.

Party workers should work more devotedly and do more work than others. Some Party workers, however, make claims to better treatment despite the small amount of work they do. If a revolutionary grumbles about the way he is treated, he cannot take part in the revolution. It will be enough for Party workers to have a living allowance to maintain their livelihood. They must not argue about their position or how they are treated.

In their relations with people, Party workers should be modest and polite. They must never show any sign of indolence, laxity or depravity, and, wherever they may be, they must always work and live in a manner befitting Party officials, in a way worthy of revolutionaries.

Party workers must discard their ideologically erroneous attitude towards women. One half of our population is women, but women cadres are very few at present. True, women have to run the home and bring up the children, so they have certain handicaps in social activity. But, if they are provided with all the conditions, they should be able to take part in social activities in a big way. Because at present some officials do not have a correct attitude towards women, they do not appoint them as cadres. A case in point is that of the several hundred cooperative farms in South Phyongan Province, where only a few women preside over management boards.

Women work harder and more diligently than men. Practically none of the cooperative farms and factories where women are in charge at present fails to carry out their tasks. You should renounce this wrong attitude towards women, and be bold in promoting them.

To continue. Study habits should be established firmly among Party workers.

The Party Central Committee even took a decision that the whole Party membership must study. Nevertheless, some Party workers are neglectful of their studies, pleading pressure of work and troubles of various kinds. If officials study hard, their ideological and theoretical qualifications will be higher and they will become politically aware. Consequently, there will be no faults in their work. On the other hand, if they do not read books and study Party policy, they will become blind fools and commit errors. Those who make errors at the moment are not learning and are not familiar with Party policy.

It cadres are poorly informed of politics, economy, technology, culture and other fields because study is neglected, they cannot correctly direct Party work and administrative and economic affairs. Only when factory Party committee chairmen are well acquainted with technology can they distinguish right from wrong and draw a right conclusion during a discussion of a technical problem, or work closely with technicians.

Because cadres do not study hard, scientists and technicians follow suit and do not study diligently. Accordingly, they very rarely put forward valuable ideas.

That the entire Party membership must study is a Party decision, and no one is allowed to ignore it. A rigid system of study must be established at all units such as Party bodies, the Cabinet, ministries and economic agencies. Meanwhile, cadres should be provided with adequate conditions for study. We should also publish plenty of books on politics, economy and technology which can be read with interest.

Further, Party workers must not be transferred too often. After suitable persons are chosen and appointed as Party committee

chairmen, they should remain at their posts as long as they do not take a stand against the Party or work contrary to Party policy. At the present time there are many cases of cadres being transferred to other areas just when they are getting more or less acquainted with their work. That will not do. We should do everything to help cadres settle down at work, instructing them if they lack ability and making them rectify their shortcomings.

At their meetings, factory and enterprise Party committees should discuss at length the problem of improving Party work as debated at this plenary meeting, and explain in full the guidelines on the activities of factory and enterprise Party committees. Patiently they should study the guidelines, unravelling one by one the matters they touch upon. They will thus improve their work quickly, as required by the guidelines.

Under the direction of the Party Central Committee, provincial Party committees should create model units, each meeting the requirements of the guidelines on the activities of factory and enterprise Party committees. In South Hamgyong Province, for preference, the Party committees at the Komdok and Ryongyang Mines, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and the February 8 Vinalon Factory should be made model units first. As for South Phyongan Province, the model units should be the Party committees of the Kiyang Tractor Plant, Kangson Steel Plant, Tokchon Automobile Plant and Songhung Mine and those of the smeltery, glass factory, shipyard and communications equipment factory in Nampho.

If Party committees at major factories and enterprises are built up as model units, it will be possible to train large numbers of cadres there and to send those thus trained to other industrial plants to improve the work of their Party committees rapidly, as required by the guidelines. We should improve the activities of factory Party committees as a whole in accordance with these guidelines and thus bring about a great turn in the work of all factory and enterprise Party committees.

2. ON FURTHER DEVELOPING THE CHOLLIMA WORKTEAM MOVEMENT

As you know, the Chollima Movement is our Party's general line for socialist construction, and the Chollima Workteam Movement is what the Chollima Movement has developed in depth. The Chollima Workteam Movement is for us a drive to take one hundred steps while others take ten, to know ten things while others know one, to read ten books while others read one. The Chollima Workteam Movement is a campaign for learning, a drive to educate and remodel people, a movement to create more things new, through the technical revolution. This movement splendidly applies our Party's mass line in the building of socialism.

By pushing ahead vigorously with the Chollima Workteam Movement, we must steadily raise the working people's technical level, accelerate socialist construction and educate and remodel all our people, thus closely knitting them around the Party. Only when we educate and remould all the people in the northern half of the country and rally them around the Party, can we efficiently educate and remodel people with a variegated background in south Korea after the country has been reunified.

There are many defects at present in the leadership which is being given to the Chollima Workteam Movement. A major shortcoming is that Party committees do not step it up forcefully under their direct control, but leave it entirely to the trade unions and other working people's organizations. How can it be that the Chollima Workteam Movement is exclusively the task of working people's organizations? Needless to say, trade unions and Democratic Youth League organizations should participate actively in the Chollima Workteam Movement. However, the Chollima Movement is the Party's general line for socialist construction. So Party organizations at all levels

should hold the reins of the Chollima Workteam Movement and take responsibility for steering it. Party organizations should always receive reports on its progress and correct its defects promptly, and should expand and develop it continuously.

Another drawback in the Chollima Workteam Movement is that the honourable title of Chollima has not been upheld. After they have won this title the Chollima workteams should continue to do better at their work, consolidating the successes already gained. However, quite a few Chollima workteams, simply satisfied with having earned the honourable title of Chollima, leave their members to their own devices instead of encouraging them to work harder. So they gradually fall behind. If this happens the Chollima Workteam Movement will lose its meaning.

At present, formalism is apparent in the Chollima Workteam Movement in no small measure. It is undoubtedly necessary in educating the masses to praise individuals as typical models. But you must not adhere to empty formalities nor magnify trivialities, nor describe nonexistence as existence. An end should be put to the practice of glossing over matters.

In order to propel the Chollima Workteam Movement continually and forcefully, it is necessary to intensify the communist education of the working people. In particular, class education and education in socialist patriotism should be intensified among them to heighten their class consciousness and national pride. This is especially important since we still have the task of the national-liberation revolution to accomplish.

Since some people have insufficient national pride even now, they have a great tendency to flunkeyism—to look up to other countries instead of loving their own socialist motherland and thinking how to make their country rich and strong. Some people prefer to wear dresses made of foreign material and use only foreign-made consumer goods. This shows a lack of national pride.

We should uproot the mentality of national nihilism and flunkeyism lingering on among our officials. Otherwise, they will not make an

effort to produce high-quality and functional goods on their own. To encourage our people to produce better goods than foreign ones, and to love their socialist motherland ardently, is of importance in rooting out their national nihilism and in arming them with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

In educating the working people in socialist patriotism, care should be taken to prevent the growth of tendencies to national chauvinism and restorationism.

One may be apt to head for chauvinism on the plea of building an independent national economy by one's own efforts and promoting national pride. If we steer in the direction of chauvinism as Regent Taewongun pursued a policy of national isolation, we will come to reject international exchange and advanced science and technology from other countries and, accordingly, hinder the development of our country.

Likewise, it is wrong for us to dislike reading foreign books and feel disinclined to learn foreign languages on the grounds of building an independent national economy and establishing Juche in science. It does not always follow that one is infected with revisionism because one reads foreign technical books and that one becomes pro-Japanese or pro-American because one learns Japanese or English.

When learning foreign languages we must not lay stress on any one of them but study Russian, Chinese, English, French and other languages. The point is to learn them for the good of the people and for contributing to the rapid development of the socialist motherland, without engaging in flunkeyism.

Besides inspiring the working people with national pride, we should educate them better in the spirit of internationalism. Thus, we will fight resolutely against the imperialists and Right and "Left" opportunists, in unity with the peoples of the socialist countries, and in close unity with many other peoples of the world.

To further the Chollima Workteam Movement it is also important to educate the working people in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. We should see that they are all imbued with this spirit so that they work hard to build an independent national economy by their

own efforts.

It is not an attitude worthy of a communist revolutionary to try to live on with the help of others without thinking of developing one's own country by building an independent national economy by one's own efforts. This sort of ideological tendency produces ill effects that paralyze the people's creativity and fighting spirit. We should intensify the education of the working people so that they all develop a strong will and indomitable fighting spirit to exert themselves and to solve everything for themselves.

3. ON SOME IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC TASKS

An immediate and important task in socialist economic construction at present is to carry out the Seven-Year Plan with success.

First of all, we should direct great efforts to the mining industry to mass-produce ore and coal.

It is of course hard to develop the mining industry at a rapid pace. Unless it is developed as a priority, however, other industries cannot be advanced as they should be.

An important task confronting the mining industry is to extract large quantities of ore and feed them to the blast furnaces in sufficient amounts. The Musan and other mines should modernize their equipment, mechanize operations and introduce advanced mining methods on a broad scale and thus raise ore production. In this way larger quantities of iron can be produced with our existing furnaces.

More investments should be made in the coal industry and technical innovations should be introduced, thereby ensuring that the coal production assignment envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan is fulfilled without fail.

A major defect in the mining industry at present is that investment

is not concentrated and, even where investment is made, it is not in important but in secondary spheres and is consequently ineffective. This is because departmentalism still exists among the officials at ore and coal mines.

If innovations are to be introduced in the mining industry, concentrated investment should be made in the ore and coal mines having large deposits and favourable conditions for extraction, and machine plants should make available plentiful supplies of good equipment and accessories for this industry. Mining methods suited to the conditions prevailing in our country should be studied, and advanced foreign experience of mining, too, should be widely introduced. Moreover, at coal and ore mines the organization of labour and the productive and technical processes should be improved and production should be properly directed.

The method of management and operation of the Anju Coal Mine is an effective one that needs to be adopted throughout the country. In directing production, coal and ore mines, like the Anju Coal Mine, should take each pit as a unit, and should provide pitmen with favourable conditions for work and help all the workers to handle machines and equipment skilfully. Following the example of the Anju Coal Mine, all ore and coal mines should stimulate innovation in the management of production.

We should improve the mining industry with all speed and give it definite priority over the processing industry, thereby fully maintaining the balanced development of our national economy as a whole.

Alongside the mining industry, the processing industry should be developed apace.

The iron and steel industry should not try to build many new plants but make greater use of its existing production space and equipment to maximize production. Iron and steel works should replenish their production equipment, introduce the oxygen-blow method and make and use ferro-coke and pellets through technical innovations. If greater use is made of the equipment in this way, as much as 1.7 million tons

of iron can be turned out without the construction of any additional blast furnace.

The engineering industry should be developed further.

Our engineering industry still fails to fully meet the demands of the national economy. Nevertheless, leading officials of the engineering industry keep shouting hurrahs, bragging that our engineering industry is able to produce everything which is needed. This is not the way to rapidly develop the engineering industry. The officials concerned must not brag or talk big about the results already attained, but they should make strenuous efforts to develop this industry to a higher level.

Since it has not enough manpower, the engineering industry must not build new factories indiscriminately, but must strive to utilize to the maximum the equipment already existing in engineering factories.

Through a dynamic movement for technical innovation, engineering factories should turn out various types of modern machines and equipment in sufficient quantities to meet the needs of different branches of the national economy. They should manufacture many large machines, in particular. In order that many ore and coal mines may be developed over a short period and that more effective assistance may be rendered to agriculture, the engineering industry should produce ten-ton trucks, 75-hp tractors, big excavators and other large machines and equipment in great numbers. Without the manufacture of large machines, gigantic projects for the transformation of nature cannot be carried out successfully.

If the tasks facing the engineering industry are to be fulfilled with credit, a clear demarcation of responsibility should be drawn in work, and an appropriate system established for the direction of engineering factories. The engineering factories under the Ministry of Machine Industry and other ministries, and those in local areas, total several hundred at present. These factories, however, do not pay because they are not properly managed. It is necessary to establish an appropriate management system in the engineering industry.

In our opinion, it would be a good idea to reorganize the present Ministry of Machine Industry into a General Bureau of Machine

Industry, and separately to form two other General Bureaus of Machine Industry, one for directing engineering works under other ministries and the other for directing the precision-machine industry. And a Machine Industry Commission should be set up as a higher body to give coordinated guidance to these bureaus. Then I think the role of the engineering industry will be further enhanced.

As regards the chemical industry, a definite effort should be made to increase the production capacity of the February 8 Vinalon Factory, the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and of other chemical plants.

In the construction industry, capital construction should be undertaken by concentrating efforts on major projects—projects in the productive branches, especially the mining, engineering and chemical industries and agriculture, rather than on building cultural facilities. We should also devote efforts to national defence projects.

More assistance should be given to the countryside.

What is most important is to produce large quantities of chemical fertilizers. As you know, our country has a limited amount of arable land. It has not got great expanses to reclaim. Under these circumstances, the main way of boosting grain production is to introduce intensive farming on a broad scale so as to increase the per-hectare yield. For intensive farming it is necessary to mass-produce chemical fertilizers in order to promote the rapid growth and ripening of crops. In order to produce larger quantities of nitrogenous fertilizer, more ammonia factories should be built in Aoji and Hungnam. And we should take steps to mine plenty of nephelite and apatite so as to produce potash and phosphatic fertilizers on our own.

Weed-killer and various other agricultural chemicals should be turned out in larger quantities and supplied to the countryside.

Another important thing in assisting agriculture is to produce and deliver large numbers of tractors, trucks, water pumps and other machines and equipment. Our rural economy is now large in scope. Unless it is mechanized, farming cannot show good results. Many modern farm machines should be sent to the countryside to speed up

the mechanization of agriculture.

In addition to sending large supplies of chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and various farm machines to the countryside, steps should be taken to end the mobility of rural manpower and to establish a permanent rural labour force; and a mass movement should be organized to send workers to rural areas in order to help with agricultural operations. In this way we will consolidate the success which we achieved in reaching the target of five million tons of grain.

To continue. Greater efforts should be made to obtain foreign currency.

Today our country maintains trade relations not only with socialist but also with capitalist countries. We need an enormous amount of foreign currency to purchase the necessary goods on foreign markets.

We have to import certain machinery and equipment and raw materials which we still fail to produce for ourselves or are short of. Although we consume hundreds of thousands of tons of crude oil a year, we still fail to extract it at home. We have therefore to pay for the whole amount in foreign currency. We have to import a certain quantity of chemical fibres and a great deal of raw rubber and sugar. We also have to purchase abroad special machines, and those goods which we do not produce ourselves because we only need them in small quantities.

Therefore, we must earn a great amount of foreign currency. Without foreign currency complex problems in the construction of our economy cannot be solved. Foreign currency is badly needed for building an independent national economy and for bettering the lives of the people. On no account must the drive to acquire foreign currency be conducted in a hit-or-miss way.

If we are to earn a large amount of foreign currency we must produce plenty of goods required by other countries. The industry of our country is capable of earning much foreign currency. In the sphere of industry an all-out effort should therefore be made to earn a large amount of foreign currency. Mines, especially, should work well so as to earn much foreign currency. When assigning production quotas to

mines, separate plans for the acquisition of foreign currency should be set and they must be fulfilled.

We should direct an all-Party effort to the Ryongyang Mine, an important source of earning foreign currency. For several years now the Party has reiterated the need to extract large quantities of magnesite and boost the output of magnesia clinker. Magnesia clinker is quite a rich source for earning foreign currency. We should develop magnesite mines on a long-range basis and build additional calcining kilns to mass-produce magnesia clinker.

Our country is favoured with huge deposits of valuable nonferrous metal ores. Nonferrous metals are important raw materials indispensable for industry. If nonferrous ores are excavated in plenty it will be profitable for us to sell alloy steel made from nonferrous metal ores, or to sell machines and tools manufactured with alloy steel. If we make and sell machines and tools we can earn more foreign currency than by selling steel. In addition, if we raise the quality of our machine products and exchange them for machinery and equipment our country does not have, that is tantamount to obtaining a large sum of foreign currency.

In order to earn plenty of foreign currency we should keep strictly to the terms of a contract and earn a good reputation in foreign trade. If we lose credibility because we do not deliver high-grade goods on time, other countries will be reluctant to buy our goods. We should deliver good-quality exports within the terms agreed upon, so that foreign buyers are attracted. Only then can we earn much foreign currency.

In addition to obtaining enormous sums of foreign currency, we must economize in our use of imported rubber, oil, machine parts and the like. However many goods are imported with hard-earned foreign currency, the people will not be better off if the goods are wasted thoughtlessly. The unflinching effort to acquire foreign currency should be accompanied by economy in the use of imported goods,

Further, the nation's economic life should be managed assiduously.

Today our people entrust their entire destiny to the Party. Our Party

assumes full responsibility for the entire economic life of the nation and the lives of the people.

Since the socialist system has been established and all the property is in the possession of the people in the northern half of Korea, a solid basis has been laid for a decent standard of living. But however excellent a social system, we cannot live in affluence if we do not manage the nation's economic life with care.

Among some Party workers there is an obvious tendency to manage the economic life of the nation carelessly, because they do not feel any responsibility for the people's destiny.

Officials on factory Party committees do not run their factories methodically. A lot of raw and other materials, machine parts and the like are spoiled through slovenly handling and lack of good care. Machine parts and raw and other materials have been stocked in factory warehouses for years at a stretch, but repeated requests are nonetheless made for more.

Agricultural officials direct land management in a haphazard fashion. Although our arable land is limited, we can take in a bountiful harvest if we successfully develop the land and improve the rivers to prevent flood damage and raise land utilization. Much soil is, however, washed away during the rainy season every year because farm villages do not undertake proper land development or take steps to conserve the soil. In order to prevent field-edges from being eroded by water, cooperative farms should reinforce the ridges between fields, build dikes and plant trees, but they neglect such work.

There is a habit of not keeping houses clean and tidy and villages spick and span. We are not in a position to let all the people live in mansion-like houses right now, more so to pull down all at once the old farmhouses handed down through generations. We should build modern dwellings in the countryside and at the same time keep the existing farmhouses neat and tidy.

Our officials direct river management in a slipshod manner and fail to take proper steps to protect the environment. Although the Party has stressed time and again the necessity of planting trees in the mountains

and laying out forests of economic value in particular, they do not perform this job at all well. Besides, there are many instances of failing to manage the economic life of the nation with a masterly attitude.

Our officials have got into the habit of managing the nation's economic life in a haphazard fashion. For this reason, though we have made many speeches and a number of Party decisions have been issued on the need to manage the nation's economic life well, our officials do not set about implementing this work as true masters.

Party workers responsible for the destiny of the country and people should remedy these shortcomings as soon as possible and manage the nation's economic affairs in a manner worthy of masters.

We have laid a sound basis for guaranteeing the prosperity and development of the country and the happy life of the people. We should give our working people a good education and take various state measures to ensure that they treasure and protect the valuable property and wealth of the country, accumulated thanks to their unrelaxing efforts under the Party's leadership, and that they run the nation's economy as the masters. All Party organizations should conduct an active ideological struggle to correct the wrong ideological viewpoint of officials, while taking concrete steps to ensure efficient management of the nation's economy.

I firmly believe that you will radically improve and intensify Party work and develop the Chollima Workteam Movement further in all spheres of the national economy, and thus maintain a steady substantial upsurge in the building of socialism, and carry out all your revolutionary tasks with success.

TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN RYANGGANG PROVINCE

**Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Ryanggang
Provincial Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

August 16, 1963

Comrades,

We have attended this plenary meeting of the Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee for three days, and have seriously discussed with you the questions of agriculture, of the timber industry and various other problems.

As you have mentioned in the report and in your speeches, Ryanggang Province has made great strides forward in all aspects of politics, economy, culture and people's welfare over the past several years.

During this period big factories and enterprises, such as the Hyesan Paper Mill and the Hyesan Flax Mill, which were non-existent when I visited here in 1958, have sprung up, and many locally-run factories have also been built. Besides these, the University of Agriculture and Forestry, and such scientific research institutes as the Highland Agricultural Research Institute, the Flax Research Institute and the Forestry Science Research Institute, have come into being, and many technical schools with different specialities have also been established.

As I have ascertained in the course of my recent visit to the foot of Mt. Paektu by way of Phabal-ri, Phungsan County, the people's living

standard, too, has markedly improved with the development of the economy and culture.

It can thus be said that Ryanggang Province has now laid a solid foundation for further developing its economy and culture, for providing its people with a more abundant life, and for making a major contribution to the growth of the country's economy as well.

We are very pleased about this. I will no longer dwell on the successes you have achieved, for they have been treated at length in the report and many comrades have spoken of them in the discussion.

The crux of the matter is that you should not become complacent with the successes already registered, and that you should maintain the spirit of uninterrupted advance and continue to battle hard.

Today, I would like to comment here on some important economic affairs and Party work with which Ryanggang Province has to deal.

I. ON ECONOMIC WORK

1. ON AGRICULTURE

The grain output of Ryanggang Province is negligible compared with that of other provinces.

But agriculture should not be underestimated in Ryanggang Province just because its grain output is small. The development of agriculture here is at present of very great political, economic and military importance for our country.

The improvement of the people's living standard in Ryanggang Province depends, above all, on the development of agriculture in this region. The farm population accounts for nearly half the total population of Ryanggang Province. There are also a large number of workers here who are engaged in the timber and mining industries. If the province runs short of grain for its factory and office workers, it

may bring it in from other provinces; but as far as food grain for its peasantry and subsidiary food for its factory and office workers are concerned, their demands should naturally be met from the province's own produce.

Moreover, Ryanggang Province is a glorious old revolutionary battlefield of our country. The Party organizations in Ryanggang Province owe it to our people who inhabit this old revolutionary battlefield to provide them with a far better living standard than before liberation. Only when the workers and peasants here, who went about in rags and suffered from hunger for so long under Japanese imperialist rule, are well-clad and well-fed and enjoy a happy life, will they say that they have really benefited by the liberation and the socialist system.

Ryanggang Province has a fairly large share of the total crop area of our country. The cultivated land in our country, not counting the area under fruit cultivation, totals 1,800,000 hectares. At present Ryanggang Province has 90,000 hectares of farmland and, if the new land being reclaimed in Phothae-ri is added, the figure will be in the neighbourhood of 100,000. This is by no means a small area in our country, where the land under cultivation is extremely limited.

If these 100,000 hectares of land is turned to good account, the province can easily attain self-sufficiency in food for its farming population and will, besides, be able to create a certain food reserve in the future. At present, however, Ryanggang Province fails to produce even enough food to feed its own peasantry, let alone create a food reserve.

And what are the reasons for the province's poor showing in farming and for its failure to attain self-sufficiency in food?

Some comrades allege that the reason lies in excessive planting of flax, in compliance with orders. This, it must be said, is an evasion of responsibility.

The main cause of poor farming lies in the fact that the Party organizations and the agricultural officials in the province do not organize and direct the rural economy properly in keeping with the

peculiarities of this district. Specifically, it is because they do not make an active effort to honestly study those scientific methods of farming which are suited to the climatic and soil conditions of the highlands and then to introduce those methods into agricultural production.

As is generally known, Ryanggang Province lies on the highest tableland in our country. The noted Paekmu and Kaema Plateaus are both found here.

Ryanggang Province has also a number of specific climatic features. The warm air current from the south and the cold air current coming down from the direction of Mongolia meet over this region. That is why this district is usually veiled in mist and why its sunny hours are very short. On top of this, the frost sets in early in the autumn and the cold is very intense. The climate is extremely varied, even within a small area. It differs from valley to valley and, even in one and the same valley, the sunny side differs from the shady side.

Ryanggang Province is thus handicapped by unfavourable natural conditions for agriculture, so from olden times people have been engaged in farming mainly in the flat areas more amenable to habitation.

In the past our agronomists, too, limited their research to lowland farming and paid almost no attention to highland agriculture. Such being the case, no scientific system of farming suitable to the climatic and soil conditions of the region has been applied in Ryanggang Province.

Without studying a scientific farming system suited to the natural conditions of the highlands and introducing it in agricultural production, no advances can be expected in the farming of Ryanggang Province. Our Party, therefore, has long been emphasizing the necessity of studying and developing agriculture in the high plateaus of Ryanggang Province. As early as 1954, when I gave guidance to North Hamgyong Province, I raised the problem of making a study of highland agriculture, and in 1958 I came here to emphasize this problem once again. At that time we proposed, as an important task for agriculture in Ryanggang Province, the large-scale, priority cultivation

of such highly profitable, cold-resistant crops as potatoes, flax and hops, and the carrying out of scientific research with a view to gradually going over to the extensive cultivation of grain crops in the future. And we also directed that an agricultural science research institute be set up in Ryanggang Province to study and develop highland agriculture.

Since then, however, the Party organizations and the agricultural officials in Ryanggang Province have not conscientiously carried out the task set forth by the Party. It was not until 1961 that the proposed research institute was founded, and even after its establishment the provincial Party committee did not provide proper research conditions for the scientific workers and neglected agronomic research work. That is the reason why Ryanggang Province still does not even have a definite technical guide showing what crops to plant on the Paekmu and Kaema Plateaus, and how they should be cultivated.

The Party organizations as well as the leading agricultural officials in the province seriously lack the disposition to rely fully on the scientists and technicians, and to cooperate with them. When they are told to rely on the masses, many officials readily go to the peasants and collect information on their farming experiences, but they do not know how, on the strength of this information, to organize and mobilize scientific and technical personnel for the development of scientific farming methods.

How do matters stand now in the Ryanggang Province countryside as a result of the officials' neglect to draw on science, and of the haphazard way in which the work of the rural economy has been organized and conducted?

Although they boast a lot of their province being an old revolutionary battlefield and being situated in a strategic rear zone, the living standard of its people is not very high because farming is not carried out efficiently. Subsidiary food items are not in plentiful supply, and fruits such as plums, peaches and apricots are not to be found in the market place. How come it is only the inhabitants of Ryanggang Province that lack a regular supply of fruit, whereas all the

people in other provinces have planted orchards for themselves and now have a variety of fruit available?

It is of course true that Ryanggang Province has difficulties in farming compared with other districts because most of it is tableland and its climate is cold. But no matter how adverse its natural conditions for agriculture may be, it is fully possible to reap big and regular harvests in this region, too, if the Party organizations and leading agricultural officials join efforts with the scientists in the study and active introduction of scientifically-substantiated methods of farming which are suitable for the region's specific conditions.

The experience of other countries refutes the idea that grain crops will not thrive on the Kaema and Paekmu Plateaus of our country because of chilly weather and that it is impossible to raise domestic animals at Phothae-ri owing to the cold. The real point is that the Party organizations and the officials in the agricultural field are indifferent to research for agricultural development in this district.

At present, you farm haphazardly, basing yourselves merely on the experiences of the peasants, instead of carrying on research for the establishment of a system of scientific farming. That will not do. Doubtlessly, the peasants' experiences are, in general, valuable, but all of them cannot be said to be good. Some of them are good and some are backward. Their experiences, therefore, should not automatically determine our agricultural policy.

It is wrong to cling to a way of doing things just because it is traditional and to ignore or reject science. In any case, experience from the past serves only for information. It is incorrect to make a fetish of the peasants' traditional ways of doing things but, on the other hand, it would be equally wrong to underestimate them. Drawing on the peasants' experiences, we must evolve new, scientific methods of farming.

First of all, the Party organizations should enlist the agricultural scientists in collecting and systematizing all the time-honoured experiences accumulated by the peasants in Ryanggang Province. What kinds of crops grow well, and their production results, in

such-and-such a district should be investigated and understood in every detail; meanwhile, seeds of different plants should be collected.

Agricultural experiments should be conducted extensively on the basis of the data already attained in order to discover new, scientifically-based farming methods. Definite scientific conclusions cannot be formed without carrying on ceaseless experiments. The peasants of Ryanggang Province are now reluctant to plant such grain crops as wheat and broad beans, and prefer to cling to their old practices. This is attributable simply to the absence of any clear scientifically-based recommendations with regard to such crops. The provincial Party committee must, therefore, actively encourage agronomists to draw up a scientifically-based technical guide to highland agriculture in the coming two or three years.

The basic line of research should deal with the extensive cultivation of cold-resistant, quick-ripening and high-yielding grain crops in the highlands.

It will be necessary, first of all, to acclimatize the seeds of high-yielding crops like wheat and broad beans in the cold so that they can be planted in the highlands. Because there is at present no technical guide to the cultivation of such high-yielding crops as wheat and broad beans, the peasants of Ryanggang Province take it for granted that they should grow only oats, a low-yield crop, if they ever cultivate a grain crop at all. We must, therefore, teach the peasants by demonstrating in practice that high-yield grain crops can be planted in Ryanggang Province, while at the same time obtaining seeds through the experimental cultivation of those crops.

Given the climatic conditions of Ryanggang Province, it is also important to obtain seeds which give us highly cold-resistant as well as quick-ripening plants. In this area, the earth thaws late in the spring and the frost sets in early in the autumn. Moreover, the rainy season begins in August, so that the growing period for crops is very short. Therefore, only quick-ripening ones can yield high and stable harvests in Ryanggang Province.

We should also carry out many experiments to produce new strains

by crossing different plants. In this way, we should obtain quick-ripening and high-yielding varieties.

Together with the research on grain crops, we must also carry out research on industrial crops, vegetables and fruit on a large scale.

Hops are a well-known speciality of Ryanggang Province. However, since no scientific research has been carried out in this field, hop cultivation entails an excess of labour and wastage of copper sulphate. Scientists must search for a way of producing large quantities of good-quality hops with the least possible outlay of labour and with less consumption of copper sulphate.

Techniques for growing vegetables should also be studied and popularized.

At an exhibition a few days ago, I saw “all-season radishes” produced at Kapsan, and they were exceptional. They say that three crops a year of that radish can be raised in Ryanggang Province. That is magnificent! The fact that such a good crop is not audaciously introduced is a great error.

Some comrades say that Korean cabbages do not form solid hearts in Ryanggang Province, and that therefore their cultivation does not offer promising prospects, but I personally found the hearts to be solid on the experimental plot—and some are even better than those in Pyongyang. If you have confidence in science and boldly carry out experiments, making the results widely known, Ryanggang Province can also become self-sufficient in vegetables.

If apples do not grow well in Ryanggang Province, there is no need to go to the trouble of planting them. It is advisable, however, to plant as many fruit trees as possible of those varieties which do grow well in this district. There is no reason why peaches cannot be grown at all, although it is possible that the fruit is smaller than those grown in plain areas. Plums and apricots can also grow quite well if they are tended with care. The grapes I saw at an experimental plot were doing fairly well. Fruit trees, therefore, should also be cultivated on a large scale in Ryanggang Province, utilizing methods based on adequate research, the results of which should be widely disseminated.

It is not an easy task to evolve scientific methods of farming which will be suitable for the climatic and soil conditions of such a highland zone as Ryanggang Province, and to put such methods into practice. Yet, it is possible to solve this problem if the Party organizations at the various levels, including the provincial Party committee, and the leading agricultural officials vigorously organize and mobilize all the agricultural scientists and technicians of the province for this project and efficiently rouse the workers on the state agricultural and livestock farms and the cooperative farmers to action.

The provincial Party committee should give leadership to the agronomists in the province with a view towards improving their method of research into highland agriculture. So long as the agronomists remain cooped up in Hyesan, turning over the pages of books with their eyes shut to the realities, as they do now, such research work cannot be properly accomplished. The provincial Party committee should therefore see to it that branches of the Agricultural Science Research Institute are established in many localities in order that they may carry on scientific investigations while literally working in the fields. Moreover, experimental plots should be created at different spots in Ryanggang Province, including the Kaema and Paekmu Plateaus, where research on scientific farming methods should be carried out on an extensive scale.

The experimental plots should not be half-hearted projects where only a few plants can be sown; each crop should be allotted at least one hectare of land. Only then is it possible to reach accurate conclusions on the crops under experimentation.

It is recommended that crops about which preliminary conclusions have been formed in the first year of experimentation be planted on the audacious scale of dozens or hundreds of hectares of land each during the following year. I have learned that at Farm No. 5 wheat has been experimentally sown on almost 200 hectares of land this year. Well done!

Research on crop cultivation should be carried out with experimental plots in this way, and experiments on livestock breeding

should be carried out on the state agricultural and livestock farms. The state agricultural and livestock farms have, by comparison, more adequate domestic animal byres than the cooperative farms, and they also have their own technical personnel, so that they can carry on research by themselves if they are given definite assignments and helped a bit by the scientists.

The agronomists carrying out on-the-spot research must maintain close ties with cooperative farmers and with the local state agricultural and livestock farm workers and must combine efforts with them.

The teachers and students of the Hyesan University of Agriculture and Forestry, the higher agricultural schools and agro-technical schools should also be actively enlisted in the work of scientific investigation. This will help the scientists and will also be of great benefit to the teachers and students. The scientists will be able to receive assistance in their research from the teachers and students, and the latter will be able to learn a lot about agronomy from the former.

The provincial Party committee should pay a great deal of attention to the training of a larger number of new scientists and technicians while, at the same time, making effective use of the scientists and technicians already working in the province.

First of all, the Hyesan University of Agriculture and Forestry should be expanded. The demand for the graduates of this university is at present very great. If two agronomists are to be sent to every cooperative farm, more than 500 would be needed in Ryanggang Province alone. And over 1,200 agronomists would be required if one was to be allocated to every workteam. If one adds the technical cadres needed for the Party organs and for the agricultural leadership bodies in the province, the Hyesan University of Agriculture and Forestry would have to train at least 2,000 to 3,000 experts. This university should also send its graduates not only to Ryanggang Province but also to highland areas such as Rangnim County of Jagang Province, Jangjin County of South Hamgyong Province and Yonsa and Musan Counties of North Hamgyong Province.

In order to train such a great number of agro-technical cadres, more

faculties must be established at the university, and its enrolment must be increased. The present agricultural courses given in the forestry faculty should be separated from that faculty and expanded into an independent agricultural faculty, and new faculties of agricultural economics and animal husbandry established. Correspondence courses should also be expanded further so as to allow the greatest possible number of managerial personnel from the cooperative farms in the province to come and study during the winter.

Rather than maintain the idea that cadres should be dismissed for their lack of knowledge, everything possible should be done to improve the level of the existing cadres through further education.

Together with the expansion of the university, the problem of its textbooks must be solved without fail.

I talked with professors of the university a few days ago. According to them, the university has at present no textbooks on agriculture for students. In view of the absence of scientific research data regarding highland agriculture, it is only natural that no textbooks covering this topic could be compiled. Moreover, it is impossible to teach students with foreign textbooks which are not applicable to the specific conditions of our country.

Lectures based on generalized data derived from the experiences of the peasants should therefore first be given for a year. During that period, the professors should go out to the experimental plots and carry on field research work in collaboration with the scientists of the agriculture research institute, and thus accumulate scientific material to serve as a basis for the lectures to be given the following year. If they do this for about three years, they will be fully capable of compiling agricultural textbooks based on scientific data.

Also, higher agricultural schools should be set up in major counties. A school of this kind is badly needed in Phungsan County, for example. At a higher agricultural school in such a county, a department of animal husbandry should be established in addition to the agricultural department, in order to train a large number of technicians in this field. And it would be advisable to set up a higher forestry

school in such places like Samjiyon.

In this way, higher technical schools should be set up on a district basis to train specialists for different branches and, in the case of branches that cannot be taught in a county, solutions may be found by exchanging graduates with other counties.

The scientists, technicians and educators that specialize in farming in the province are now very eager to do research on scientific methods of farming in the highlands. The important thing is that the Party organizations and the leading officials responsible for agriculture should improve their work with them and give them all possible aid in their research.

Party organizations and leading officials should maintain constant touch with scientists and should call them in to give reports on how their research is progressing. They should make the scientists familiar with Party policies, visit the experimental plots with them, and help to solve as quickly as possible any difficult problems that may arise in the course of their research work. Moreover, they should meet regularly with university professors, ask how their pedagogical activities are proceeding and how the students are getting along in their studies and concern themselves with their problems.

It is especially important that the research work being undertaken by the scientists of the Agricultural Science Research Institute and by the professors of the University of Agriculture and Forestry should be facilitated by their being provided with living quarters, with means of transportation and with the scientific and technological books they need.

We should also make available to them the details of foreign scientific research on highland agriculture. The agronomical research undertaken in Qinghai, Tibet, the Xingan Mountains region and the lower reaches of the Songhua River in China—areas which are analogous to Ryanggang Province in regard to natural conditions—will be helpful to our scientists in their research work.

Another important thing for agriculture in Ryanggang Province is the proper location of different crops.

In this region, high above sea level and with its specific climatic conditions, it can be said that harvest yields are totally dependent on whether or not crop areas are distributed properly. Unfortunately, there is a bad distribution of crop areas in Ryanggang Province.

The main reason for this defect is the subjectivity of the county cooperative farm management committees in matters of planning.

At present, county cooperative farm management committees divide target figures mechanically, and then subjectively impose them upon subordinate units without having studied the actual state of affairs in the areas concerned. Take potatoes and flax as an example. The planting area quotas which are imposed are so exaggerated that in order to meet them those concerned in the subsidiary units have no alternative but to utilize even swamp land, however unfit it may be for their cultivation. This means that the county management committees allot crop areas by rule of thumb, with no scientific basis, simply assuming that potatoes and flax will grow well here in a cold region and that oats and panic grass will thrive there in a high and damp area. It is self-evident that as a consequence of this practice, good harvests cannot be achieved.

In fact, the county cooperative farm management committees still fail to play their role properly. The speech made by the chairman of the Samsu County Party Committee at this meeting illustrated how much the officials of the county management committees are still working in this rule-of-thumb fashion. As you have all heard, the chairman of the cooperative farm at Chongnim-ri in Pochon County knows well what must be done, at least in farm work, but the chairman of the Samsu County Party Committee made a speech showing his ignorance of what and how things should be done. Of course, this is the fault of the chairman of the county Party committee himself. However, the fact that he has no clear idea of what to do with regard to farm work in his county also shows that the Samsu County Cooperative Farm Management Committee is not doing its work properly. The chairman of the county Party committee himself should know all about farm work in his county, but he cannot get anywhere by relying solely on

himself. The county management committee should help him by making a profound study and scientific analysis of the actual conditions on the cooperative farms. But as the Samsu County Cooperative Farm Management Committee fails to do its work properly, the chairman of the county Party committee knows precious little about the farming situation in his county and, consequently, cannot but make a fool of himself when he speaks at this meeting.

