

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

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SPEECH AT THE BANQUET GIVEN TO CELEBRATE THE NEW YEAR

January 1, 1959

Dear comrades and friends,

The Korean people, having seen 1958, the year during which a great deal of work was done to build socialism, on its way out, are today welcoming in the year 1959 which promises greater progress.

Greeting this happy New Year, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I offer my warm congratulations to you all.

The year 1958 was a year when a great upswing and numerous changes took place in our socialist construction. It will remain for ever recorded in our nation's history as a year of great victories.

Last year saw the accomplishment of the historic task of socialist transformation in towns and the countryside. In our country socialism has won a decisive victory. This has been a historic event in the development of our country.

Last year, substantial progress was also made in the socialist industrialization.

The industry built by our Party and working people through a hard-fought struggle has become stronger and more developed and has demonstrated its great potential last year. Industrial production in 1957 was 44 per cent greater than in the previous year, and last year it registered a further growth of 40 per cent thanks to the heroic struggle of our working class. Its material and technical foundations have also

been consolidated. Last year, we even produced large-sized metallurgical equipment and heavy machines on our own. Now we can make as much as we want of what we need without any outside help.

Our country has got rid of centuries-old backwardness and become a developed, socialist industrial and agricultural state with independent economic foundations. This is an event of historic significance in our people's life.

In high spirits, our working people are achieving miraculous success every day. In response to the letter of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea they are making mass innovations in the technical revolution and increasing their productivity two or three times. Conservatism and mysticism about technology have disappeared and new mechanized vehicles such as lorries, tractors, bulldozers, excavators and wagons are rolling forward, and technical innovations are being made one after another.

Last year, we mobilized all local potential and built more than one thousand medium- and small-sized factories which are operated on a local basis.

In 1958, we attained a high peak in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan by achieving a great success in the industrial sector.

A great success was also scored in agriculture.

With the completion of agricultural cooperativization in accordance with the Party's policies, the sources of exploitation and poverty were permanently eliminated from the countryside. By raising the living standards of all the peasants to that of middle peasants or higher, the question of poor peasants, a matter which was a source of serious concern for us, was completely resolved. We are very gratified about this.

Agricultural cooperatives in each ri have been successfully amalgamated and, in consequence, our socialist agriculture has entered a new stage of development.

On the strength of the advantages of the cooperative economy and the high enthusiasm of peasants, we produced 3.7 million tons of grain last year—all-time record in grain production—in spite of a long spell of

severe drought. In increasing the per-hectare grain yields, innovative achievements were recorded. These would have been unattainable with the old farming method.

Along with the substantial increase in grain production, a great success was also achieved in stockbreeding and in the cultivation of industrial crops.

As a result, our agriculture has now completely solved the food problem and laid the necessary foundations to satisfy the industrial demands for raw materials.

At present, our farmers, with the support of the working class, are striving for an extensive introduction of irrigation, electrification and mechanization in agriculture according to the policy put forward by the Party. Great afforestation and water conservation projects are being carried out in all parts of the country; the system of irrigating both rice fields and non-paddy fields is being established in a powerful mass movement. Medium- and small-sized power plants have been built on a big scale in the countryside for the supply of electricity even to remote mountain villages, and a large number of modern farm machinery is being supplied to the rural areas.

All these things taking place in the life of our farmers, who have suffered from poverty, natural calamities and backbreaking work for thousands of years, far removed from modern civilization, constitute a historic change in our countryside. In the near future it will become a developed, more abundant and cultured rural community where farm work is done on the basis of modern technology.

In 1958, great progress was achieved in the cultural revolution as well.

The system of universal compulsory secondary education was successfully introduced, and preparations for compulsory technical education actively promoted.

Working people's primary and middle schools were set up and run throughout the country, and the task of raising the intellectual level of all adults to that of junior middle school graduates and above is being carried out successfully.

A great change was effected in school education which was conducted in accordance with the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic on properly combining education with productive labour to train versatile builders of communism.

A big success was also achieved in science, literature and art. Our scientists and technicians succeeded in the use of ferro-coke for iron production and in the manufacture of vinalon, solved scientific and technological problems arising in the production of fibre from reeds and maize stalks and thus made a tangible contribution to the nation's economic progress.

As a result of the steady economic progress, the Party's policy on efficiently solving the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people is being successfully implemented. Last year the real wages of industrial and non-industrial workers rose by 50 per cent over those in the prewar year of 1949. On top of that, the state decided on raising their wages by 40 per cent from January this year. Large numbers of houses were built in urban and rural communities and the working people's living conditions are improving every year.

The year 1958 was a year of continuous advance and innovations, a year of ceaseless upsurge and a year of brilliant exploits performed by our working people who are moving forward speedily in the spirit of Chollima riders.

On behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I would like to extend my heartfelt congratulations to our heroic working class, cooperative farmers and working intellectuals.