By setting up the county cooperative farm management committees, we aimed to introduce industrial methods of management into the rural economy. In other words, the idea was to manage agricultural production in a scientific and technical way, taking full account of geographic peculiarities, and avoiding the administrative methods utilized in the past when the people's committees were in charge of directing the rural economy.

For this reason, the county cooperative farm management committee should, as a matter of course, draw up scientific plans, keep within its budget, study soil fertility and the composition of fertilizers, and calculate profitability in detail, taking into consideration the planting and harvesting time of the different crops. If plans are made and crop areas distributed indiscriminately, without any scientific and technical calculation, then what was the point of our setting up the management committee and its planning, manpower and technical sections? The personnel of the county cooperative farm management committees must become fully conscious of their duties and improve their scientific and technical management of agricultural production.

To begin with, a scientifically-based plan for crop-planting should be drawn up to suit the natural condition of each area. Those that grow well should be planted extensively, following the principle formulated by the Party of putting the right crop in the right soil. The crops to be planted must be ones which meet the needs of the state and which benefit the peasants. If crops fail to meet the requirements of the state and bring no profit to the peasants, there is no use planting them extensively, no matter how well they may grow. Officials of the county cooperative farm management committees should therefore go to the

farms and make scientific and technical studies regarding the crops that grow well and at the same time suit the needs of the state and can yield big profits to the peasants. On this basis, concrete plans should be mapped out for distribution of crop areas. Only then will it be possible to farm efficiently and to increase crop yields.

I should like to stress particularly, in connection with the question of distribution of crop areas in Ryanggang Province, the need to assure the sowing of high-yield grain crops on a large scale. You must not perfunctorily plant grain crops which yield only 100 to 200 kilogrammes per hectare just because you have been told to be self-sufficient in grain.

If a grain crop is planted, its yield should be at least one ton per hectare. Even if one ton of grain is turned out from each hectare of our country's farmland totalling 1.8 million hectares, the gross output will be no more than 1.8 million tons. This amount will not even allow our people to eat gruel regularly.

In Ryanggang Province, just as in the country as a whole, the yield from one hectare should be sufficient to feed at least five persons. To achieve this, each hectare should turn out two tons of grain. Considering that provisions for the factory and office workers in this province are brought in from other provinces, it requires at least one ton of grain output per hectare here to feed only half the population of the province.

However, you seem to be satisfied with an output of 200 to 300 kilogrammes per hectare, and you have taken no measures to increase production or to carry out any research work. This will not do. Grain does not just drop out of the clouds, nor does it spring up from the ground by itself. Increased grain production requires both research and effort. Only by taking this path will it be possible to produce enough food for the people.

Today our Party and all its members are the head of our country's household. Therefore, the responsibility for guaranteeing food for the people rests upon our Party and all its members.

Party workers must realize this clearly and have a sense of

responsibility. Thus, they should plant on a large scale high-yield crops suitable for the geographical features of the province and should strive with persistence to turn out more than one ton per hectare.

In Ryanggang Province, cold-resistant and early-ripening crops should be planted in the areas high above sea level, and grain crops as much as possible in the lower areas.

Primarily, flax, potatoes, broad beans, wheat and barley should be cultivated on a large scale in the highlands. Flax should always be grown in a big way, even if it has to be rotated every three or four years. It is more profitable to the state to cultivate flax than oats or panic grass, the per-hectare output of which is less than 200 kilogrammes, while planting more grain crops in areas where the yield is upwards of two tons per hectare.

Even when the flax harvest declines, the rate of decline runs between 100 and 200 kilogrammes per hectare. Therefore, it is advisable to plant 15,000 or 20,000 hectares of flax. If flax is produced in large quantities, it can be exchanged for maize meal to be used for human consumption.

In Ryanggang Province, the plan is to sow oats on a broad scale as a grain crop, but this is really unnecessary. As you have discovered from experience, the yield of oats is very low. Even when the per-hectare output of oats is 600 kilogrammes, it is reduced to half that when husked. In fact, boiled oats are not even pleasing to the taste. We ate it in the days of the guerrilla struggle, but it is inferior to maize gruel.

It is preferable to plant crops other than low-yield, tasteless oats. This does not mean, however, that oats should not be sown at all. Oats should be grown for the time being in view of the fact that scientific research and experiments have not yet been adequately carried out to determine which crops grow best in the highlands. Wheat or barley should be planted there in place of oats in the next year or two, once scientific conclusions have been drawn from the experiments.

Wheat gives a higher yield and is more palatable than oats. And where oats grow, wheat must grow. Securing seed suitable for the climatic and soil conditions of this district is an imperative for a big

wheat crop.

In Ryanggang Province, potatoes, which grow well in the highlands, should be cultivated yearly and in great quantities. But potatoes must not be planted without considering the consequences. I once said that the potato was king of the dry-field crops. For that reason, Ryanggang Province grows it even in rice paddies and maize fields. This should not be done. You should not plant potatoes in areas where rice and maize grow well. The potato is king of dry-field crops in the highlands where grain does not grow well.

It would do well to plant broad beans, too, on a trial basis. As yet no research has been made on this crop, so during the first year it should not be planted widely, but rather on some 3,000 hectares and on an experimental basis. If its per-hectare yield proves to be upwards of one ton, it should be planted on a wide scale beginning next year. If broad beans are planted on a large scale their stems can be put to good use. According to analysis, the dried stems contain six per cent protein and fresh ones as much as 12 per cent. They can therefore be used as good livestock fodder.

The area sown to hops should not exceed 1,000 hectares because their cultivation requires a large amount of manpower. But neither should it be less than 1,000 hectares.

Hemp and mustard should also be cultivated on a wide scale. Just the seed from hemp amounts to 600 kilogrammes per hectare. This is a very good crop since oil is pressed from the seeds and fibre is obtained from the stems.

Such high-yield crops as rice and maize should be planted on a big scale in the lower-lying areas of Ryanggang Province.

Needless to say, the principle of sowing the right crop on the right kind of soil should be thoroughly observed in the lower zones also. Rice paddies should not be developed thoughtlessly in zones unfit for rice cultivation simply to expand the area of rice paddies—as happened at the Amnokgang Cooperative Farm. This farm spent two years turning a wide tract of dry fields into paddy fields without making a proper analysis of the soil, and another two years restoring them to

their original state. The upshot of all this was that no crop was properly raised for four years. As you can imagine, the loss was enormous.

However, it is a good idea to prepare more paddy fields in the areas where rice does grow well. In the same way, more paddy fields should be prepared wherever rice grows well in Kapsan and Samsu Counties. If rice fields are prepared, we can supply as many water pumps as necessary.

Along with rice and maize, wheat and barley should be widely planted in the lower-lying areas. Beans should likewise be raised on a bigger scale, and great efforts should be made to improve the seeds so as to turn out over one ton of beans per hectare.

A large area of big mustard should also be planted in Ryanggang Province. Its leaves are eaten as a side dish, and oil and mustard can be produced from its seeds. Even if you get only 600 kilogrammes of its seeds from one hectare, this is still a better crop than rape. The wide cultivation of big mustard at cooperative farms after further study of cultivation methods will contribute greatly to the living standard of the people in this district.

Another point is that seed selection should be done well.

Good farming is impossible without proper seed selection. Experience shows that good seed obtained through proper selection can bring about a 16 to 30 per cent increase in the harvest.

At present, however, seed selection is carried out poorly, and the preservation and care of seeds is also neglected in Ryanggang Province.

As is the case with all areas, and Ryanggang Province in particular, it will not do to sow just any seed that comes to hand. There is no instance in the plains of a complete crop failure due to the use of somewhat inferior seed, even though it may cause some decrease in the harvest. But in Ryanggang Province, a highland area, if seeds are even slightly inferior, crop failure will be complete because the plants will simply not ripen. Therefore, no matter what happens, seeds suitable for this area should be kept in store—even if it means that food has to be brought in from other provinces in case of shortages. Only then will

you be able to do farming on a predictable basis.

In the future, a system of seed selection should be thoroughly established in Ryanggang Province. Each cooperative farm should set up its own seed plot separately and should carry out the seed selection on a large scale with the help of technicians. And a strict system of preservation and care of seeds should be established, under which seeds are sterilized, stored in a definite place and distributed at the time they are needed.

The provincial rural economy committee should take concrete steps to implement these measures with the assistance of the Agricultural Commission and of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee.

Agricultural mechanization in Ryanggang Province should also be energetically pushed forward.

Ryanggang Province has more land under cultivation for each peasant household than other provinces. In Phungsan County, for instance, there is an average of 3.5 to 4 hectares of cultivated land to each peasant household. So supposing that each household has two work hands, it amounts to 1.7 to 2 hectares per work hand. This is quite a large area of land. For this reason, seeds are not planted in time and autumn harvesting falls behind for lack of manpower in Ryanggang Province. This has a decisive effect on crop yields.

In order to ease the shortage of manpower, it is first and foremost necessary to mechanize all farm work.

It is said that in Ryanggang Province mechanization can be introduced on 30,000 out of 90,000 hectares of cultivated land. When mechanization is applied fully to just this area alone, the problem of one-third of the farmland will be settled. When the area which is already mechanized and which is under direct state management is added to these 30,000 hectares, the total area under mechanization will reach 40,000 hectares.

When this is accomplished, the rest of the ploughed land can be fully coped with by the rural labour force, and such farm work as sowing and harvesting can also be done at the appropriate times.

Moreover, if factory and office workers and students in the province are mobilized and render some assistance in sowing and harvesting, the manpower shortage will, as in other provinces, cease to be a big problem.

However, you do not turn your attention to mechanizing agriculture. Some comrades, having failed to eliminate methodless traditional farming habits in the mountain areas, even regard mechanization as a nuisance.

No doubt, many complex problems will crop up in mechanizing agriculture in Ryanggang Province. It will require a mastery of techniques, the construction of machines suitable for the specific conditions of this region, the development of plots and the construction of new roads. But we can no longer continue to farm with manual labour alone.

The disposition to farm casually without machinery is a manifestation of obsolete ideas. Unless a struggle is waged against these manifestations, it will be impossible to introduce farm mechanization in Ryanggang Province. You must realize that the work of mechanizing agriculture involves an ideological struggle, and try to expand the area of land under mechanized farming to the maximum by employing every available means.

Steps must be taken to ensure that crops which are difficult to cultivate by machines are planted in those fields where the immediate introduction of mechanization would in any case be hard, while crops the cultivation of which lends itself to mechanization are planted in the fields where mechanized operations can be introduced easily.

At present you grow flax in flat lands, utilizing primitive methods. This being so, it would be better to plant flax in areas where mechanization would be difficult, and to use the flat lands as much as possible for the planting of crops the cultivation of which can be easily mechanized. Of course, I do not mean to say that flax cultivation should not be mechanized. In the future, suitable machines for flax should also be made and, as a result, its cultivation mechanized.

Potato cultivation should also be mechanized. This is possible

without the need for any new invention or special research, since there is already foreign experience in this matter. All that is required is to study the potato planters and harvesters that have already been built and copy them.

With a little more research and effort, it should be quite possible to cultivate such crops as wheat, barley and oats by machine.

Even if we began to mechanize agriculture in Ryanggang Province, we could not mechanize all farm operations at once. However, if even just ploughing, weeding and harvesting are mechanized while sowing remains a manual chore, farming will have become much easier than it is now, and it will be possible to do all farm work in season.

In order to mechanize agriculture, the state should supply a large number of tractors and other kinds of farm machines suitable for work under the geographical conditions of this region. Ryanggang Province has 500 tractors at present and has asked for only 400 more. It is well within our power to provide them. Tractor repair centres should also be properly established so that repairs can be managed within the province itself. Such things as trailer farm machines should be manufactured and supplied by other provinces.

However, the trailer farm machines used for potato cultivation should be made in the province itself. Other provinces do not cultivate potatoes on a large scale and, therefore, have little concern for the trailed equipment used for this purpose and are reluctant to do research on it. So you should naturally tackle this job by yourselves.

It would be good to assign to the Agronomical Research Institute those who are doing research on the farm machines needed for cultivating crops like potatoes and flax. The machines designed at the institute should for the present be manufactured at our existing farm machinery factories, but measures should be taken to manufacture them within the province itself in the future.

Animal-drawn machines should also be actively employed. Ryanggang Province has an abundance of cattle and, therefore, it can make wide use of animal-drawn sowers, weeders, harvesters and the like, manufacturing them in large quantities. Ox carts, too, should be

made in large numbers, but where carts cannot pass, loads should be carried on the backs of oxen. If draught animals are widely used in this way, the problem of haulage, which is a drag on farm work, can also be solved to a considerable extent.

An important thing in transport is to rationalize the utilization of trucks. If trucks are used more efficiently on the basis of a correct annual transport plan and proper organizational work, the existing fleet of trucks will be sufficient to cope with the task of hauling. But if the number of trucks in the service of agriculture in the province really turns out, upon more detailed investigation, to be insufficient, more should be supplied.

The work of land conservation and land improvement should be conducted properly.

Although it is said that Ryanggang Province has a large land area, actually it does not have a very big area of low lands fertile enough to cultivate even a limited amount of maize. It is therefore particularly important to carefully conserve and fully utilize the land in the lower areas.

Since you do not carry on land conservation properly, what little fertile land there is in the lower areas is eroded in places. There were many good lands in the environs of the Phungsan county town, but most of them were washed away by the floods last year. In Kapsan County, too, a large area of fertile land was completely lost. If you continue neglecting conservation like this, all the fertile land will be lost and, in the end, only poor land will remain in Ryanggang Province.

It is necessary for Ryanggang Province to follow the examples of Changsong and Pukchong Counties. When the chairman of the Changsong County Party Committee was assigned to work there, I gave him, as his primary task, the careful conservation of the good land in the lower areas of the county to prevent even a handful of soil from being washed away by floods, since the county has very little fertile land. Upon his arrival in the county, he set about building an embankment, getting up at five o'clock in the morning and personally carrying stones in an A-frame carrier on his back. With the county

Party committee chairman taking the initiative in this way, even the hospital nurses, to say nothing of the county Party committee officials, began to turn out to help build the embankment. As a result, land conservation in Changsong County today is effective and, although small in area, the land is efficiently utilized for rice paddies.

As I observed on my present trip to Phungsan, a fine job has also been done in land conservation and land development in Pukchong County. Pukchong has not a very large land area either. Its people, however, farm what limited land they have efficiently. Traditionally, fine apples are harvested in Pukchong because its inhabitants cultivate orchards with skill. Good management of orchards reflects a high degree of farming know-how. The people of Pukchong have already restored all the land which was devastated by the flood of the Namdae River in 1957.

While the people of Pukchong work their land so well, the people of Phungsan, just over the hill, manage their land carelessly. Why? The reason is that the senior officials there show small concern for the work of land conservation and make no effort to carry it out.

Party organizations and the agricultural officials in Ryanggang Province should draw a profound lesson from this and direct their efforts towards land conservation. Not even a handful of earth must be allowed to be washed away by floods.

A great deal should be done in the way of land improvement also. It must be admitted that the land is more sterile in Ryanggang Province than in other provinces. But it is wrong to complain day and night of the poor land, instead of trying to improve the soil. From olden times it has been said that there is no bad land for a diligent farmer. That is totally correct. The more assiduously people care for land, the better it will become.

As everybody knows, our country has a limited area of cultivated land, while its population is large. Therefore, we cannot under any circumstances abandon land just because it is poor. Land should be turned to good account and the poor soil should be transformed into a fertile soil. Soil should be scorched, fields should be carpeted with new

soil and plenty of lime should be applied to acid soils. And swamp land should also be improved.

At present, Ryanggang Province has 3,700 hectares of swamp land. If ditches are dug and the area drained, and if the land is levelled up a little, it can all be turned into good land. In order to obtain more land the state is even reclaiming tideland with an investment of tens of millions of *won*. Why, then, should we abandon swamp land which can be turned into usable land provided it is drained and well cared for?

All farmland in Ryanggang Province should be made fertile through effective soil improvement work.

Now, I should like to speak of livestock breeding.

As has been extensively mentioned in the speeches at this meeting, the development of livestock breeding requires, first of all, the reorganization of the work of the state agricultural and livestock farms, as well as the specialized management of stock farms.

At present, livestock breeding is not going well nor is crop growing in good shape, because these activities are carried on together on the same farm. For that reason, the crop farm should be separated from the state agricultural and livestock farm, and stockbreeding should be specialized. It would be advisable to allot about 200 to 300 hectares of land to the stock farm for fodder cultivation, and organize a state crop farm with the rest of the land, or else turn the land over to a cooperative farm.

And it would be good for each stock farm to specialize in one species of livestock. At present, pigs, cows, rabbits, and other domestic animals are raised together on one stock farm, with the result that none of them are bred well. Only specialization in different domestic animals will make it possible for us to obtain a wealth of detailed knowledge about each species and to steadily improve breeding methods. The experience of other countries also shows that the specialized raising of one species is more advantageous than raising different species on the same farm.

Rabbits and domestic fowl should be raised in large numbers around Hyesan, where pasture land is limited. You had better set up

specialized rabbit and chicken farms in Hyesan and, if possible, a specialized goose farm as well. It would also be possible to set up a specialized poultry farm, breeding both geese and chickens if they can be raised together. These measures would ensure that the people of Hyesan would be supplied with plenty of chicken, rabbit meat and goose.

In addition, other stock farms in the province with extensive pasture land should specialize in the raising of livestock such as cows and sheep.

Quick fattening methods should not be applied to cows or sheep being raised on the stock farms with grazing land, but should be used in the rabbit or poultry farms around Hyesan, even if the state has to supply those farms with some extra feed for the purpose. The introduction of this method makes it possible to produce large quantities of meat in a short span of time.

Farm No. 5 is the oldest state farm in our country, so it is preferable to leave it as it is without dividing it into a stock farm and a crop farm. There should, however, be a strict review of its manpower situation. Many of the dependents of the farm employees, we are told, are now idling away their time, not doing anything; they all should be given work. Dependents should be employed, for example, in the potato starch mill and, in turn, a large number of men should be released from there and transferred to farm work.

Livestock breeding on the cooperative farms should also be properly organized.

On the cooperative farms, the stock-raising teams should not work on a large comprehensive scale; they should limit themselves to raising breeding animals and distributing the young. Emphasis should be laid on small-scale collective raising, with the workteam as the basic unit. A workteam should raise no more than 30 head of cattle at the most and about 100 to 100 head of sheep.

At the same time, the cooperative farms should give every household domestic animals to raise. In our country, where pasture land is limited, it is a good idea for each household to raise domestic

animals.

Cattle, however, should not be distributed to every household. As for sheep, we can give one to each household.

In this way, every farm household should raise one sheep, one or two pigs and about 30 chickens.

Grass-eating animals such as sheep, cattle and rabbits should be raised in large numbers in Ryanggang Province, a mountainous zone.

Since you have not said a word about rabbits at this meeting, it appears you are not interested in them; yet, in fact, rabbit breeding would bring you plenty of meat with a small expenditure of feed. If rabbits are fattened fast, one kilogramme of meat can be obtained for one kilogramme of grain. That is why, at present, a large number of rabbit farms are being run in other countries as well.

Poultry should also be raised on a large scale.

In animal husbandry today it is the tendency throughout the world to raise chickens extensively instead of pigs. Documentation from other countries shows that they are raising chickens on a vast scale.

Mass chicken raising is by no means new to us. Koreans have been well-known chicken raisers since olden times.

Chickens are easy to raise and consume very little feed. With 2.3 to 2.5 tons of assorted feed, we can produce one ton of chicken meat.

Right now we will not give you specific target figures for the development of livestock breeding. As for sheep, you had better strive to bring the total up to 100,000 by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

2. ON THE TIMBER INDUSTRY

Ryanggang Province is the richest timber area in our country. Our Party, therefore, has devoted special attention to the development of the timber industry in this region. The creation of Ryanggang Province was aimed primarily at developing the timber industry here on a large scale.

The Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee, however, has not paid due attention to the development of the timber industry in the past. Its worst failing is that it gives poor Party guidance to the timber industry, as is the case also with other economic activities in the province.

Instead of managing the timber industry, the provincial Party committee presses the lumber stations to turn out large quantities of timber and gives them a dressing down when they fail to fulfil their targets.

In particular, the committee neglects its work with the cadres in the timber industry. Since it has not taught and trained the cadres in the timber industry, and has confined itself to simply keeping tabs on them, the personnel in this field are now of extremely poor quality. A considerable part of the personnel in the timber industry is ignorant of the economics of forestry; they do not know how to handle machines in their own speciality and do not even know how to organize manpower correctly. This being the case, it is only natural that things are not going well with the timber industry.

Party guidance in the timber industry must be strengthened. For that purpose, it is necessary, first of all, to enhance the role of the timber industry department of the provincial Party committee and, meanwhile, radically step up the management of the enterprises in the timber industry by the county Party committees.

On the ground that lumber stations are second-grade enterprises, the county Party committees do not work with them at all at present, nor do they give any direction to lumber camps or felling teams. This is an organizational mistake. The county Party committees ought to work with the lumber stations and assume direct responsibility for managing the lumber camps and felling teams in the counties.

To this end, we must set up a timber industry department in the county Party committee or else increase the number of instructors in the organizational or information department in the future, so that they can direct the Party organizations in the lumber camps and felling teams, intensifying political work among the workers in this field. In this context, it would also be advisable for the Party organization of the

lumber station, as a primary Party organization confined to the station alone, to be placed under the direct leadership of the county Party committee.

In particular, the Party organizations should, in a decisive way, step up their work with cadres in the timber industry. You should organize short courses frequently for leadership personnel of the timber industry, starting with the managers, chief engineers and deputy managers, in order to educate them in the Party's policies and equip them with economic knowledge and technical know-how; they should always be given active help and systematic education at the work sites themselves so that they can do their jobs properly.

In addition, the Party organizations should orient the lumber stations properly so that they will concentrate on the lumber camps, the units which direct the felling teams.

The rotational method should be introduced into the timber industry on a large scale.

The introduction of the rotational method is good in many ways. Firstly, it makes it possible to concentrate the use of manpower, equipment and funds, rather than disperse them, and also to minimize disruption of the lives of the lumberjacks. And the introduction of this method gives us the possibility of increasing the sense of responsibility of the workers, eliminating speculation in the timber industry and, instead, producing timber in a planned way, since it allows them to plant, grow and cut trees, regarding the particular area of the forest in which they are working as their own workshops. All the lumber stations should therefore adopt the rotational method.

You should make more efficient use of machinery and equipment in the timber industry.

At present, the utilization of machinery and equipment in the timber industry in Ryanggang Province is very scant. Though there are scores of tractors, their rate of utilization is only 30 per cent. Even at the Yuphyong Lumber Station, where things are said to be best, only 11 out of 36 tractors, 12 out of 32 sawing machines and 5 out of 15 locomotives are in operation. Since this is the situation where things

are said to be going well, after a fashion, it is quite obvious that it must be worse elsewhere. This is a very serious matter.

With such a low rate of utilization of equipment, no country can get along, however great its economic potential may be. The senior officials in the timber industry should be totally aware that they are responsible for the extremely low rate of utilization of machinery and equipment.

To increase the utilization of machinery and equipment in the timber industry we must first step up technical studies.

One of the main causes of the present inefficient operation and underutilization of machinery and equipment in this sector is precisely that the technical level of the workers is low. We must, therefore, give them technological training.

Some people still consider technology to be something mysterious but they need not. A mechanic does not fall from heaven or spring up from the earth. Anyone who puts his heart into acquiring technical skills will be able to handle machinery and become an excellent mechanic.

As I have often said, all the People's Army men, from commanders down to privates, endeavour to be skilled in the use of their weapons. In the timber industry as well, technical studies should be intensified among everyone concerned, from management personnel down to the workers, so that they are familiar with the machines and equipment in their respective fields and that they can handle them skilfully.

Along with this, we should strive even more to handle our machinery and equipment with great care.

No matter how good the machines and equipment supplied by the state may be, they soon become unserviceable if they are used carelessly. Operating machines and equipment without proper care represents a survival of the obsolete capitalist ideology. In capitalist society, since all machinery and equipment belong to the capitalists, it is natural for workers to mishandle them. But, in a socialist society, all machinery and equipment belong to the working class and the people, and must be taken good care of.

The Party organizations must strengthen ideological and educational work among the officials and workers in the forestry sector so that they handle machinery and equipment with as great care as they would their own property, and must build up the ranks of the tractor drivers with good people and increase their sense of responsibility.

In the timber industry as in other sectors of the national economy, you should keep enough spare parts in stock for more than three months of normal use, and carry on the repair and maintenance of machinery and equipment on a planned basis. Only by doing so, is it possible to lengthen the service life of machinery and equipment, while at the same time increasing their rate of utilization.

We should also make our own efforts to manufacture more machines for the timber industry; more state attention should be directed to the production of items such as power saws and winches; and we must adequately build up machine-repair facilities for the timber industry. It would be advisable for the state to organize a committee for establishing repair facilities similar to those in the mining industry. This committee should set up a medium-sized repair station at each lumber station and a major facility in such central areas as Hyesan or Paegam.

Furthermore, it is necessary to make rational use of our waterways for the timber industry.

Long ago, we set ourselves the important task of making good use of waterways for timber transportation. I emphasized the importance of this problem at the 1954 national meeting of activists in the timber industry.

As you all know, there are favourable conditions for rafting timber on the rivers in the mountainous areas of our country. Our rivers are fast-flowing because the valleys are steep, and they swell during the spring thaw and during the rainy season in July and August. A considerable amount of timber can therefore be floated from the timber collection sites when the rivers are in flood.

The use of water power in timber transport benefits the state considerably because it makes work easier and saves a lot of

manpower, materials and money. Recently, I saw timber being rafted at Rimyongsu. If such a large amount of timber which is floated down at a single time were to be carried by train, it would take a lot of time to load and unload it, a lot of coal and many freight cars. But rafting timber needs no special equipment, coal or gasoline.

Timber industry workers, therefore, should, in keeping with Party policy, widely employ the method of floating timber down the rivers. To this end, the water-courses concerned should be improved in good time and dams firmly reinforced with concrete so that they will not burst. And timber-raft technicians must be trained in great numbers at the University of Agriculture and Forestry. It would be advisable to give students not only a knowledge of machinery for the timber industry but also to give, as part of the curriculum, a course on the scientific and technical fundamentals of waterway usage in forestry.

If timber rafting is to be successful, we must draw a large number of young people and ex-servicemen into this field. At present, most of the raftsmen are old—their average age is something like 47. This fact stands in the way of the development of the swift rafting of timber.

Formerly, the majority of the workers in the fishing industry were also old, so our Party called upon the young people to enter that industry in large numbers. This led to a great renovation of the fishing industry. There will certainly be a great renovation of timber rafting if large numbers of young men and ex-soldiers take up this field of work.

In addition, we must improve the supply of labour protection and safety equipment for workers in the timber industry.

At present, the supply of labour protection and safety equipment for the workers in this field is insufficient. On the grounds of economizing, the workers are provided with undersized boots, vinyl raincoats and padded clothing made from staple fibre fabrics. The work in the mountains and the trek back to camp soon wears out their clothes. For this reason, they cannot work properly.

This is not due to insufficient supplies on the part of the state. Enough cloth and sufficient funds for boots have been provided by the state. Failure to supply adequate labour protection and safety

equipment indicates that some officials still have an incorrect view of the timber workers.

In fact, saving on labour protection and safety equipment did not benefit the state in the least. The workers might have felled many trees but they have failed to increase production due to the fact that they were supplied with carelessly-made clothing and boots which afforded no protection against the cold in winter. The “saving” actually caused a loss to the state.

If the lumbermen are to work well, they should first be supplied with durable boots and warm clothing. To solve this problem, we must set up a special factory in Ryanggang Province to produce clothes exclusively for the lumbermen.

This is not so difficult a task. There are many clothing factories in Ryanggang Province, and we could simply assign one of them to specialize in the production of clothing and boots for the lumbermen. Thus, this factory must draw up plans to standardize the size of boots, the style and thickness of clothing and the method of sewing, and it should bring up these plans for discussion with the workers, whose views it should take fully into account, so that it can provide suitable clothing for forestry workers in a responsible manner.

Heavy-duty raincoats should be supplied to the lumberjacks. For this, we should have a special factory producing these raincoats designed for their needs. At present, Ryanggang Province is not in a position to produce even raincoats on its own, so I think it would be better to build a factory in Hamhung or Chongjin to manufacture them exclusively for forestry and fishing workers.

Furthermore, we should improve the processing of timber and increase the utilization of our forest resources.

I have discovered that, since my previous visit, you have cut down on timber wastage to a considerable degree. The Wiyon Sawmill, for instance, has introduced mechanization on a large scale, and is manufacturing dining tables and other everyday necessities in large quantities, by making use of leftover slabs of wood. This is a very good thing.

However, the level of timber processing is far short of the demands of the Party. In particular, the wastage of timber has not been eliminated as yet.

In the Hyesan Kraft Paper Mill good logs are irrationally used as pulpwood. We built the factory in Hyesan in order to make use of Ryanggang Province's abundant source of treetops. If we are going to make kraft from good logs, why did we build the factory in Hyesan instead of building it in Pyongyang where there are a large number of technicians and the prospect of expert management? The personnel of the factory say that they are using logs because treetops are in short supply. The timber industry should make itself responsible for rectifying this.

The provincial Party committee and the city and county Party committees must strive to develop timber processing further and, in particular, to make good use of treetops and leftover slabs.

To begin with, the felling and sawing sectors should make the best possible use of treetops and slabs to turn out greater quantities of goods needed for the people.

The lumber mill is fully capable of making furniture and other articles of everyday use by effective utilization of waste materials. If it is impossible to make finished goods in certain places, you could produce semi-finished goods and assemble them elsewhere. Take a dining table, for example. It can be assembled after making the legs in one place and the tabletop in another.

And treetops must be used in considerable quantities in the paper mills. As you mentioned yesterday in your speeches, you can produce as much paper as necessary by using ground pulp made of treetops and drying or freezing it. Efforts should therefore be made to supply the paper mills with sufficient tops.

To continue. It is necessary to improve forest conservation and reforestation work.

The Party organizations of Ryanggang Province are confronted with the important task of properly protecting and assuring the healthy growth of forests, an invaluable natural resource for our country. As

you well know, most of the forest resources of our country are found in Ryanggang Province. Virgin forests are found only in Ryanggang and North Hamgyong Provinces. If you simply fell and make use of timber, without conserving forests and planting trees, all our forest resources will become exhausted before long.

Forests are a valuable natural resource for the country. Timber is needed in all branches of the economy, including construction and industry. At present, we rely on wood for more than 50 per cent of our raw fibre materials, and the different kinds of paper, including kraft, are made from wood. It can be said that forests are equivalent to silk and paper. You must, therefore, make active efforts for conservation and reforestation.

The prevention of forest fires is most important in preserving our forests. Once an accidental forest fire breaks out, a great deal of wood is sure to be lost. Of course, trees may be planted again after the forest fire. But it would take us 100 years to create a forest belt by planting trees.

At present, however, insufficient attention is paid to forest conservation work in Ryanggang Province. Though traffic is brisk on the road leading to Mt. Paektu, not a single sign of “Care For Your Forests” or “Avoid Causing Forest Fires” is found there.

It is true that putting up a sign is a mere formality. But effective use of signs may increase the vigilance of people. At the sight of a sign a person just about to have a smoke may refrain from lighting up.

At present, in Ryanggang Province many airplanes are regularly sent on the lookout for forest fires. But fire watches alone are not enough.

In order to prevent forest fires it is necessary to thoroughly imbue the entire population in the province with the idea of preserving the forests. Education in forest protection must be stepped up in the Party organizations and all other organizations—the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League, the Women’s Union, the Children’s Union, schools, kindergartens, people’s neighbourhood units, homes, etc. In this way, all the inhabitants of Ryanggang Province should be taught

from childhood to acquire the daily habit of forestry preservation and of taking precautions to prevent forest fires.

At the same time, fire-fighting corps should be organized to fight forest fires as soon as they break out, and firebreaks should be created in the villages and in the county towns.

In order to conserve forests well and ensure their healthy growth you must effectively combat damage by blight or harmful insects. Firstly, you should prohibit the wilful snaring of useful insectivores. Secondly, you should spot in good time any ravages of blight and insect pests and regularly spray the forests with pesticides.

The practice of wilfully clear-cutting forest areas and burning them to obtain farmland should be controlled. It is more profitable to plant trees and create forests of economic value—timber forests or fibre forests—than to open up such areas in the mountains. With the exception of plots being opened up due to the pressing needs of the state, there should not be a single such area.

Along with the work of forest conservation, the work of planting trees and forests should be carried out in an all-people movement. For this it is necessary to enhance the role of the reforestation teams that have been organized at the cooperative farms. It is advisable for the provincial Party committee to sum up the work of the reforestation teams and call a meeting. In the future you should make a point of reviewing this work each year and awarding a prize and good clothes to those who have done their work efficiently.

3. ON LOCAL INDUSTRY

In locally-run industry, in keeping with the policy already set forth by our Party, the locally available raw materials and other resources should be used on a huge scale, and the necessities of the local areas should be taken adequately into account. Only then can we tap all the abundant reserves latent in the different localities and satisfactorily meet the diverse needs of the people.

Ryanggang Province is enormously rich in raw materials which lend themselves to the development of local industry. Local industrial development will increase the incomes of the working people and greatly benefit the state through correct utilization of the flax, timber and wild fruits which are abundant in this area.

First of all, by processing flax at the right time, Ryanggang Province should produce large quantities of linen. At present a lot of flax is ruined due to untimely processing; this must not continue. The flax mills must not spoil flax but process it at the appropriate time, making it possible thereby to turn out greater quantities of good-quality linen fabric for the people.

In local industry, too, treetops should be extensively used to make wooden products such as daily necessities and toys, as well as ground pulp to produce plenty of paper. Flax scraps and fibre odds and ends should not be used as fuel but rather collected for paper-making.

In particular, the locally-run factories in Ryanggang Province should produce substantial quantities of winter clothes for the population. As everybody knows, Ryanggang Province is the coldest region in our country, where winter lasts almost seven months. In this region, therefore, it is important, before anything else, to prepare well for the winter.

But it seems that because many people from warm areas have settled in Ryanggang Province, preparations are only made for summer while preparations for the winter are neglected. This means that the people have no option but to shiver with cold in winter. This must not continue.

You must definitely solve the problem of winter clothes for the provincial population. In order to do this, local factories should first produce and supply more and better winter clothes, footwear and caps.

Along with this, everyone should fully prepare their clothes for the winter. The state will take definite measures, but you must economize and save money in summer to buy winter clothes for yourselves.

Another important question is the efficient processing of blueberries and other wild fruits.

Blueberries are well-known local speciality of Ryanggang Province. If you make wine or syrup by processing blueberries properly, they will be highly popular and you will increase your income considerably.

At present, Ryanggang Province has fine factories but processing is inadequate. In the future, technical direction should be given to the fruit processing plants so that they can work on wild fruits better.

In Phungsan County, for instance, there are plenty of willows. A large number of wicker trunks should be produced with their twig.

Let me make some brief remarks about geological prospecting.

Ryanggang Province has enormous mineral resources. However, because geological prospecting has been poorly conducted, it can be said that Ryanggang Province still remains virgin land in this sphere. The Party organizations at all levels in the province should work closely with the geological prospecting corps so that more mineral resources can be exploited.

II. ON PARTY WORK

Over the past years, there has been some progress in the work of the Party organizations in Ryanggang Province, but many shortcomings still exist. The main defect in Party work is that bureaucracy and subjectivism are in great evidence, and the Party's mass line is not thoroughly implemented.

Of course, today is not the first time we have talked about this defect.

When we came here in 1958, we set down as an important task of the Party organizations in Ryanggang Province the need to put an end to bureaucracy and subjectivism in Party work and to work properly with cadres and the masses. But you have not adequately carried out this task assigned by the Party. The chief reason why none of the work

in the economic field—and that includes agriculture, the timber industry and local industry—has been successfully done in Ryanggang Province lies precisely in the fact that Party work is not done well.

Bureaucracy and subjectivism in Party work manifest themselves most seriously in work with cadres. As we have always emphasized, the work with cadres is the first and foremost task of the Party committee. Adequate work with them is a prerequisite for the success of all work. What we mean by work with cadres is constantly helping them to work well, giving them systematic education and training, while, at the same time, understanding them and observing them at all times and selecting and promoting competent cadres.

However, the Party organizations in Ryanggang Province, instead of educating and training cadres, expel them thoughtlessly, alleging that they have slipped up in their work, and even dismiss, under some pretext or other, those who are fully capable of doing their work well if given a little assistance.

It is no accident that at present many officials in the province are anxious, dispirited and fearful of their superiors. Even when directives inappropriate to actual conditions are given from above, they grudgingly comply with them, fearing that if they do not, they will be dismissed. Even when they totally neglect to do something, they cover up by falsely reporting that they have done it. They only weed and fertilize the land closest to the road, they begin harvest in the fields most visible to an observer and then make false reports that everything is finished. The pressure to report high yields is so strong that they have gone so far as to add rotten potatoes to the total yield in their reports to higher bodies.

If work with cadres is conducted as is done by you comrades, they will never be able to display creative initiative or carry out their revolutionary tasks properly.

The Party organizations must try to keep cadres in their jobs as long as possible, and avoid removing them thoughtlessly. It would be a grave mistake to think that things will go well if cadres are removed, simply because they have some defects, and new persons are promoted

to their posts. A proverb in our country goes, “The good nature of a man’s first daughter-in-law is only appreciated when he has his second one.” This proverb is precisely applicable to you.

However often you may replace cadres with new persons, you will be unable to find any who are faultless when they begin. Most of our cadres are of worker, peasant or intellectual origin who have had no experience in exercising state power and managing a large-scale economy in the past. It is therefore quite natural that their competence is limited. In addition, survivals of the old ideas, carried over from the exploiter society of the past, persist in the minds of our personnel. For this reason, some of those who until yesterday were engaged in farm work and today are cadres are apt to become pompous and throw their weight around. Yet, if we dismiss them simply because they are useless, we should have to conclude that there is not a single man who is capable of doing his work. Needless to say, we cannot tolerate those who betray our Party and oppose the state. But as long as they do not do so, we should not indiscriminately dismiss or expel cadres on the grounds that they have some shortcomings in their work.