The year 1958 was characterized by a new upsurge for the northern half of Korea, whereas it was a year of further decline and ruin for south Korea under the occupation of the US imperialists.

South Korea is in the abyss of economic bankruptcy and political confusion. Today the south Korean people are suffering from extreme absence of rights and poverty under fascist repression and multi-faceted exploitation.

We can never forget the south Korean brothers who are going through hardship and miserable plight in a gloomy New Year.

The cause of their miseries and sufferings lies in the occupation of south Korea by US imperialism. So the US imperialists must withdraw from south Korea as early as possible.

The success in socialist construction in the northern half of Korea means a heavy blow to the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique. It also means immeasurable encouragement to the south Korean people who are fighting for the country's peaceful reunification. Under the impact of this success, more south Koreans will be aroused with every passing day. Our country will certainly be reunified in a peaceful way and the people in south Korea will have their day of freedom and happiness.

The Korean compatriots in Japan are struggling to realize their burning desire to return to their homeland, but this desire has not yet been realized because of the inhumane persecution and obstructive manoeuvres of the Japanese government. They are greeting the New Year in a difficult situation in a foreign land. But no one or no force will ever be able to keep them from exercising their solemn right and from realizing their humanitarian desire to return home in search of a better livelihood.

I send New Year greetings to all the Korean compatriots in Japan who are going through difficulties, and I do hope that their aspiration would be realized as soon as possible.

1958 was a year of great victories for the forces of peace-lovers and socialism the world over.

Last year, the solidarity and strength of the socialist camp increased further, and in contrast the forces of imperialism became weaker. The policy of aggression pursued by international reactionary forces, led by the US imperialists, is failing in all parts of the world.

On behalf of all the Korean people, I extend ardent congratulations to the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal socialist countries for their great victories and wish them greater success in the new year.

Dear comrades and friends,

1958 will be another year of great victories in our socialist

construction. More progress will be achieved in all fields of the national economy, thanks to the existing foundations and the precious success registered last year.

This year will be a significant year during which we will implement the First Five-Year Plan.

At present, the morale of our working people is sky-high.

This year will witness a new upswing in industrial production. If we increase it by only 32 per cent over the figure of last year, we will be able to realize the Five-Year Plan.

There will be a great change in agricultural production, too. This year we must produce at least five million tons of grain. Our farmers are now struggling to reach a production target of ten tons or more of rice yield per-hectare.

This year will prove a great success in rural electrification. If this task is generally performed, comprehensive mechanization will be accelerated in the countryside, and then the rural community will acquire a new look.

Our prospects are brilliant, and our target is distinct.

We must speed up our efforts to make more progress as from the first day of the new year in order to complete the Five-Year Plan this year.

Workers in all sectors of the national economy must work hard to realize their production plans daily, monthly and quarterly and in terms of indices. They must strive more vigorously to make continual technical innovations and to carry out the technical revolution. In the countryside, farmers must strive to produce more barnyard manure, till the land deeper and sow closer to increase radically the per-hectare grain yields.

This year we must bring about a great change in our effort to improve the quality of manufactured goods. This is an urgent requirement of our socialist construction which is advancing by leaps and bounds in its new stage as well as the demand of the people whose living standard is improving quickly.

We have gained priceless experience in every sector of production

and construction and laid the technological foundations to improve radically the quality of products.

The quality of all goods must be high enough to meet the demands of the socialist era and everything must have socialist content. All manufactured goods should be serviceable to the working people, attractive and durable.

We must improve transport, goods distribution, and public catering and also make innovations in the fields of education, culture, public health, science, literature and art.

The new year must see great progress in the cultural revolution. We have established the most advanced social system in the history and provided cultured living conditions for all the working people. We must struggle to eliminate outdated customs persisting in their everyday lives and lead them to build their lives in a cultured way in accordance with the developing reality. We must make a step forward in establishing communist morality and beautiful customs.

We must intensify communist education among the working people to build socialism more quickly and better and accelerate our transition to communism.

Today our working people are very enthusiastic and have a firm confidence in victory.

I firmly believe that all our working people will rally closely around the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and achieve more miraculous success this year.

ON THE VICTORY OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVIZATION AND THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN OUR COUNTRY

**Report to the National Congress
of Agricultural Cooperatives**

January 5, 1959

Comrades,

Today we are in an era of revolutionary upsurge and prosperity unprecedented in the history of our country and nation.

Under the leadership of our Party, our people have laid the foundations of an independent economy by overcoming numerous difficulties in postwar reconstruction and have won a decisive victory for the socialist revolution in the northern half of Korea. On this basis, socialist construction in our country has entered a period of great upsurge and in response to the Party's call all the people are making progress with the speed of Chollima riders. On all fronts of socialist construction world-shaking miracles are being performed and great progress is being made every day.