Also, we should see to it that cadres stay in the same jobs for five to ten years. A county Party committee chairman, for instance, should be retained at his post for ten years, at least. In this way, the cadres should be assured conditions that permit them to make a profound study of their tasks, calmly and deliberately.

Our Party officials should sincerely teach and assist the cadres of the government organs and all the cadres working in the economic sectors, including agriculture, the timber industry and mining. They should constantly educate them so that they can avoid making mistakes. This does not in any way mean that cadres must not be criticized. When cadres do not do their work properly, we must criticize them right away. Criticism is a natural method for training personnel.

Criticism should be offered not as a prelude to dismissing personnel but so as to make better people out of them. All personnel should thus be properly trained to correct their mistakes themselves, without fear

of criticism.

Besides, the Party officials should learn to care for the cadres, be kind to them and have regard for their opinions. If the Party officials simply reprimand cadres, act severely towards them and ignore their opinions, then nobody will approach the Party organizations willingly and inform them of how things really stand. This will inevitably lead to subjectivism in Party work and make it impossible for the Party organizations to play their role properly.

Our Party officials should be as kind to cadres as a mother is to her children, always taking an interest in them, both in and out of work, and promptly understand and help to untie any problems they may have.

They must be attentive to suggestions by the cadres. Low-echelon cadres consider their views from many angles before they present them. Their views, therefore, must not be flatly rejected but rather studied carefully on the spot. If their ideas prove correct, you must support them and actively help to implement them. Even if their ideas do not conform to the facts and are incorrect, you must patiently explain this to the proponents so that they can understand why. Only in this way will all cadres come to the Party committee of their own accord and talk openly about the problems that have arisen in their work, or even about their private affairs.

By valuing the cadres, teaching them and helping them properly in this way, we should train them into being excellent people who use their brains in their work, actively advance creative ideas and carry out their assignments independently—not people who are only forced to do what is ordered.

The Party organizations in Ryanggang Province must do away with subjectivism and bureaucratism not only in their work with cadres but also with the masses, and thoroughly put into practice the Party's mass line.

Unless we rely on the masses and win them over, we cannot translate the Party's policies into reality, nor can we successfully push ahead with our revolutionary tasks. The implementation of the mass

line is the fundamental guarantee for victory in the revolution and construction. That is why our Party has consistently underlined the need to carry through the mass line.

In the past, our guerrillas emerged victorious in the 15-year-long struggle against the formidable Japanese imperialists because they, following the slogan, “As fish cannot live without water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people,” always relied upon the people, maintained ties of kinship with them and enjoyed their active support.

If we are to implement the Party’s mass line, we must first listen to the demands of the masses and work energetically to defend their interests. Whenever you have to deal with a problem, you must always take into consideration beforehand the effect it will have on the interests of the people.

Many officials in Ryanggang Province, however, are working in a subjective way without accepting the opinions of the masses and without paying heed to whether or not they are liked by the masses; they dare to infringe upon the interests of the masses. In fact, you use a deluge of words, stressing the need to carry through the mass line, talking about the Chongsanri spirit, the Chongsanri method and the Taean work system, but you put none of these concepts into practice.

In Kapsan County, working on the idea of securing an area sown with potatoes, and disregarding what the peasants thought, the leading personnel gave instructions to grow potatoes on fertile land which had been cultivated with other crops for several hundred years. This seriously affected farming. Previously in Unhung County, too, in July when the potato planting season was over, the peasants were told to plough up the fields where crops had already been planted in order to sow potatoes, on the grounds that 400 hectares of potato plots were still not secured. We are told that when the peasants said that potatoes planted in July would fail, the leading personnel forced them to go ahead with the project, ranting at them for their lack of Party spirit.

When we previously gave directions to the Party organization of Chongsan-ri, Kangso County, we severely criticized the actions of the

leadership, who turned a deaf ear to the views of peasants, dictated to them in a bureaucratic way and thus brought about failures in farming. The leading personnel here, however, have drawn no lesson from that criticism and still persist in such practices. It is for this reason that farming has shown no positive results and that the Party's policies cannot be correctly implemented.

Moreover, in Ryanggang Province, the leadership personnel forced the peasants to root out the maize in their kitchen gardens on the grounds that they should have planted potatoes or flax; they even compelled them to sell the meagre amount of potatoes reaped from their kitchen gardens to the state using the pretext that they were "grain crops". Where on earth can we find a more bureaucratic act than this? Nobody can feel satisfied if you act in that way.

What is worse, people are not allowed to breed dogs in Ryanggang Province. This is of course not the first time I have mentioned this matter. When we visited the district of Kimchaek, North Hamgyong Province, in 1958, we sharply criticized the leading officials there for having forbidden the breeding of dogs on the grounds that it was not hygienic. And this time in Samjiyon County, we heard the same thing from personnel there. Some comrades alleged that they did so because dogs got mad and bit people. When a dog goes mad, it should be destroyed, but why should the breeding of healthy dogs be prohibited?

No matter how obedient the people of Samsu and Kapsan may be, they certainly will not feel too happy if you continue to harass them, telling them to plant potatoes in swamps, do away with rice paddies, root out maize in the kitchen gardens, sell to the state all the potatoes cultivated there and give up their dogs. What difference is there between your actions and those of government officials in the old feudal days or at the time of Japanese imperialist rule? If you continue to work in this way, you will become even more divorced from the masses and unable to carry out the tasks confronting Ryanggang Province.

Besides, there are many other instances which show your subjective and bureaucratic way of working. As was mentioned in your speeches

yesterday, you work out plans at a desk in a subjective way, instead of going among the masses, and then impose them on subordinates in a bureaucratic manner. So it is obvious that such plans cannot properly be put into practice.

Present here today are the officials of the provincial Party committee and chairmen of the county Party committees and the ri Party committees. You must know the serious consequences of the subjective and bureaucratic practices you have used in your work in the past, and must not repeat such errors.

Our Party's policies for agriculture, the timber industry and all other sectors of the economy of Ryanggang Province are all correct. But, however good the Party's policy may be and however much the measures for its implementation are discussed, that policy cannot be put into practice successfully if the personnel responsible for applying it work in a bureaucratic way and fail to carry through the mass line of the Party.

The Party organizations of Ryanggang Province, therefore, must completely rid themselves of subjectivism and bureaucracy in their work and strive with renewed vigour to carry through the mass line of the Party. All cadres must regard it as an iron rule in their work to champion the masses' interests, and they must go among the masses, listen to what they say, explain to them and persuade them, and vigorously arouse their voluntary enthusiasm and creative initiative. This is precisely what is meant by the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method and it is the basic requisite of the Taean work system.

You cannot keep alive the honour of living in the revolutionary battleground which is dyed with the red blood of the Korean communists, by simply putting up showy slogans or signboards or building a museum of the revolution. You must uphold this honour through actual deeds, by carrying through our Party's mass line in a more exemplary way than any other province, following the example of the revolutionary fighters. Only by doing so, will you be worthy of living in this area of revolutionary battles.

Now, I should like to say a few words about intensifying the struggle against revisionism.

Revisionism is an ideology that negates the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and denies the need for revolution. The revisionists say that they will suffer from the war which might break out if other people continue making revolution. Thus, they preach desisting both from the struggle against imperialism and from the national-liberation struggle in the colonies.

It is justified that we should fight against revisionism. We have not yet completed the revolution. We have liberated only half of our territory and one-third of our people. The Korean communists, therefore, are duty bound not only to promote the construction of socialism in the northern half of our country but also to drive the US imperialists out of the southern half and achieve the liberation of our nation.

When half of the territory still remains under the colonial yoke of foreign imperialism, how can we desist from the struggle against imperialism?

We cannot give up the revolution, nor can we stop fighting against imperialism. No matter what machinations the revisionists may resort to, we must continue with the revolution and resolutely fight against imperialism without letup. In order to continue the revolution, the entire people must be fully armed with a revolutionary spirit.

To this end, our Party members who are responsible for the education of the people must first of all firmly equip themselves with revolutionary ideas. And, in particular, all the cadres and working people, who live and work in this area of revolutionary battles, an area which bears the traces of the bloody struggle waged by our revolutionary forerunners, must arm themselves with the revolutionary spirit more thoroughly than anybody else.

In the field of economic construction, too, we must build an independent national economy by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. To rely on oneself is the lofty revolutionary spirit of the communists. Only by building an independent national economy

through self-reliance can we successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks before us. We must accomplish the revolutionary task of the country's reunification through our own efforts, and we must build socialism and communism throughout Korea in the future. For this, we must lay the solid material and technical foundations of socialism by developing an independent national economy. It would be a different story if frontiers disappeared and communism were realized on a worldwide scale. But, as long as there exist frontiers and each country has its own revolutionary tasks and manages its own economic life, each must have its own resources. Especially, since quite a few people in the southern half are still inclined to rely on the US and the Japanese imperialists, we must hold higher still the slogan of building an independent national economy.

To conclude, I am firmly convinced that you will successfully carry out all the tasks confronting Ryanggang Province by further improving and strengthening your work in accordance with the spirit displayed at this plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee.

ON THE ORIENTATION OF OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY TODAY

**Concluding Speech at the Seventh Plenary
Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

September 5, 1963

1. ON IMPLEMENTING THE MASS LINE IN PLANNING

The current plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee has undertaken a preliminary review of the implementation of this year's national economic plan and has discussed next year's plan three months earlier than in previous years.

Formerly we used to carry out such a review at the end of the year and only then draw up, after several amendments, the plan for the new year, and issue it in January the next year. There have even been instances of only the first quarter's plans being sent to subordinate units at the beginning of a year, to be followed later by the plans for the rest of the year. This meant that the higher authorities were not fully aware of the situation at the lower echelons.

We were able to undertake the preliminary review of the implementation of this year's plan and to draw up next year's plan so early because we established the T'aean work system in all sectors of the national economy and carried out the Party's mass line in planning work.

In other words, we were able to undertake this job nearly four months earlier because the Party was deeply active among the masses, acquainted itself fully with the state of affairs in the different sectors of the national economy, and became realistically aware of the capacity of equipment, manpower and other factors. This also shows that we are fully confident that we can carry out this year's plan. If we had not known well the real state of affairs at the lower echelons and if we had not been sure of the prospect of carrying out our plan, we would have been unable to carry out the preliminary review so early, let alone draw up the plan for next year.

We should regard these things having been done as early as in the third quarter as a great stride in our planning work and as another victory of our Party's mass line. I think this is, in fact, not only unprecedented in our country, but is also a rare example for other countries.

What, then, is the good of such early reviewing and planning?

First of all, factories and enterprises can work out, well in advance, the implications of the plan for their own work, and can make full ideological and material preparations for its implementation. In other words, a full discussion of the plan by the masses of the workers gives everyone a clear understanding of his task as well as the possibility of working out concrete ways and measures for its implementation by enlisting the wisdom of the masses.

Moreover, those directly involved in production can get themselves fully ready for the coming year and have enough time beforehand to make necessary arrangements, do maintenance work where necessary and speed up what has to be sped up, on their own initiative. They can also have confidence in their work, a firm conviction that they can carry out the plan because they have studied all its implications well in advance and make preparations by calculating in detail all the factors involved in its implementation.

Thus getting plans discussed by the masses and giving them enough time and possibilities to make good preparations for their

implementation with a clear understanding of their tasks is the very embodiment of the mass line. It goes without saying that this enables us to mobilize the masses' wisdom and talent successfully and to carry out the plan more smoothly,

This can be illustrated by the work in the agricultural sector this year.

Last year we could not discuss the national economic plan as a whole in advance but we were able to discuss in August and September the plan for agriculture, thus providing adequate time to make preparations to implement that part of the plan. As a result, we were able to prepare, in advance, tractors, lorries, chemical fertilizer and agricultural chemicals and to supply them to the countryside in good time, as had been planned. And also the farmers themselves were able to prepare small farming implements, such as pickaxes, spades and sickles, much earlier than in previous years.

We were also able to make a detailed estimate of the size of the existing rural labour force and, on this basis, to plan the allocation of manpower properly. In addition, we were able to tackle all the other problems related to farming such as land development and the preparation of seeds and to take the necessary measures.

Formerly work in the agricultural sector was not done with such farsightedness. Farm machines, agricultural chemicals and fertilizer were not prepared in time and this hampered farming greatly. Tractors, for instance, were supplied when ploughing was already at its height, so that in many cases they arrived too late for them to be fully utilized. There were even instances of their being sent when ploughing was over.

In the past, people were used to being mobilized indiscriminately for rush work in the countryside in the name of so-called "15-day battles", without careful calculation of the manpower requirements and without a concrete manpower plan. In such circumstances, rural communities, faced with an influx of people before all the necessary farming implements had been got ready, used to be at a loss how or where to use these people; and, for their part, the people who had

been mobilized had no option but to waste their time, not knowing what to do or how to work. Apparently, however, they were doing something extraordinary, to judge by the flags of various colours flying on the roadsides. But, in fact, all they did was to put on some kind of show of activity in the fields on either side of highways; they did precious little in the fields away from the roads. These shortcomings were all due to the fact that the plans had been issued belatedly.

Last year we discussed the agricultural production plan and sent it to the lower echelons earlier than usual, so that we were able to eliminate such defects and make the proper preparations for farm operations. As a result, the crop situation this year is much better than last year.

Drawing on this experience, we have now discussed the national economic plan as a whole, including the agricultural production plan, earlier than in previous years.

We have nearly four months left till the end of this year. This will be enough to permit agriculture, the construction industry, the machine industry and all other sectors to make the necessary preparations for next year's production.

In particular, the machine industry and the construction industry still have shortcomings: they turn out defective products and build defective structures because of the lack of advance planning and of proper technical preparation. These shortcomings, too, will be overcome if they have enough time to plan in advance and to mobilize the wisdom of the masses.

Now that we have completed the planning process earlier this year, I believe that all sectors of the national economy will carry out their plans successfully next year.

In the future, too, we should continue to strive to implement the mass line in planning and to provide possibilities for mobilizing the masses' wisdom for the implementation of the plan. We should make sure to discuss in September next year, or a quarter earlier than usual, the following year's plan, just as we have done this year.

2. ON THE BASIC TASK OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN FOR 1964

Next, I would like to speak about the basic task of the 1964 national economic plan and the orientation of our national economy at the moment.

As has been clearly pointed out in the report and speeches, the basic task of next year's national economic plan is to make preliminary arrangements for the future expansion of our heavy industry centres, and at the same time to make existing heavy industry serve light industry and agriculture better, increase the production of consumer goods for the people on a large scale, and thus raise their living standard. In other words, next year we must prepare to develop heavy industry continuously and, while doing this, we must concentrate on making effective use of the existing foundations of heavy industry in order to develop light industry and agriculture rapidly, and to increase the production of consumer goods in particular, so as to raise the people's living standard appreciably. We should make a great innovation in the production of consumer goods so as to mass-produce different kinds of essential goods for the people, such as clothes and daily necessities as well as the articles needed for their cultural activities. We should also rapidly develop agriculture to increase the output of cereals and meat in order to provide our people with a higher standard of living.

Hearing this, some people might ask if we are now going to give priority to the development of light industry, after they had been told to develop heavy industry preferentially. Absolutely no. There is no change in our Party's line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry, while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture. The basic task which devolves from the national economic

plan for next year emanates from this basic line of our Party, and is aimed at maintaining this line.

We have already built the solid base of heavy industry by our hard-fought, belt-tightening struggle. The law of economic development in our country at the moment requires that we develop light industry and agriculture rapidly and raise the people's standard of living to a higher level by the effective use of heavy industry, while making arrangements to expand this industry. It also means that we ensure a proper balance between accumulation and consumption in the building of socialism.

Balancing accumulation and consumption properly is one of the most important questions in socialist economic construction. Whoever commits an error in this matter, cannot build socialism successfully.

Of course, both accumulation and consumption are in the interests of all the people in a socialist society. But if we do not accumulate properly and consume reasonably, we will be unable to develop the nation's economy rapidly or to improve the people's living standard systematically.

If, ostensibly to raise the people's living standard, we consumed our earnings in full, without saving any portion of them, we would hold back economic progress. It is obvious that if we had eaten up everything we have earned, instead of building economic foundations by saving up, using every penny sparingly, nothing would have been left for us to depend on.

But if, on the contrary, we should disregard consumption and only save up, allegedly for the future happiness of the people, it would be impossible to meet the immediate needs of the people. Suppose we produce consumer goods in small quantities and continue to save up excessively in order to build iron and steel works and the like, then the people will inevitably be faced with hardships. There is no doubt that that would kill the people's interest in and zeal for socialist construction. What on earth do we produce steel for? If we produce steel, non-ferrous metals, electric power, etc., in large quantities for the manufacture of consumer goods so as to improve the living of the

people, then we will stimulate the people to greater enthusiasm to accelerate socialist construction and to save up more. If people were urged to go on depositing their savings in the bank without allowing them to draw them out, it is hardly likely that anyone would want to make a deposit.

Our Party has always given close attention to keeping a proper balance between accumulation and consumption, and has solved this problem correctly to suit the specific situation in our country. During the Three-Year and Five-Year Plans after the war, we held fast to the line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry by increasing accumulation continuously, while at the same time quickly developing light industry and agriculture so as to stabilize and improve the people's standard of living. This was the only correct policy in view of the circumstances of our country.

As all of you know, industrialization in capitalist countries begins with the development of profitable light industry by drawing on foreign loans or by obtaining funds from abroad by predatory methods and, after a long period of accumulation of funds, proceeds to the development of heavy industry. We can say that this is the general process of industrialization in capitalist countries.

In contrast, priority development of heavy industry is the general practice in those countries which are building socialism. We can say that it is a principle of socialist economic construction to develop heavy industry preferentially. In particular, countries like ours, which in the past did not go through a normal process of capitalist development and lagged behind in heavy industry, must develop heavy industry as a matter of priority. Otherwise they would simply be unable to develop light industry and agriculture.

But when I say that giving priority to the development of heavy industry is a principle, I never mean that all countries should build heavy industry in one and the same way. Moreover, the situation in our country does not permit us to build heavy industry just for the sake of heavy industry, or to lay emphasis exclusively on this industry.

Our country was under Japanese imperialist colonial rule for a long

time. There was neither industrial revolution nor normal development of capitalism in our country. Consequently, our industry was very backward. The meagre heavy industry allegedly built by the Japanese imperialists was designed exclusively for their plunder of Korea's resources and their exploitation of the Korean people. In order to sell their goods at high prices, the Japanese imperialists not only severely restrained the development of heavy industry in our country, but totally ruined its traditional handicrafts.

And even such a backward industry was completely destroyed in the war.

The situation in the Soviet Union or in China differs from ours. At the time of the socialist revolution, the Soviet Union had her own basis of light industry, because capitalism had to some extent made progress in that country. As for China, she was a semi-colonial country, and although capitalism had not developed much, she retained the basis of handicrafts handed down from her past.

But in our country, not only was heavy industry backward, but light industry was still more insignificant. We had not even a handicraft economy, to say nothing of modern light industry.

In these circumstances, our Party gave priority to the development of heavy industry, and moreover concentrated its effort on building a kind of heavy industry which would be capable of effectively serving light industry and agriculture, not heavy industry just for its own sake. Along with this, we followed the policy of building modern light industry while restoring and developing handicrafts as well, in order to eliminate quickly our weakness in the production of consumer goods.

As a result, after the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, more than one locally-run factory was built in each city or county. There are now more than ten in each county or city.

Seeing that we were restoring the handicrafts, some people wondered why we were reviving them instead of developing splendid modern industry. But in those days we had no alternative. Because of the shortage of funds and technical weaknesses, we could never have met the demands of the people for consumer goods by relying totally

on modern light industry. In order to subsist we had to increase the production of consumer goods by all available means. We solved this problem by developing modern light industry through the investment of some money, and by simultaneously rehabilitating those handicrafts which lent themselves to an early start of production at little cost.

If we had tried to build only modern light industry to produce the necessary consumer goods at that time, it would have required a large sum of state funds. If we had done so, we would in any case have been unable to increase the production of consumer goods quickly, and the development of heavy industry would have been greatly hampered. By restoring and developing the handicraft economy with the use of all the reserves available, we were able to produce consumer goods in large quantities by small investment, to provide the people with a decent standard of living, and to allocate a large sum for development of our heavy industry.

This was how we managed to meet all the demands of the people for food, clothing and housing with homemade goods, even though their quality may not have been high. Not only that, but we were able to save a great deal of foreign currency, make profits from domestic commodity production and so accumulate a large amount of funds.

We have also created conditions where local industry can be developed quickly on the basis of modern techniques with the support of heavy industry. Let me take an example. In 1958, when local industry was still in its initial stage of development, in Kaechon County hand looms were arranged in certain dwelling houses so that each group of two to three housewives could start production. At that time it looked ridiculous, but that initiative has now developed into a textile mill which is equipped with excellent power looms. Not only in Kaechon County but in all counties and cities the technical level of local industry factories has risen much higher than in the initial period.

All this shows that our Party has maintained a proper balance between accumulation and consumption. This is how we have been able to stabilize and improve the people's living rapidly while at the same time laying solid economic foundations for our country.

We must still ensure a correct balance between accumulation and consumption in conformity with the actual conditions of socialist construction.

We have already carried out the Three-Year and Five-Year Plans in the postwar years and we are now in the third year of the Seven-Year Plan. We can say that in this period we have built the foundations of our heavy industry to a considerable degree.

Today our metallurgical industry has acquired an annual capacity of 1.2 million tons of pig iron and at least one million tons of steel. There are more than 100 machine factories in our country. Many large power stations, too, have been reconstructed, and ore and coal mines have increased by far in number. The chemical industry, too, has reconstructed all its major factories and built many new ones. In other words, we can say that both the mining industry and the manufacturing industries have been built on fairly solid foundations. We are now in a position to satisfy the demands of light industry and agriculture for machinery, raw materials and other necessities by keeping up and reinforcing our existing heavy industry and using it effectively, even without expanding its centres on a large scale.

Here, we have to choose between the two: whether we should still continue to direct our main effort to strengthening the economic foundations, that is, to the building up of our heavy industry; or direct the potential of the heavy industry we have already built to the support of light industry and agriculture so as to increase the output of consumer goods and food and to raise the living standard of the people, while making preparations for the further expansion of heavy industry. We must naturally choose the latter. This is the way to ensure a correct equilibrium between accumulation and consumption as required by the realities of economic development.

In fact, the targets of steel and pig iron set by the Seven-Year Plan are too high, and it seems to me that the plan on the whole is giving too much priority to savings over consumption.

We are going to raise the output of steel to an annual level of 2.2 to 2.5 million tons by the end of the Seven-Year Plan and to use much of

it for the construction of iron works and other heavy industry factories and workshops. But, in effect, approximately one million tons of steel which we are producing annually, not 2.2 to 2.5 million tons, if it is effectively used, is enough to run the country well enough.

Of course, we will have to make quite an effort to save up for the continuous development of heavy industry in the future. But under the present circumstances, it is more important to maintain the centres of our existing heavy industry, consolidate them and use them effectively, rather than build more new iron works. If we should exhaust our efforts to expand the heavy industry centres continuously, then our heavy industry would be unable to contribute to developing light industry and agriculture and to raising the people's living standard, nor could it expect to make any regular progress itself. This may lead to an imbalance in our construction of socialism.

We must see to it that the results of the construction of socialism will be manifest in the high standard of living of the people, not in the magnificent chimneys of iron works. The people will become interested in building heavy industry further and in saving up more only when they themselves feel that they are now well-off, with supplies of washing machines and electric irons coming on the market, thanks to such strenuous efforts to develop mines and to build iron works, electric appliances factories and machine factories.

We have achieved a tremendous success in developing light industry and agriculture and we have largely solved the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people. This, of course, is a historic change in our people's life. But we can never rest content with this.

Our light industry and agriculture are not yet developed highly enough to ensure our people a decent life.

The modern light industry factories which are run under the central authority have yet a long way to go to satisfy the needs of the people for consumer goods. On the other hand, the products of local industry are not of good enough quality. It can be said, in short, that our light industry has not yet advanced far beyond the stage of a handicraft economy.

Take the fabrics we are producing, for example. The clothes you are in here now are not made of very good fabrics. These clothes are better than those hemp or cotton clothes you used to be in formerly, but they are not yet very good.

Shoes, too, are of low quality. Our people are still on the level of wearing rubber shoes.

We are producing four million cubic metres of timber every year, but not one of the dwellings which I have visited is furnished with a desk or an ordinary chair worth mentioning, let alone an easy chair. The qualities of notebooks, pencils, ink and other school things are all poor.

At present, we are short of many things, and our clothes and other necessities are not much better than handicraft products. Yet our people say that things are already better than in the past and they rest content with them. And it is indeed true that things are better than in those days when they were oppressed and exploited, and went about in hemp clothes.

But we can never stop here. We must live as well as others, wearing good clothes and good shoes. To do this, we must direct efforts to the production of daily necessities and develop our light industry as quickly as possible by eliminating its backwardness.

At the moment, while creating conditions for the expansion of heavy industry centres, we must see that our existing heavy industry contributes better to the development of light industry and agriculture and to the improvement of the people's living standard. We should make really effective use of the steel we are now producing and we should manufacture different kinds of metal wares in greater quantity and of better quality. We should also effectively use the existing chemical factories to produce resin goods and many other daily necessities in large quantities.

We should also supply greater quantities of farm machinery, chemical products such as fertilizers and agricultural chemicals and building materials to the countryside so as to mechanize and chemicalize agriculture, carry on rural construction work better,

reclaim more rice paddies to increase the output of rice and produce more meat.

The fishing industry should be provided with more boats and fishing equipment so that more fish can be landed and they can be processed better.

In this way the people's living standard will be raised to the level where all of them lead a decent and cultured life, eating rice and meat soup, being well dressed and living in tile-roofed houses. And then we should build more large heavy industry factories and expand our existing heavy industry centres on a large scale when the heavy industry has been kept up and consolidated and when full arrangements have been made for its expansion.

I think it a proper way of building socialism to develop our economy steadily by concentrating first on heavy industry, then getting it to serve light industry and agriculture well, so as to raise the people's living standard, and then saving up again to develop heavy industry further and using it effectively to make the people still better off.

Some people seem to think that, whatever the circumstances, we should put more efforts into the production of the means of production than into the manufacture of consumer goods because the rate of expansion of the former must necessarily be higher than that of the latter. This is a dogmatic view. Of course, the rate of expansion of the means of production in our industry is at present higher than that of the production of consumer goods, and this rate will continue to be higher in the future, too. But the high rate of "A" group is by no means an end in itself. We are developing heavy industry for the purpose of continuously increasing production and making technological progress in order to turn out greater quantities of light industry goods and of agricultural products and thus to provide the people with a better life. Heavy industry for heavy industry's sake is meaningless.

Today the foundations of our heavy industry have been built to a considerable extent, but light industry is still in a backward state. And a further look into our heavy industry shows that it has not yet put on enough flesh, though its skeleton has been sturdily built; and that is

why it is not serving the development of light industry and agriculture satisfactorily. We should therefore strive to make the most effective use of our existing heavy industry so as to improve the people's living standard and increase the production of raw materials and other goods needed for the manufacture of consumer goods, rather than lay too much emphasis on the continuous expansion of heavy industry. While doing this we should also create conditions for the further expansion of heavy industry at some time in the future.

This orientation of our national economy is a requirement of the law of socialist construction at the moment, and also corresponds to the needs of our situation today.

The imperialists are at present viciously working to destroy the socialist camp and to stop the revolutionary movement of the people.

As all of you know, US imperialism is the ringleader of world imperialism and the prime mover of reaction. The US imperialists occupy half the territory of our country, and try to justify their occupation. They are scheming to conquer even the northern half of Korea at the first opportunity. They are the enemies with whom we cannot live under the same sky.

But the modern revisionists are compromising with the US imperialists and currying favour with them; they have abandoned even the basic principle of proletarian internationalism.

We cannot build socialism on the strength of others. In the spirit of those lying in ambush in a thicket, we will have to overcome whatever difficulties and hardships are in our way and make strenuous efforts to open up the path of our nation and build socialism by ourselves.

To do this we must not only build heavy industry by our own efforts, but we must also produce, mainly on our own, the consumer goods needed to meet our domestic demand.

If we should build heavy industry just for its own sake and depend on other countries for the consumer goods, unable to produce them at home, we would have to spend a large sum of foreign currency, and this would mean a corresponding decrease in our savings. And moreover, if we should continue to direct our main effort to the

expansion of heavy industry centres, then that would cause hardship for our people and also aggravate our economic situation as a whole.

From next year on, therefore, we must concentrate all our efforts on the production of consumer goods, while at the same time making preparations and creating conditions for the development of existing heavy industry, by displaying an even greater spirit of self-reliance.

This is the way to build socialism more successfully in our country, raise the people's living standard more rapidly, repel foreign economic pressure and give more powerful encouragement to the south Korean people in their struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges.

3. ON THE TASKS FOR DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Next, I would like to make a few remarks on the tasks for different sectors of the national economy.

The important task confronting heavy industry is to consolidate its foundations which have already been laid, and to put flesh on them.

Heavy industry should meet the demands of all the other sectors of our national economy, and should produce the raw materials needed for the manufacture of daily necessities. The metallurgical industry, for instance, should produce not only steel plates and rounds for the machine-building industry and for construction but also steel sheets, tinplate, nonferrous metal sheets and a variety of wires ranging from ones as fine as hair to thick ones for light industry. If we diversify thus, we will be able to use steel more effectively, and even the total tonnage of our current output would suffice to cover the demands of the national economy for different kinds of steel.

But the steel which is at present being produced in our country is limited in its kinds and sizes. Because we do not make steel of various kinds and sizes, although we produce more than one million tons of

steel per annum, we do not properly manufacture even ironware for the lack of metal of the necessary specification; and the situation now is that we have to import the steel sheets needed for the manufacture of cans.

If we are to get along as we should, our steel, in fact, should be used not only for construction and machine building but likewise for the manufacture of different kinds of daily necessities for the people. But at present the steel products from our heavy industry can scarcely reach the hands of the people; some of the large and small items made of steel are used in the construction industry and in the manufacture of machines, and the remainder is exported. We sell high speed steel and other precious alloy steels and nonferrous metals to other countries, instead of using them domestically. This is irrational and abnormal. Adding flesh to our heavy industry precisely means overcoming these irrationalities and shortcomings.

We must have not only large rolling machines but also many medium and small ones so that we can produce rolled steel of the various specifications and in the greater quantities necessary for the manufacture of hardware. We must also produce various kinds of alloy steel and different kinds of nonferrous metals, including nickel, to meet the demands. In this way we will undertake the work of beefing up our heavy industry on the one hand, and on the other we will make preparations for further development of this sector at some time in the future.

Making preparations for the development of heavy industry means laying the basis for the further development of this industry, that is, laying the groundwork for the future construction of heavy industry.

What is important in doing this is to give priority to the development of the mining industry, to the development of the production centres of fuel and power such as coal and electricity, and to the development of transport. If we thus have plenty of ores, fuel and power, it will not be a very difficult task to build a new metallurgical works in the future. But, if we overlook these preparations, we will be unable to cope successfully with the complex task of building heavy

industry. We must, therefore, continue to concentrate investments on the mining industry, on the construction of power stations and on the electrification of railways and thus ensure the speedy development of raw material production, of the fuel-power industry and of transport.

The preparations for the future development of heavy industry do not require very much steel, so that the performance of this task will not keep us from using a great deal of steel for the production of consumer goods. While building up these powerful bases of raw materials, fuel and power, we must also raise the people's living standard somewhat so as to heighten their morale, and then build large iron works and large chemical factories. This is how we should implement the Party's policy of beefing up our heavy industry and of preparing for its future development.

The continuous development of the mining industry to increase the output of coal and ores is important not only in the context of our preparations for the expansion of heavy industry but also as a means of increasing production during the period immediately ahead and of obtaining foreign currency.

The mining industry is the first process of production. If we should fail to ensure the production of an adequate amount of ores and coal, no other sector would run smoothly.

We also need a large sum of foreign currency to put flesh on our heavy industry and also to develop our light industry. If we are to obtain foreign currency, we have to sell some of our own products. But because their quality is still too low, we are not yet in a position to export our machines or everyday articles. We cannot hope to sell such items until we improve their quality.

But nonferrous metals are goods which we can export in large quantities at the moment. So we should continue to develop the mining industry rapidly.

The next important task is to develop the machine-building industry. This industry is the key to raising the people's living standard and putting flesh on heavy industry.

The machine-building industry should produce rolling machines,

equipment for the manufacture of alloy steel, gauges and laboratory equipment. This is the guarantee for the successful implementation of the task of adding flesh to heavy industry. Therefore, we should first develop further the machine-building industry which serves heavy industry itself.

Light industry, too, would be unable to develop without active support of the machine-building industry. We intend drastically increasing the output of hardware, and this requires large quantities of different kinds of power presses and cutting machines, including table-set drilling machines and lathes. Innovations can take place in the production of consumer goods only when the machine-building industry mass-produces various kinds of modern light industry equipment for this purpose.

On the machine-building industry depends the development of heavy industry, light industry, agriculture, the fishing industry and all other sectors of our national economy.

The most important task in the development of our machine-building industry at the moment is to improve the existing machine factories properly.

The essential factor in improving machine factories is to keep a proper balance between the kinds of machines. At present the lack of grinding machines or gear-cutting machines in some machine factories is the cause of delays in processing, waste of time in the use of equipment and the low quality of products. These deficiencies can be overcome if machine factories are given the supplement of a few necessary machines and equipment. We must solve this problem as soon as possible.

Another important task in developing the machine-building industry is to have our machine factories specialize in the production of particular machines. We must begin with measures to have one or a few machine factories specialize in the production of bolts, nuts, gears or the like which can be used on a common basis but are now produced separately by the repair and power supply shops of different factories, while gradually switching over to specialization throughout the

machine-building industry. If a factory specializes in the production of bolts, nuts, gears or the like, it can have specialized equipment, increase productivity much higher than now, use materials economically and improve the qualities of machine parts. Moreover, specialization in the production of machine parts will enable the existing repair and power supply shops to make more rational and effective use of their equipment.

One of the urgent tasks of the machine-building industry is to make up for the shortage of designing capacity. They must get down to the task and strive to increase the designing force by several times as quickly as possible.

It is important in this regard not to hesitate to assign tasks to new designers and train them in practice. But they are now very passive in this respect. Of course, designers with little experience may make mistakes or produce defective designs. But this is nothing to be afraid of.

If a man does not write, afraid of making mistakes, he will never be able to write; if a man does not compose a poem, for fear of getting a poor result, he will never be able to write a poem.

The same is true of designing. How can you expect to train good designers if, because you are afraid that they may produce defective designs, you do not give the new men a design task? If you are to train designers, you must discard such an erroneous attitude and boldly give the new men many tasks of designing. No one is proficient in designing from the outset. Various shortcomings may be revealed at the beginning but such things may happen in the course of development. It would be impossible to produce competent designers without training them in practice.

If our existing machine factories keep a proper balance between different types of machines, specialize the production of individual plants, train a large number of designers and make a special effort to semi-automate or automate production processes, they will be able to more than double their capacity and carry out the colossal tasks which confront our engineering industry.

Next, we must raise the output of timber so as to increase the production of furniture, an important item of everyday necessity. We are now producing several million cubic metres of timber every year, but most of it is used in construction and not much in the manufacture of furniture. At present, our working people's demands for dining tables, pantry chests, wardrobes, desks, chairs, and similar pieces of furniture are great. If we are to meet these demands, we will have to use every year hundreds of thousands of cubic metres of timber in the manufacture of furniture and, to this end, we must further develop the timber industry.

While increasing the output of timber, we must use it more economically and effectively, process it better and thus increase the production of wooden articles which are liked by the people.

The most important problem in light industry is to provide this industry adequately with raw materials. The mass production of a variety of consumer goods requires a large amount of different raw materials.

Of course, heavy industry—including the metallurgical, chemical, timber and other industries—should supply more raw materials to light industry, but light industry itself should strive to ensure its own supplies of essential raw materials. It would not be very difficult for the light industry sector to build small chemical factories on its own to process resin or produce various kinds of paints. Formerly, capitalists used to produce dyestuffs and various other goods in small backrooms of their own houses.

Our people, however, do not think much of small figures, though they are keen on large figures such as thousands and tens of thousands; I am not sure why but it is probably because of their war experience. This is a very bad habit. They should see not only big things but also small things; they should not depend totally on others for their supplies but should do what they can by displaying creativity and ingenuity. You have experience in developing local industry, and what a great result it has produced! Drawing on this experience, you should build smallish chemical factories for the manufacture of dyestuffs, paints,

lacquer and various other raw materials to increase the variety of daily necessities in a big way.

Another important thing to do is to improve the qualities of consumer goods. We have already emphasized this question over many years now, but this problem has not been solved properly. At the moment the qualities of our consumer goods are much lower than those of advanced countries.

The low quality of our commodities is not due simply to defects in the organization of work or in the work attitudes of the producers. It has a profound historical background.

During the period of nearly forty years since the Japanese imperialist occupation of our country, our handicrafts went totally bankrupt. With the destruction of handicrafts, the craftsmen's experience and their skills which had been developed in the production of commodities, gradually faded and ultimately disappeared completely. This, however, did not mean that our working people had any chance of acquiring new skills and experience in production during the years of Japanese imperialism. If there was anything they could learn, it was just how to carry loads on their backs.

It was not until the liberation that our working people started learning techniques and acquiring experience in production in the true sense of the word. To make the matter worse, more than ten years out of the 18 since liberation were spent in war and reconstruction, and the period of actual new economic construction covers relatively few years. For this reason, our people have not been able to gain much experience in the production of consumer goods.

Under these circumstances, it is not an easy task to raise the quality of consumer goods made in our country to that of advanced countries, nor can it be done at one go. It is important to eliminate the shortcomings in the organization of work and to increase the producers' enthusiasm, but at the moment it is more important for the producers to adopt advanced techniques and experience, and to raise the level of their skills if they are to improve the quality of consumer goods. The senior people concerned must not overlook this important

point, but should give their closest attention to ensuring that the factories which produce everyday necessities are equipped with modern technology, introduce advanced technical processes and raise the technical and skill levels of the producers.

On agriculture I have spoken several times at other meetings, so I shall confine myself to a brief remark on important matters.

In the field of agriculture we must keep concentrating our efforts on increasing the area of rice paddies. We have been striving to reach the target of 600,000 hectares of rice paddies and we have already secured 580,000 hectares. We must continue to increase the figure without becoming content with this success. During the period from autumn last year to spring this year alone we reclaimed 40,000 hectares of new rice paddies. Drawing on this experience, we should reclaim as much again next year. If we go on increasing the area of rice paddies by 40,000 hectares every year like this, then we shall have a total of 700,000 hectares in three years' time. We should continue with this project until all our working people can afford rice.

We have tried wheat, maize and various other crops, but our experience shows that rice is the safest and highest-yielding crop. Rice is good to the taste and is highly nutritious.

We should make every effort to increase the area of rice cultivation until all our people can afford rice. We will bring the matter to a conclusion when we have attained the target of 700,000 hectares under the Seven-Year Plan, and we will leave the next steps open until then. The immediate task is to go on increasing the area of rice cultivation to 700,000 hectares.

Another important task in agriculture is to increase the per-hectare yield of rice.

On my recent tour of South Hwanghae Province, I gave them a task of launching a movement to increase the per-hectare yield of aquatic rice by 500 kilogrammes. It would be difficult to raise it by one ton at a time, but if they strive they will be able to increase it by 500 kilogrammes.

If the per-hectare yield is to be increased, it is necessary first of all

to improve the land zealously. It is a very long time since the Namuri and Yonbaek plains, the granaries of South Hwanghae Province, were reclaimed, so that the soil is losing necessary micronutrients. To make up for these microelements, new soil will have to be spread on a large scale and micronutrients will have to be applied to it. Potash fertilizer should also be applied to rice paddies a great deal. Because potash fertilizer is not used at the moment, rice stalks are weak and the yield is low.

In addition, the production of compost should be increased drastically. From now on, nearly all the rice straws from the paddy fields should be used to produce compost to be applied back to the rice paddies.

Continued efforts are also needed to improve seeds and to develop seed production so as to obtain seeds which are high-yielding and resistant to rain and wind. Introducing the system of ploughing rice fields three times is also important, which means ploughing once in autumn and twice in spring. If rice fields are ploughed in this way and harrowed twice to make the earth soft, then the fields will become better and free of weeds. We must use every possible method to improve soil and seeds and to increase the per-hectare yield by at least 500 kilogrammes without fail.

Still another important task is to get two crops a year. There are quite a few zones in our country where two crops can be grown a year. Nearly all the areas south of Pyongyang come into this category. We should begin this project with the dry fields of these areas.

Planting cereals both as the first and second crops should be the most common practice in such cropping, but industrial and fodder crops may be cultivated as the later crop as may be required by the geographical characteristics of the area concerned. The best thing to do is to have the two crops of cereals. But this does not mean that this method should be used mechanically in all areas. In any case the geographical characteristics should be taken into consideration so that the most rational way of having two crops can be adopted.

It would be still impossible to grow other crops on a large scale in

the paddy fields before the cultivation of rice, but vegetables or fodder crops should be planted on an experimental basis in the paddy fields prior to rice cultivation, insofar as the possibilities of each district allow.

And in all areas, whether or not capable of giving two crops a year, they should increase the rate of land utilization in every possible way—by introducing inter-cropping and mixed-cropping and by planting crops on the edges of non-paddy fields and on the ridges between rice fields.

In the matter of land utilization the example of the Pukchong people should be followed by all. They are raising the rate of land utilization by taking good care of their fields and introducing inter-cropping and mixed-cropping successfully. But even South Hamgyong Province is not generalizing this good experience of its own, to say nothing of other provinces. Even the people in the neighbourhood of Pukchong, the people who are living in a more favourable area than Pukchong in all respects, are reluctant to learn from the experience. They are wrong.

In our country which is limited in land, the rate of land utilization should be increased by strenuous efforts so as to produce more grain from every inch of land. We must see that the people in all parts of the country follow the example of the Pukchong people and increase the area of cultivation to the last inch and thoroughly introduce inter-cropping and mixed-cropping.

Further, we must undertake river improvement projects in a big way and protect the farmlands well. We have made it a policy to reclaim one million hectares of new land in the near future and have been implementing this policy. But we have to put it off for some time and must first concentrate on the conservation of our existing land and on its better utilization. Reclaiming new land is important, but protecting the existing land is more important, so we must give priority to the latter.

The immediate task in land conservation is river improvement. This year the floods caused a certain degree of damage, and although it was not too serious, we nevertheless lost a not negligible area of land. The

damage occurred when dikes gave way, and this was due mainly to the neglect of river improvement. The dikes in our country were built a long time ago, and many parts of them have been eroded and have collapsed in rainy seasons. There are also many places where dikes will have to be built anew because of the raised river-bed profiles. If the dikes are left as they are, much more land might be lost next year or later. We should regard the embankment project as part of great transformation of nature and undertake it in a big way during the next one to two years.

In order to carry out the embankment project in a short period of time, we must do it in a movement which involves the entire population, for it is a colossal task. Large-scale embankment works will be undertaken by the state, but small projects should be tackled by the cooperative farms themselves, with the support of the entire nation.

Along with this, we must repair the existing irrigation works and keep them in good condition and also take good care of our water resources. We have built the reservoirs through an investment of hundreds of millions of *won*. We must derive the maximum benefit from the water of these reservoirs in irrigating our fields without wasting a single drop of it. Only when we improve rivers and conserve water resources properly can we ward off drought and flood damage for good and ensure safe and rich harvests every year.

Next, I would like to make a brief remark on fruit growing and livestock farming.

We have developed approximately 120,000 hectares of orchards since we held the meeting at Pukchong. This is a tremendous success. Our forefathers gave us a heritage of orchards which were scarcely 10,000 hectares. Even with this small heritage our country was celebrated for its apples. And now we have 120,000 hectares of orchards. These are great resources, and a great asset for earning foreign currency.

We must fertilize and cultivate these orchards well, so that every single fruit tree will grow well, and will bear fruit as soon as possible.

We can say that we have also laid some foundations for livestock farming. If we make good use of these foundations, we will be able to achieve a radical improvement in such farming in the near future.

First of all, state stock farms should be better managed and should quickly increase their output of animal products. What is important in state stock farming is to specialize in production. At present, state agro-stock farms are doing both crop farming and animal raising, and various kinds of animals are raised at the same farm, with the result that none of these things is done properly. For the purpose of eliminating such shortcomings, we should reorganize the state agro-stock farms into specialized stock farms and let them each breed specified kinds of animals. In this way we will enable these farms to carry out research on stock farming and to adopt advanced practices.

State stock farms should widely introduce the quick-fattening method. Only by doing this will they be able to produce more meat with less expenditure of feed and in a short period of time.

Cooperative farms should continue to develop their joint stock farming and see that animals are raised both by every workteam and at every farmhouse. Raising animals by workteams and at farmhouses in this way constitutes important reserves for quickly increasing animal products.

Suppose every farmhouse produces 100 kilogrammes of meat a year, then 100,000 tons can be produced at an estimated one million farmhouses in our country. And if every workteam produces one ton a year, then 25,000 to 30,000 tons can be produced nationally. In addition, the state stock farms will be able to produce at least 40,000 to 50,000 tons a year by applying the quick-fattening method and by raising their technical level. If we mobilize all our reserves and possibilities in this way, we will be able to accomplish the task of livestock farming which was set out by the Seven-Year Plan.

The most important problem in the development of livestock farming is to secure sources of feed. Without creating feed production centres it would be impossible to develop livestock farming. With our livestock farming developing rapidly, it would not do to leave the

matter of feed exclusively to the care of farmers. In order to ensure the production of feed, the broad masses should be mobilized for the creation of feed production centres and for the expansion of the sources of feed, while at the same time cultivating fodder crops in a big way in rice paddies before rice transplantation, and in non-paddy fields as later crops.

The Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration should collect all the bran from the rice cleaning mills and send it to crop and livestock farms. The Ministry of Fisheries should increase the production of fish meal and fish-oil cakes for these farms. The Ministry of Fisheries should clearly understand that their task is not limited to fish catching but that they have the important task of producing a large amount of fish meal for the development of livestock farming. Ensuring the production of feed must be regarded as an important task for the whole Party, and all the working people should be mobilized for this work. This is the way to achieve a significant development of our livestock farming.

Another task of great importance is to improve capital construction. If building and civil engineering does not go smoothly, none of the tasks I have mentioned just now will be carried out successfully.

If we are to increase the production of daily necessities for the people, we have to build factories, and if we are to develop agriculture, we have to build irrigation works and also undertake river embankment projects. It is not too much to say that next year's plan depends totally on the construction industry.

At present, however, Party's direction of the construction industry is very ineffective. The construction industry has not yet corrected all its shortcomings, nor is it carrying out its plan with any credit. This is due mainly to inefficient Party direction of construction. Party organizations at all levels should concentrate their efforts on the building industry, build up the Party organizations and the ranks of cadres in the building establishments and give active assistance to them in their work. Building workers should be given constant direction so that they will unfailingly carry out the assignments given

by the state, keep design ahead of site operations and eliminate waste and crudeness in design.

It is also very important to take good care of our existing buildings and facilities. We have already built a great deal—a large number of factories, dwelling houses, roads, bridges, dikes, waterworks and sewers. All these are the valuable property of our people and are dependable assets for the implementation of the nation's far-reaching plan. So it is very important to take good care of them, protect them and repair them in good time.

4. ON SOME PROBLEMS IN THE DIRECTION OF THE ECONOMY

One of the most important problems in directing economy is to apply strictly the socialist principle of distribution. This principle is an important law of socialist society. It must be thoroughly implemented, particularly because the level of our people's consciousness is still low. Adherence to this principle will enable us to eliminate the old habit of being work-shy, which is still evident among some of the working people; it will also develop among them an honest attitude towards work, and a willingness to work, and it will steadily increase their enthusiasm for production. We should therefore establish correct work norms not only in agriculture but in industry, construction and all other sectors of the national economy, make correct assessments of all work done, and ensure that the working people are individually rewarded in cash and in kind, in strict accordance with the work each has done.

The next important task in the direction of economy is to establish a strict system of economization. If we are to be better off on our existing resources, we must use electricity, coal, timber, water and all our other resources most economically. By economy we never mean that we should dispense with what we ought to use. Economy means not using

things where they are not needed. It means using things where necessary, using as little as possible, using as sparingly as possible. If, instead, you use things thoughtlessly where you could dispense with them, if you use too much where you can use a little, then that means waste. We must combat the slightest manifestation of waste and staunchly struggle to economize in all fields of production, construction and everyday life.

We must know how to live frugally and neatly.

Living frugally does not mean going about unkempt and dressed in a slovenly manner. It means keeping oneself neat, wearing clean and well-pressed clothes, even if one has to be in cotton clothes, and leading a disciplined and orderly life.

If everyone is to live well in our country with its small territory and large population, every aspect of life has to be managed with meticulous care. Nevertheless, some people still lack such a responsible attitude. We must establish the habit of taking good care of everything through an unremitting struggle, the habit, for instance, of keeping our homes and schools shipshape, and maintaining factories, fields, streets and villages clean and tidy.

If we find anything slovenly and disorderly, even to the slightest degree, we must promptly attend to it and put it to rights. At present, however, some people do not bother about land being eroded, do not bother about collapsing dikes. These are outdated attitudes from the years of Japanese imperialism.

Every single tree, every single blade of grass and everything else which is in our country are the property of the people, our own property. All of us, as genuine masters of the country, must zealously struggle to acquire the habit of cherishing and taking good care of all our property and of managing the nation's economic life assiduously.

In conclusion, I would like to touch on the matter of study. As I emphasize at every meeting, we still lack knowledge of science and technology. We are lagging behind others, so we must not rest content with such success as we have already achieved. If we become self-contented, we are bound to fail: self-content will lead to failure.

We must not rest on our laurels—nor do we have, in fact, any reason to do so.

Anticipating the discussion of livestock farming at this plenary meeting, I had a talk with scientists some time ago and found that they were ignorant of many things.

We must learn humbly, without exception. Ignorance is not a crime, but pretending to know while being ignorant causes big trouble. Unless this erroneous attitude is discarded, it will be impossible to acquire knowledge of advanced science and technology or to get rid of our backwardness quickly. As was proposed at the Fourth Party Congress, the whole Party must thoroughly establish the habit of study.

We must study not only politics but also technology. The study of technology is most important for us at the moment. We are carrying out industrialization in order to build socialism, and industrialization precisely means a technical revolution. This is why we must all know technology in order to succeed in socialist construction. A man who is ignorant of technology in the age of the technical revolution is as good as a cripple. Everyone must strive to acquire at least one kind of technique and also some scientific knowledge.

Scientists should bestir themselves and carry out their scientific research more boldly and actively, and the institutions concerned should provide them with better conditions for research. In this way, our scientists and technicians will discharge their honourable mission in the noble cause of the technical revolution and for the betterment of the people's well-being.

Comrades, we should make this plenary meeting an opportunity to raise the people's living standard markedly and bring about a great new upswing in our construction of socialism.

The December 1956 and June 1958 Plenary Meetings were both historic meetings which gave rise to a great revolutionary upswing in our socialist construction. The December 1956 Plenary Meeting was held when the situation at home and abroad was very difficult. It was held in a particularly grave period when the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists were manoeuvring openly, in

collusion with the imperialists and revisionists, to overthrow our Party and Government, and to destroy our system.

Internally, the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists were raising their heads, and externally the imperialists and the revisionists were applying pressure upon us, pressure which was extraordinary. In spite of the complex situation in the Party, in spite of the heavy pressure from abroad, and in spite of the economic difficulties in our country, our Party never vacillated; it took a revolutionary step to direct part of its forces to the struggle against the factionalists on the one hand and on the other concentrate the efforts of the entire membership and of all the people on the construction of our economy. The Party members believed in the Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee trusted its membership, and all the people became closely united behind the Party and the Government, in which they had complete confidence. The entire people launched an all-out campaign for increased production and for economy in support of the Party's call. This resulted in a great upswing in socialist construction, and miraculous successes and innovations were achieved in every sector of the national economy. Thus, for example, the Kangson Steel Plant's blooming shop produced 120,000 tons of rolled steel a year with a blooming mill of a rated capacity of only 60,000 tons. This defeated the domestic factionalists, foiled the manoeuvres of the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique, and humbled the international factions and revisionists. This was how we fought back both internal and external pressure and won a great victory.

This was the result of the hard-fought struggle of the entire Party membership and all the people to carry through the Party's policy, united closely behind the Party Central Committee.

The imperialists and the revisionists are still manoeuvring viciously. But there is nothing to be afraid of.

Our situation now is completely different from that in 1956. Our internal unity is incomparably stronger than in those days, and we have strong economic power. And now not so many are opposed to us as there were in those days; a larger number of people sympathize with

us. Therefore, we need not in the least fear imperialist and revisionist pressure.

The more desperate efforts the imperialists and revisionists make, the more vigorously and the more rapidly we should advance. If we raise the people's living standard markedly, build the national economy more powerfully, and reunify the country by our own efforts, their manoeuvres will naturally be defeated, and the revolutionary flag of Marxism-Leninism will fly still higher.

I am convinced that the entire Party membership and all the people will effect a new revolutionary upswing in socialist construction in our country by implementing the decisions of this plenary meeting, just as they did at the time of the December 1956 and June 1958 Plenary Meetings.

ON CORRECTING THE WORKING METHOD AND STYLE OF PARTY OFFICIALS

**Speech Delivered before the Chairmen
of Central County Party Committees**

September 5, 1963

Today I would like to talk to you about correcting Party officials' working method and style by eliminating their bureaucratic practices and their abuse of Party authority, and also about some immediate tasks.

1. ON CORRECTING THE WORKING METHOD AND STYLE OF PARTY OFFICIALS

The question of correcting Party officials' working method and style is of great importance in the leadership of the revolution and construction.

It depends largely on the working method and style of Party officials whether or not they can increase the fighting efficiency of the Party, cement the ties between the Party and the masses, and mobilize the people effectively for the implementation of revolutionary tasks. No matter how correct a policy the Party may formulate and no matter how good the measures it may take to get its policy implemented, it

will be impossible to unite the masses behind the Party and to carry out the policy properly unless its officials' working method and style are good.

Our Party has long made strenuous efforts to bring its officials to get rid of bureaucratism and to acquire the revolutionary working method and popular style of work.

But some of the Party workers still persist in a bureaucratic work style.

On my last inspection of Ryanggang Province, I found that Party officials were deplorably bureaucratic and abusive of Party authority. It cannot be denied that, since the establishment of this new province, the provincial Party organizations have achieved a little success in uniting the masses behind the Party and in increasing their enthusiasm. But there has been a serious shortcoming in Party work; many people have been divorced from the Party because of the widespread practice of bureaucracy and abuse of Party authority on the part of its officials.

In that province, once cadres have been selected and assigned to their positions, they receive no education or training which would help them to work well. Instead, the personages who should be responsible for such matters are in the habit of hurling abuse at cadres over minor mistakes and of firing them on one pretext or another. In consequence, quite a few workers in subordinate units feel uneasy and simply keep a low profile, trembling at the sight of their superiors. Even when they have made a mistake, they do not report the fact. Subordinates tell lies, talking bombastically or flattering their superiors.

As long ago as when we were giving on-the-spot directions to North Phyongan and Kangwon Provinces we severely criticized Party officials for their practice of bureaucracy and for their arbitrary dismissal of cadres. Nevertheless, in Ryanggang Province, we found such a wrong working style is not yet corrected. If things stand this way, our Party would be unable to fulfil its role as a mother party and carry out its revolutionary tasks properly.

Party workers should be possessed of motherly warmth of character and should know how to treasure and take loving care of their

subordinates. If you simply regard as good for nothing and fire even such people who, if given criticism and education, can readily correct their shortcomings and work well, no one, in the end, will come to work.

It will of course be a different matter if someone has committed an anti-Party and counter-revolutionary act, but you should forgive and patiently educate the people who have made minor mistakes in the course of work, so that they can correct them. Only then will they repent sincerely of their mistakes, strive to rectify them and follow the Party, devoting themselves to the implementation of the revolutionary tasks assigned by the Party.

Party officials must not only prize and take loving care of cadres, but also be kind to people just as a mother is to her children. They should always educate and persuade cadres to work well without committing errors.

During our anti-Japanese armed struggle, the commanders, at all times and in all places, educated their men by setting personal examples in all matters. In giving his men a mission, a commander made a point of gathering the men and kindly explained to them how to implement the mission with success. Whenever we marched towards a village to billet, we used to call the men together and give them detailed instructions that they should not touch even a needle belonging to the villagers and that they themselves should cook their meals and offer greetings to elders and aged people. Not feeling assured for all this, we would halt the unit when we were near the village, summon the political workers and instruct them that they should hold meetings by teams to emphasize the need for every single man to refrain from touching the people's property or misbehaving in the village.

In those days we launched slogans to the effect that guerrillas should never touch the property of villagers and that they should behave themselves towards the people. We got all the men to learn the slogans by heart. We educated the men in this way all the time, but now and then a few troublemakers appeared.

The experience of the anti-Japanese armed struggle shows that accidents were rare with the men who had been well briefed by their commanders before they were given a task or sent on a mission, and that accidents were frequent with those who had not been briefed.

Competent guerrilla commanders, for instance, used to meet the men who were to go on a reconnaissance mission, to have talks with them, going into details of the precautions the men needed in particular—not to smoke on the way because the enemy could smell it, to cough before crossing a bridge, not to splash while crossing a river, and to make sure whether or not the enemy was lying in ambush at a certain place and then pass through the spot one by one, one advancing first to take up his position while another waited to follow. Moreover, the commanders closely inspected whether the men were properly dressed, whether they were putting on their shoes as they should, whether they had enough provisions, and whether nothing was wrong with their weapons, before they went on a mission. Men were successful in their mission when they had been given good precautions like this. But otherwise they often failed or got involved in accidents.

Still now we acquaint ourselves closely with what the vice-chairmen and department heads of the Party Central Committee do every day and how they organize and conduct their work. If we find anything wrong with them we put it to right. We reiterate the significance of particularly important matters. We do the same with the provincial Party committee chairmen. Whenever they return to their provinces after meeting at the Central Committee, we give them a good explanation of their tasks for the period ahead.

But nowadays very few of you, when organizing work or sending your subordinates on a mission somewhere, bother to explain in detail how to perform their task or what points should receive their particular attention. Some comrades even neglect to give proper indoctrination to their subordinates who go abroad on a mission, with the result that the mission is not fulfilled properly. Then, on their return home, you summon them and kick up a row by giving them a good dressing down. If senior officials work in such a bureaucratic manner and abuse their

authority like that, things will not go smoothly.

Party workers must never throw their weight around. Such behaviour has nothing in common with our Party's people-oriented method of work. Abuse of authority is typical of reactionary rulers who oppress and exploit the people; it is intolerable in communists, who should serve the people. In our society where the masses of the people are the master of the country, each official must become a true servant of the people.

If Party workers make a show of themselves and abuse their power, they will not only damage the prestige of the Party, but will fail to win the respect and trust of the people. It would be grossly mistaken to try to raise Party prestige and to tighten Party discipline by throwing one's weight around. Of course, the Party, to be strong, does need strict discipline, like that in the army. But there is nothing in common between strict Party discipline and the abuse of Party authority. By abusing Party authority you can never enhance the Party's leading role nor can you strengthen Party discipline.

Party organizations must strongly combat the abuse of authority by Party officials. The provincial and central county Party committee chairmen should first desist from abusing Party authority and should master the people-oriented work style.

They must not stand on their dignity, throwing their weight around. Instead, they should have a magnanimous and broad-minded attitude towards their subordinates and towards the officials of administrative and economic bodies, and should teach them in various ways how to work successfully. Now and then they should meet and chat with their subordinates or go with them to entertainments and, in this course, acquaint themselves with their subordinates' activities and constantly exert their influence on them. In this way, they will help their subordinates to correct of their own accord any shortcomings they may have, and to perform their duties conscientiously.

Senior officials must not drink anywhere with their subordinates, or behave scandalously against Party principles, ostensibly in order to mix with them intimately. Such an act will affect their subordinates

badly, not favourably. Their behaviour should be suited to the time and the place, and they should observe Party principles always and everywhere. They will then be held in respect by their subordinates and will exert a good influence on them.

In the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, the guerrillas were deferential towards me but were never afraid of me. A certain comrade was rebuked many times, and even was punished for mistakes he had made in the course of the revolutionary struggle. However, since he knew well that these measures were all really aimed at remedying his shortcomings and at promoting his development, he followed us with gratitude and tried hard to rectify his defects, never resenting criticism.

Party officials should equip themselves thoroughly with our Party's mass line.

Currently, instances of Party workers violating the Party's mass line are much in evidence.

Lacking the spirit to serve the people, some officials in Ryanggang Province dictate to the people even in matters which violate the interests of the people, whether or not such an action is liked by the masses or whether or not it conforms to the realities in subordinate units. In the name of Party policy, these officials forced the farmers to plant potatoes in rice fields. They even compelled them to sell to buying agencies all that small output of potatoes which were grown in their kitchen gardens, arguing that potatoes were "grain". This dampened the farmers' enthusiasm for work and made them discontent with Party policy.

If leading officials, cooped up in their offices, order people about and shout at them in a bureaucratic manner, neither farming nor any other economic activity can go smoothly.

Let me cite an instance which occurred during our armed struggle against the Japanese.

There was a large village called Shiliping in the guerrilla zone where many Korean peasants lived, cultivating potatoes, barley and panic grass. The local factionalists of the period were engrossed in

paper work in their offices, behaving bureaucratically, instead of guiding the peasants in the fields to grow good crops. They just issued one written order after another, simply demanding that such and such amounts of grain were to be contributed by the peasants. So farming was not successful. Worse still, they built a log cabin in the mountain, which they called a “Red jail”, and imprisoned anyone who committed some error or who disobeyed them. So the peasants trembled for fear, and farming was unsuccessful. Even when the sowing season set in, the peasants did not care to make the necessary preparations for the farming operations.

At Shiliping there were many young people who had been under my influence when I was working among the youth in the district east of Jilin. Some of them came to me and said, “Things are not going well, because Party workers are behaving in a very bureaucratic manner. They are in the habit of hurling abuse and even beat people. If anyone approaches them with a complaint, they gag him up by labelling him as an enemy spy. They also press us with demands for provisions and take away everything we have. So none of us is enthusiastic about work.”

So I myself inspected the place. The peasants had been so scared by the factionalists that they gave a wide berth even to me at first, reluctant to meet me. I made up my mind to give them a correct understanding of things and to lead them to work well. I approached them by working with them in the fields, spreading manure and selecting seeds. Seeing me sharing bed and board with them and working among them for several days, they came to a proper understanding of me and began to approach me gradually. When I had gained their confidence, I got the peasants together, whenever I found a chance, and made revolutionary speeches. I gently explained to them that they should cultivate as much grain as possible in order to help the guerrilla army, and that only then could the revolutionary forces survive and grow stronger to defeat the Japanese imperialists, and that only then would all of us be well-off. From then on, the peasants became enthusiastic and cultivated good crops.

When I visited the place again a few years later, after our unit had been in action elsewhere, the villagers welcomed us and entertained us with rice-cake, saying that they were enthusiastic about work and that crops were thriving, now that bureaucracy had been wiped out.

In South Hwanghae Province, too, farm work goes better at present than in the past when officials behaved bureaucratically and talked bombastically. In former days weeding used to be done only in the fields near the roads, so as to deceive passersby, but now all the fields are well weeded and the crops thrive.

Experience shows that no work, including farming, can be successful unless the senior officials concerned have got rid of bureaucratism, go among the masses to listen to their voices, and work among them properly, to stimulate their enthusiasm and creativity.

Party workers are all masters of the country. The provincial Party committee chairman is the master of his province; and the county Party committee chairman, of his county. It is by no means easy to be the master of a province or of a county. A county Party committee chairman, to perform his duty as such in good faith, must think and work a great deal to improve the living conditions of the people in his county, and handle any problem prudently, holding himself totally responsible to the Party.

Party workers must always weigh the pros and cons of a matter before settling it; they must not see only one side of it or regard it as simple when dealing with it. Particularly when discussing and deciding on a matter, they must reckon the merits and demerits of the decision to be made, see whether it is in the interests of the people or not, and foresee all its possible consequences.

Party workers must be modest and frugal, as befitting people in the leadership of the advanced working class. They should work devotedly for the good of the people, always putting the interests of the people above their own. They should not get engrossed in their own personal affairs, without giving heed to the people's living conditions, nor should they try to have themselves alone work and live comfortably in

good offices and houses.

Several years ago, the chairman of the Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee suggested that, because it was too small, his office building should be reconstructed, so I approved it. The provincial Party committee went and had it built in a park which until then had been a most pleasant cultural recreation area for the citizens of Hyesan. And then the building of the provincial security bureau was built beside it. So now the working people can no longer relax in the park. In this context, how can Party officials claim that they serve the people? Official buildings should not be located in parks which are there to provide the people with pleasant recreational amenity. Parks with good landscaping should have facilities for the working people to relax or to study. Ryanggang Province had better construct another office building elsewhere for its Party committee and use the first one as a library.

In North Hwanghae Province, too, the office building of the provincial Party committee is located in beautiful scenery at the foot of a mountain. I had been told that the site was in the centre of the city and that they had reserved near it a site for the proposed construction of an office building for the provincial people's committee. But I disapproved of that proposal.

Provincial-level establishments need not necessarily be located in the heart of a city. When we were planning the postwar reconstruction of Pyongyang, some people argued that national and municipal institutions should locate in the heart of the city. I criticized the idea as mistaken. The central part of a town should have mass cultural establishments such as a labour palace, a people's hall or a library.

Party workers must not complain of their housing conditions. If they do, they will be laughed at by the people. The provincial or county Party committee chairmen must not think of their own houses first; they must give primary attention to the housing of the people and must work devotedly to take good care of the people. Only then can they become the servants who truly love and serve the people.

Kim Tu Bong, an anti-Party factionalist, complained a lot about his

housing conditions. When the office building of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly was under construction, he quarrelled more than once with the builders, complaining that no front gate had been designed for the building. He argued for the gate, insisting that some ancient palace had as many as twelve gates, through each of which one had to pass before gaining entrance. How could you provide an ancient-style gate for a three to four-storeyed modern building? He was also very particular about the residence of the President of the Presidium when it was being built.

Party workers must never dream of living comfortably in a palace just as Kim Tu Bong did. How can our leading officials, the servants of the people, demand a palace or an imposing residence? They should live frugally and responsibly, to fit in with the revolutionary era and learn to devote everything to the people.

Party workers should not only live frugally but also work hard. I hear that some officials are easygoing at a time when they have a pile of work on their hands. We cannot understand such persons. The heavier one's responsibility is and the more work one has to do, the harder one must work, even if one has to sleep less. A man in the leadership position will naturally find himself sleepless. Under the pressure of work, he can hardly sleep even if he tries to, because he feels uneasy.

You must not forget what heavy tasks you have been entrusted with by the Party, and how important your jobs are.

A central county Party committee chairman is a leading official who is in charge of a district of the country. I should say that he is a representative vested with full authority and sent to a local district by the Party Central Committee. So, if you are not good at your job, the people will laugh at you, asking how can someone from the Party Central Committee work like that? They may be disappointed at the thought of the man who is incapable of leading them to a better life. If this happens, it will disgrace the Party and also impair the prestige of the Party Central Committee.

Most of our officials now are young people. Young people in high

posts tend to put on airs. You must be careful not to behave like that. One cannot say that young people are not equal to big jobs. I started my revolutionary activities in my early years with an ambition to accomplish great things for the people. I have worked with determination and found nothing impossible. Bearing in mind that the revolutionary duties entrusted to you by the Party and the state are very important, you must devote all your talents and energies to your work.

2. ON SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS IN PARTY WORK

First of all, you should efficiently organize and conduct discussions for implementing the decisions of the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee.

You should not substitute for this work the holding of a meeting on your return, simply to adopt a decision, cheer and then break up. You should begin with meticulous, organizing work to bring the decisions of the plenary meeting home to the people. The perfunctory reading out of the decisions of the plenary meeting once to a gathering will not be enough. You should repeatedly disseminate them until everyone understands their essence.

You should first see to it that the cadres are fully briefed concerning the decisions.

The provincial Party committees will have to summon their instructors and higher Party officials and also the workers in charge of administrative and economic bodies and explain the decisions to them for several days. And then an assignment should be given to the vice-chairmen of the provincial Party committees to go out to provincial-level organs such as the provincial people's committees and the provincial rural economy committees for the dissemination of the decisions. At the county Party committees, the chairmen should first

imbue their staffs with the decisions and then send down these officials to disseminate the decisions among the Party cells. Only after one month of dissemination in this manner, should the plenary meetings of the provincial Party committees be convened.

These meetings should discuss problems in industry and agriculture according to the specific conditions of each province. The meetings should discuss in detail the work of those economic sectors which are in the direct charge of the provinces, rather than the industries which are under the central authorities. To do this, it is necessary for each county to make a preliminary survey of what and how should be done with agriculture and what and how much should be produced by locally-run industry.

The plenary meetings of the provincial Party committees should give particular attention to the target figures for production which are to be determined by the provinces. At the moment the provinces take seriously the target figures issued by the central authorities, but are somewhat careless about those which they themselves settle. This is not the right attitude. The provinces should estimate in detail: how to undertake capital construction; what can be economized in capital construction so as to undertake additional projects; how to secure equipment; how to produce everyday necessities and how to obtain raw materials; how much two-crop raising can be introduced in which county, ri or state farm; where domestic animal pens should be built if these are planned. In the course of making these estimates, the provincial Party committee chairmen will come to understand clearly the economic situation in their provinces.

As far as the centrally-controlled industries are concerned, all that is needed is to take effective measures for backing them up. As for locally-run industry, capital construction and agriculture, however, the provinces themselves should examine these closely so that nothing will be overlooked.

While properly organizing the dissemination of the decisions of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, the provincial Party committee chairmen should closely study the problems to be discussed

at the plenary meetings of the provincial Party committees and should work out the methods of their implementation. If they find anything uncertain, they should personally inspect the place in question to acquaint themselves with the actual conditions and discuss any necessary measures with the local people. In this way you will be able to make your plans well.

Production plans should be drawn up by economic bodies. Party officials should examine the plans one by one to see if these are correct and should give advice as to how to rectify any deviation which may come to light.

The plenary meetings of the provincial Party committees should be held when everything is ready—late in September or early in October. After these meetings, some fifteen days should be allowed to the county Party committees to make good preparations for their plenary meetings.

What is important with the plenary meetings of the provincial Party committees is that the meetings be conducted on a high political and ideological level. The meetings should not merely discuss purely economic and technological problems. The recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee was mainly concerned with problems of the construction of our national economy, but we highlighted the great political significance of the topics we discussed. A Party meeting will not be successful if it discusses purely economic and technological matters without stressing their political significance. Even if it discusses such matters, a Party meeting must proceed on a high political and ideological level.

In the future, too, this method should always be used in discussions aimed at implementing the decisions of the plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee.

From now on, the central authorities will issue not many decisions but written communiques. You may discuss briefly the directive and the like sent from the central authorities. But the decisions on the problems discussed at the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee are as important as the Party line. So you must study and discuss them in depth, just as you do with the documents of a Party congress.

The struggle to implement the decisions of this plenary meeting must bring about another great revolutionary upswing in all sectors of the national economy.

Next, you should ensure the proper discussion of the circular letter which the Party Central Committee addresses to the entire membership.

The letter should be read out to the joint meeting of Party members and non-Party people at each unit, and then it should be discussed on an organizational basis. The Democratic Youth League, Women's Union and the trade union organizations should also discuss it in accordance with their respective procedures, and Party cells, too, should discuss it separately. Each and every organization should discuss the tasks set forth in the letter item by item and in the realistic context of work in the relevant sector, and should then derive the tasks to be performed by the organization concerned, and work out how best to mobilize the masses. After this, a resolution should be adopted to call for the implementation of the tasks put forward in the letter.

You should not discuss the letter in haste, but should do it over four months through this winter. In the course of prolonged discussion, people will hit upon many good ideas, without forgetting the spirit of the letter, and will be able to take concrete measures to implement the letter.

You comrades must clearly keep in mind the purpose of the forthcoming discussion of the letter. The discussion is to aim at arousing the masses to a high degree of creative enthusiasm.

Party organizations must give free rein to the revolutionary zeal and talents of the Party members and of other working people so as to accelerate economic construction and build up the nation's economic life assiduously. Let technicians contribute their technical skills, let intellectuals contribute their knowledge, and let men of strength contribute their strength, so as to effect a fresh revolutionary upswing in the construction of socialism.

Further, education against revisionism should be intensified.

As you all know, revisionism is doing great harm to the revolutionary struggle and to construction work. The revisionists do

not want to carry on with the revolution; they are opposed to the class struggle. They have long since betrayed the revolution. They do not confine themselves to following revisionism; they force the peoples of other countries to follow it in an attempt to prevent them from engaging in revolutionary activities. The revisionists have now begun conspiring openly with the US imperialists.

We must give all our Party members and other working people a clear understanding of the true nature and harmfulness of revisionism and of the revisionist moves against our country. We will thus encourage our people to combat revisionism without compromise.

No matter what machinations the revisionists may resort to, we can never give up the revolution nor can we abandon our revolutionary principles. We must believe in our own strength and carry on the revolution and push ahead with the building of socialism. The more frantic the revisionists become, the more strenuous efforts we must make and the more successfully we must build socialism, to show the mettle of the Koreans. If we work hard and provide all our people with a happy life—tile-roofed houses and a diet of rice and meat soup—we will have nothing to envy.

But we must always be highly vigilant. Seeing the revisionists going hand in hand with imperialists, having given up the class struggle, the US imperialists may attack the northern half of Korea again. We must therefore strengthen our own revolutionary forces and make our nation's defences impregnable.

3. ON SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS IN ECONOMIC WORK

Our efforts should be concentrated, above all, on industrial development.

Unless we build industries properly, it will be impossible to enlarge

and strengthen the nation's economic foundations, produce larger quantities of everyday necessities for the people, or develop agriculture rapidly. Therefore, even if we have to put off the building of cultural facilities for some time, we must continue to push forward industrial development on a large scale. By doing so, we should increase the output of consumer goods and further develop agriculture, so as to provide all our people with good clothing and the diet of rice and meat soup.

We must grapple with the task and construct a large number of industrial establishments. We must build more factories and irrigation works and river embankments.

If we are to accelerate economic construction and rapidly improve the people's standard of living, each economic sector must use funds effectively, strive to eliminate waste and economize in the use of our resources.

Our Party raised this problem a long time ago. But Party organizations have not imbued the Party membership and other working people with this policy of the Party, and have neglected to give the organizational leadership or education necessary for its implementation. In consequence, funds and manpower are still being wasted.

The buildings of the Hyesan Textile Mill have been constructed and necessary equipment has been obtained. So the mill can start operation as soon as the equipment is installed. But the mill's senior staff are doing things in an easygoing manner, leaving the assembly and installation of the equipment to the discretion of dozens of fitters, telling them that it will be alright if they finish their task by October this year. That is why these valuable machines have not yet been put to work.

Cooperative farms, too, are using precious state funds indiscriminately and are wasting them. The Okjong Cooperative Farm in Pyoksong County, South Hwanghae Province, has installed water pumps on the summit of a mountain almost beyond human approach and has laid an electric line up to the spot at the expense of a large sum of state funds, simply because loans were given for all the monies requested. Thus hundreds of thousands of *won* has been wasted. This farm has many

suitable sites where water pumps can be installed at less cost. But the officials, who have wasted so much money by organizing the project carelessly, now request that the state exempt the farm from the repayment of the loans because it is too much in debt to be able to pay it all back. We have had no alternative but to comply with their request.

Not only this farm but also many other cooperative farms receive excessive state loans without accurate estimates and waste them—for instance, by laying electric power-lines here and there. But Party officials, far from combatting such practice, compel the banks to give the loans.

In future, even the building of domestic animal sheds at cooperative farms should be included in the capital construction programme of the provincial people's committee, and the county people's committees should strictly control the farms to ensure that construction works which have not been included in the programme are not undertaken. In this way cooperative farms will be prevented from wasting precious money by using state loans indiscriminately.