Thanks to the heroic labour of our working class, a large number of factories and enterprises equipped with modern technology are being built one after another and the productive forces of industry are developing by leaps and bounds. In 1957, the industrial output was 44 per cent higher than in the previous year, and in 1958 it again rose by 40 per cent over that of 1957. Last year, our workers produced 3.7

times as much industrial goods as in the prewar year of 1949.

As in industry, great achievements have been registered in all other branches of the national economy including agriculture, railway transport, capital construction, so on and so forth.

On the basis of the success attained in socialist construction and the high revolutionary zeal of our working people, our Party proposed in September of last year magnificent long-term tasks for transforming our country into a developed, socialist industrial state.

The magnificent long-term tasks proposed by our Party have the enthusiastic support of our working people and have further fired their revolutionary zeal. To accelerate socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, our working people are now demonstrating unparalleled enthusiasm for work and inexhaustible creative talents in their determination to realize the current First Five-Year Plan two years ahead of schedule and to carry out successfully long-term tasks proposed by the Party.

Agriculture has a very important role to play in carrying out the magnificent programme of socialist construction. Without developing the productive forces of agriculture to a higher level, it will not be possible to provide the working people with an abundance of food, nor to supply the rapidly developing industry with enough raw materials.

Under the guidance of our Party, the peasants have already accomplished a great deal in the reconstruction and development of the productive forces of agriculture and have completed the socialist cooperativization of agriculture. Today our peasants are striving to turn our countryside into a socialist one, rich and cultured, equipped with modern technology, by carrying out the technical and cultural revolutions.

Convened under these circumstances, this National Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives is of historic significance to the life not only of the peasants but of all the people in our country.

At this congress, we will assess the great victory achieved by our peasants in the socialist transformation of agriculture under the guidance of the Party.

We will also analyse our splendid achievements in the struggle to reconstruct the devastated agriculture, to further develop the productive forces of agriculture and speedily improve the deteriorated livelihood of the peasants.

We will also thoroughly discuss new militant tasks that have to be carried out in agriculture, and then we will move forward more vigorously to fulfil them.

Comrades,

The agricultural and peasant questions are one of the most important problems of our revolution. Our Party has always given great attention to finding a solution.

After liberation, the solution of the land problem in the countryside was our most urgent revolutionary task. The feudal relations of land-ownership prevailing in our rural areas had not only shackled millions of peasants to feudal exploitation and slavery and restricted the development of the productive forces of agriculture, but also had impeded overall social progress. Therefore, the solution of the land problem was the basic task of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

The historic agrarian reform carried out by our Party and the people's power, with the active support and participation of the peasants, rid the countryside of the feudal scourge, thereby delivering the peasants from exploitation and paving the way for the development of the productive forces of agriculture. Through the agrarian reform, over one million hectares of land owned by the Japanese imperialists and the landlords was confiscated without compensation and distributed gratuitously to more than 700,000 peasant families who had little or no land at all. After the landownership of the landlords was abolished and when the land became the land of the peasants who were tilling it, agriculture made rapid progress and the peasants' standard of living was markedly improved. The agrarian reform strengthened the economic links between towns and the countryside, between industry and agriculture, and consolidated the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. Thus, the agrarian reform marked a

far-reaching revolutionary change of tremendous political and economic significance.

The agrarian reform, however, could not solve the peasant problem once and for all, nor could it completely free the productive forces in agriculture.

As a result of the agrarian reform, the individual peasant economy based on small commodity production became predominant in our countryside. As Lenin said, small-scale production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. Of course, in our country where the people, with the working class as the core, had seized power and the basic means of production were concentrated in the hands of the state, and where the agrarian reform was carried out thoroughly, the process of class differentiation in the countryside was bound to be extremely limited. Under the conditions of a small-scale commodity economy, however, it was impossible to improve the peasants' livelihood radically and wipe out the sources of exploitation and poverty once and for all.

There can be no planned development and, for the most part, no possibility of extended reproduction in the small-scale, scattered individual peasant economy. It was clear that as long as the small-scale peasant economy remained predominant, the development of our agriculture would inevitably be restricted to definite limitations. Contrary to this, our country's nationalized socialist industry was reconstructed and developed at a rapid rate in accordance with the state plan, and extended reproduction was continuously maintained. Our people's power could not remain based on two different economic foundations—large-scale, concentrated socialist industry and fragmented, scattered individual peasant economy—for a long time.

This contradiction remained a question we had to solve before long. As Marxism-Leninism teaches and the experience of the Soviet Union shows us, only by leading the individual peasant economy along the road of socialist cooperativization can the peasant problem be solved and the agricultural productive forces be completely freed

from the fetters of the old production relations.

In the situation created in our country after the armistice, a solution to the agricultural and peasant questions according to that policy became the most pressing task.

Due to the three-year war, our national economy was devastated beyond description and cities and villages were reduced to rubble. The people's livelihood was extremely impoverished and we were in great need of food and clothing. We had to reconstruct industry and agriculture, lay the foundations of an independent economy and improve the people's ruined livelihood in a short time.