To continue, all economic sectors should eliminate waste of labour and use existing manpower more effectively.

At present our manpower situation is very tense. Much manpower is required both for the construction of more factories and for river embankment works and double-cropping in the countryside.

For the satisfactory solution of the labour question we should, above all, mechanize all sectors of the national economy. If tough and labour-intensive work is mechanized, a great deal of labour can be saved. Each economic sector must launch a vigorous technical innovation movement, a mass movement for mechanization and automation in particular. The machines which are produced from now on should be supplied by priority to those areas where there is labour shortage. Tractors, lorries and farm implements should be provided in the first instance to those areas where double-cropping is introduced.

Each economic sector should use manpower rationally.

At the moment many provinces waste much labour by dispersing it over many projects which, the officials concerned say, they are going

to undertake all at once. They must not do so. They should determine the order of priority according to the importance of the projects and finish them one by one, by concentrating efforts on each project successively. This is the way to accelerate construction and to eliminate the waste of labour.

South Hamgyong Province should first undertake the Songchon River project, and after finishing it they should proceed to the Ryonghung River project and then to the Namdae River project. It seems advisable that the Namdae River project be placed in the hands of the farmers themselves, on condition that they are supplied with a certain amount of cement. North Phyongan Province should concentrate its efforts on the Amnok River embankment and irrigation works so as to finish them quickly, and then get down to other ones. South Phyongan Province should complete the Sunhwa River project and then undertake the Chongchon River project. The manpower requirements for the construction projects now under way in the provinces should be met from the forces of the construction regiment. Pyongyang should carry on construction by mobilizing the army as it did for reconstruction work immediately after the armistice.

Lastly, I would like to touch on the organization of functions.

It is advisable to hold national anniversary functions in future not in Pyongyang alone but in the provinces as well. This has many advantages: it will stimulate the development of the provincial capitals and their being kept clean and tidy, and people from the central authorities will go there to teach mass gymnastic performances, for instance. This year we had the anniversary functions of the August 15 liberation in Ryanggang Province. Next year we should hold the May Day functions in Jagang Province and the August 15 liberation anniversary functions in North Phyongan Province.

I hope you will achieve a great success in your future efforts to eliminate bureaucratism, correct your working style and implement the decisions of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee and its letter.

**SPEECH AT THE BANQUET IN CELEBRATION
OF THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

September 9, 1963

Dear comrades and friends,

Today our people are celebrating with great joy and excitement the 15th founding anniversary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, their beloved country.

On the occasion of this glorious national holiday, I would like, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, to extend warm congratulations to you here present and to all our people.

I express sincere encouragement from the people in the northern half of Korea to their compatriots in the southern half who are struggling against the US imperialists and their stooges and for the right to live, for democracy and national reunification, totally inspired by the prosperity and development of our Republic.

Let me also offer congratulations to our 600,000 Korean compatriots in Japan and to all the other Korean citizens abroad and wish the Korean nationals in Japan even greater success in their struggle for their democratic, national rights.

Present here are our welcome guests from fraternal socialist countries as well as from many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America to celebrate the national holiday of our people. On behalf of

the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people, I would like to convey my thanks to them and, through them, warm greetings to the people of each of the countries which have sent their envoys of friendship.

Comrades,

Our 15-year-old Republic has now entered an era of unprecedented prosperity.

The socialist system established in the northern half of Korea has been further consolidated and is displaying its great advantages. The foundations of the independent national economy which our people have laid by working hard in the spirit of self-reliance are proving their solidity and strength more and more every day. Industry and agriculture are developing steadily and rapidly, literature and the arts are brilliantly flowering, and our towns and villages that rose on the rubble are being rebuilt, and are becoming ever more beautiful as the days go by. Our people have rid themselves of exploitation and poverty and are enjoying a happy and worthwhile new life in the embrace of their socialist homeland which is the scene of such prosperous development.

The entire people are firmly united around the Party and the Government, our whole society is pervaded by harmony, cheerfulness and vivacity, and all the people are full of revolutionary enthusiasm and optimism.

All this proves the validity of our Party's policy and the invincible vitality of our state and social system, and demonstrates the inexhaustible strength of our people who, having freed themselves from exploitation and oppression, have firmly taken their destiny into their own hands.

Though our people encountered many difficulties and hardships in the course of their progress, their faith in the justness of their cause has throughout remained unshakable, and they waged their heroic struggle in firm unity under the leadership of the Party. As a result, they have abolished the backwardness and poverty by which they were beset for centuries, and have built a splendid, new socialist country and have

rendered our revolutionary base impregnable, in a very short period.

Today, our struggle has become more cheerful and worthwhile, and even broader prospects are now opening before us. We are entering a decisive stage in the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan, a magnificent programme for our construction of socialism. On the basis of the achievements we have already gained, we have been able to bring about a phenomenal rise in our people's standard of living and to push ahead even more energetically with our technical and cultural revolutions.

It is a noble character of revolutionaries and a revolutionary trait of our heroic people to fight unremittingly for new victories and to advance and innovate unceasingly, without yielding to difficulties or resting on our laurels. When all our working people pursue their forward course even more vigorously giving a free rein to Chollima, a fresh, great upsurge will be brought about in the construction of socialism.

With the successful fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan under the leadership of the Party, our people will turn our Republic into a rich and strong socialist industrial state and will live in comfort and abundance.

The growing might of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea gives the south Korean people strength and courage and comes as a severe blow to the US imperialist aggressors.

Today in south Korea the colonial rule of US imperialism is facing a serious crisis. South Korea's economy has plunged into irretrievable ruin and the poverty of the people has reached its zenith. Discontent with and resistance to the US imperialists and their stooges are further mounting among the broad masses of the people.

In an attempt to maintain their swaying colonial rule, the US imperialists are intensifying their suppression of the people, while at the same time resorting to a new deceptive trick.

There is no way, however, for them to escape the crisis of their colonial rule or to hold in check the growth of the anti-US, patriotic forces in south Korea.

The Korean people will inevitably triumph in their struggle to achieve the freedom and independence of their country. All the

patriotic people in north and south Korea will unite to drive out the US imperialist aggressors and to ensure our national reunification.

US imperialism is the main enemy of peace, national independence and socialism. The US imperialists are viciously manoeuvring to undermine the socialist camp from within and to repress the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and of the exploited peoples. They are going crazy with their aggression and warmongering.

Only when all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of the world have been unremittingly strengthened and united, and when the policy of aggression and war which is being pursued by imperialism—and by US imperialism in particular—has been decisively defeated, can global peace be safeguarded; and only then will the people's struggle for independence and progress emerge victorious.

In spite of the desperate efforts of the imperialists, the forces of peace and socialism are today overwhelming the forces of war and imperialism—as ever in the international arena. The fighting ranks of the people against imperialism are steadily on the increase in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in the rest of the world.

It is inevitable that imperialists and all other reactionaries will perish, and that the people who have risen in the just struggle will triumph.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic will fight on vigorously for peace, national independence and social progress, in firm unity with the peoples of the socialist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and with peace-loving people throughout the world under the anti-imperialist banner held high.

We will more resolutely fight to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism in opposition to modern revisionism and to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement.

I am convinced that our people who are marching forward, united closely around our Party and the Government of the Republic, holding high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, will win a new greater victory in the construction of socialism and in the struggle to achieve the peaceful reunification of our country.

**LET US DEVELOP OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY
INTO A REVOLUTIONARY ARMY
AND IMPLEMENT THE POLICY
OF SELF-RELIANCE IN NATIONAL
DEFENCE (Excerpt)**

**Speech at the 7th Commencement
of Kim Il Sung Military University**

October 5, 1963

Comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic I would like to warmly congratulate all of you graduates who have completed your course of study and are going to return to your respective units, the glorious revolutionary posts, in order to defend our socialist homeland.

Let me also extend my heartfelt thanks to Comrade President and the whole teaching staff who have devoted all their efforts and energies to educating and training the graduates.

And I wish great success to the freshmen and undergraduates in their military and political training.

At this commencement I would like to make a few remarks to you all—to the comrades who are graduating, to all the students who will continue to study, and to the teaching staff who are exerting themselves to improve their instruction.

Our country which you are defending is in a period of prosperity. It is changing literally into a mighty socialist state with the firm

foundations of an independent national economy.

We cannot yet say that we are leading a life of abundance, but we have built a socialist paradise where there is neither exploitation nor oppression and where everyone has the same standard of living and is assured of the same opportunities for work and study.

The more intensely and dynamically we strive, the more our homeland will prosper and the more our national economy will advance. And our people's lives will be enriched.

As a result, our revolutionary base will be further strengthened and our revolutionary force for national reunification will continue to grow and eventually lead the Korean revolution to victory.

Our country still remains divided into north and south. This is very unfortunate. More than half of the population are still oppressed and exploited by imperialists, landlords and capitalists.

In these circumstances, our People's Army is confronted with two tasks.

One is that of impregably defending our socialist motherland; and the other is the great revolutionary task of reunifying our divided territory and people and liberating the industrial workers, peasants and other working people of the southern half from the oppression of US imperialism, landlordism and capitalism.

In order to accomplish these revolutionary tasks we must first strengthen our People's Army.

There are a number of revolutionary factors which are essential if a revolution is to be carried out successfully.

One of them is political force. If we are to carry out a revolution we must first have a revolutionary force, that is, a political force. Then we need military and economic strength. In other words, political, economic and military forces are essential for the completion of our revolution.

What is political force? It means a politically united force that strengthens our Party, firmly rallies the entire people around it and encourages them to strive for the accomplishment of its revolutionary cause. This is the most important force. Without it we cannot carry out our revolution.

Revolution means an arduous struggle to destroy old institutions and build a new social system under which the majority of the people can lead a full and happy life.

Inasmuch as this struggle is in the interests of many people, they must take part in it. Revolution cannot be carried out by a couple of men. Therefore, our Party has been emphasizing that political force is most important in carrying out its revolutionary tasks—building socialism in the northern half, liberating south Korea and reunifying the country.

Consolidating our Party is of the greatest importance in strengthening political force.

Our Party is the vanguard of the Korean working class; it is the vanguard of the working people, their heart and General Staff. Therefore, if we are to guide the people, we must first strengthen the Party, the core force.

In order to strengthen the Party, it is necessary, first of all, for the whole Party membership to closely unite around its Central Committee. Without unity and cohesion the Party cannot be strong.

Furthermore, in order to carry out Party policies, all Party members should be capable of performing their tasks to perfection. They should also be well versed in the work of uniting the masses around the Party.

In other words, if we are to increase our political force, we must first build up the Party and firmly rally the masses around it. This alone enables us to succeed in accomplishing the revolutionary cause of building socialism in the northern half and of reunifying the country.

Another important force in making revolution is economic force.

Economic force means strength as manifested by the possession of material goods. Revolution requires a certain amount of material wealth: we must lay firm foundations for our own national economy which can adequately feed our people and develop our country.

Only when we are economically strong, can we guarantee our political independence.

Our Party's present slogan is "Juche in ideology, independence in politics and self-support in economy".

Ideologically, Juche must be thoroughly established; everyone must have the Juche ideology which serves the Korean revolution.

Politically, we must have independence. We must not depend on others or dance to others' tunes; we must have political independence.

Economically, we must have an independent national economy. If we beg others for food and clothes and cannot make a rifle or a motor vehicle, we are not economically independent.

This material foundation is indispensable for increasing our political and military strength and securing independence in politics and Juche in ideology. Therefore, economic independence is essential. Material wealth is most important.

Let me cite a few examples. Your uniforms and our clothes are still inferior to foreign ones. This is true. But we did not beg other countries for what we are wearing now. Until a few years ago we had not been able to fully solve the clothing problem on our own. We have long been weaving ordinary cloth. However, until three or four years ago we had imported cloth for your uniforms. But today we are using our own cloth, even for officers' uniforms.

Before, we also imported rice—500,000 to 600,000 tons of it a year.

But five or six years ago we stopped importing rice. Of course, we engage in cereal trade. We barter our maize for flour once in a while, when we need it. This does not in the least affect our independence.

Because of our economic strength we maintain political independence. We do not act as others dictate. When doing anything we do it according to our wish; we do it if it benefits us and suits our taste. So material force is most important.

You can find a familiar example in the situation of south Korea. It is not economically independent now.

The south Korean soldiers are fed on US surplus farm produce. The south Korean “National Defence Army” troops wear US-made uniforms. Their boots, rifles and cartridges are all supplied by the Yankees.

Do they have any independence? None. The south Korean puppets act as they are ordered to by the Americans: when ordered to get out

they get out and when ordered to come in they come in. They have no independence whatsoever. South Korea is shackled to the American enemies because it is not economically independent.

Needless to say, the south Korean people are also awakening to this reality. As a result, south Korean youths and intellectuals are strongly demanding the building of an independent national economy. And every day the south Korean press stresses the value of independence and self-sufficiency.

However, an independent national economy cannot be created by mere words. It can be built only when social institutions and relations in production are put right. Just writing articles in the press and shouting slogans for the building up of an independent economy will not do.

In south Korea today they advocate an independent economy, but this is a mere slogan; such an economy is unrealizable.

Why? If they are to have an independent economy in the southern half, the factories and enterprises should be nationalized, and in the process the capitalists and foreigners must be deprived of ownership. They must also head off the influx of foreign goods and manufacture their own goods. But they have neither the ability nor the nerve to do so. Nor would the Americans allow them to do so. That is why they cannot have an independent economy.

In order to secure the independent development of their rural economy, they should also dispossess the landlords. But how can a regime which protects the landlords ever do so? It cannot. And not only that. The price of rice should be fixed in the interests of the peasants, but that is not done. Park Chung Hee claims that he is carrying out a "physiocratic" policy, but this is nothing more than lip service. He cannot implement such a policy: he has no means of doing so. Their independence is a mere slogan; they simply cannot have an independent economy. But anyhow we are glad to hear the voice for the building of an independent economy in south Korea. We welcome this. However, they must not build such an economy with US and Japanese loans. Otherwise, south Korea will just become a colony

again. If they are to build an independent economy, they must collaborate with the northern half. This is one of our proposals for peaceful reunification. Should the south Korean authorities agree to north-south collaboration, we would say, "If you collaborate with us we can feed your army; you needn't ask the Americans for cloth and ammunition because we can supply them to you. But there is a condition. We can collaborate only when you fight against the Yankees and Japanese militarists and for the people." They dare not say that they can support the north Korean army. As you see, material force, economic independence is important.

I would not dwell on this problem today. I want to say political independence can be guaranteed only by our independent economy, by material force. Because they have not this material force in the south, they lack political independence.

Our country has now built a solid independent economy. On the occasion of the 15th birthday of our Republic we invited many foreigners, particularly Asians and Africans. Delegates from more than 20 nations were here. All of them admired the independent national economy which we had built in our country; they said that our policy is fully correct....

The strength of our independent national economy constitutes a revolutionary economic force which will contribute to national reunification. We have not prepared this economic force exclusively for the well-being of the people in the northern half of our country. Our economic force is also to support the south Korean revolution; it is one which, after liberation of the southern half, will quickly build south Korea's towns and countryside, rapidly develop the industries, speedily solve the unemployment problem and offer many people the opportunity of education.

To carry out our revolution we must not only increase our political and economic strength but also develop powerful military force.

What is military force? It means a full military strength capable of protecting with armed forces the gains already achieved, and of accomplishing the revolutionary task with armed force where

necessary for further victories.

Of course, we will achieve the reunification of our country by peaceful means whenever it becomes possible without resorting to armed force. However, if the enemy tries to attack us by force of arms, we must hit him with our armed forces. So, in order to carry out our revolution we need military force, as well as political and economic strength.

What is our Party's policy for increasing our military strength?

It is a policy of self-reliant defence. We must become capable of defending ourselves. We must not expect others to defend us. By self-reliant defence, we do not mean, of course, that we will decline all foreign aid. If they give us aid, we will accept it, but even if they do not, we must be able to manage by ourselves. This is our principle.

Since I am speaking at a military university, I am not going to dwell on economic or political problems but mainly on military problems.

We must continue to strengthen our military force. Our Party intends to reunify the country by peaceful means as far as possible. However, if the enemy hampers the advance of our revolutionary movement by force of arms, we must be ready to use our armed forces to reunify the country.

Therefore, military force is most important in defending the victories which we have already won and in advancing our revolution.

We strengthen our military force in order to defend ourselves....

We must be firmly prepared, both ideologically and militarily, for perfect self-reliant defence, so as to protect ourselves with our own efforts, in the military sphere, just as in the economic sphere.

Then what is to be done?

First, we must develop our People's Army into a revolutionary army.

We have been emphasizing this ever since its establishment. Our army must become a revolutionary army of workers and peasants.

A revolutionary army always faces a formidable enemy.

In national-liberation revolutions the workers and peasants arm themselves, first with hammers and axes, and then with rifles snatched

from individual enemies. Thus armed, they fight hard battles to crush the strong enemy and attain final victory.

Fidel Castro also began his revolution with seven rifles, and won victory by defeating a strong enemy. Today the entire Cuban people are armed and defend their revolution under the very nose of the United States.

What is important is that everyone, to the last man, should safeguard the revolution: its banner must never be lowered, its spirit never wane.

In the past, we anti-Japanese guerrillas also fought the enemy with obsolete arms. During the Fatherland Liberation War our People's Army also worsted the enemy with old weapons. The Chinese People's Volunteers came to our aid but, in fact, their weapons were also obsolete.

In the triumphant Russian revolution the workers and peasants fought with poor weapons. So did they when fighting the White Army and the armed interventionists from 14 countries who had invaded Russia. In the war against the Hitlerite fascists the arms of the Soviet army were worn out. They nevertheless crushed a formidable enemy.

The question is not whether an army has good weapons or bad, but whether it is a revolutionary army or not.

To form a revolutionary army the officers and all other soldiers must begin with building themselves up politically and ideologically.

Many problems arise here. The most important is to arm themselves with the class spirit. A revolutionary army fighting against the landlord and capitalist classes and the imperialists must arm itself with the working class's concept of revolution.

We must equip our officers and men with the revolutionary idea that they can defeat a formidable enemy even with outmoded weapons, with the revolutionary idea that they should not just count on powerful arms like nuclear weapons but should rely on the strength of the entire people, organize them, unite them and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. We should equip them with the spirit of unity between officers and men and between the army and the people.

During the Fatherland Liberation War we fought a strong enemy and won a great victory. At that time our officers and men had an excellent outlook. What kind of people were they? They were all sons and daughters of industrial workers and peasants. Their revolutionary consciousness was high; former hired hands, they had just been freed from the oppression of the landlords, capitalists and the Japanese blackguards, and had been given land or had been appointed as masters of factories.

They were people imbued with a firm revolutionary determination to safeguard their prosperous motherland and the system which was guaranteeing their happiness. That is why we were able to vanquish the tough enemy.

The same is true of the present. What is most important in shaping up our army to be a revolutionary army is that all the officers and men should assimilate the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas and thoroughly arm themselves with the class spirit. They should have a great hatred for the enemy, unite with a single will and purpose and with a resolve to fight to the last, relying on the strength of the people and binding them around the Party.

The People's Army should be utterly loyal to the Party and to the country. We must be prepared to shed our blood to protect our revolutionary gains and our prosperous socialist motherland possessed of its independent national economy, our motherland where there is no oppression or exploitation, where everybody is entitled to employment and education, and where there are the factories and enterprises which we have built with our own efforts, and the solid foundations for ensuring that all the Korean people live in abundance. All the officers and men of the People's Army must arm themselves with ardent patriotism.

The People's Army must be faithful to the Party and must defend it. It should protect and bear allegiance to our revolutionary Party—our Party, the vanguard of the industrial workers and of other working people, the Party whose mission it is to overthrow the landlord and capitalist classes and to defend the interests of the working people, the

Party which is in the front line of the shock brigade in the fight to protect the banner of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism in the international working-class movement.

The officers and men must hate the enemy. They must clearly realize that the landlord and capitalist classes and the Japanese and US imperialists are the arch-enemy of us Korean people, and they must arm themselves with deep hatred for them.

Thus our People's Army will become an ideologically and politically prepared revolutionary army, filled with the conviction of victory, with the communist conviction that they can carry the revolution to the finish in the interests of the masses. It must develop into a revolutionary army inheriting the revolutionary spirit of the anti-Japanese guerrillas who, at the start, had not even a rifle, but who snatched enemy weapons with which they waged a long, arduous struggle against Japanese imperialism, a strong enemy

If we are to increase our defence power, our revolutionary military power, we must carry forward the ideology, working style and traditions of the revolutionary army. As we have experienced ourselves, and as is clear from the revolutionary history of other countries, top priority must be given to assimilating the revolutionary traditions. Only then can we safeguard the ideology, working style and traditions of our revolutionary army. This is our greatest source of power.

Once we are politically armed in this way, we can beat a strong enemy, even if we are a little behind others technically or lack some training. So, political and ideological arming is most important.

Next, we must carry through the Party's military policy of self-reliant defence.

To do this the entire people must first arm themselves. In emergency we cannot fight only with the People's Army a few hundred thousand strong. The whole people must be armed and fight; and this we can do. It is one of our greatest advantages.

The south Korean puppet regime cannot do this. Because we trust our industrial workers and peasants, we can arm all of them, but the

south Korean puppet regime of the landlords and capitalists cannot arm the people. They fear that the people would level guns at them.

The capacity to arm our entire population is one of our characteristics and is an inexhaustible source of our military power. This is better than rockets.

What must we do if we are to arm our entire population? We must develop the People's Army into a cadre army.

It is impossible for all the people to join the army and to undergo military training. Therefore, the People's Army must first be made into an army of cadres, so that in case of an emergency which would require the arming of the entire people, the existing divisions can be expanded to corps, the regiments to divisions and the battalions to regiments. This is our Party's policy.

We are producing enough weapons to arm the entire people. In emergency we will make sure that members of the Workers' Party and the Democratic Youth League and all the rest of the people carry guns. What will we need then? We will need cadres. In that case, whoever has served in the People's Army will have to be a commander. That is the way in which it will be possible to arm all of the people. This is most important.

In the future, every branch of the army, whether it be the signal or artillery corps, must be a corps of cadres. Thus, when all the people are armed, the People's Army will be well qualified to play the key role of commanding them.

Next, the whole country must be fortified.

We have no nuclear bomb. But we can stand against any enemy who has atom bombs.

Military science has probably taught you about the effects of the atom bomb and how to protect yourselves from them. If you dig into the earth you can protect yourselves from nuclear attack.

Our country has favourable terrain conditions. We have many high hills. Since we have chemical plants we can produce as much explosives as we want; and we are manufacturing tungsten steel. So we can fortify the whole country in the future.

The science of tunnelling is taught here at the military university. This is very useful. In my opinion, this subject had better be included also in the curriculum of the Kang Kon and other military academies. It is necessary to teach it to all platoon leaders as well as to noncommissioned officers at their training centres.

We must make tunnels everywhere. We must fortify the whole of the country—not only the frontline but also the rear, the second and third lines—and reinforce our air and maritime defences. We must also build many underground plants.

What shall we look like when we have armed the entire people and fortified the whole country? Perhaps you have seen a hedgehog. When it draws in its head and curls itself up, its whole body is covered with thorny bristles. Because of this strong “armament” no animal dares to attack it. The same is true of us. Once we arm the entire people and fortify the whole country no enemy, however strong, will dare to attack us. Even the Yankees.

What we have done is no secret. The enemy also knows it. He has many spies. We do not know how many of them have been here, in addition to those we have caught. Some of them were caught here on their third or a fourth trip. Those caught on a fourth sneak had apparently carried out their missions on three trips. Therefore, the enemy must know what we have done. Nevertheless, I do not mean that we must open the door and reveal everything. If the enemy gets informed of the arming of all our people and the fortification of the whole nation, he will be scared and will not invade us. This is what I mean.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, Eisenhower attempted at a landing on our west and east coasts for a showdown but, finally, was forced to sign the Armistice Agreement. Do you know why? At the time our Party Central Committee addressed a Red Letter to its entire membership. The whole Party resolved to fight a life-and-death battle and started driving tunnels to get ourselves ready. The enemy spies reported this to the Americans. And they thought that if they took reckless action against us, far from winning, they would be beaten to a

jelly. So they dared not make a further attack on us, and thus were brought to their knees.

Cuba stands firm against the US under its very nose, so why can't we? We can do the same, once the whole country is fortified.

That is why we must arm the entire people and fortify the whole country. Our military science should be dedicated to this achievement.

Our next task is to make sure that in case of war every branch of our national economy supports our military effort.

During the Fatherland Liberation War we could not do this properly. Then we were weak, technologically poor and short of everything. Since we could not make rifles on our own, we had to import them. Consequently we could not supply the front with rifles in good time. Nor could we even manufacture enough hand grenades.

We must prepare all the realms of the national economy, including the engineering and metallurgical industries, to serve the war effort when the occasion arises. We should see that each factory is capable of producing war materials, while laying up the reserves which will be needed in war.

Now we have a good harvest every year. But our slogan is economy. We are practising economy and increasing our reserves. We are laying up everything in reserve—rice, salt, steel, cloth and so on. If we have plenty of these stockpiles, and if the whole economy can be geared to the war, we will be able to defend ourselves. Then we will firmly safeguard the motherland against any enemy and be ever-victorious in the future advancement of our Korean revolution.

In accomplishing the Korean revolution, one of our main tasks is to successfully guarantee and protect our construction of socialism in the northern half of the country. At the same time, we must completely liberate the southern half and build socialism there, thus realizing throughout Korea a society with neither exploitation nor oppression. This also means the fulfilment of our internationalist duty.

In order to complete this revolutionary task we must strengthen our revolutionary army and increase our defence power. Therefore, the People's Army must become an army of cadres, both politically and

militarily. We must also fortify all our defensive positions and the whole country, and we must be capable of manufacturing weapons and everything necessary by our own efforts. Then we will defeat the enemy and he will not dare to attack us.

In accordance with this spirit the military university should continue to train many cadres.

All our cadres must receive further training. Most of them, company commanders and higher-ranking officers, have war experience, and they should receive political, military and cultural training. We should ensure that they all graduate from the military university. Therefore, you should increase the numbers of faculties and of chairs as you deem necessary. Of course, it is hardly possible that all of them graduate from this university in a short space of time. You must not make haste; you must make sure that most of the officers complete their education at the military university, step by step, over a period of ten years or so.

The graduates should also be given short training courses. For this, the training centre attached to this university must be kept going.

As for the faculties, the existing ones are all good. But I think some faculties of arms have a small enrolment in proportion to the total number of the students. You should expand these faculties and enrol more students.

In former days our forefathers produced many guns for themselves. So do we now. We must make weapons suited to our actual conditions, using materials available in our country. With this in view, we must train many ordnance officers. Needless to say, other faculties should also train many more officers.

Therefore, you should set up any necessary new faculties and also extend the existing ones as may be required.

Next in importance is to improve the qualifications of the teachers.

What is to be done to achieve this? The teachers should, above all, firmly establish the Party's ideological system among themselves.

As a revolutionary army, we must serve the Korean revolution, and be faithful to the Party, the country and the people. Officers who are

unfaithful to their Party and motherland are of no use, however well they may be trained. Precisely the teachers must equip themselves thoroughly with the Party's ideology because it is they who have to train officers true to the Party and the country. In other words, they must be totally loyal to the Party, the country and the people, and they must have a strong Party spirit.

The teachers' level of professional knowledge should be appreciably high. I was told that some teachers are not university graduates. But I do not mean they should all be replaced by university graduates. Those who did not graduate from universities must all reach the standard of university graduates by studying themselves while on the job. Not that only those with university diplomas have university standards of knowledge. If those teachers who do not have such diplomas attain university standards, that will do.

The in-depth study of military science should be continued. In studying our military science and experience, so as to develop a military science which is suitable to our actual conditions, this university must play a central role; it must be a base where military science is studied and developed.

As you see, the teachers must intensify their Party spirit, make greater efforts to increase their general and military knowledge, and to work together with the students in intensive studies to draw up various projects.

Seizing the excellent opportunity afforded by your commencement today, I have spoken to you about a few points which are essential for the implementation of the Party policies. I am firmly confident that you will strengthen the People's Army as a revolutionary army, and thus more firmly safeguard our socialist homeland and revolutionary gains.

ON DEVELOPING THE SUCCESSES ACHIEVED IN THE RURAL ECONOMY

**Concluding Speech Delivered at an Enlarged Plenary
Meeting of the South Phyongan Provincial Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

October 18, 1963

Comrades, this enlarged plenary meeting of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee has reviewed the successes and experience gained in the agricultural sector of the province this year and has discussed new tasks, in order to implement the decisions of the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party.

As we have gathered, farming has been very successful in South Phyongan Province this year. Despite the flood damage in some parts of the province, agricultural output has considerably increased over the figure for last year. This year's grain output in the province is 715,000 tons, or 75,000 tons more than last year's 640,000 tons.

The rice crop in particular is excellent. The provincial average per-hectare yield of rice, which was 3.4 tons last year, stands at 3.9 tons this year, or 500 kilogrammes more than last year's figure. This is a great success.

In spite of the fact that a sizable area of rice fields has been turned over from South Phyongan Province to Pyongyang, the province's area of rice cultivation increased by 8,400 hectares this year, and now totals 111,700 hectares. This province has thus contributed greatly to raising

the output of rice and to improving the qualitative composition of the cereal output in our country.

This success must be accredited to the Party organizations and to all the Party members in this province, and in particular to the Party members and farmers in the agricultural sector, who have made such devoted efforts, as well as to the industrial and office workers in this province who have been of such great help to the rural communities. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I heartily thank them all.

This year Mundok County has achieved a remarkable success in rice cultivation. This year's average per-hectare yield is 4.7 tons for the county as a whole, and has exceeded 5 tons in Ryongo, Ripsok, Tongsa, Ryongnim, Songbop and Sangpal Cooperative Farms. In rice farming Mundok County is a model for the whole country, to say nothing of the province. On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I offer warm thanks to the county Party committee, to the officials in charge of agriculture and to the farmers in the county for the excellent example they have set in rice cultivation, and particularly to the ri Party committees of Ryongo, Ripsok Tongsa, Ryongnim, Songpop and Sangphal and all the Party members and farmers there who have attained the per-hectare yields of more than 5 tons.

Not only Mundok County but also other counties in South Phyongan Province have registered splendid successes in rice cultivation. Sukchon, Phyongwon, Kaechon, Kangso, Kangdong, Sunan and Jungsan Counties have all harvested more than 4 tons from every hectare. In the intermediary zone between the plain and the mountains, Kaechon County has been exemplary, and in the mountainous areas Nyongwon County has been very successful. In the name of the Party Central Committee, I offer my hearty thanks to the county Party committees of Sukchon, Phyongwon, Kaechon, Kangso, Kangdong, Sunan, Jungsan and Nyongwon and to all the Party members and farmers in those counties.

The other counties and cooperative farms in the province which I have not named have also achieved great successes in agricultural production.

What, then, are the factors that have contributed to this remarkable success of South Phyongan Province?

The high crop yields in this province this year are attributable, first of all, to the fact that the county and ri Party organizations in the province correctly reviewed their work in the light of the instructions I had given at Chongsan-ri.

As has been stated in the report and speeches delivered to this meeting and as we found during our field inspection, all the counties and ri of this province reviewed their work very well in accordance with my Chongsan-ri instructions. The Party organizations at all levels analysed in detail the merits and shortcomings which had been revealed in agricultural production, in the management of agriculture and in Party work during 1962. They worked out what practical steps should be taken to develop the merits and to overcome the shortcomings, and then strove to carry them out. In this way the Party organizations in South Phyongan Province properly reviewed their work last year, drew the necessary lessons and made vigorous efforts to perform the tasks which had been set for this year.

This year not only South Phyongan Province but indeed all the rest of our country had a good harvest, mainly because the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet of the Republic had taken correct measures for the development of our rural economy.

Last year the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet reviewed agricultural work much earlier than in previous years, and assigned the tasks in agriculture for this year well in advance. This allowed the provinces, counties and cooperative farms plenty of time in which to make preparations for efficient farming.

Moreover, the Cabinet of the Republic has itself been relatively efficient in matters agricultural. It has taken steps to ensure the manufacture and supply of larger numbers of tractors, lorries and various farm machines, and has seen to it that the requisite materials, fertilizer and agricultural chemicals were all delivered in good time.

The most important success in supporting our rural economy has been the solving of the manpower problem. In conformity with a

decision of the Party Central Committee, considerable numbers of urban people went to work in the countryside, and factories, enterprises and other establishments made themselves responsible for helping individual cooperative farms on a permanent basis and sent reinforcements to the farms in question for 15-day and 10-day “battles”, both in spring and autumn. This year the Cabinet has thus backed up the rural economy rather better than it did in previous years.

Next, I must point out that the advantages of the new system for the direction of agriculture have been fully demonstrated. During the past two years the county cooperative farm management committees have accumulated experience and enhanced their role considerably, so that the management and supervision of cooperative farms is now on the right track. In particular, technical guidance in farm work has been improved, with the result that a notable progress has been made in seed selection, in the growing of cold-bed rice seedlings, in the study of soil, in the introduction of a triple ploughing system, in water conservation, and in the application of fertilizers and agricultural chemicals, amongst other areas.

Lastly I must say that as the experience of South Phyongan Province shows, the expansion of the area of rice fields on the whole helped greatly to increase grain output this year.

As we have seen, effective management of the rural economy has resulted in a great success in the current year’s agricultural production.

But we must never rest on our laurels. We still have many shortcomings.

What, then, are the major shortcomings which have been revealed in this year’s work?

In the first place, the provincial and county Party organizations have failed to take in hand all sectors and to ensure that they implemented Party policy. Instead, their efforts have been biased towards one of these sectors. In other words, the Party organizations have played a steering role only in one particular sector, not in all sectors. As a result, great progress has been made in the one sector to which the Party organizations have paid attention, but there has been

no progress—and there has even been retrogression—in those sectors which have not received attention.

This year crops have suffered no small damage due to floods, because the provincial Party committee and county Party committees confined their efforts to large-scale irrigation projects and gave no attention whatever to medium- and small-scale river improvement projects or to the maintenance of existing irrigation facilities. No serious damage has, in fact, been caused this year by floods in the big rivers, but some counties have suffered great losses due to floods of medium and small rivers, which had been neglected. Once a crop field has been submerged, its yield drops disastrously.

In his speech, Comrade Chairman of the Ryonggang County Party Committee said that his county alone lost nearly 3,200 tons of grain because of flooding by medium and small rivers this year. A loss of that much for a county would amount to 60,000 tons for the whole province. If the provincial and county Party committees had given a little more attention to river improvement, they could have prevented such damage.

This year the senior officials in charge of agriculture have also failed to give attention to dry-field crops, although they have shown much concern for rice cultivation. That is why the output from dry fields dropped. This year's per-hectare yield of maize—which holds the lion's share in the output of dry-field crops in South Phyongan Province—is 1,442 kilogrammes, or nearly 100 kilogrammes less than the 1,517 kilogrammes attained in 1962. If a little more attention had been paid to the dry-field crops and if the output level of last year had been maintained, then tens of thousands of tons of extra grain could have been produced in this province, which has such a large area under maize cultivation.

These shortcomings could have been prevented if the provincial and county Party committees had seriously studied Party policies and decisions and had played their steering role properly in all sectors. Since they supervise all affairs, the officials of these committees should have naturally given advice to their subordinates when the

latter, being engrossed in one thing, overlooked another. If they had thus warded off flood damage to paddy-field crops and had raised good crops in non-paddy fields, South Phyongan Province could already have reached the 800,000-ton level this year.

Of course, the officials of the provincial and county Party committees are not alone to blame. It seems to me that both the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee and the Agricultural Commission are also to blame. These central authorities not only failed to get their subordinates to correct the shortcomings in time, but insisted on “rice, rice; paddy field, paddy field; irrigation, irrigation”, stressing only one thing. That is why the workers at lower units were virtually obliged to confine themselves to the work which was emphasized by the higher authorities.

When I say that you should grasp the main link in the whole chain of affairs, I do not on any account mean that you may skimp on other work. If you are to direct things properly, you must keep an overall view.

Even in war, a breach often occurs where things have been chronically skimmed or neglected. So if one is to become a competent commander, one must learn to see every single corner, and must overlook nothing.

The same applies in economic affairs. In order to become an able leader, one must perceive what is most important in one’s work and concentrate one’s efforts on it while, at the same time, keeping a sharp eye on all other aspects of the job, without overlooking any of them.

The second shortcoming is that some Party organizations rest on their laurels. Thinking that, because they have attained the 5-million-ton target of grain output, they can now live on a diet of rice, some people tend to become self-congratulatory. Formerly, the people in Onchon County lived in poverty, eating panic grass gruel. But they seem to have become complacent now that, thanks to the Kiyang irrigation scheme, all the rice fields have become immune to drought, and that everyone can afford to eat rice. This tendency is not limited to this county. If one allows oneself to get carried away by success, one

may become inactive in one's work, fail to advance or one may even fall behind.

The third shortcoming is the lack of efforts to disseminate advanced farming technique and experience. People in Mundok County have evolved sound methods for the care of rice-seedling beds, and rice transplantation, and as a result they obtain high yields. But the neighbouring Sukchon County and other counties do not try to learn these good methods.

They are probably haunted by a mistaken sense of dignity. Because they once held important posts in the Agricultural Commission, cadres of the Sukchon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee seem to be asking why should they condescend to learn from Mundok County. It is wrong of them not to try to learn from the good experience of others. It would be unlikely that a man who was once a bureau chief or a deputy bureau chief at the ministry would know everything about farming. I would say rather that the people who are engaged directly in farm work have richer farming experience and know more about farming than anyone else. So everyone should humbly learn from farmers.

Those officials are probably also affected by a conservatism which regards their own experience as definitive and which refuses to accept new techniques or advanced experience. One must not consider that only one's own experience is good. We must share each other's useful experience. We have a lot of good experience. The experience gained by Pukchong County in the utilization of land and by Mundok County in rice cultivation is of national significance. But even the neighbouring counties, affected with conservatism, are reluctant to learn from that experience. Some people, probably under the influence of flunkeyism, suggest that one should go abroad to learn from foreign experience, while neglecting our own good experience. They may perhaps have something to learn from other countries, but they should first learn properly from our own experience. Foreigners may, indeed, well want to come to learn from Mundok County. But the people in Mundok County should not themselves be complacent.

We must combat the wrong tendency to persist in one's own experience and to neglect learning advanced farming methods and drawing from the valuable experience of others.

The provincial Party organization and the provincial rural economy committee, too, have not organized properly the dissemination of advanced experience.

As you all know, Onchon County is lagging far behind in rice cultivation. This is because the farmers there have no experience in rice cultivation. It would have been effective if the province, with a view to disseminating advanced experience, had chosen several competent agricultural workers from Mundok County, and sent one of them to each workteam of the backward cooperative farms in Onchon County. The province, however, did not take even such a simple measure, nor did it organize a short course, meeting or discussion, aimed at spreading advanced technical know-how. If things go on like this, the backward counties will lag behind for ever. So we must be more zealous in disseminating advanced experience so as to help the backward counties and farms to catch up as quickly as possible.

County cooperative farm management committees still retain much of the habit of directing agriculture in an administrative way. On the assumption that all will go well if, just as they did in the past, they simply issue orders and urge their subordinates to execute them, some officials of the management committees fail to direct farms on specific technical matters.

Agricultural production is also a technical process. In order to develop agriculture, therefore, you should give proper technical guidance so as, for instance, to raise the utilization rate of farm machines, to establish a correct system of fertilization and to improve seeds. And you should plan agricultural production in detail, as is required by the Tae'an work system. Only then can you say that you direct agriculture by the industrial method.

How is it that in Songchon County, where there is a management committee, a yield of only 500 kilogrammes of maize is obtained from fields which could produce one ton of soy beans per hectare? If

sorghum was grown in the fields on either side of the Taedong River in Sunchon County, two tons could be harvested per hectare. Why, then, are farmers allowed to cultivate maize there, only to produce even less than 500 kilogrammes? And why are the same farmers allowed to neglect river improvement and suffer flood damage, and why do they not think of improving the system of cultivating dry fields, where crop yields are low? It is because the county cooperative farm management committee is still directing agriculture in the old administrative way, and not as an industrial operation.

Management committees talk a lot about the industrial and the Chongsanri method, but they will have to do much more than that if they are to do their job properly. They should not hesitate to discard outdated, subjective habit of planning at their desks and dictating to lower echelons; they should improve their direction on technical matters. How can we say that a management committee plays its role if it draws up plans in a perfunctory way and if it fails to give effective technical direction? The management committees should radically improve their role.

These are, in general, the shortcomings revealed in your work. Of course, you have many other shortcomings. You must not become complacent with such success as you have had, but must make a careful analysis of all the shortcomings which have become manifest in this year's work and strive to rectify them.

Now I would like to dwell on some tasks of South Phyongan Province for next year in the agricultural sector.

The national economic plan for 1964 envisages 779,000 tons of grain output for this province. But the current plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee has proposed the target of 900,000 tons. I think it would be a little difficult to produce 900,000 tons, but you will be quite able to produce 820,000 to 830,000 tons. So it would be a good idea for you to accept the state figure as it is, but nevertheless try to attain an output of 820,000 to 830,000 tons.

The planned grain production quota for the Pyongyang administrative area for next year is 200,000 tons. It is advisable that

South Phyongan Province and the Pyongyang area endeavour, in cooperation, to produce one million tons.

In order to carry out this task you should give primary attention to the proper maintenance of the existing irrigation facilities and to the more effective use of water. We have built our irrigation facilities at the expense of enormous funds and manpower, and they are the valuable property of our people. We should keep these facilities in good condition lest we should waste even a single drop of water. We should make better use of them by installing more pumping equipment and by laying out more channels.

Next year South Phyongan Province should reclaim more than 10,000 hectares of paddy fields. The Party has set the task of reclaiming 40,000 hectares for next year throughout the country. South Phyongan Province will have to cope with one-fourth of the area.

Next year river improvement projects should also be extensively undertaken. At the moment the state is undertaking the embankment projects for big rivers such as the Chongchon and Sunhwa Rivers by mobilizing the army. But projects for medium and small rivers should be carried out by the efforts of farmers in each county and ri. Thus we will prevent the recurrence of flood damage like what we suffered this year.

From olden time good farmers used to clear ditches and rebuild dikes after each harvest. Nowadays, however, these autumnal tasks are neglected. Drawing a lesson from this year's bitter experience, we should launch a large-scale operation to improve rivers, repair dikes and clear ditches.

You must not hamper crop cultivation by imposing big projects upon farmers under the pretext of river improvement. This year in Changdong-ri, Sukchon County, for instance, young villagers were mobilized to build embankments, with the result that weeding was not done properly, to the great impediment of grain production. These deviations should be corrected. Along with this, South Phyongan Province should give close attention to the repair of the coastal embankment which is being undertaken by the state.

Furthermore, steps should be taken to ensure the more rational utilization of farm machinery.

At present, South Phyongan Province has some 2,300 tractors and the number will increase to 3,000 by the end of this year. This is by no means a small number. These 3,000 tractors amount to 4,500 tractors or 45,000 draught cattle, in terms of 15-hp units. If you make good use of them you can do a great deal of work. At the moment, however, farm machines are not put to effective use.

For better use of farm machines in keeping with the rapidly growing number, we must ensure that spare parts are provided without delay and that repair centres are built up. The present low utilization rate of tractors is due mainly to the shortage of spare parts and to the failure to repair tractors promptly.

Hence, the need for the timely supply of spare parts. You need not stock all spare parts indiscriminately: you should keep a minimum of three months' supply of those parts which get worn out quickly or which break down easily. In accordance with a Party decision, it is for the relevant machine factories and farm machines repair plants to produce and supply the spare parts in time.

Since you are going to have as many as 3,000 tractors, you will have to reinforce the repair centres. Otherwise, it will be impossible to utilize the tractors rationally. So you should take measures to build up the repair centres in each district, and enhance the role of the mobile repair teams so as to ensure prompt field repairs.

Close attention should be given to the wide variety of purposes for which tractors can be used. They should not be confined to ploughing; they should be coupled with trailers for hauling operations, and fitted with blades for bulldozing. They should also be used for loading, unloading and water pumping, and as power plant for threshing and for fodder pulverizing. If, however, you are going to use them only for ploughing, and then leave them standing doing nothing, we need not produce such expensive machines. The state should ensure the manufacture of a larger number of tractor-drawn farm machines of different types. If rubber piping is badly needed for the production of

these farm machines, we will have to build a factory for the manufacture of rubber piping.

While taking active steps to make better use of farm machinery, we should increase the production of these machines. The demand for farm machines will continue to grow if we are to introduce the thrice-ploughing and various other advanced farming methods and to increase agricultural output.

As has been suggested in the speeches which have been delivered at this meeting, straw-bag knitting machines should be made in great numbers. Recently I visited the Chilgol Cooperative Farm in Mangyongdae District, Pyongyang, where I was told that the straw-bag knitting machines were very efficient. They say that one such machine produces 300 bags a day at present and will be able to increase output to 500 or 600 in the future. I think it advisable that the state mass-produce such machines for our rural communities. Then, our rural young people will have time to study. As it is, they have no time to study because they have to work in the fields in summer and to knit straw-bags in winter. The present annual output of these machines is 1,100 in number. If the output is increased a little more for the countryside, the rural young people will quickly finish their assignments for the production of straw-bags and then be free to study and to engage in amateur art activities.

There still is a lingering tendency to slight animal-drawn farm machines. This is wrong. As I always say, animal-drawn machines, along with power-driven ones, are of great significance in our present circumstances. We must give due attention to the production of animal-drawn farm machines, too.

We must also take good care of draught cattle. It is necessary to provide an adequate amount of fodder, to feed these animals properly, to look after them in a responsible manner, and to use them more effectively.

Another important task is to undertake soil improvement and land development zealously. Because our farmland has been long exploited since it was first put to use, the fertility of the soil will become

exhausted and crop yields will decrease, unless we take steps to improve the soil. We should spread the fields with slag, slaked lime and with new soil so as to fertilize the land and prevent it from becoming acid. Ditches should be dug in wet land, and terraced fields laid out on hillsides for effective land use. I am told that in a certain country several hundred kilogrammes or even as much as a ton of slaked lime is applied every two to three years to each hectare of cultivated land so as to prevent acidification and to increase the absorption of fertilizer. We need to learn from this experience.

For soil improvement the state should deliver slag to cooperative farms and should supply them with slaked lime, both free of charge. Cooperative farms for their part should scorch the land on a large scale.

We should develop a proper layout of fields so as to make the most of them, and we should cultivate them well. In our country with a limited area of farmland—much of which is on hillsides—we cannot afford to forego the cultivation of hillside plots simply because they are steep. How can we afford it today when much more farmland is required to cope with our continuously growing population? Even hillsides can be cultivated effectively if they are properly terraced. In some parts of the country at the moment, nothing is done to terrace these hillsides; they are ploughed and sown without care, so that the nutrient elements are washed away and landslides are caused by rain, badly affecting the crop yields. If we develop terraced fields each year in a planned way, we can raise the output from our hillsides.

We should eliminate needless ridges between paddy fields and remove piles of stones so as to increase the area of cultivated land to the maximum.

Furthermore, we must raise the per-hectare yields. South Phyongan Province increased its per-hectare rice output by 500 kgs this year, but it may be somewhat difficult to do the same next year. But you must reach this target because a decision to that effect was adopted by the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, as was also pointed out in the Red Letter.

South Phyongan Province, which is near the offices of the Party

Central Committee, ought to take the lead in the drive to hit the target of extra 500 kgs of aquatic rice from every hectare. I hope that the Party members in South Phyongan Province will lead the whole country in this drive, just as they did both in the construction of irrigation works and in maize cultivation.

Thus, you will strive for the goal of 4 to 4.5 tons of rice per hectare in plain areas such as the city of Nampho and Onchon, Ryonggang, Kangso, Taedong, Jungsan, Sunan, Phyongwon, Sukchon and Mundok Counties, 4 to 4.3 tons in the intermediary zones such as Kangdong, Songchon, Sunchon, Unsan, Kaechon and Anju Counties and 3 to 3.7 tons in mountainous areas such as Nyongwon, Maengsan, Yangdok, Hoechang, Pukchang, Tokchon and Sinyang Counties. To hit these targets will not be easy, but you will be able to do so if you work efficiently.

You should raise crop yields in dry fields, too. There are great reserves in dry fields, both for augmenting the total grain output and for increasing the crop yield from every hectare of cultivated land in our country. So you should strive to make the best use of dry fields.

To this end, you should introduce two-cropping extensively and apply inter and mixed cropping on a large area. In case of two-cropping, both the earlier and later crops should be devoted to maximum grain production, and much of inter and mixed cropping, too, should seek the same end. And you should radically increase the per-hectare yields of vegetables so that the demand for them can be met from a smaller area of vegetable fields, while the area under grain and oil-bearing crops should be increased. In this way you will ensure 2 to 3 tons of per-hectare yields in the flatland and intermediary zones, and 2 to 2.3 tons in mountainous areas.

In order to fulfil this task the management committees should radically improve their technical management.

Per-unit-area yields will not rise unless agriculture is managed in a technically sound manner. An important thing in technical management is to ensure that rice seedlings are grown in cold-beds, that they are transplanted in season, that a system of scientific

fertilization is established and that seeds are improved. The efficient selection and care of seeds are of special importance. You should lay out seed plots, produce good seeds and establish a proper system of taking care of them, a strict system by which seeds will be kept in storage in each county or in a separate storehouse in each ri until they are used. This is essential because the quality of seeds has a great effect on yields. It would be advisable for provinces or counties to organize short courses and discussions on technical matters—how to improve and cultivate the seeds of staple crops such as rice, maize and barley—and on other problems of farming technique.

At present the per-hectare yield of barley is very low. In foreign countries the yield is 3 to 4 tons, but in our country it is only 800 kgs. Even if we just raise it to one ton, it will create an enormous reserve for us. If, from each of approximately 200,000 hectares of dry fields in different parts of the country, we produce 1.5 tons from an early crop of barley or wheat and then 2.5 tons from later crops, the per-hectare yield will amount to four tons. This means a total of 800,000 tons from the 200,000 hectares. You should, therefore, radically increase the per-hectare yields of barley and wheat by obtaining high-yielding seeds by careful selection and efficient fertilization and cultivation.

Maize should also be cultivated properly. The yield of this crop is now decreasing. Some comrades say that this is due to the neglect of crop rotation, which, of course, may explain the matter to a certain degree, but the main reason is that the amount and variety of fertilizers applied are not adequate. Experience shows that, even if crop rotation is not adopted, there need be no limit to the yield of maize if different fertilizers are applied liberally.

From now on you should organize frequent lectures and discussions on technical matters, make scientific analyses of good experiences obtained in increasing yields, and disseminate these experiences both by national and provincial newspapers and also by means of suitable books.

Another important matter is to ensure that the rural labour force remains in the countryside. Labour is one of the most important factors

in the development of agriculture in our country. The demand for labour will be great in our country until machines and chemicals can be used to such an extent in agriculture that farming can be done easily with a small input of manpower. So we must devote serious attention to keeping the rural labour force on the land.

The manpower which has already been sent to the countryside should not be allowed to return to the towns. The number of rural workers should be increased by at least 120,000 every year on a nationwide scale. We should also improve rural labour administration and fight against the waste and diversion of our manpower resources.

Now I would like to speak about the question of construction in the countryside. Up to now such construction has been biased towards providing dwelling houses. House building should, of course, be continued in the countryside in the future, too, but for the present we should undertake more productive construction.

We must, first of all, construct many threshing facilities. If we introduce two-cropping and inter and mixed cropping widely, we will need a large number of threshing grounds. Each cooperative farm will have to have at least a roofed threshing ground which can be used even in rainy weather, and each workteam should have a cement-paved threshing ground, which need not necessarily be roofed.

Each cooperative farm should also build a drying-house. Drying facilities should be mechanized as far as possible. These facilities will enable the threshed wheat and barley, to say nothing of tobacco, red pepper, vegetables, fruit, and the like, to be dried without delay, so as to eliminate any danger of their getting moldy.

Each cooperative farm should also build seed and food grain storehouses. At one time, rural communities started building grain bins, but they have now given up doing so. They should resume building them.

All these things cannot, of course, be done during next year. So they should be done in accordance with a programme, over a period of about three years.

In the countryside from next year on, productive construction must

have priority over housing construction.

Further, you should manage orchards properly. We have planted 120,000 hectares of orchards in different parts of the country. These are the nation's precious resources and a great asset for increased production of fruit in the future. We should therefore carefully tend the young trees so that they will thrive and bear fruit as soon as possible.

We must establish an effective system of orchard management so as to improve fertilization and cultivation. It would be advisable to organize fruit-growing workteams in places where many large orchards are concentrated, and sub-workteams in places where a few small orchards are dispersed over a wide area. In this way our orchards can be managed in a responsible manner.

At present, different crops are cultivated in orchards so as to utilize the land more effectively. But this must not interfere with the growth and fruition of the trees. If you grow other crops without substantial yields only to hamper the growth and fruition of the trees, it will result in a great loss. So you should confine yourselves to cultivating beans or sweet potatoes in those orchards in which the trees are still young, and to growing radish, cabbage, mustard or other autumn vegetables in the orchards with mature trees, since these vegetables do not affect the fruition of the trees. As far as possible, you should refrain, in orchards, from intercropping with crops other than those which I have just mentioned.

Next, you should develop livestock farming. To this end you should organize a stock-farming sub-workteam in each workteam, in accordance with a decision of a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, and you should encourage the extensive raising of domestic animals.

As we always stress, what is essential in developing livestock farming is to secure the sources of feed. It will be impossible to do livestock farming in a big way unless the problem of feed is tackled.

In order to secure the sources of feed it is advisable to cultivate fodder crops in the earlier season of double cropping, and also to introduce mixed cropping. Each workteam should produce the feed for

its own domestic animals. For this purpose, it should plant fodder crops wherever possible—on the edges of fields and in the surroundings of animal sheds—and secure many natural sources of fodder, and notably arrowroot in the mountainous regions.

Now, I would like to touch on some other problems arising in the countryside.

You should keep rural dwellings in good condition. The modern rural houses are not well taken care of in some villages. These houses look well from afar, but not inside because of the neglect of care.

And some people who are living in old houses do not keep them in good repair, only thinking of moving to new ones. The repair of such houses would cost neither a large amount of materials nor a great deal of labour, but they neither thatch their roofs nor whitewash their walls nor mend the crumbling chimneys and earthen verandahs simply because they are living in old houses. They ought to keep their present dwellings clean until they move into new ones, if ever they do move to new ones. Even if one has to live in a house for a single day, one must keep it spick and span. How can one live in a slovenly manner in our socialist countryside? An old house may be pulled down when it is necessary to do so, but one must keep the walls whitewashed, rebuild the crumbling verandah, replace the thatch and keep the surroundings clean as long as one lives in it. I have already emphasized this matter more than once, but the situation has not improved much.

Many foreign visitors come to our country. Recently, the head of a certain country saw the reality of our country and said: Korea is a new state with new villages, new towns, new people, new ideas and a new economy. Guests from socialist countries and many newly independent Asian and African countries have spoken highly of our country.

We must not be carried away by their compliments. The people of South Phyongan Province which is located near the capital, not to mention the Pyongyang citizens, should lead a more civilized and wholesome life than those in other provinces. At present, however, the living conditions in this province are the most squalid. The inhabitants

neither take care of their kitchens nor sweep their yards.

I stress once more that the officials of Party and government bodies in South Phyongan Province must, with a keen sense of responsibility for this state of affairs, strive to lead the people of this province to live in wholesome housing conditions.

You should launch a campaign for each household to plant fruit trees in its yard. How good it will be if each house has a few fruit trees and grapevines in its yard! In summer they will give you cool shade, fresh air, beautiful flowers and fruits, all to your benefit.

From the economic point of view, too, this will be very beneficial. At present there are one million farm households in the northern half of Korea. If each of them plants only two fruit trees, the total will be two million. This is equivalent to 20,000 hectares of orchards. Why not do such a good job which is beneficial both to the state and to everyone?

In addition, if a low fence is put around each dwelling, the house will look neat and give an impression of good housekeeping. But new houses in the countryside today look unsightly because they are not fenced. This means that Party officials are not really concerned for the living conditions of the working people.

Now is not the time for people to live in a slovenly manner just as they used to do in former days. We should get everyone to lead a cultured life. By a cultured life we do not in any way mean the luxurious and dissolute life of landlords and capitalists in the past. It would be well if one lives in clean and wholesome conditions, making the most of the resources available.

Children should be dressed neatly. At present women are in relatively clean clothes, but children are not. What is so difficult about parents providing their children with clean clothes in the present situation? This is not because they live in poverty but simply because the parents have not yet got rid of their old slovenly way of life—their indifference towards their children. We must strongly combat this outdated way of life.

Rural women wear skirts even when they are at work, but it seems preferable that they work in work clothes. Skirts are inconvenient for

working women. It would be proper for them to wear trousers as far as possible when they are at work and skirts when going to meetings or other gatherings.

Party committee chairmen should give day-to-day guidance to the people so that every one of them becomes disciplined, courteous and modest and lives in a wholesome and cultured way.

Where people keep their houses and villages neat and tidy and live in a cultured way, both production and Party work go well and vice versa.

Why is it that, in spite of the resources now available, we cannot live in sanitary conditions? It is probably because we are being carried away by the boastful information by our news media that our country has become civilized. True, we have made great progress in the construction of a civilized socialist countryside. But we still have a long way to go to establish socialist cultured ways of life.

In order to build a civilized and modern socialist land of bliss, we should make our houses, villages and streets neat and tidy. This requires still greater endeavours.

In conclusion, all Party organizations should properly review this year the implementation of the instructions given at Chongsan-ri. Each year, the rural Party organizations have undertaken such a review, and this is no bad thing. Since many good experiences are shared and shortcomings are stated frankly at work analysis meetings, people learn a great deal. I think you have learnt a lot at this provincial Party committee plenary meeting.

We should see to it that this year, too, the rural Party organizations hold the work analysis meetings on the basis of the instructions given at Chongsan-ri, as they have done in previous years, so as to bring about further innovations in agricultural production.

At these meetings this year you should brief the Party members and the masses of the people about the decisions of the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, the Party's Red Letter and the decisions of this plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee, and you should engage in extensive discussions concerning

the tasks which have to be carried out in order to implement them. Since this plenary meeting is attended even by the county and ri cadres, the county Party committees can dispense with their own plenary meetings. They should convene only standing committee meetings, and, instead, the ri Party organizations should have concrete discussions at their general membership meetings.

At these general membership meetings the ri Party organizations should sum up clearly which of the instructions I gave at Chongsan-ri they have implemented and which they have not. They should also thrash out the measures which have to be taken to implement the decisions of the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee and to carry out the tasks proposed in the Red Letter of the Party, so that a great improvement may be brought about in next year's work.

In addition, the work of the county cooperative farm management committees should be reviewed in November throughout the province. You should sum up substantially the merits and shortcomings which have been revealed in the work of directing these committees and draw the appropriate lessons. By doing so, you should make sure that the cooperative farm management committees will display their advantages to the maximum and further enhance their role of managing agriculture by industrial methods.

The work of county Party committees should be strengthened. These committees should thoroughly establish a habit of getting all Party workers to go to the field and work there for 15 days every month to carry out the tasks put forward during the on-the-spot directions given to the Kangso County Party Committee in 1960. Along with this, the county Party committees should properly handle personnel affairs. A major shortcoming in this work at present is that cadres are moved to new posts too often, instead of letting them stay on in their jobs for a long time. In Unsan County, South Phyongan Province, 85 per cent of its junior cadres were replaced this year. This was a serious mistake. The frequent shifting of junior cadres will get you nowhere. County Party committees should handle personnel affairs well, and let the

junior cadres in particular—the chairmen of ri Party committees, Party cells, and management boards and workteam leaders—remain in their posts, and give them patient training.

It seems advisable to review the work of the county Party committees next spring on the basis of the tasks set forth during my on-the-spot directions to the Kangso County Party Committee and of the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, as well as of the various suggestions made at the meetings to sum up the implementation of the instructions given at Chongsan-ri and during the discussion of the Red Letter, which will be held at each ri.

I am convinced that you will successfully fulfil the tasks devolving on the agricultural sector of South Phyongan Province next year by striving devotedly to implement the assignments put forward at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee.

LET US FURTHER DEVELOP OUR LITERATURE AND ART

Talk to Drama and Film Artists

October 29, 1963

Our Party has made tireless efforts to develop literature and art ever since liberation and has achieved many successes in this field.

Immediately after liberation our country had few assets for the development of literature and art. We had no orchestra, no musical instruments to speak of, nor a large force of artists. In the field of drama there were some experienced actors and dramatists who had created good works, but most of them lived in south Korea. Originally there had been few artists in Pyongyang. After liberation, artists came one by one from south Korea to the northern half, following the correct policy of our Party. By 1948 there were a large number of such artists.

Throughout the years of the Fatherland Liberation War our artists fought well under the leadership of our Party, without yielding to difficulties. They joined the soldiers of the People's Army in battles and bitter trials, developing themselves the while. In particular, at the time of the difficult retreat, our artists, wearing straw sandals, moved as far as Jagang Province, following our Party and the people's government. When they met us after the difficult retreat, they even shed tears of joy.

In the trials of war our artists acquired a higher revolutionary spirit and came to feel in person how precious their Party, their country and

their people were. The trials were, after all, an excellent education for them.

Our writers and artists fought well in the period of postwar reconstruction, too. They involved themselves zealously in creative and artistic activities in factories, farm villages and with units of the People's Army. In 1956, when the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists engaged in their underhand manoeuvrings by bringing in revisionism secretly, our artists, unaffected, steadfastly followed the Party.

Now the ranks of our writers and artists are several thousands strong. They are very sound in ideology and are closely united. If I were to choose to point out their shortcomings, I would say that there are some manifestations of indolence among them, manifestations which have something to do with long postwar years of peaceful efforts for national reconstruction. But these are very limited in extent and can easily be corrected by criticism.

Great strides have also been made in the creation of works of literature and art. This is well illustrated by the recently-produced feature films: those entitled *A Red Motivation Worker*, *Red Flower*, *At a Village on the Demarcation Line*, *Home-Coming*, and *Youth of the Ship Kalmaegi* are excellent. *A Red Motivation Worker* and *Red Flower* are particularly good. Although it leaves a little to be desired in acting, *Red Flower* depicts today's reality well in contrast with the past, and the theme of the film is clear-cut. The scenario and direction are also good. Many viewers, both grown-ups and children, were moved to tears. This proves that the film won the hearts of the people. The feature film *Zinnia* is also good in that it has some value in educating those who dislike to work in mountainous areas.

No small success has been achieved in drama, too. The State Drama Theatre, in particular, is leading the others in creative work dealing with current realities. The drama *A Red Motivation Worker* produced by this theatre is fairly popular even among foreigners. The theatre is said to have won the title of Chollima Theatre two years ago, and they should go on working well and win the distinction a second time.

Other theatres, too, should create many good pieces, following the example of the State Drama Theatre.

Many foreigners now acknowledge the very rapid development of our literature and art and are, indeed, trying to learn from our art.

But we cannot rest content with our achievements. There are still quite a few shortcomings in some of our artistic pieces

The feature film *The Name Regained* deals with the life of the past at too great a length and with life today too briefly. This film should present a vivid picture of the happy life of the heroine which she owes to the agrarian reform after liberation, following her wretched existence under the oppression of the landlord during the rule of Japanese imperialism. But it shows too little of the 18 years of life since liberation, while dealing at length with the life of the past. So it is not clear what the message of the film is. Some of the scenes which deal with the landlord do not depict his brutality realistically, and the scenes of his crimes become tedious. This film is mainly devoted to exposing the crimes of the landlord, and this is why the film is of limited educational value. Correct the latter part of this film a little and it will become a good film.

A comparison between the past and the present in an artistic production is necessary so as to arouse people to look forward with hope to the future, while bringing home to them just how happy is their life today. This main idea should always be clear from this comparison. This principal idea is well brought out in the feature film *Red Flower*, which is why we rate that film so highly.

There are also defects in the feature film *Journey at Dawn*. The end of the film is dull. It should be corrected. The scenes for comparative education must show the superiority of the socialist system in bold relief. Revise the closing part with this in mind, and this film, too, will prove good.

At present our drama and motion pictures fail to meet the demands of developing reality. Revolutionary literature and art should contribute to promoting the development of reality. Literary and art workers should strive to keep literature and art in pace with developing

reality and to raise them onto a higher plane.

Writers and artists should pay the closest attention to scenario writing and direction.

If you are to produce a good film, you need, first of all, a good scenario and competent direction. At the moment, because of shortcomings in scenario writing and direction, good motion pictures are not being produced, although actors' performances are fairly good. In particular, scenarios are not good enough. The feature film *A Red Motivation Worker* was successful not because the scenario was good but because it was adapted from the play, which was already successful. The music and dance drama *Under the Bright Sun* is also good, and so it will be, if it is adapted for the screen. But it would not do to turn the stage piece into a film just as it is. It should be well adapted to give the film version its own characteristics. Film production can only be successful when there are good scenarios. Otherwise there will be no success, no matter how excellent the acting may be.

In the future, writers should create a large number of good scenarios and directors should enhance their roles. You should produce many art works which deal with the working class. If you do this, you will be able to inspire the working class powerfully in their struggle and to indoctrinate them better in class consciousness.

You are producing many works which represent the farmers but few which depict the working class. Some of you are writing the latter kind of scenario, but not successful. People are now expressing critical opinions on the scarcity of good works about the working class.

It seems to me that our writers and artists fail to produce such works properly because few of them have come from the working class. Writers cannot describe the lives of workers properly because they have no experience of such lives. As I was told, writers are not good at portraying the working class, even after living among workers for a year or a half at their work sites. This shows that they still lack personal experience of working-class life.

Although not all of them have participated in the revolutionary struggle or have long experience of Party work, our Party workers are doing this work today while learning from reality. Writers and artists should also strive to acquire first-hand experience of working-class life and learn from it by realistically getting to the heart of things.

You need not think it difficult to create works portraying the working class. It may of course seem difficult at first; but if you try, you will easily be able to produce good works.

Portraying the working class does not mean presenting many scenes of men at work. As in the feature film *A Red Motivation Worker*, human relations and people's innermost feelings in life should be well depicted.

Writers and artists should live in a revolutionary way. We have the heavy revolutionary task of reunifying the country. They should link their literary and art activities closely with our revolutionary tasks and should live in a revolutionary way, as is required by these tasks. An alert and revolutionary life will prevent the infiltration of revisionism. Workers in literature and art should live in a more revolutionary way than anyone else and should always manifest optimism and hope. Their literary and art works should throb with hope and optimism.

We can say that the Russian feature films *Bright Path* and *Story of the Land of Siberia* are relatively good pieces. They are good in that they have some comical scenes and inspire people with ideas of a bright future by means of cheerful songs. In the future, our films, too, should have many optimistic songs.

In order to create good artistic works, it is necessary to improve the qualities of writers and artists.

The feature film *Circus Stage* handles the problem of comparative education badly, which illustrates the low political level of writers and directors. Their level should be quickly raised up to the mark set by the Party. Only then can they conduct their creative activities and all other aspects of their lives as required by Party policy.

Writers and artists should have joint critiques of art works on an extensive scale. At the same time, they should see foreign films from a critical point of view and learn what they can from them. They should get out of narrow bounds and see a lot and think a lot. Only by so doing can they create good art works.

Writers and artists should not be content with their achievements but should continue to advance in the spirit of Chollima to further develop our literature and art.

LET US CREATE MANY MORE MASTERPIECES OF REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE AND ART

Talk to Writers

November 5, 1963

I have long been intending to see you comrades, but I could hardly find the time to do so. Today I would like to talk to you about creating masterpieces of revolutionary literature and art.

At present there are not many literary works, particularly masterpieces, which deal with the revolutionary traditions of our Party. Although we have some reminiscences written by the veterans of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, there are neither novels nor motion pictures worth mentioning which depict the armed struggle. None of the literary works dealing with the Fatherland Liberation War can be called a masterpiece.

We need good novels which can be adapted for the stage and the screen. But we have no masterpieces, so it is impossible to produce good films and dramas. The main defect in literature and art is that masterpieces are not being produced.

Today we are faced with the challenging revolutionary tasks of accelerating the construction of socialism in the northern half of Korea, reunifying our divided country and, further, carrying out the world revolution. We must continue with the revolution. Hence a very urgent requirement for many works of revolutionary literature and art with which to educate the people both in the north and south.

Works of literature and art in general, and novels in particular, are very effective in arousing people to class consciousness and in cultivating their revolutionary will.

My father had a revolutionary influence on me, but I made a firmer resolve to commit myself to revolution while reading novels in my secondary school days. These novels gave me a better idea of the contradictions of capitalist society, of the gaps between rich and poor, and of social evils. *On the Amnok River* and *Juvenile Vagrant* by Jiang Guangchi, short stories by Lu Xun, and *The Iron Flood* and *The Nineteen* by Soviet writers had a considerable revolutionary influence on me. I still remember vividly how much I thought about the revolution, when reading *Mother* by Gorky. This novel shows well how Pavel's mother, an ordinary woman, is awakened to class consciousness and sets out on the road of revolution. It is this kind of work that inspires people with a determination to engage in revolutionary activity. Revolutionary novels have greatly helped towards increasing our class consciousness.

Literary works also had a great deal of influence on those of my comrades who read them. When we were working in the Young Communist League in Jilin, we got students to read several novels and thus awakened youth and students to class consciousness and drew them into our revolutionary organization.

But we have few revolutionary masterpieces now, and we are particularly short of ones primarily intended for the young people in the southern half of our country. Our writers should write masterpieces.

First of all, you should produce masterpieces which deal with the revolutionary traditions of our Party.

I think you can write many good works depicting the anti-Japanese armed struggle. It would be possible to write a great work, for instance, by describing Comrade Kim Chaek's revolutionary activity.

Comrade Kim Chaek was born in Songjin and went to northeast China to participate in revolutionary activity. He was arrested by the enemy in Longjing, China, and put in Sodaemun Prison in Seoul. After

release from the prison, he called on a lawyer, a sympathizer of the revolution, who defended him in court and who gave him his travelling expenses so that he could get to Jiandao, where he resumed the revolutionary activity and was arrested once more. After his second term in jail, in Jilin, he took part in the armed struggle until the liberation. After the liberation, too, he devoted himself to the building of a new country, and during the Fatherland Liberation War he fought well in an important job. If you write a novel dealing skilfully with these matters, it will be a masterpiece which will mirror comprehensively the social and class relations and international events of the time.

You can also write an interesting story about Comrade An Kil. The Japanese imperialists tried to bribe him, saying that they would allow him to meet the “Emperor” of Japan. Comrade An Kil informed us that he would indeed meet the “Emperor”—to kill him. But we dissuaded him, pointing out that killing the “Emperor” would get us nowhere, and that it would end only in worthless sacrifice. Comrade An Kil’s revolutionary activity, too, can be a plot for a good novel.

You can also write a novel about Comrade Ma Tong Hui. Arrested by the enemy while on a revolutionary mission with which we had entrusted him, he bit off his tongue so as to uphold his revolutionary honour to the end. His mother, too, was a fine woman of strong will. Such a revolutionary family as his is rare. If you portray well the image of such a typical revolutionary family, it will be a good piece.

There are many other comrades who fought bravely during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and you can also write novels about them.

Novels dealing with the activities of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters should not be written in the form of a biography or a chronicle about an individual person. You should not give the real name of an individual in the story but write in such a manner that readers may feel the similarity between fiction and fact. The story of a revolutionary need not cover the whole period of his struggle. Of course, a novel could deal with events over a long period but it would

be good enough to show just one aspect of his revolutionary activity.

For example, you can write about the underground activity of an anti-Japanese revolutionary fighter, or about his struggle in prison. The optimistic image of his struggle in prison, and the joy of greeting liberation after his courageous struggle, if well portrayed, will greatly encourage the youth and other people in the south, and they will join the revolutionary struggle courageously, with revolutionary optimism and firm confidence in victory. It would also be advisable to write about a revolutionary fighter who, after liberation, builds up the Party in a county in his care and attends the Party congress as a delegate. If the novel depicts vividly the need for founding the Party and the struggle to do so, it will be effective in educating people both in the north and the south. A good novel can also be written about the struggle of the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans in the periods of the Fatherland Liberation War and of the postwar reconstruction.

What is important in writing about the struggle of revolutionaries is to give lifelike pictures of ordinary people growing into revolutionaries, and thus to imbue everyone with a determination to work for the revolution and so encourage them to come out bravely in the revolutionary struggle.

You can obtain material about the activities of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters from the Party History Institute and, if necessary, hear from me.

You should also produce masterpieces which depict the Fatherland Liberation War.

At present there are no works on military subjects, which are suited to soldiers. The film *The Defenders of Height 1211*, produced recently, has not portrayed well life in the People's Army. You should write many first-rate works about military affairs so as to educate our soldiers.

You should write both about the heroic struggle of the People's Army and about the guerrilla struggle behind the enemy lines during the Fatherland Liberation War. Writers must not necessarily try to find famous people such as Jo Ok Hui; they should write about the struggle

of the common people as well. The Kuwolsan guerrilla unit, too, would be a subject for fine pieces. In the period of the Fatherland Liberation War, the retreat of the People's Army lasted only 40 days. If people in the enemy rear had gone into mountains in groups of 20 or so, each carrying one or two *mal* of rice and an ax, they could have survived the 40 days, no matter what happened. But a great number of people stayed at home without enduring that difficulty for this short period, and were massacred by the enemy. We must prevent the recurrence of such things and, to this end, you must write works about the guerrilla struggle in the enemy rear and use them to educate people.

You should also write about the struggle of the people on the home front during the Fatherland Liberation War. I saw the recently produced group dance *Women of Namgang Village*. It is a good piece. You should find more of such material, out of which to create works.

You should also find subjects for your works in our construction of socialism.

Building socialism successfully in the northern half of Korea is an important revolutionary task for us. Our literature and art should mirror the heroic struggle of our people for socialist construction and also the worthwhile life which is now theirs.

In our factories and other enterprises and in our farming and fishing villages are many unknown heroes and good material that should be depicted by our literature and art. Writers and artists should create many good pieces which correctly represent the struggle of our people to build socialism and the vibrant reality, so that the people will be greatly encouraged.

The south Korean revolution, too, should be the subject of many novels.

The south Korean people are fighting in difficult conditions at the moment. Although their struggle is undergoing turns and twists, ups and downs, the revolutionary forces of the masses are growing continuously and the situation is developing more and more in favour of the revolution. People's discontent with the social system of south Korea is increasing with each passing day.

We must do everything in our power to support the south Korean people in their struggle, and we must work together with them to prepare for the great revolutionary event. Writers and artists should produce many works of literature and art, including novels, and thus contribute positively to the revolutionary education of the people both in the north and the south.

This year you should write several long novels well, on the theme of the people's struggle in the south. In this way you will help many people to learn the truth that the revolution is inevitable and so encourage them to take up the cause of the revolution.

The works portraying the reality in the northern half of Korea may of course encourage the south Korean people to a certain extent. But such works alone are not enough. We need literary works which clearly show the reality of south Korea, where, under the occupation of the US imperialists, the people are subjected to a miserable life, to brutal exploitation and to oppression, and which teach them that they must wage the revolutionary struggle, while breaking through all obstacles to free themselves from their plight. You should write to teach them the truth which underlies the revolutionary struggle—namely that, in spite of possible difficulties and ordeals or unavoidable sacrifices, they can be sure that they will meet with a successful outcome of the struggle if they bravely fight on with firm confidence in victory. Your works should also teach them the methods of struggle underground and in prison. Only then, will the south Korean people turn out bravely in the revolutionary struggle with a firm conviction in victory and with optimism, unafraid of prison or the gallows.

You could write a novel about a man who waged an underground struggle in the south, joined the Volunteer Corps and fought in the period of the Fatherland Liberation War and later came to the northern half of Korea, where he is receiving education and leading a happy life. But you should describe mainly how the common people in south Korea set out on the road of revolution and how they should fight.

In addition, you should write against revisionism.

In some countries, under the influence of revisionism, literary and

art works are now being produced which preach abandonment of revolution and compromise with imperialism, and which lead to political and moral degeneration.