In this respect, the rapid reconstruction and development of agriculture, particularly a solution to the food problem of the population, became one of the most important issues.

The war seriously damaged the material foundations of agriculture and created a great shortage of labour and draught animals in the countryside. The peasant economy became all the more fragmented and its economic foundations were further weakened.

Under these conditions, the very limited nature of individual peasant economy based on small-scale commodity production became ever more pronounced. As long as individual peasant economy was left intact, it would have been impossible to rehabilitate the devastated agriculture rapidly or to solve the very difficult food problem in the postwar period. It was apparent that this would greatly impede the rapid reconstruction and development of industry and, furthermore, the reconstruction of the national economy as a whole. The postwar contradictions between socialist industry and individual peasant economy were fraught with the danger of creating a gross disproportion between industry, which was in the process of rapid reconstruction and development and undergoing a qualitative change, and agriculture, which was being reconstructed at a snail's pace. On the basis of the small peasant economy which is incapable of eliminating the source of exploitation and poverty, our peasants' ruined livelihood could not be speedily improved and, in particular, it was impossible to solve the question of the poor peasants whose

number greatly increased during the war.

The only way to overcome all the difficulties confronting our country's agriculture in the postwar period lay in the cooperativization of the individual peasant economy. Only through the socialist transformation of agriculture could the rapid reconstruction and further development of the devastated productive forces in agriculture be guaranteed and, accordingly, the proportionate development of industry and agriculture be made possible. Only on the basis of socialist cooperative farming could the peasants' ruined livelihood be rapidly stabilized and, furthermore, their standard of living radically improved.

Therefore, our Party proposed the task of agricultural cooperativization at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee convened in August 1953, right after the armistice.

The cooperativization of agriculture is one of the most difficult tasks in the socialist revolution. Lenin said: "Such tremendous changes in the lives of tens of millions of people as the transition from small individual peasant farming to collective farming, affecting as they do the most-deep-going roots of the peasants' way of life and their mores, can only be accomplished by long effort, and only when necessity compels people to reshape their lives."

In our country, too, preparations for the agricultural cooperative movement had already been made step by step from the prewar period, but the movement became an urgent task only when it started to be considered as a vital requirement in the life of the peasants.

In the process of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution the landlords and comprador capitalists were eliminated and the basic means of production were nationalized; this created an important condition conducive to the future socialist transformation of agriculture.

In carrying out the agrarian reform we confiscated all the lands not tilled by the owners including that of the landlords and, after the reform, we strictly forbade the sale, mortgage and leasing of land. As a result of such a thoroughgoing enforcement of the agrarian reform, not

only was the landlord class eliminated, but the rich peasants who were originally an insignificant force in our country, were hit hard and their growth was severely restricted.

Thanks to the accomplishment of democratic reforms, our people's government began to carry out the tasks that had to be done during the period of gradual transition from capitalism to socialism. The Party and the Government continually strengthened the socialist elements in all sectors of the national economy by rapidly developing socialist industry and expanding state and cooperative trade in the sphere of commodity distribution. On the other hand, they controlled and restricted the growth of the capitalist elements by means of taxes, price policies, so on and so forth. At the same time, the Party and the Government further promoted economic links between towns and the countryside and between socialist industry and individual peasant economy, and strengthened the planned control of the development of the individual peasant economy. Also, by having already set up state agricultural and livestock farms and farm machine hire stations before the war, our Party demonstrated to the peasants the advantages of mechanized and large-scale farming and carried out the preparatory work to lead them gradually along the socialist path.

Particularly during the war, our Party concentrated its main efforts on rural work, expanded state farming considerably and, at the same time, widely popularized and developed amongst the peasants such cooperative forms of labour as the ox-sharing and labour-aid teams, which had a long tradition in our country, with a view to overcoming the acute shortage of manpower, draught animals and farm implements in the rural districts. This further promoted the spirit of mutual assistance amongst our peasants and their desire for cooperative farming.

Comrades,

Our Party led the agricultural cooperative movement with great circumspection and energy.

It observed strictly the Leninist principle of free choice in leading the movement and adopted the policy of developing it on a mass-scale

by making the peasants realize the advantages of cooperative farming through practical experience.

Right after the armistice the poor peasants were the most active in accepting and supporting our Party's policy on agricultural cooperativization. Their own difficult living conditions plus persistent education by our Party brought them to the realization that without the transformation of their economy their life could not be improved and that only the road of socialist cooperative economy could lead them to happiness.

Firmly relying on the poor peasants and its activists in the countryside, the Party first mobilized them and organized several agricultural cooperatives in each county. This marked the start of the experimental stage in the agricultural cooperative movement in our country. Our Party's aims at this experimental stage were to have the officials gain experience in the organization of cooperative farming and acquire confidence in the victory of the cooperative movement and, what was important, to draw all the peasants, the middle peasants in particular, into the cooperative movement on a mass scale by showing them the advantages of cooperative farming in practice.

It was indescribably difficult to strengthen those agricultural cooperatives which embraced only poor peasants who had the poorest land, the fewest draught animals and farming implements and the lowest standard of living, and to make them demonstrate their superiority over individual farming. But we firmly believed that we were fully capable of coping with this problem.

In this issue, we were guided by Lenin's words that every social system is created only with the financial assistance of a definite class and that the system to which the socialist state must give more assistance than usual is the cooperative system.

The Party and the state gave all-out, nationwide assistance to the first agricultural cooperatives, by giving active guidance to their managerial and operational work, by granting them loans of money, food and seed grains, by providing fertilizer and farm implements on a preferential basis, and by supplying manpower. Thanks to this

assistance by the state and to the devoted work of the cooperative members, the agricultural cooperatives gradually began to prove their worth. Already by 1954, per-unit-area grain yields in cooperative farming were 10-50 per cent higher and cash income was 2-7 times higher than the corresponding figures in the individual peasant economy.

Thus, the poor peasants in our country played the honourable role of pioneers in the agricultural cooperative movement, courageously overcoming all obstacles and difficulties under the guidance of the Party and with the assistance of the state. Although the agricultural cooperatives these peasants organized seemed insignificant and very weak compared to the individual peasant economy which was predominant in the countryside at that time, they were an embryo which grew into a great force to kindle the flames of the socialist revolution all over the rural districts.

Thanks to the advantages demonstrated so clearly by these cooperatives and the tireless organizational and political work carried out by our Party amongst broad sections of the peasantry, not only poor but also middle peasants were drawn into the cooperative movement. Thus, the agricultural cooperative movement entered the stage of mass-scale development in our country.

As the peasants joined in cooperative farming on a massive scale, the question of the form and size of the cooperatives became very important.

In consideration of the fact that the land had remained the private property of the peasants whose economic position and preparedness varied, our Party at the beginning of the cooperative movement proposed three types of cooperative farming. In organizing cooperatives, it led the peasants in choosing the suitable type according to their specific conditions. The first type of cooperative farming was the permanent mutual-aid workteam in which only the work was done collectively; the second was a semi-socialist type in which land was pooled and farming was done collectively, while the profits were distributed according to both the amount of work done and the size of

land pooled; and the third was a completely socialist type in which the land and the basic means of production were pooled and the profit shares distributed solely according to the work done.

In organizing cooperatives, we did not automatically pool the draught animals and farm implements of the cooperative members, but saw to it that they were either pooled if the peasants so desired or that they were used commonly while temporarily continuing to be under private ownership. In case where they were pooled, due compensation was given without fail.

The three types of cooperatives and the method of pooling the means of production induced the middle peasants into accepting cooperative farming readily and made it possible to prevent any kind of deviation which might have appeared in the process of cooperativization.

In view of the lack of experience in the management of cooperative farming, the low standard of the management personnel and the low technical level of our agriculture, our Party saw to it that the size of the cooperatives was kept comparatively small, each including 40 to 100 households. This was the right size for the cooperatives under the conditions existing at that time.

The quantitative growth of cooperative farming took place simultaneously with its qualitative consolidation in our agricultural cooperative movement.

As the peasants' enthusiasm mounted, the Party actively stepped up the momentum of cooperativization and, at the same time, concentrated its efforts and those of the state on giving guidance to the organized agricultural cooperatives in order to consolidate them politically and economically. Particularly, the intensive guidance organized once or twice a year from early 1955, in which thousands of national and local officials were mobilized, played an important role in the development of our country's agricultural cooperative movement. In the course of this guidance work tremendous success was achieved in correctly selecting and allocating management personnel; in establishing a socialist order and system in the young cooperatives; in

strengthening the socialist education of the cooperative members; in consolidating the economic foundations of the cooperatives and in improving the living conditions of their members in a short space of time by rapidly increasing production.

The support given through the state by the working class was of decisive significance in consolidating the agricultural cooperatives. In the postwar years, state funds equivalent to a total of 12,000 million *won* were invested in agriculture to undertake irrigation and river-bank projects, to expand the network of farm machine hire stations, to train agro-technicians, so on and so forth.

During this period, while guaranteeing priority in the development of heavy industry, our Party concentrated its strength particularly on those branches of heavy industry which were urgently needed for the development of agriculture and light industry. Thus, the state supplied the countryside with large quantities of chemical fertilizer, farming machinery, building materials and various kinds of consumer goods.