We must uncompromisingly struggle to thoroughly prevent such revisionist influences from infiltrating our literature and art. If revisionism should find its way among us, it could paralyze the ideological consciousness of the people and degrade them politically and morally. If this happens, the enemy could deprive us of our socialist gains, and our people might again become enslaved by the imperialists.

We must oppose art for art's sake, too. Imperialist aggressors are using it to paralyze the ideological consciousness of the peoples in colonies and those in revolutionary countries. Tolerance of art for art's sake in the field of literature and art means adopting revisionism.

We have liberated only half of the country and have not yet reunified it. We must not cease to struggle on the ground that we have established the socialist system in the northern half of Korea, under which the people lead a happy life. The reunification of the country does not come of its own accord. To reunify the country we must drive the US imperialists out of south Korea. If the US imperialists refuse to withdraw from south Korea and unleash another war, we will have to fight them again. Therefore, writers and artists should relentlessly struggle to prevent the smallest element of revisionism from infiltrating into our literature and art. They should create works of literature and art to educate all our people to work alertly and militantly and to lead a frugal life, without becoming in the least lax or indolent, but in the spirit which the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters displayed on Mt. Paektu, that is, the revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu.

It would be advisable to organize a creative staff made up of veteran writers and of young writers of talent in order to create revolutionary masterpieces.

Along with novels, you should produce many revolutionary songs.

Songs play an important role in educating people in a revolutionary way. When we were waging the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle

in the past, we used to compose revolutionary songs and popularize them among the people. Nearly all children and women sang them, to say nothing of the young people. While singing, they came to realize the true meaning of the revolutionary songs and were gradually awakened to revolutionary consciousness, and ended by joining in the revolutionary struggle. At that time, we wrote revolutionary songs and put them to tunes which were easy to sing. Such songs became popular even among the puppet Manchukuo Army soldiers, to say nothing of the people, and exerted a revolutionary influence on them.

We should compose songs which can encourage the people in the north who are striving to build socialism as well as those in the south in their revolutionary struggle. In particular, many revolutionary songs should be produced to inspire the south Korean people with courage.

Revolutionary songs must not necessarily be solemn. There should be both solemn and lyrical ones. The point is that you should compose many more popular and profoundly revolutionary songs which reflect the feelings of the south Korean people, and which are easy for everyone to sing. You should compose songs which can move the hearts of people, stir them up to wrath and bitter hatred for the enemy, which inspire them with ardent love for their country and with a high sense of national pride, and which encourage them to go all out in their fight against the enemy.

I believe that you will succeed in creating revolutionary masterpieces, following the Party's policy on literature and art.

ON REDRAFTING THE TEXTBOOK *INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION*

Talk with Authors of the Textbook

Industrial Administration

November 6, 1963

You have so far put a great deal of effort into the drafting of *Industrial Administration*. However, the draft as it now stands contains not only many good points but many shortcomings as well.

It should therefore be completely redrafted. It went amiss from the beginning.

What, then, are the fundamental shortcomings?

The first is that it has no system. Although, as a subject, industrial administration overlaps with political economy and with industrial economy, its presentation should be structured in such a way as to cover all the basic questions concerning industry. But there is no such systematic structure in the draft textbook.

In other words, it refers a lot to trifling matters of technology and methodology, instead of focussing on the questions of principle with regard to industry. The draft starts with the question of the structure of an industrial enterprise, such as the arrangement of department and production processes. Confining the discussion to the structure of an industrial enterprise, to methodology and to staffing matters in this way is of little value; it gets too complicated to understand. Industrial administration is industrial management, and the text should therefore concentrate on basic questions concerning the management of

industry—questions which can be illustrated by reference to topics such as staffing matters. But you have confined yourselves to lengthy explanations of questions of setup and of production processes, and so you have missed out the basic principles of socialist industrial management.

The second shortcoming is that the draft has deviated from the Marxist-Leninist principle: it misses out the basic problems of Marxism-Leninism in the area of industrial management.

What is the difference between the socialist and the capitalist approach to industrial management?

The basic purpose of socialist—as distinct from capitalist—industrial management is to stimulate the workers' consciousness. What is basic to socialist industrial management is therefore working with people. But the draft textbook does not deal with such important questions as working with people and giving priority to political work.

The general information about the management of an industrial enterprise given in the first chapter of the draft is too simple and lacks substance. This chapter is only devoted to matters of the structure of an industrial enterprise, workshops and the classification of trades.

The structure of industrial enterprises can change as technology develops and as natural conditions alter. It is therefore unnecessary to write lengthily about it. But the draft dwells only on the structure of such enterprises, instead of on the fundamental principles of Marxism governing industrial management. It has accordingly become a textbook on the theory of the internal structure of industrial enterprises rather than on industrial administration. Industrial administration should not be degraded to become simply a theory of the structure of industrial enterprises.

The third defect is that the draft fails to mention the fundamentals of the general principle of industrial management.

In explaining the general principle of industrial management you should begin with the basic questions of relations in socialist production. In other words, you should explain that, in a socialist society, productive activities are for the ultimate benefit of the working

people, that the products go to the people, and how the correlation between accumulation and consumption stands. But the draft fails to refer to such basic questions.

The basic criteria of socialist industrial enterprise are touched on too briefly in the draft, and the remarks about them are beside the point

The “organization of workshops”—which also applies in capitalist industrial enterprises—is explained as one of the characteristics which distinguish a socialist industrial enterprise, but this cannot be so.

You pointed out that a unified system of direction is another distinctive feature of a socialist industrial enterprise, but there is such a system in capitalist society too. Therefore this, too, cannot be a basic criterion of the socialist industrial enterprise.

Then, the section dealing with the collective leadership which is provided by the Party committee of the factory or enterprise has nothing to say about the necessity of such leadership. In other words, no mention is made of the fact that the collective leadership given by the Party committee is essential to ensure the Party’s steering role and to draw upon the wisdom of many people for the successful building of socialism.

In writing about the general principle of industrial management it is necessary to explain carefully the matter in regard to collective direction by the Party committee. And the draft textbook has a separate section on the advantages of socialist industry, whereas it would be advisable to refer to these advantages where the distinctive features of an industrial enterprise are dealt with.

To sum up, the political dimension of socialist industrial management is missing in the draft, for not a word is said about the question of work with people, which is the basis of such management. And while matters of Marxist-Leninist principle are not properly discussed, secondary, minor things are brought up. As a consequence, the main things are ignored. Further, the draft gives too much space to methodology, so that the content is too complex to comprehend.

How, then, should the book be structured?

The first volume will do well to deal firstly with the fundamental principle of socialist industry.

Here you should give a definition of industry to begin with.

Industry represents the front where people struggle against nature.

Industry is a human undertaking. Therefore, you must write the book with the main stress on work with people.

What, then, is work with people in industry? It is work with technicians, with factory and office workers and with employees' families.

Between them, these people perform all the operations from planning through factory management to the disposal of the goods produced. Therefore, work with them should be carried on tactfully, so that they will work willingly and devote all their talents to their work. Only then can industry be run efficiently and socialism built successfully.

What is important in work with people is to encourage the workers to give full play to their knowledge and ability. For this purpose their levels of political consciousness, technology and culture should be steadily raised, and their superiors should have specialized knowledge in their respective fields.

Good work with people is the key to getting them to respect and take good care of state property and equipment, and to economize in the use of materials.

Further, it is advisable to write about the basic criteria of socialist industry.

In explaining these you should begin with the characteristics of the socialist relations of production. You should highlight the fact that in socialist society both the means of production and the goods produced belong to the working people, and that the products are then divided between accumulation and consumption, the former constituting in effect a form of investment for the growth of production, and the latter being distributed to improve the living standards of the working people. It is particularly important here to write correctly about the correlation between accumulation and consumption. It should also be

made clear that in socialist society the production of all goods is governed by a programme or plan. In other words, you should convincingly point out that the total quantities of goods produced should not only meet the immediate public demand, but should also include those additional amounts which are essential for extended reproduction, that is, for the future betterment of the entire people's standard of living.

This question should also be explained in close connection with the problem of the correlation between accumulation and consumption.

At the same time, it is important to enlarge on the questions of the correlation between heavy and light work and of the need to gradually eliminate heavy labour and to increase productivity.

Next, you will do well to write about the general conception of industry. It is necessary to clarify the correlation between heavy and light industry, and between the mining and processing industries. It is particularly important in this connection to explain why priority should be given to the development of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture, and why the mining industry should be kept ahead of other industries, in the context of the theories of accumulation and consumption and extended reproduction.

While elucidating the correlation between different branches of the national economy in this way, you should also describe the relations between industry and transport and the power industry.

Secondly, it would be good to write clearly about the main task of industrial management.

The foremost task of industrial management is to conduct work with people skilfully. Since everything—planning, preparation for production, manufacture and distribution of goods—is done by people, work with people should be defined as the foremost task in industrial management.

The most important thing in work with people is to raise their level of consciousness, so that they work voluntarily and better by devoting all their expertise and enthusiasm to their job.

To do this you should bring home to people the fact that

production is for the benefit of the people and that they have their own share in the ownership of the products. At the same time, cadres should be assigned to the right places according to their qualifications and preparedness, and good conditions for recreation should be provided for the workers.

Successful work with people makes for the efficient operation of industry, for good care of property and for a well-regulated system and order.

Who, then, is to do this work with people?

Party committees and cadres do this work. It is advisable to give a detailed account of work with people in the section of the text dealing with the work of Party committees.

The second main task of industrial management is to maintain and operate equipment efficiently.

For the good management of equipment, you should have a detailed knowledge of different kinds of equipment and of how to check up and repair them, how to arrange the different industrial processes, how to manage and utilize the equipment, and how to maintain the balance between multi-purpose and single-purpose equipment.

Another important thing in industrial management is to take good care of raw and other materials, fuel and power. Therefore, in this section you should give a careful explanation of what raw material is, what kinds of raw material there are, and how they are supplied, how to use them and to economize in their use.

At the same time, it is important to give proper direction to the organization and administration of production. For this purpose, you should have a good understanding of production administration and of technical processes, such as what is the organization of production, what is technical equipment, why production should be kept ahead of other activities, and how to organize it, how to follow the standard methods of operation, and how to organize cooperative production. Besides this, it is desirable to explain how to deal with goods—how to handle finished and semi-finished goods and how to pack them—as well as financial management.

Thirdly, it is advisable to refer to the methodology of industrial management.

What is most important here is to present a sound theory of planning. Because in our country all production is regulated by a plan, and because cooperative production is widely organized, good plans should be drawn up before anything else.

In the section dealing with planning, you should explain how to draw up plans and how to secure people's collaboration in working out good plans. And it would also be well to elucidate the various methodological problems which arise in connection with production processes, organization of work, management of raw materials and finance.

Fourthly, it is desirable to touch on the problem of the administrative apparatus.

Here you should explain, on the basis of the Tsean system, that in order to put into effect the principles of industrial management already mentioned, a certain amount of administrative apparatus—including departments of production, technology, maintenance and repair, and so on—is necessary. At the same time, you would do well to make it clear that the administrative apparatus will be modified continually so as to remain adapted to the technical processes, the development of technology and to changes in natural conditions. You should also give a general idea of the administrative apparatus required in the mining and processing industries.

Lastly, it is advisable to describe the duties and role of every department.

Here you should expound the duties and role of the Party committee, the manager, the deputy manager, the chief engineer, the workshop manager and of the workteam leader.

In writing *Industrial Administration* it is not processes but personnel that should be made the central topic. People learn in order to work better, so it is right that it should be written with people as its central subject.

During the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle, we captured a "Drill

Book” of the Japanese army, and found that it was centred on processes: it dealt with what was to be done while on the march, what on such-and-such occasions, and so on. This is no use. A military manual should prescribe, for example, what the platoon leader must do and what duties the company commander is required to carry out.

The same is the case with *Industrial Administration*. It should describe what the manager, the deputy manager and the chief engineer do and how, and what are the duties of the workshop manager and the workteam leader, and how to fulfil them, and such like. Only then will the textbook be a lively, useful book.

Thus, *Industrial Administration* ought to consist of some five chapters. In the foreword you may say that industrial administration constantly alters and develops; the first and second chapters can deal with the basic principles of socialist industry and the main tasks in the management of industrial enterprises; the third and subsequent chapters with the methodological problems of industrial management.

It is necessary to devote much space to principles and methodology in arranging the contents. In the present volume you should only give the principles, and in the future you should write about the methodology of different branches. Such in general is my view as to the redrafting of *Industrial Administration*.

It is desirable that you study the problem in greater detail and rewrite the book.

ON REORGANIZING THE BANKING SYSTEM

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

November 28, 1963

A bank in a socialist society is a state institution for financial control over all sectors of the national economy. The bank should exercise daily control, with money, over the economic management of all establishments and enterprises, and should also exercise constant financial supervision to ensure that the state budget is correctly implemented.

But quite a few shortcomings are being revealed in the functioning of banks, because, not being fully aware of their mission, they are working carelessly.

The major defect in their work is the indiscriminate disbursement of state funds.

Nowadays, some bank branches supply funds imprudently to establishments and enterprises, under the excuse that when general approval has earlier been given for a loan of a certain amount, they have no option but to issue monies up to that limit. They seem to think that their efficiency is measured by the size of the loans they make. In consequence, the banking organizations which are supposed to exercise financial control over enterprises, to improve management and to increase the state's revenues, rather help enterprises to squander state money and to block the circulation of funds.

The banks should constantly check to see if enterprises keep materials stockpiled for excessively long periods, or if they keep unfinished and semi-finished goods in quantities greater than those allowed by the state. Whenever there is anything amiss with these matters the banks should exercise prompt financial control over the enterprise in question so as to get things put right. But this work is virtually neglected.

If enterprises are found thus blocking state funds from being put to use, banks should flatly refuse to supply them with any further funds. But instead, they continue to fork out as much as the enterprises ask for—and worse still, the Ministry of Finance lowers the rate of interest on the loans in question. So the managers of enterprises try to keep much more materials in stock than necessary, and do not feel that they are in any way to blame for the large stockpiles of unfinished and semi-finished goods.

At present banks consent to give even long-term loans for unlimited amounts, and then do not get them paid back within the prescribed time.

This practice is prevalent in dealing with cooperative farms in particular. Through a procurement agency, the bank offers them advance payment for produce which the farms will sell. I do not quite understand why the banks do this. It could conceivably be done in dealing with a particular cooperative farm if absolutely necessary. Even in such a case, however, the bank should, before offering an advance, confirm that the contract of procurement can in fact be implemented. But the bank gives the farms as much as they want, without any guarantee that the contracts can really be implemented.

This tendency of the banks to give loans lavishly without thinking of recovering the sums due has even led to the fact that the Roam Cooperative Farm in Anak County, South Hwanghae Province, and many other cooperative farms have received advances from the banks on the strength of procurement contracts, only to waste them instead of fulfilling their contracts.

This practice seems to be largely due to an inherent defect in the

system of financing. Under the present setup, enterprises are supposed to receive loans obligatorily, so that the bank concerns itself exclusively with ensuring the supply of funds rather than with controlling the use which is made of the funds lent.

We should take radical measures to correct the shortcomings in the work of the banks and to run them properly.

Quite a few foreign practices have been mechanically adopted into our banking activity; they are not proving of much use to us. We should reorganize the banking system to suit our specific conditions.

This, of course, does not mean also abolishing the good aspects of the existing system of funding and of payment. Good things should be preserved. For example, the non-cash payment system and the control of money to facilitate its circulation after issue should be retained. These and other good things should be preserved when the banking system is overhauled.

The Central Bank should be left as it is and a separate credit bank should be set up.

The function of the Central Bank should be to issue notes, adjust the supply of currency, settle accounts on a national level, exercise financial control over the supply and use of all state funds, including the floating funds for enterprises, register and assess the equipment and buildings and other fixed capital assets of institutions and enterprises, and collect all state revenues, including the profits of all enterprises. It should also supply and control the funds for capital construction. In connection with this step, the Construction Fund Bank should be abolished.

I would like to dwell a little further on the Central Bank's function of supplying floating funds.

Floating funds should not be disbursed all at once for a whole year, but in quarterly or monthly instalments. If, for instance, an enterprise is supposed to receive a supply of 100 tons of cotton every month under the plan, the Central Bank should, in principle, give it a monthly instalment of funds sufficient to pay for the 100 tons. But if the enterprise has in practice received only 50 tons for a particular month,

it should be given that much money, and no more. If, the following month, the enterprise receives a supply of 180 tons, it should, of course, be given the money which was held back the previous month, in addition to the funds to pay for the normal delivery of 100 tons for the current month. If that total is not enough to pay for all the cotton actually received, then the necessary additional amount can be supplied in advance from the funds earmarked for the following month, the amount in question to be deducted from the funds available for the following month.

The supply of wage funds should follow the same principle as applied to raw-material funds. In other words, funds for wages should be paid out in proportion to the extent to which the production and profit plans have been fulfilled. Suppose a monthly wage fund of 10,000 *won* is set for an enterprise, then the Central Bank should give it 10,000 *won* and no more even if, because of its inefficient organization of the payment of wages, the enterprise has in fact disbursed more than that sum in wages. The money to make up for the over-expenditure of the wage funds should be loaned from the credit bank.

The Central Bank should never lend money to enterprises, not even when the money is needed for only a short period. Enterprises which are short of money must seek loans from the credit bank and must pay them back in time.

The Ministry of Finance should draw up financial plans, and the Central Bank should supply the floating funds in accordance with these plans. In case an addition or amendment is made to a production plan, the President of the Central Bank should be given a contingency allowance with which to adjust the floating funds so that he can cope with the change. The allowance could also facilitate coping with a situation where much more goods are received at a particular time than had been planned.

The unfinished and semi-finished goods, finished goods, and idle materials which are kept by enterprises for a long time should be disposed of quickly. Those which are unusable for the national economy should be written off each year by the state, and deficits, too,

must be brought up within the year for settlement. The Ministry of Finance should undertake these matters, and the Central Bank should have a supervisory role in order to ensure that the proceedings for settlement are carried out properly.

The state should, moreover, be the sole provider of floating funds to institutions and enterprises. Some comrades say that if the state does it, funds will run short. But that does not stand to reason. The shortage of funds at the moment is due to the fact that enterprises block the circulation of funds by keeping greater quantities of materials and semi-finished goods than necessary, turn out rejects or fail to dispose of their products promptly. If these practices are eliminated, the availability of state funds will increase, and the state will be quite able to supply the floating funds needed by its institutions and enterprises.

Next, a few words about the work of the credit bank.

This bank should be run by the system of balancing its own income and expenditure. Its capital should consist of its deposits, insurance dues and a reserve fund, and only when these are not enough should it be allowed to obtain money from the Central Bank—in which case, however, the Central Bank should not give more than the minimum necessary. So the credit bank should strive to increase its funds by improving its deposit and insurance services and also by handling personal remittances.

The credit bank should grant loans to enterprises which, because of overpayment of wages, inefficient management or accidents, are obliged to borrow. These should be exclusively short-term loans, preferably not exceeding three or four months in duration. In order to stimulate the enterprises to use these loans effectively and to pay them back at the appointed dates, the rate of interest should be roughly doubled as soon as their repayment becomes overdue, and the senior officials of the enterprises concerned should be fined some two per cent of their monthly salaries.

The cooperative farm credit department which has been mentioned in the course of the present meeting should not be touched, and the credit bank had better direct it. The funds for the credit department

should also be supplied by the credit bank.

In conclusion, we should take measures to improve the political and professional qualifications of bank employees and to strengthen the material and technical foundations of banking in order to improve the functioning of our banks.

We should study the question of providing university courses in financial and credit operations so as to improve the political and professional qualifications of employees in the financial and banking sector, and it would be advisable to open night schools of finance and banking at the head offices of banks and at their provincial general branches. It has been suggested at this meeting that the staff of the Foreign Trade Bank be supplemented. This problem should be solved by training the necessary employees on our own.

Along with this, the level of the computing skill of the employees in the financial and banking sector should be raised quickly.

At present, schools teach the abacus only, but the abacus cannot cope with the volume of computing work which is increasing enormously. We should produce a large number of computers and introduce mechanized computing. Schools, too, should teach mechanized accounting widely. The cashiers' work should also be mechanized as soon as possible.

ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN THE SOLUTION OF THE SOCIALIST RURAL QUESTION

**Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Heads
of Departments of the Party Central Committee**

December 23, 1963

Today I am going to speak to you about some problems of principle which arise in connection with the solution of the socialist rural question, and about the immediate tasks which have to be tackled.

1

The peasant and agricultural questions hold a very important place in the socialist revolution and in the construction of socialism. The peasantry is the most reliable ally of the working class, and the countryside is an important base of the revolution. Agriculture produces the food which is indispensable for the people, and supplies raw materials necessary for light industry. Therefore, without solving the peasant and agricultural questions properly it will be impossible to emerge victorious in the revolution or to build socialism and communism successfully.

Lenin also attached very great significance to the rural question. It can indeed be said that one of the most important contributions made

by Leninism to the development of Marxism is the right solution of the peasant question.

Our Party has always given close attention to the rural question and has solved this problem splendidly. We still keep on studying rural affairs and devote great efforts to them.

Many socialist countries have so far attained considerable success in industry, but they have not made particular progress in agriculture; and they have failed to demonstrate the advantages of the socialist rural economy to the full. Now, capitalists are slandering communists as being incapable of farming. They even claim that capitalism is more successful than socialism in developing agriculture. Not only capitalists but also revisionists fail to perceive the advantages of the socialist agricultural system. Revisionists are trying to give up agricultural cooperativization, claiming that individual farming is superior to a socialist cooperative economy.

The present situation being so very serious, communists cannot but reflect deeply yet once again about the rural question.

If we fail to solve this question properly, we cannot deal a decisive blow to the capitalists who slander the socialist agricultural system, and to the revisionists who distort the Marxist-Leninist agricultural policy. We must study this problem prudently so as to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to display fully the superiority of the socialist agricultural system and to accelerate the building of socialism. We should be quite clear as to which aspects of the rural question the communists have so far successfully solved and as to which aspects they have not yet solved, and we should also make a systematic study of the experiences and lessons of other countries.

In the past, communists regarded the peasant and agricultural questions as important strategic problems in the revolution. This was a right standpoint. By dispossessing the landlords and distributing the land to the peasants, the communists won the broad masses of peasants, including hired and poor peasants, over to the side of the revolution and by relying on the worker-peasant alliance, they carried out the revolution successfully. This was a right solution of the peasant

question by the communists at the stage of the democratic revolution.

After the working class came into power, the communists succeeded in blocking the development of capitalism in the countryside and in reorganizing the rural economy along socialist lines. They liquidated the exploiting class and brought together individual peasants in a socialist cooperative economy, thus completely annihilating the root on which capitalism can grow in the countryside. This was a correct solution of the rural question by the communists at the stage of the socialist revolution.

From the agrarian reform to the completion of the socialist cooperativization of agriculture, the rural question had been solved smoothly, and the superiority of socialism had been fully displayed. In general, it can be said that things went with a swing in almost all the socialist countries until the process of agricultural cooperativization had been completed.

The problem is how to develop socialist agriculture after the accomplishment of agricultural cooperativization.

No one has as yet presented a specific way of dealing with this problem. Though Marx and Lenin said that, for the transition to communism, the distinction between town and country should be removed, they did not indicate a concrete way of doing this. And they could not give a clear answer to this problem under the circumstances existing at the time. Moreover, there is as yet no example which has demonstrated the great superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system in agricultural development so convincingly that even capitalists cannot but admit it.

Since no one has written about this problem in concrete terms, and since there has been no clear-cut experience which can be taken as a model, many Right and "Left" deviations have appeared in regard to the development of socialist agriculture.

Recently, our Party has studied the rural question more deeply and come to a series of important conclusions.

Is socialism, then, really inferior to capitalism in agriculture, as the capitalists argue? Absolutely not. Socialist agriculture is incomparably

superior to capitalist agriculture. The problem is how to run socialist agriculture.

Then, what is the main reason that some countries have failed to solve the rural question satisfactorily and what lesson should we draw from this?

We have intensively examined our own experience and that of other countries. We have, in particular, considered the fact that the peasants displayed their enthusiasm to the full as long as revolutionary measures for destroying the old system and establishing a new progressive system such as the agrarian reform or agricultural cooperativization were being put into effect, but not any longer. The reason why the peasants' enthusiasm fails to keep rising after socialist agricultural cooperativization, is that the revolution is not being continued in the countryside.

For the transition from socialism to communism, the revolution must be carried on. Only if the revolution is continued even after the completion of socialist cooperativization, will the advantages of the socialist system be displayed in the countryside, and only then will the peasants' enthusiasm increase ceaselessly. In order to do away with the backwardness of the countryside, to eliminate the distinctions between town and country, and between industrial and agricultural labour, and to effect the progressive transition to communism, the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions should be pursued in the countryside.

The ideological, technical and cultural revolutions constitute the central revolutionary task which should be unfailingly pursued in the rural areas following the completion of socialist cooperativization. Unless these three revolutions are vigorously furthered, it will be impossible to continue to bring the zeal of the peasants into full play, to develop agriculture and to obliterate the gaps between town and country.

The lag of the farm villages behind the towns implies mainly that the peasants are more egoistic than the industrial workers and lack the revolutionary spirit, that agriculture is at a lower technological level

than industry, and that the peasants' material and cultural standards are lower than those of industrial workers or city dwellers. In order, therefore, to get rid of the distinctions between town and country, and between industrial and agricultural labour, the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—should be carried out, come what may, and the lag of the countryside obliterated in these fields.

Nevertheless, some countries do not continue these three revolutions today.

In a certain country, stress is being placed on the technical revolution after the completion of socialist cooperativization, while the ideological revolution is neglected. In some other country, the situation is the reverse.

If emphasis is put only on the technical revolution and the ideological revolution is neglected, the peasants will come to loathe working and only seek easy jobs, and they will tend to work only in their own kitchen gardens and to dislike working in common. If things go on like this, it is obvious that farming will not be successful, however good the system and however fine the machines and technology may be.

If, on the contrary, stress is laid only on the ideological revolution, while the technical revolution is neglected, the socialist system will fail to demonstrate fully its superiority, because the material and technical foundations of its agriculture are weak. If production does not increase and if the peasants' standard of living is not improved, no matter how hard they may work, their ardour for production will cool in the end.

The ideological, technical and cultural revolutions must be pushed forward simultaneously. The thinking of the peasants should be remoulded, the material and technical foundations of agriculture reinforced, and the peasants' cultural standard improved.

Of these three revolutions the ideological revolution is the most important. Why is there large evidence of selfishness among the peasants? As the peasants have lived as small proprietors for thousands of years, selfishness will not disappear from their minds immediately,

even after the realization of cooperativization. In order to wipe out the selfish ideas remaining in the minds of peasants, the ideological revolution must be carried out over a long period of time. While giving definite priority to the ideological revolution, the technical and cultural revolutions should be vigorously pushed forward along with it.

Production is a struggle of people endeavouring to master nature. People are the master of this struggle. The peasants are the master of agriculture. If the peasants lag behind ideologically, technically and culturally, they will not be able to develop agriculture. By actively promoting the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside, we should bring the peasants to the level of the advanced working class in all aspects.

Another major reason why in some countries rural work is not going well today, is that they develop industry at the sacrifice of agriculture and build cities at the expense of the countryside. The state invests a small amount of funds in agriculture, and, far from shouldering the responsibility of looking after the peasants, imposes on them, as much as it can, even what it itself should do.

As a result, in many countries there is great gap between industrial and agricultural labour, and the living standard of the peasants is lower than that of industrial workers or city dwellers. On top of it, neglect of their ideological education prevents the peasants from demonstrating all the activity of which they are capable. The material support and moral incentive for the peasants are insufficient, so that their potential activity is not brought into full play in the building of socialism.

If communists fail to continue the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside after the completion of agricultural cooperativization, if they stress industry exclusively and invest only a small amount of state funds in agriculture, if, in Party work, they confine their attention to the cities and neglect the rural areas, and if they build the towns at the expense of the countryside instead of striving to assist agriculture and to improve the peasants' life, the countryside will remain as backward as ever. Such a course of action would make it impossible to bring the potential activity of the

peasants into full play and to develop agriculture.

In the final analysis, the reason why agriculture is not successful in some countries lies in the fact that they do not take measures for getting rid of the lag of the countryside and for eliminating the distinctions between town and country.

2

I will talk about how the rural question has been solved in our country after liberation and what is important at the moment for the development of our agriculture.

Immediately after liberation, the agrarian reform was successfully carried out in our country. Our Party solved the land question with credit, in conformity with the actual conditions in our rural areas, with the result that the enthusiasm of the peasants ran high and agriculture made rapid progress.

Furthermore, our Party carried out, smoothly and in good time, the cooperativization of agriculture, liquidating the capitalist elements in the countryside and reorganizing the individual peasant economy into a socialist collective one. In consequence, the ardour of the peasants increased and a new upswing was brought about in the development of the rural economy.

After the completion of agricultural cooperativization we did everything possible to accelerate the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside. As the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions were continued in our country, the enthusiasm of the peasants has kept increasing and agriculture developed ceaselessly.

From the outset of agricultural cooperativization, our Party has stressed the importance of the ideological revolution and has energetically furthered communist education, with class education as its main content, among the peasants. We have striven to foster among

them the spirit of rejecting selfishness, taking good care of common property and loving the collective of which they form a part and the organization of which they are members.

Because the ideological revolution has been vigorously promoted in the rural areas, the peasants' ideological awareness has run very high.

Though they do not lead a wealthy life, our peasants all value common property and are enthusiastic about their work. As a matter of fact, there are no such peasants as ours who are so faithful to the Party and the state, so diligent and sincere.

While carrying out agricultural cooperativization, our Party lost no time in embarking upon the technical revolution. We set irrigation, mechanization, electrification and chemicalization as the basic tasks of the rural technical revolution, and we exerted great efforts to implement them.

It is wrong to attach importance only to mechanization in carrying out the rural technical revolution. Machines alone are not enough for good farming. For successful farming we need water, chemical fertilizer and electricity, in addition to machines. These four tasks should be unfailingly carried out in the rural technical revolution, though the order of priority may differ according to the level of industrial development which has been attained, and to the specific rural situation of each country.

Our irrigation projects were carried out successfully, we sent many tractors and lorries to the countryside, and we achieved a great deal in the way of electrification and chemicalization.

Our Party has also promoted the cultural revolution in the countryside. Though the economic situation of our country was very difficult, we enforced universal compulsory secondary education as early as 1958, overcoming all difficulties in order to do so. We are now active in preparing to introduce compulsory technical education. In every socialist country, all urban children are receiving education. What is important is to provide education for rural children, too. The enforcement of universal compulsory education implies providing not

only urban but also all rural children with the opportunity to study. Therefore, the early enforcement of compulsory education throughout our country will demonstrate the great efforts which our Party has exerted for the promotion of the rural cultural revolution.

While vigorously promoting the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside, our Party has constantly given intensive support to our rural communities. In our country, all the people give such support, and the state continues to increase its material and technical assistance.

We have invested a lot in agriculture. It is true, of course, that we have made a greater investment in industry, but the state investment in agriculture is not small.

When we talk about the state investment in agriculture, we should take into account not only what was spent on irrigation and for the tractors and lorries which were supplied to the countryside. We have also spent a lot of money on the rural cultural revolution, as well as on the rural technical revolution. We have built hospitals and schools in farm villages and have dispatched teachers and doctors there—all at state expense. Cooperative farms undertook many construction projects and bought a lot of farm machines with loans from the state bank. And the state exempted them from repaying a great part of the monies which they thus borrowed. All these benefits should also be regarded as state investments in the countryside. If we take into account all these things, the state investment in the countryside will be seen to amount to a very large sum.

Besides, we have sent many technicians and have given a lot of manpower assistance to the countryside.

Our Party has made really great efforts to eliminate the distinctions between town and country.

True, it is a difficult task to improve the countryside as much as one would wish. Unlike a factory, in the farm villages workplaces are dispersed and the working methods are diversified. The remoulding of men's thinking is also far more difficult in the countryside than in a factory.

In solving these difficult problems, it is of especial significance that with momentum generated by the Changsong Joint Conference, our Party increased the role of the county. Defining the county as the base for the rural cultural and technical revolutions, we saw to it that the links between town and country became ever closer, with the county acting as the linking unit; and the support rendered by the town to the countryside was increased steadily.

In order to lighten the burden of the peasants and to improve their standard of living, we have built in the counties many locally-run industrial plants, such as bean-paste, soy-sauce and cooking-oil factories, furniture factories and farm machine repair stations; and we have set up various schools, such as technical schools and higher technical schools. Furthermore, numerous cultural and public health establishments like libraries, cinemas and hospitals have been built in the counties.

Because we have built up the county, urban technology and culture and various kinds of goods are now being more effectively disseminated throughout the countryside via the county; thus the county has come to play a big role in developing the farm villages in its area.

Our Party's policy of promoting the rural technical and cultural revolutions with the county as the base is quite correct. The county has the right scale for exerting influence on the farm villages in the area under its jurisdiction.

With a view to enhancing the role of the county as a whole and to improving the state direction of agriculture, our Party organized the county cooperative farm management committees. By organizing the committee in every county, we have created the conditions for directing the cooperative farms by industrial methods and on a technological basis, and for decisively strengthening the state direction of, and support for, agriculture.

All this shows that our Party has always paid the closest attention to the solution of the rural question and that it has pursued a correct agricultural policy. Our Party set forth the tasks to accomplish the

ideological, technical and cultural revolutions, as well as to cooperativize agriculture, and it has vigorously striven to see that they are implemented; it has also taken timely, suitable and thorough measures to eliminate the differences between town and country. Our peasants are therefore in very high spirits and our agriculture is thriving more and more.

Since the completion of cooperativization throughout our country, agricultural production has increased every year. Today, grain output alone is 70 to 80 per cent greater than in the years before cooperativization. At the same time, the life of the peasants has improved and their cultural level has been enhanced. The rural base has been firmly built, and the appearance of the countryside has changed beyond all recognition. In short, thanks to our Party's correct agricultural policy, our rural work is going smoothly and our agriculture is steadily progressing.

This does not mean, however, that there is no defect in our rural work. It has, indeed, not a few shortcomings.

What should be pointed out as a defect in our rural work is that even our officials have a bad tendency to build cities at the cost of the countryside. Some of them have the wrong idea of milking the countryside: far from giving any thought to how they could help the rural areas, they try to keep investment in the countryside to a minimum, but impose all the burdens they can on the peasants.

It can be said that this way of thinking has been derived from mechanically imitating another country's experience, and that it is a manifestation of the survival of obsolete ideas from the days when the Japanese imperialists ruthlessly sweated the countryside.

This ideology finds expression not only in investment but also in the purchasing, or procurement, of farm produce, and in the attitude towards the peasants' life. They think that dwellings are essential for industrial workers, but not for peasants. Though they think that workers in industry should be provided with overalls, they do not worry about working clothes for the peasants.

It is a capitalist conceit to neglect the countryside. In capitalist

society towns exploit the countryside and as a rule the latter lags behind the former. Because socialism and communism are incompatible with this kind of abuse, they are superior to capitalism.

However, some of our officials, though they profess to be building socialism and communism, continue to slight the countryside. Anyway, it is a capitalist way of thinking to neglect the countryside, no matter whether those concerned have followed mechanically the experiences of other countries, or have inherited the survivals of old ideas from the time of Japanese imperialist rule.

As a matter of fact, if a formerly backward country like ours is to become an industrial state, it will have to draw funds from the countryside for some time. In an agrarian country the peasants constitute the majority of the population and the land is the most important means of products. In order to build up industry, therefore, the state cannot but obtain the funds from the countryside. With such saving as might be gained from insignificant industry alone, it would be impossible to effect industrialization in a short time. It is therefore imperative that for some time the funds for socialist industrialization be obtained from the countryside.

But, once the foundation of socialist industrialization has been laid, industry should assist agriculture. From that time on, industry should no longer be assisted by agriculture, but, on the contrary, should give it support.

When we built factories in the past, we drew labour from the countryside. This was inevitable because the rural areas were the only source of manpower. But now that industry has reached a certain level, it is wrong to try to draw upon the countryside for manpower. From now on, you should pick out worker-cadres from the factories and send them to the rural areas so as to help with the technical and cultural revolutions. The factories should push ahead with mechanization and automation dynamically and should provide labour assistance to the countryside by creating reserves of manpower.

In the past when our industry lagged behind, the countryside could not be supplied with all the machines and fertilizers which it needed.

Now, however, the situation has changed. Now that the mechanical engineering and chemical industries have been built, you should send machines, artificial fertilizers and agricultural chemicals to the countryside. You should also supply it with electricity, as well as with the water pumps and cement which are needed for irrigation works.

On the basis of our existing industry, we should do all we can to promote the technical revolution in the countryside, so as to develop agricultural productive forces and ease the peasants' toil. We are proud of having undertaken irrigation works and of having thus freed the countryside from drought, but we cannot be satisfied with this. By achieving the mechanization, electrification and chemicalization of agriculture, we should emancipate the peasants from hard labour and enable them to work no longer than eight hours a day just as the workers in industry do.

If the rural technical revolution reaches such a level that two or three peasants will be able to look after more than 30 hectares of land, the peasants would also be able to work under the same conditions as industrial workers. We must therefore do everything we can to push forward the rural technical revolution.

The difference in the cultural level between the peasants and the industrial workers should also be gradually done away with. To this end, compulsory technical education should be quickly enforced, a large number of technicians should be dispatched to the farm villages, and sufficient cultural facilities should be provided. The peasants will thus improve their level of general knowledge as well as their cultural level and their technical skills so that they will become acquainted with machines and electricity, and acquire a great store of knowledge of chemistry, biology and agriculture.

In order to consolidate the positions in the rural areas, many workers should be dispatched there, and the communist education of the peasants should be vigorously undertaken. All the peasants should be imbued with the working-class ideology so that they will live and work in the collectivist spirit which is exemplified by the dictum "One for all and all for one".

In this way the distinctions between the industrial workers and the peasants should be eliminated from all aspects of political, economic and cultural life. Then, the peasants will be the same working people as the industrial workers. The only difference, if any, is that the latter work at the factory, while the former do farm work in the fields.

If we are to eliminate the difference between town and country, we will have to do much work in the future.