At the same time, the state loaned over 300,000 tons of grain for provisions and seed and more than 24,300 million *won* of farming funds to the agricultural cooperatives with weak economic foundations and to the poor peasants. It also wrote off over 160,000 tons of tax in kind and grain loans and over 1,400 million *won* in loans. As from 1956, the state also introduced nationwide the system of fixed tax in kind and considerably lowered the tax rate and, at the same time, gave the agricultural cooperatives a 5 per cent discount on the tax in kind, with a view to lessening the burden on the peasants and encouraging their zeal to increase production.

In order to solve the acute postwar manpower shortage in the countryside, our Party allocated tens of thousands of ex-servicemen and many junior and senior middle school graduates to the countryside, and gave labour assistance during busy farming seasons every year amounting to millions of man-days, by mobilizing office workers, students and soldiers.

Thanks to the correct leadership by our Party and the enormous assistance of the state, as well as to the dedicated work of our peasants

who were inspired by such leadership and assistance, despite the difficult postwar conditions and the acute lack of experience in cooperative farming—a system entirely new to our country—we were able to quickly consolidate, both politically and economically, the agricultural cooperatives which had multiplied rapidly, and to guarantee the steady development of the productive forces in agriculture and the rapid improvement of the peasants' standard of living.

As the organized agricultural cooperatives were strengthened and their superiority was demonstrated more convincingly, the development of the agricultural cooperative movement was further promoted.

On the basis of such experience and results achieved in agricultural cooperativization, the Third Congress of our Party proposed the historic task of completing this movement during the First Five-Year Plan. In order to fulfil this task in a brief space of time, our Party concentrated its efforts in those areas where the level of cooperativization was low, while consolidating the victories already won in cooperativization.

The section of society which still remained outside the agricultural cooperatives at that time included mostly well-to-do peasants; those peasants around the cities who were engaged both in farming and, to a considerable extent, in trade; peasants living in extremely sparsely populated mountain areas and those peasants in the newly-liberated areas. In drawing all these peasants into agricultural cooperatives, the Party also adhered to the principle of free choice and consistently followed the policy of further strengthening the already-organized cooperative economy, thereby making them join voluntarily on realizing its superiority and advantages.

As a result, agricultural cooperativization in our country was victoriously completed by the end of August 1958. This was a great revolution in our countryside and a brilliant victory for our Party's agricultural policy.

Our countryside, permanently freed from all the sources of

exploitation and poverty which had existed for thousands of years, has now been reorganized into a socialist countryside where all the working peasants can work and live together freely and happily. Millions of peasants in our country who until yesterday were small proprietors clinging to a patch of land, became masters of the unified, large-scale cooperative economy, honourable socialist working people.

The agricultural productive forces have been completely freed from all the fetters of the old production relations and a broad avenue has been opened up for their development.

As a result of the victory of the agricultural cooperative movement, the worker-peasant alliance has been all the more consolidated on a new, socialist basis. Our working class, which holds power in its hands, guaranteed state assistance and firm leadership to the peasants by displaying its resolute fighting will and vigorous revolutionary stamina, and thereby demonstrated the justness of its cause to the peasant masses and united them solidly on its side.

The cooperativization of agriculture also promoted the reorganization, along socialist lines, of private trade and industry in towns. These were weak from the start, and were mainly based on small-scale commodity production in the countryside. The last foothold of capitalist elements in towns collapsed with the cooperativization of the individual peasant economy. Thus, in our country the cooperativization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry developed side by side and were completed almost simultaneously.

We completed such a great and difficult reform very smoothly and without committing any mistakes in only four to five years following the war.

Comrades,

How could we accomplish so smoothly and in so short a time such a difficult task as agricultural cooperativization which signifies such radical changes in all aspects of the life of millions of peasants? This is attributable to the fact that our Party had proposed a correct policy for

the agricultural cooperative movement by linking Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries with our country's reality, that it struggled unswervingly to carry out this policy, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, while our peasants actively supported the Party's policy of agricultural cooperativization and enthusiastically took part in this movement.

This movement was also accomplished through class struggle. The overthrown exploiting classes did not give up their wild dream of restoring the old system, our country was divided and we came face to face with the enemy. Because of this, we had to fight against the enemy's subversive activities in the course of the cooperative movement.

The class enemies vilified the Party's policies, spread reactionary rumours against the agricultural cooperative movement, carried out sabotage activities to damage common property and hamper production in their desperate attempts to break up our agricultural cooperatives from within and from without. In particular, the manoeuvres, sabotage and subversive activities of the counter-revolutionaries grew more vicious as agricultural cooperativization was nearing completion and the victory of socialism was becoming decisive in towns and the countryside.

Our Party organized and pushed forward a mass movement to combat the counter-revolution, while strengthening political and ideological work amongst the peasant masses to enhance their socialist consciousness and revolutionary vigilance. Thus, we exposed and smashed, at every step, all enemy machinations in the countryside, guaranteed the success of the cooperative movement and firmly safeguarded the gains of socialism.

In agricultural cooperativization, our Party adhered to the Marxist-Leninist principle on the peasant question, while intensifying the struggle against counter-revolution.

The peasant question concerns the ally of the working class and the attitude of the working class and its party towards different sections of the peasantry.

To rely firmly on poor peasants, strengthen the alliance with the middle peasants and restrict and remould the rich peasants—this was the keynote of our Party's class policy in the countryside.

The class relations in our countryside were decisively favourable to the agricultural cooperative movement. As for the composition of society in our countryside at the outset of cooperativization, the poor peasants comprised about 40 per cent and the rich peasants no more than 0.6 per cent. The majority of the middle peasants had attained that status after the agrarian reform.

The poor peasants were in an extremely miserable position, which made it necessary for them to join the cooperatives immediately, and the majority of the new middle peasants supported cooperativization from the beginning. The rest of the middle peasants, however, hesitated and adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Meanwhile, the rich peasants were indifferent to or aligned themselves against cooperativization.

Through persistent explanation, persuasion and object lessons, our Party induced the wavering middle peasants to join the cooperatives. With regard to the rich peasants, it strictly limited their exploiting tendency, and welcomed those who were inclined to work honestly into the cooperatives and reformed them into socialist working people. Meanwhile, the Party treated the handful of those elements who obstructed the cooperative movement in the manner that they deserved. As the cooperative movement entered its final stage, those who could be exploited in the countryside disappeared and the cooperative economy was further consolidated. Thus, the rich peasants also gradually came to join voluntarily. This class policy of our Party guaranteed the development of the agricultural cooperative movement on a sound basis, strengthened the alliance with the middle peasants and guaranteed the socialist reforming of the rich peasants.

Our Party had to overcome both impetuosity and conservatism manifested locally in the process of agricultural cooperativization.

The Party was strictly on the alert against the tendency to bring the peasants into the cooperative economy through administrative

methods in violation of the principle of free choice, and in time rectified the tendency to increase the number of cooperatives hastily and organize only an unreasonably large, advanced type of cooperatives.

On the other hand, there were some people who preached that the cooperative movement was “premature” and others who were awe-struck by the rapid development of the agricultural cooperative movement in our country and kept back.

When our Party proposed the policy of agricultural cooperativization certain people questioned it, saying, “How can we undertake cooperativization when the north and the south are still partitioned?” or “How can we proceed with cooperativization when we still do not have machines and other necessary things?” These people were ignorant of the fact that socialist construction in the northern half of Korea is the decisive guarantee for the peaceful reunification of our country.

The requirements of the social and economic development in the northern half of Korea made agricultural cooperativization and socialist construction as a whole necessary in the northern half. We cannot mark time or hold back the social development of the northern half until the southern half is liberated, on the pretext that this still has not been done. Needless to say, if we do not build socialism, we cannot consolidate the northern half of the country—our revolutionary base—either politically or economically. Consequently we would not be able to accelerate the peaceful reunification of our country.

The technical reconstruction of agriculture was practically nonexistent when the cooperativization was under way in our country. Lenin once said that even a joint economy that merely pools the peasants’ land and farm implements can achieve an economic improvement that would be impossible in the individual small peasant economy; and that the labour productivity and manpower economization would be doubled or trebled, were a transition to be made from this scattered individual peasant farming to collective farming. Our experience has fully confirmed the correctness of Lenin’s

proposition. Although the agricultural cooperatives in our country were organized at a time when agriculture was based on primitive technology, they fully demonstrated their advantages over the individual peasant economy and created the conditions for extensively introducing modern science and technology into this sector.

Moreover, some people were somewhat surprised and alarmed by the fact that the agricultural cooperative movement developed at an unprecedented rate and the third type of cooperatives constituted the overwhelming majority from the outset. This development of the cooperative movement was, however, a fully law-governed process as in our country an agrarian reform had been carried out to the letter, the forces opposing the cooperative movement in the countryside were weak, while the peasants were politically awakened and further stimulated by the prolonged revolutionary struggle and especially by the ordeals of the war, and their economy was in general extremely fragmented.

Rectifying all these deviations, our Party pressed ahead boldly and actively with the agricultural cooperative movement, relying firmly on the Party and revolutionary forces in the rural areas and bringing into full play the peasants' growing enthusiasm.

Comrades,

The great success in agricultural cooperativization and the indestructible vitality of our Party's agricultural policy based on Marxist- Leninist principles found vivid expression in the rapid development of our agriculture during the postwar period.

The most important task confronting agriculture in the postwar years was to solve the food problem for the population by rapidly increasing grain output.

For this purpose, our Party took important technical and economic measures such as widely carrying out irrigation projects, rapidly increasing the supply of chemical fertilizers and farm machinery and implements to the countryside and extensively introducing various advanced farming techniques.