Above all, the wrong idea of neglecting the countryside should be wiped out and the erroneous attitude of trying to milk the countryside should be done away with. Some of our officials still think as if rural work were no concern of the state. We should discard this wrong viewpoint and see to it that all the officials adopt a responsible attitude towards rural work and towards the peasants' livelihood.

The socialist cooperativization of agriculture having been accomplished, the Party and the state should be held responsible for looking after the countryside. Our Party and the state do, indeed, assume entire responsibility for rural work and for the peasants' livelihood. In the days of the individual peasant economy, each peasant was mainly responsible for his own livelihood. Today, however, our Party and state should assume responsibility not only for the livelihood of the factory and office workers but also for that of the peasants.

As a matter of fact, there is at the moment no one except the Party and the state to look after rural work and the livelihood of the peasants. Were it not for the solicitude of the Party and the state, the cooperative farm might well be in a much worse situation than were the private farmers.

From the beginning our Party had directed profound attention to the rural question, and, after the completion of cooperativization, it set forth correct, timely and challenging tasks in order to promote rural development. But, at the moment, these tasks are being implemented sluggishly. This is because our officials do not properly understand the importance of the rural work and because they lack a sense of responsibility.

Buyers acting for procurement agencies are said to be very

highhanded in their attitude towards the peasants. They seem to be behaving as officials in a capitalist country. It is very wrong of them to do so. Our state organs should serve the peasants, should look after their livelihood and should assume responsibility for agriculture.

Our Party's standpoint of attaching importance to the rural question is entirely right, both politically and economically. We should work harder for the solution of the rural question and we should strictly observe the Marxist-Leninist principle in this matter.

3

I would now like to refer to what specific measures should be taken to solve our rural question more effectively, in conformity to the aforesaid principles.

What is most important is to augment the peasants' income and to improve their standard of living.

Thanks to the Party's correct agricultural policy, the output of this sector has steadily increased in our country. This year we successfully reviewed the implementation of the tasks which were given at Chongsan-ri, and we actively enlisted rural Party members and other peasants for farming. Furthermore, in order to provide our rural economy with a sound basis and to increase the rural labour force, we took the important measure of dispatching 150,000 to 200,000 factory and office workers to rural areas. In addition, the state increased material and technical support for these areas, and improved the management of the countryside. As a result, this year's grain output was almost 200,000 to 300,000 tons greater than that of last year, although the weather was not much better.

In our countryside oppression and exploitation have long been wiped out and nobody has problems of food, clothing or housing. Today, no peasant eats gruel. Though the factory and office workers

eat rice and corn, the peasants who are engaged in rice cultivation in the plains live on rice alone.

There is no homeless peasant. As a result of extensive rural housing construction, there are now moderately well-to-do villages in which all the inhabitants have cozy and functional modern houses.

As for clothing, everyone, man and woman, has overalls as well as outdoor clothes. Although they have no good winter clothes on account of the shortage of cotton, they all have fine summer clothes.

All this shows that our peasants' living standard has considerably improved compared with bygone days.

However, it is as yet not very high. The peasants' life is inferior to that of factory and office workers in all respects—in regard to food, clothing and housing conditions, as well as to cultural and hygienic conditions.

Did, then, these differences between town and country and between industrial workers and peasants come into being after liberation? Not at all. They were inherited from the old society.

Being communists, we have made unremitting efforts to eliminate these differences from the beginning. As a result, our peasants' life has been incomparably improved and the distinctions between town and country remarkably diminished since liberation.

However, in the past our peasants lived in the most abject poverty, so their living standard is as yet not very high; and since our countryside used to be very backward, there still remain large differences between town and country. These differences also exist in other socialist countries, too. These are all a legacy of the old society.

At the moment when we are building socialism, we are striving to eliminate these differences and to improve the peasants' life.

For the improvement of the peasants' living standard we still have a lot of work to do.

The clothing problem is still far from being solved to the satisfaction of all. Our country has not got much land suitable for cotton cultivation. This is why we fail to grow the necessary amount of cotton. What is worse, most of the cotton produced is used as raw

material for the textile industry, so that the shops are not richly stocked with cotton wool. We should provide the peasants with padded overalls and our children should be provided with winter clothes.

Beside the clothing problem, there are many other problems to be solved in the life of the peasants. In order to solve all these problems satisfactorily the incomes of the peasants should be decisively increased.

The cash income of the peasants now is very small compared with that of industrial workers. After each year's harvest the cooperative farms pay back what they owe to the state, lay aside the seeds needed for the next year's sowing, reserve the funds to be used for rural development and distribute the remainder in cash and in kind to the peasants according to the number of work-days which each has put in. When, however, the peasants put aside what they need for their own sustenance out of their share of grain, they have only a small amount left to sell to the state. So they cannot get much money to improve their general standard of living. At the moment, therefore, it is very important to increase the cash income of the peasants.

As a matter of fact, we have not been unaware of this. Though we were concerned at our failure to solve this problem, we could do nothing. Under the then economic conditions it was inevitable, and we had neither the ability nor the assets to solve it.

Our country was left with a backward and deformed industry from the old society. After liberation, we ourselves had to build heavy industry, centred on the machine-building industry, and to lay the foundations for an independent economy. Until this task was accomplished it was impossible to develop agriculture on the basis of modern technology or to achieve a rapid improvement of the people's standard of living. Therefore, we accumulated funds by generating savings from agriculture and from other sectors of the national economy, and then gave priority to the development of heavy industry when allocating these funds.

As a consequence, our country has now established its base of modern heavy industry, comprising all the key industries, including the

machine-building industry; and light industry has also been developed to a considerable extent.

Today we can dispense with drawing from the countryside the funds necessary for the further development of heavy industry. We are now able to provide considerable assistance for agriculture while proceeding with the normal development of industry. Today, it is for industry to give greater assistance to agriculture: the income of the peasants should be brought up to the level of that of industrial workers, and the differences between the living standards of the two groups should be gradually diminished.

In order to increase the peasants' income, agricultural output should be steadily increased, and the burdens of the peasants should be lightened. There are a number of important steps which we should take towards that end.

Firstly, the tax in kind paid by the peasants should be abolished.

Already at its Fourth Congress our Party decided to do away with the tax in kind in the course of the Seven-Year Plan. It is now high time to implement this decision.

How, then, should we do it? We should totally abolish the system of the tax in kind over a period of three years, and here priority should be given to those cooperative farms where the peasants are hard up. Hitherto, the granting of exemption from the tax in kind depended on the topography of the terrain on which a farm was situated, and exemptions were largely confined to cooperative farms in mountainous regions. Henceforth, in addition to such farms, exemptions should be granted on a priority basis to cooperative farms where life is hard, even though they may be situated in the plains. After taking into full consideration the economic situation of each farm, rather than making an overall assessment on the basis of the topography of the region in question, priority in exemption should be given to the poorest farms, and this should be done gradually.

Next year, relief from an amount equal to one-third of the tax in kind which was delivered to the state this year, should be granted. There are over 3,700 cooperative farms in our country. Of these, more

than 600 have already been exempted from the tax in kind. So at present it is being paid by roughly 3,100 farms. More than 1,000 of these should be exempted from the tax next year, which would leave only 2,000 farms still paying the tax. And in 1965, we should relieve 1,000 farms, and the rest in 1966, and thus abrogate the system of tax in kind once and for all. Well-to-do cooperative farms, such as those in Mundok, Sukchon, Sinchon and Jaeryong Counties, should be the last to be exempted.

The abolition of the tax in kind does not mean that the state does not need the exempted amounts of grain, but implies that it will henceforth purchase from the peasants the same amounts of grain which it has hitherto received free of charge. Consequently, the state revenue will decrease while its expenditure will rise.

The grain delivered as the tax in kind at present amounts to 380,000 tons a year. If this quantity is reduced by one-third, the revenue corresponding to more than 120,000 tons of grain will be cut from the state budget and, moreover, more than 48 million *won* will have to be expended to buy it in. This is by no means a small figure. It is therefore important that the abolition of the system of the tax in kind be effected gradually, so as to facilitate the progressive adaptation of the income and outlay of the state budget.

By gradually abrogating this system over the period of three years, we should augment the peasants' income, while properly regulating the income and outlay of the state budget. The abolition of the tax in kind will increase the peasants' income by at least 100 *won* per household. This means an additional share of about 300 kilogrammes of grain for each household.

Secondly, all the debts owed by cooperative farms to the state should be written off.

For several years we have exempted cooperative farms from paying their debts to the state, but many farms are still in debt. This is not because the peasants do not work hard, but because the economic foundation of the cooperative farms is weak.

Even if they gather a rich harvest for one or two years, the peasants

of a cooperative farm which owes money to the state have very little left over for themselves after their farm's debt has been paid. So it is impossible to improve their standard of living. That is why, between now and the end of next year, we should relieve the cooperative farms of their present debts once and for all. The cooperative farms' debts to the state, being money spent for productive and cultural purposes, should be all written off, with the exception of those loans which individual peasants owe to the credit cooperative.

Thirdly, the rural capital construction which the cooperative farms have so far undertaken with their own funds should henceforth be carried out at state expense.

The state should accordingly finance all capital construction, such as the building of pumping facilities, the provision of threshing grounds and the laying of power lines, while the peasants should be induced to make such farm implements as hoes, sickles and carts by themselves. Housing construction for the peasants should be carried out at state expense and the total cost of those houses which have already been built should also be borne by the state.

It will be good for the cost of repairs to farm machines to be met from state funds. And the price of farm implements should be reduced.

We should, in addition, do everything possible to increase the incomes of the peasants.

As a result of these measures, peasants' incomes will be considerably increased and will soon be equal to those of workers in industry.

In keeping with the growing incomes of the peasants, large quantities of mass consumption goods should be produced and sent to the rural areas. Even if we have taken good steps to raise the peasants' incomes, their living standard will not improve unless we make available the articles of daily use for which their increased incomes will enable them to pay.

The more their income increases, the more the peasants will demand a wider variety and better quality of goods. In accordance with the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, therefore, we should bring about a marked

increase in the production of consumer goods by making effective use of light industry we have already built. In this way, we will be able to provide the countryside with larger quantities of the various kinds of goods which will be demanded by the peasants.

Today, the improvement of the peasants' life implies not only a more effective solution of the peasant and agricultural problems, but also proper adjustment of the balance between accumulation and consumption, in the building of socialism as a whole. As I am wont to say, one of the most important problems in building socialism is to get the right balance between accumulation and consumption. If we deviate from the straight path in this work, socialist construction will be greatly hindered.

In socialist society the purpose of both accumulation and consumption is to improve the people's standard of living. The only difference is that consumption serves the immediate improvement of the quality of life, while accumulation goes in for its future enhancement, being a requisite for future consumption.

If too much stress is put on accumulation while consumption is neglected, it becomes impossible to achieve any immediate betterment of the people's standard of living. If, on the contrary, we use up all our earnings and save nothing, we can neither develop the economy nor improve the people's life in the future. When, in the past, our economic situation was difficult, anti-Party factionalists insisted on using up all the foreign aid which we received, as well as what we had earned. If we had done as they had urged we would have failed to build up an independent national economy and failed to improve the people's life by now.

The same is true both for the economic life of the country as a whole and for the life of the individual. If one is to manage one's life efficiently, one should save some of one's money while spending the rest. In a family where they manage their life with foresight, they have good furniture, and are fed and dressed well.

If a strongly conservative old man, ostensibly for the sake of saving, takes charge of the money earned by his youngsters and merely keeps it without putting it to good use, even in case of need, they will

fail to live well even though they may have much money. If, on the other hand, you eat up all your earnings recklessly, you will not be able to purchase such items as household furniture and you will find yourself short of cash to meet an unexpected contingency necessitating funds, or to pay for some ceremony.

The same can be said of the management of the country's economic life. Only when we set aside adequate amounts as savings out of our earnings will the country's economic life be decent today and in the future too.

Now that we have already laid the foundation of an independent national economy, we can direct greater efforts to improving the standard of living of our people.

Our policy consists in increasing both accumulation and consumption in a well proportioned way and in ensuring balanced progress between town and country, and between industry and agriculture. Making effective use of the foundation of heavy industry, we should develop light industry and agriculture rapidly, and achieve a major improvement in the people's standard of living. It is of special importance here to augment the peasants' income so as to ensure that there will be no great difference in living standards between them and industrial workers.

Improving the living standard of the peasants is a most important task facing us in rural work today.

What is next most important is to speed up the technical revolution in the countryside, to develop the productive potential of agriculture and lighten the arduous work of the peasants.

The labour intensity of agriculture in our country today is much higher than that of industry: an eight-hour day will do in the factory, but not in the countryside. Our peasants work from early morning till late in the evening; they are busy even in winter. The peasants have, in fact, very little time to rest or study. It is therefore very important to lower the labour intensity of agricultural work.

Though the rural technical revolution is going on smoothly at the moment, the officials concerned are not really dedicated to this work,

nor have they any detailed programme for carrying it out.

Detailed calculation and planning are needed to give a powerful stimulus to the rural technical revolution. You should reckon realistically when and to what degree the labour intensity of agricultural operations should be reduced in each county, and how many lorries, tractors and other machines would be needed for this.

The task facing us at present in the rural technical revolution is the mechanization of ploughing, weeding and haulage, as well as of threshing and water-pumping. If we cannot manage to do weeding entirely by fuel-powered machines, we should do it with animal-driven ones.

As a matter of fact, even if mechanization is widely introduced in the countryside, it will not always be possible for the peasants to work, as workers in industry do, for only eight hours a day. They have to work 10 or even 12 hours during the busiest farming season. But, by way of compensation, they should be allowed to work less in autumn and winter. Thus, they will have some spare time to rest and study.

Along with the mechanization of agriculture, we should do all we can to promote the electrification of the countryside. There are, today, some people who do not consider rural electrification as of importance, and who think they can continue to dispense with it.

Unless the countryside is supplied with electricity, mechanization cannot be efficiently accomplished, and threshing machines will continue to have to be worked by men. This will delay threshing, with the result that much of the grain will be lost, eaten by birds and rats. This loss will cost at least as much as the laying of power lines.

Electricity is urgently needed not only for the mechanization of agricultural operations, but also to give the peasants a decent standard of living. Nowadays, farmhouses without electricity cannot have proper light.

Rural electrification has, of course, been carried on at a very fast tempo in our country. More than 93 per cent of all the rural ri and 71 per cent of all the farmhouses are already supplied with electricity. This is a very high level.

Nevertheless, we cannot be satisfied with this. Within the next few years, we should provide the rest of the rural ri and farmhouses with electricity. Even if we have to put off building some factories, we should extend the electricity supply to all rural communities. Rural electrification should be carried out: if copper wire is in short supply, we should take measures to increase copper production; if there is a danger of the electric wire being wasted in extending electricity supply because of the scattered location of farmhouses, they should be brought together; and if electricity is short, more power plants should be built and economies should be effected in its use in other fields.

By supplying more machines to the cooperative farms and by furthering rural electrification, we should enable the peasants to increase production and at the same time to reduce the arduous nature of their work. The differences in working conditions and in the physical demands of their respective jobs, between industrial workers and the peasantry, should be kept to a minimum.

What is important next is to further enhance the cultural amenities in the life of the peasants.

There is also very much to be done to further the cultural revolution in the countryside. Nowadays, well-educated young people, engineers and intellectuals are reluctant to go and live in the rural areas. They like to live in Pyongyang or in other big cities. Those living in Pyongyang dislike going down to live in the provinces, and those in the provinces do not want to go and live in farm villages.

The reason why educated persons do not want to go and live in the country is that the cultural amenities there are worse than in the towns. There is no theatre in the farm villages, and artists do not go there so often. If you go to the countryside and stay there for several days, you will keenly feel the need for the rural cultural revolution.

When their incomes increase in the future, the peasants will demand much more of the things needed for their culturally satisfying life. They will ask for more newspapers and books and for a lot of radios, and also for more opportunities to see dramas and films. It will, of course, be impossible to meet all their demands at once, but we should do all we can

to improve the cultural amenities for the peasants as soon as possible.

The cultural revolution in the countryside should be carried out according to a detailed plan. You should draw up such a plan, taking into consideration the time the peasants can spare for study, the number of households without a radio set, and even the time by which they can be provided with it.

The rebuilding of the peasants' dwellings should be carried out in a planned way. Those houses which are beyond repair should be pulled down and rebuilt. At present, only new houses are built, but the rebuilding of old ones is neglected. This is wrong. Rebuilding old houses needs less material. If no tiles are available, even straw should be used to provide the houses with attractive thatched roofs.

We should build bathhouses so that the peasants can always take a bath, and we should also provide facilities for them to wash their clothes. In addition, clothes-mending shops should be set up in the farm villages. There are many idle dependents of office workers living in farm villages. These people should be put to work in something like a clothes-mending shop, so as to lighten the burden of our rural women.

In this way, every possible measure should be taken so that the rural population will, like their urban counterparts, lead a comfortable life with sufficient cultural amenities.

In improving every aspect of life in the rural areas we must, however, adhere to the principle of giving priority to remoulding the peasants' ideological consciousness.

The ideological revolution in the countryside means transforming the thinking of all peasants into working-class ideology. The ideology of the working class implies, after all, the idea of serving the state and the people, and of discarding selfishness. We should induce the peasants to acquire the determination to do farming well for the state and the people.

You should not think that we augment the peasants' income and improve their standard of living solely in order to provide a material incentive to their productive zeal: our major purpose is to enable both the industrial workers and the peasantry, as citizens of a socialist state,

to receive equal benefits from the state. All the peasantry should be got fully to understand this point. We should thus see to it that, just as the factory workers work for the country, the peasantry also do their farm work well, with the determination to produce a great amount of grain for the country.

These are the important tasks which we should tackle immediately in rural work. Only by carrying out these tasks will it be possible to develop our agriculture steadily and rapidly, to achieve a further reduction in the difference between town and country, and to bring the standard of living of the peasants closer to that of the workers.

The reason why the rural youth dislike to work in the countryside and want to go to the towns now is that agricultural work is harder than industrial work and that their standard of living is worse than that of urban youth. Compared with the towns, the income is less and the job is harder in the countryside. After an eight-hour day at work, townsfolk change their clothes and go to a theatre or cinema, but it is impossible for farmers to do so. Moreover, townsfolk can always buy foodstuffs at the shop and have no worry about looking for firewood, whereas the farmers have to make all their subsidiary foodstuffs themselves and have to go out to gather their firewood. If these differences are left as they are, no one will want to work in the rural areas and everyone will try to move to the towns.

This kind of tendency has persisted from the past. In former days, our peasants wanted to make their children abandon the hoe, and did all they could to enable them to study one way or another so that they could loaf their lives away in a town.

At that time, the peasants' life was miserable and the differences between town and country were very great. Today, in the capitalist countries, the distinctions between them continue to be extremely great. Consequently there is a tendency to flee from the land in every capitalist country.

This tendency should not persist in a socialist country. We should improve all aspects of rural life, so as to induce people to like living in the country.

It would be unreasonable to try to improve all the conditions in rural areas at once. From now on, we should invest considerable funds in the rural technical and cultural revolutions, and we should gradually improve all the conditions in these areas. In this way we should ensure that in the future our peasants will enjoy the same working and living conditions as our industrial workers.

In future, we are going to abolish not only the tax in kind but also the irrigation fees and the fees for the use of farm machinery. Only when the peasants' ideological consciousness has been remoulded like that of the industrial workers, and when they devote all their talents and skill to their work and are rewarded in proportion to the input of each, will all such taxes, which are imposed on the peasants alone, be unnecessary.

When the peasants' level of ideological consciousness has been raised, when the technical and cultural revolutions have been accomplished and when all the conditions of life in the rural areas have been brought to the same standards as in the towns, the peasants will, like the workers in industry, also deliver all the fruit of their work to the state, from which they will receive their living allowances. We should continue to study these problems and should solve them in the future as circumstances permit.

Right now, we should increase the peasants' income to improve their standard of living, and we should be more energetic in furthering the technical revolution with a view to making farm work less physically arduous. And we should simultaneously and vigorously further the cultural and ideological revolutions.

4

I should now like to make some remarks on the management of rural affairs.

So that it may manage rural affairs efficiently, the county should

assume a greater role. We should constantly try to strengthen the ties between town and country, with the county as the link, and to bring the countryside closer to the town in all matters of ideology, technology and culture.

What is most important is to improve the work of the county cooperative farm management committees.

We set up the county cooperative farm management committees in 1961, when we gave on-the-spot guidance to Sukchon County. The two years' experience which we have since had testifies that this new system of agricultural guidance has many advantages. Relying on this system, we have already achieved several successes.

There are, however, also shortcomings in the work of the county cooperative farm management committees. The major defect is that the management committee manages agriculture in an administrative way, just as the county people's committee did in the past. No matter how good an administrative apparatus may be set up, it is no use unless it adopts a sound method of doing its work.

Just as the industrial management bureaus direct factories, the county cooperative farm management committees should never deviate from industrial methods in accomplishing their task of directing the cooperative farms, and should also conduct work with people efficiently.

In order that their work may be improved, the committees should be obliged to carry out a stringent review of their operations. The work of the Cooperative Farm Management Committee in Sukchon County should be the subject of another on-the-spot inspection, and measures should be taken to improve it. The advantages of the county cooperative farm management committee will thus be displayed to the full.

In increasing the role of the county it is important to build the county town well and to push forward with rural construction. To this end, the work of the rural construction corps should be improved. The rural construction corps should not be mobilized for other work: it should be used exclusively for construction work in the county.

Recently North Hwanghae Province announced its intention of

mobilizing the forces of the rural construction corps for the Singye project—allegedly because the corps had nothing to do. This is wrong. The rural construction corps has a lot of work to do. It should build the county town, as well as hospitals, schools, nurseries, warehouses and bathhouses. This kind of work can be quite well done with the use of local materials.

If the funds available do not permit the building of new houses, old houses should be rebuilt or repaired. Many old houses are essentially sound. You should coat the walls of these houses, put the pillars to right and tile the roof again.

The roads in rural areas are in a very bad state at present. Roads which are travelled by lorries and tractors are not surfaced with pebbles, so naturally the lorries and tractors get worn out very soon. Whenever the rural construction corps has any surplus manpower, it should be mobilized to carry stones from somewhere to pave the road.

It is very good that we organized the rural construction corps. It was a sensible step our Party took to build pleasant rural villages and to assimilate conditions in the countryside as soon as possible to those of the towns.

At present, about 33,000 people are involved in the rural construction corps throughout the country; they play a key role in the building of the countryside. Because we organized the rural construction corps with so much manpower and carried out construction projects throughout the countryside, its face has rapidly changed.

The rural houses and cultural establishments which we have built offer great hope to the peasants that life in the countryside, too, is going to be good. Because they have this hope, our peasants put their hearts into everything they do, nor do they know fatigue.

But we have only achieved an initial success in building pleasant socialist villages with cultural amenities. We are still far from having developed the countryside as we would wish.

Rural construction must be pushed forward more energetically. Otherwise, the old appearance of the countryside will not be radically changed even in a 100 years. Each county should rely on its own

resources for its development, and should refrain from using the manpower of the rural construction corps for work which is not properly that of the corps.

Furthermore, special attention should be paid to strengthening the class base in rural areas. Unless that is done, it will be impossible to succeed in the revolutionary struggle and in the constructive efforts.

In order that the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions may be thoroughly carried out in the countryside and that all other problems may be correctly solved, the rural class base should be solidly built with the best workers who combine a strong class consciousness and revolutionary spirit with a high technical and cultural level.

The fact is, however, that today many of the bereaved families of revolutionaries and of persons who were killed by the enemy—people who should play a central role in the countryside—have moved to the towns, and even young men of peasant origin, who were trained and educated in the army, prefer not to return to their native villages but to settle down in the towns after their discharge from service. That is why there are few core Party members or young and middle-aged people in the countryside. This is a major obstacle to the promotion of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

What is important in building the rural class base is to dispatch many industrial workers to the countryside.

Industrial workers have a stronger revolutionary spirit, a better organizing ability and higher technical and cultural levels than peasants. If many of these workers are moved to the countryside, the clannishness and nepotism which persist among the peasants can be wiped out and a struggle against selfishness can be waged with strength. The industrial workers can exert ideological influence on the peasants and can effectively disseminate technology among them while working together with them in the fields.

The problem will not be solved by merely allocating several tractor drivers to the countryside, as is done now. We should take the decisive step of moving large numbers of industrial workers who are also Party members, as well as other core elements, to the countryside. Then, our

Party's position in the countryside will be considerably consolidated and the alliance between the working class and the peasantry further strengthened.

In addition to the dispatching of these large numbers of industrial workers to the countryside, those families of dead revolutionaries and of persons who were killed by the enemy, which are of rural origin but now living in the towns, should be sent back to their native places. They will thus be induced to solidify the rural positions which their fathers and mothers defended with their blood.

We should steadily consolidate the class base in the countryside until we have accomplished the revolution. With the passage of time, a new generation, which has not undergone the trial of class struggle, is growing up; its members may well know nothing of the past. Therefore, the families of dead revolutionaries and of persons who were killed by the enemy should stay on in the rural areas and let the younger generation know of the enemies' crimes and the history of the acute class struggle from the time of the agrarian reform up to the present day. Thus, everyone should be brought to know who is our enemy and who is the target of our struggle. Only by intensifying class education like this through successive generations, can we steadily build up the rural positions in spite of the passage of time.

The work of sending back to the countryside those families who are now in the towns is very important. The senior officials of the provincial Party committees and the county Party committee chairmen should therefore meet them in person to have a talk, and should persuade them to go back to their native places.

The rural Party organizations should give good education to these returning families, should entrust them with work for the Democratic Youth League and should admit them into the Party so as to encourage their development as core in the class base. As the members of these families are young people aged 20 to 30 and as they have a good class background, they could, if properly educated, fight resolutely in all sectors. If every rural ri has, say, ten such young men, no wicked elements would dare to challenge us.

Another important thing in consolidating the rural positions is to send discharged soldiers and many other young and middle-aged people to the countryside.

At the moment, those from the country who volunteered for military service do not go back to their native places when they are discharged; they attend educational institutions or get jobs in factories. That is why the rural work force consists mostly of old men and women. The situation has now improved to some extent, because this year we dispatched many young and middle-aged people to the countryside. However, more young and middle-aged persons should go there. The rural labour force should be replenished with discharged soldiers who have been tempered spiritually and physically. In future, in assigning workers to jobs in industry, the Ministry of Labour should confine itself to assigning those discharged soldiers who are of urban and worker origin; while the military mobilization departments should be responsible for sending all discharged soldiers of rural origin back to the countryside.

For the consolidation of the rural class base many rural cadres will have to be trained. One of the most important problems in this connection is to build and efficiently run the county Party school.

In order to improve the work of the county Party school, the qualities of the teachers should be raised and the method of teaching improved. And the textbooks should be supplied in time; and the curriculum should be prepared in keeping with our educational objectives and should be carried out correctly.

Finally, I would like to speak about some problems which should be solved immediately in connection with the rural question.

This year the peasants have gathered a very rich crop. So we awarded the peasants a large bonus sum this year. We should not be content with this, but should send many more gifts to the countryside.

Above all, we should supply all the children with winter clothes this year. Last year when we were having a meeting in Changsong, I assigned the people concerned the task of providing the children with overcoats. They implemented that task to some degree last year, but

this year they are paying no attention to this problem. This shows that the provincial and county Party committee chairmen are very indifferent to how the people live.

The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee discussed this problem seriously again and decided on providing all the children with winter clothes this year. We supplied winter coats to all the children last year, and this year we should dress all the children aged three and above in winter clothes. This is quite possible, for now we have not only cloth but also cotton for wadding.

As decided by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, this year we should make one million suits of children's clothes, and supply them free of charge to the rural children. This amount is enough to clothe all our rural children. This year, the clothes should be supplied to them for nothing, but from next year on they should be paid for if the peasants' income should increase.

When you provide rural children with clothes, you should not fail to bear in mind two problems. One is that the Party officials should do some self-criticism for having been so indifferent to how the peasants live; the other is that the peasants should be given a good understanding of the important steps which have been taken by the Party and the Government to augment their incomes. The peasants should be informed that, so as to make them well-off, the Party and the Government will, starting from next year, completely abolish the tax in kind over a period of three years; that, between now and the end of next year, they will relieve the cooperative farms of their state debts; and that the capital construction projects hitherto undertaken by the cooperative farms themselves will henceforth be done at state expense. And you should also point out to them that it is because the peasants have done such good farming this year that these measures have become possible. It can, indeed, be said that it is because the farmers have been so successful in their work that the economic life of the country is improving. If they do even better next year, we will be able to provide them with much greater benefits.

We are going to make some 1,000,000 suits of padded jackets for the

peasants next year. Since it is not so cold in winter in our country, padded jackets alone are generally enough, except in the northern areas.

The implementation of the above-mentioned steps should be closely linked to the drive of the peasants to achieve an increased grain yield. The peasants should be encouraged to go all out to increase the yield by 500 kilogrammes per hectare, by way of repaying the benefits which they are being offered by the state.

If the yield per hectare is increased by 500 kilogrammes of grain next year, the grain harvest would be augmented by 1,000,000 tons in all. It would be a big success to obtain even an extra 500,000 tons, if not 1,000,000 tons. With this amount of grain, we would really be able to solve many problems for the peasants.

Next year light industry should do a lot of work to improve the peasants' life. The workers in this sector should wage a vigorous struggle for increased production under the slogan of strengthening support for the countryside and produce more cloth and various kinds of everyday necessities for the rural population.

We were quite right to decide to produce daily necessities on a large scale this year. In conformity with Party policy, all factories, large or small, should make great efforts to produce articles of daily use.

The workers in commerce and light industry should make really good clothes for distribution in the rural areas, so that the peasants will be satisfied. These workers should not work with the thought that, because the clothes are to be sent to rural areas, they can be made carelessly.

Some cotton should be sold to the peasants. Two thousand or so tons of cotton a year will be all right for this purpose. If cotton is thus to be sold to the peasants, chemical fibres should be produced in larger quantities. If Sinuiju produces more chemical fibres, the cotton problem will be solved.

Old cloth should be regenerated to make quilts, padded jackets, children's clothes and so on for sale. This can be done in locally-run factories as much as possible. The locally-run factories in the county should make more clothes for the peasants and thus solve their clothing problem as soon as possible.

The State Planning Commission, the Agricultural Commission, the Construction Commission, the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration, the Ministry of General Education, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Public Health and all other ministries and organs should criticize themselves for their failure to do efficient work in connection with the countryside, and should take measures to rectify matters. For example, the cultural institutions should criticize themselves for the defects which have been revealed in the fulfilment of the rural cultural revolution and should take the necessary remedial steps; and the Agricultural Commission should take measures to carry out the technical revolution in the countryside smoothly.

All Party and state officials should pay attention to rural work and should strive to support the countryside.

It is of very great significance externally that we should solve the rural question properly. Foreigners visiting our country study agriculture more than industry. If, therefore, we solve this problem efficiently, our experience will provide useful guidance for other countries, too. Especially now that the imperialists are slandering the socialist system of agriculture, while the revisionists distort the Marxist-Leninist agricultural policy, our successful solution of the rural question has assumed great importance.

We should not be satisfied with such success as we have achieved in rural work, but should continue to give it our closest attention so as to improve it further. If all the officials exert themselves more to improve rural work in accordance with the principles which I have just outlined, we will win really a great victory in the development of agriculture.

Every Party organization, state organ and social organization should be active in communicating and explaining to the working people the right policies which have been laid down by the Party for the solution of the rural question, and should do all they can to implement them.

ON ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF OUR REVOLUTION

**Talk to the Staff of the Science and Education
Department of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

December 30, 1963

I am going to touch on some questions which arise in our revolution and construction, and which must be solved by the social sciences today.

It can be said that our Party has two major revolutionary tasks which it has been carrying out and must continue to carry out in the future. One is the socialist revolution and construction in the northern half of Korea, and the other is the revolution in south Korea and the reunification of the country.

So far we have achieved a great deal in the course of the revolutionary struggle and in construction. We were able to score great victories and successes in the revolution and construction because our Party worked out correct policies—and showed originality in carrying them out. Needless to say, in leading the revolution and construction our Party has been guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and has taken into account quite a few problems which were set forth or solved in practice by the founders of Marxism-Leninism. However, our Party solved most problems in a unique manner, by creatively applying the universal truth of

Marxism-Leninism in conformity with the historical conditions and national characteristics of our own country. We used our own brains and relied on our own efforts in solving some questions which Marx or Lenin did not raise and could not foresee in view of the conditions prevailing in their time.

As you all know, Marx lived in the era before the rise of monopoly capitalism and accordingly created the great Marxist theory on the basis of his analysis of the social relations of his time, thus tolling the knell for capitalist society. But Marx did not have the opportunity to lead the socialist revolution and socialist construction in practice. Lenin created Leninism, the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism, which is governed by the law of the uneven political and economic development of the capitalist powers. Mobilizing and organizing the Russian working class, he successfully led the October Socialist Revolution. This opened up a new era in the history of mankind. However, to our regret, Lenin died soon after the victory of the October Revolution, before he had the chance to lead the building of socialism. Taking over Lenin's work, Stalin carried out the collectivization of agriculture and pushed ahead with socialist industrialization in the Soviet Union. But he too died before he could see the complete victory of socialism, much less lead the construction of communism.

In most cases, therefore, we had to use our own brains and find our own solutions to the theoretical and practical problems of the revolution and construction, after the triumph of the socialist revolution in our country.

We must do the same today—and all the more so in the future. In order to achieve the complete victory of socialism and gradually progress to communism, we must continue to be guided by the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, but, on many questions, we must blaze a path for ourselves. It is important for us to work out our revolutionary strategy and tactics by generalizing and systematizing the practical experience of our revolution and construction, in keeping with the laws governing social development in our country.

On the basis of the materialistic dialectical method of Marxism-Leninism, our social sciences must develop a theory which will prove, explain and draw deductions from the correctness and creativeness of what we have already done and what we propose to do. Only then can we find a new orientation for our further advance and continue to make progress.

Our social sciences have not yet produced a theory to explain and develop even a number of problems which we recognized and raised long ago—have they?

These include, for example, the importance, in industrial management, of work with people, and the question concerning the utilization of industrial methods of management in agriculture. I asked those concerned to prepare a book on *Industrial Administration*, but in their outline of the book they did not say a word about work with people. More than once I have stressed that work with people must be regarded as essential, but their outline was incorrect and I had them correct it. Solving the peasant and agricultural questions after the completion of the socialist cooperativization of agriculture is quite a new problem for any country, and one which is extremely complex and difficult to solve. We have already introduced an excellent system of agricultural management which will enable us to solve the socialist rural question correctly. Yet, our scholars are still unable to demonstrate to the full the correctness and vitality of our new system.

Also, I have repeatedly raised some matters of principle concerning communist education and asked the scholars concerned to write a school textbook on communist education, but it is not ready yet.

There are, indeed, quite a lot of problems awaiting theoretical solutions in all branches of the social sciences, including political economy, history and linguistics.

In each branch of these sciences, we must give a lead. Unless we can now evolve theories which will permit satisfactory explanations of things, we can make no further progress.

Political economy is in a position to give a theoretical elucidation of the problem of eliminating the distinctions between town and country,

and, in practice, the solution of that problem is possible. Furthermore, we must make an in-depth study of the conditions under which the difference between mental and physical labour can be eliminated and provide a theoretical and practical answer to this problem.

The science of history, too, still has many questions to be gone into. That of the birth and development of capitalism in our country must be fully explained. This question should be gone into in detail and developed theoretically in accordance with the laws that govern social development. In addition to this question, the science of history must also elucidate the facts about ancient Korea, slave society and the origin of the Korean nation. We must correctly appraise the scholars of the *silhak* school. I am told that a draft Party history has been prepared. It must be completed quickly.

In the field of linguistics it is necessary to push ahead vigorously with the improvement of our vocabulary, which is fundamental for the development of the Korean language. In what direction should we develop our language? Seeing that the country has not yet been reunified, it should be developed by stages. We should begin with improving the vocabulary and not tackle the problem of the form of our letters until after reunification. In my opinion our Korean Dictionary contains more words of Chinese origin than of Korean. When coining new words, we should form them from Korean root words so as to develop our language. At present, however, most new words are coined by mixing Chinese characters. As for our characters, we must go into whether we should continue to use the present form or not. Our spoken language has good articulation but our written language has some shortcomings in its form.

We must also make a theoretical study of the problem of national reunification. Pedagogy, too, is faced with many problems which call for theoretical and practical solutions.

In order to find new theoretical answers to these different problems, it is very important to work properly with scientists and university teachers.

But we are not up to the mark in educating people in the sphere of

science and education, in arming them ideologically or in organizing and mobilizing them.

So far, we have confined our work chiefly to the training of scientists, getting them to study and solve the problems arising in postwar reconstruction and in building the foundations of socialism. But things are different now. We must strengthen our work with scientists, both natural and social, and creatively solve many of the new, theoretical and practical problems which crop up in the course of our revolution and construction.

In order to do this, it is very important to establish Juche in the sphere of scientific research. Only by establishing it firmly, will we be able to do scientific research along the right channels, as required by the Party. In fact, all our achievements in scientific research over the past few years are due primarily to the struggle to establish Juche. The success of our research into vinalon is positive proof of this.

We must rally scientists closely around our Party and continue to push ahead with the work of arming them with our Party's Juche idea. Thus we will get all of them to imbue themselves thoroughly with this idea—we live in Korea, we are and will be guided by our Party's ideology and theory, and we will have nothing to do with flunkeyism or dogmatism.

If we slight the work of imbuing our scientists and university teachers with our Party's ideology, or fail to do it properly, scientific research itself will not go well and our younger generation will not be educated to become competent people useful to the revolution. Whether or not our students will be brought up to become true revolutionary intellectuals depends largely on the scientists and the teachers who teach them.

We must not only firmly arm the scientists and teachers with our Party's Juche idea, but further temper them through organizational life.

Our country has only a few women scientists at present. We must train many more and raise the level of their qualifications.

With a view to carrying out more satisfactorily the tasks which face the social sciences, we have separated the Academy of Social Sciences

from the Academy of Sciences. We are planning a conference on the work of the social sciences. I will have a talk with linguists and also meet natural and social scientists to discuss the compilation of an encyclopaedia. On that occasion I will speak in greater detail about the concrete tasks confronting the social sciences.

I would now like to refer to what specific measures should be taken to solve our rural question more effectively, in conformity with the aforesaid principles.