Irrigation and river-bank projects were of decisive significance in

raising per-hectare yields and increasing grain production. In the five years after the war, 57 per cent of the total state investment in agriculture went into irrigation and river-bank projects. Along with the large-scale irrigation projects undertaken with state investment, small- and medium-scale projects have been widely carried out by the agricultural cooperatives themselves. Thus, during this period we expanded the area of rice fields under irrigation from 227,000 hectares to 463,000 hectares. This means that 91 per cent of the total area of rice fields has been brought under full irrigation. Together with the expansion of the irrigated area, river-bank and anti-erosion projects and afforestation work have been extensively carried out and, as a result, over 350,000 hectares of farmland has been placed under protection from damage by flood and tidal waters.

In 1958, the supply of chemical fertilizers to the countryside was 12 times greater than that of 1953. The supply of farm machinery and implements also increased rapidly. At the same time, the network of farm machine hire stations has been expanded and the number of tractors (in terms of 15 hp units) expanded to four times its previous size, with the result that the area of land worked by tractors has increased twelve-fold.

Under the cooperative economy, new advanced methods of farming which were actually impossible at the time of the individual peasant economy have been widely popularized and the distribution of crop areas further improved on the principle of the right crop for the right soil. As for rice cultivation, the area under cold-bed rice seedlings, which produce much higher yields than water-grown seedlings, accounted for 50 per cent of the total area of rice fields in 1958, and in cotton cultivation the humus-pot growing method was used on 70 per cent of the total cotton area. The area planted with maize, a high-yield crop, was expanded from 236,000 hectares in 1954 to 826,000 in 1958; and in the same period the utilization of land rose from 125 to 161 per cent.

Thanks to the superiority of the cooperative economy and to all these technological measures and the dedicated work of our peasants,

grain production in our country has risen continuously and rapidly.

In 1956, grain output already reached 2,870,000 tons, surpassing the prewar level, and it rose to 3,200,000 tons in 1957 and 3,700,000 tons in 1958. The total grain output in 1958 was almost double the figure of 1946, the year right after liberation. This is a high yield, the kind of which our ancestors could not even dream of. It should be noted that this growth in grain production was achieved under extremely unfavourable climatic conditions imposed by a long spell of severe drought.

A number of advanced agricultural cooperatives are yielding still amazingly larger harvests. The Tuam Agricultural Cooperative in Kangnam County, South Phyongan Province, harvested an average of 7.5 tons of rice per hectare from 29 hectares of rice fields last year. The Samryong Agricultural Cooperative in Sunchon County produced an average of 3 tons of maize per hectare from 422 hectares of land, and the Wonsa Agricultural Cooperative in Ongjin County, South Hwanghae Province, raised its per-hectare yield of wheat to a maximum of 4.5 tons.

There is no doubt at all that if we had not cooperativized agriculture, we would not have succeeded to take various technical measures to develop agriculture, and would not have been able to increase the peasants' interest in production, and, consequently, we would not have attained the present level in grain harvest which is an all-time high in the history of our country.

We have already solved the serious problem of food shortages.

Together with the growth of grain production, the other branches of agriculture such as industrial crops, animal husbandry, silk raising and fruit growing have also developed apace. Our cooperative economy has not only demonstrated its advantages in guaranteeing the rise of grain production but also played a decisive role in the multi-faceted development of agriculture.

With regard to cotton, in 1958, the per-hectare yield doubled and the total output rose three times over that of 1953. The Samjigang Agricultural Cooperative in Jaeryong County, South Hwanghae

Province, reaped a rich cotton crop, an average of two tons per hectare from 120 hectares of cotton fields, with five hectares producing four tons each. Great success has also been achieved in the production of flax, tobacco and other industrial crops.

Regarding animal husbandry, as of September 1, 1958 the total number of cattle was 30 per cent and pigs 180 per cent higher when compared with the corresponding figures for the end of 1953. Meat output increased by 220 per cent in the first five postwar years.

More than 53,000 hectares of land suitable for fruit production has already been reclaimed in a nationwide struggle to expand the orchard area by 100,000 hectares during the First Five-Year Plan. In silk raising, cocoon output reached 8,700 tons in 1958, or 60 per cent more than the prewar peak level.

Thus, in our country where socialism has triumphed, there has been an overall upsurge and renovation in grain production and in all other branches of agriculture in recent years.

The rapid growth of agricultural production has consolidated the economic foundation of the agricultural cooperatives and speedily raised the living standard of the cooperative members.

The proportion of joint savings in the cooperatives had been approximately 5 per cent of their net income up to 1956, but it grew to some 10 per cent in 1957 and to more than 15 per cent in 1958. This was made possible by improvement of the cooperative members' standard of living. Last year, the total value of joint property of our agricultural cooperatives stood at some 68,600 million *won*, that is, an average of 5,150,000 *won* per cooperative and 65,000 *won* per peasant family. This was an average per-family increase of 140 per cent when compared with 1955. Thus, our agricultural cooperatives have laid firm foundations to guarantee continuous extended reproduction.

Every year a large amount of joint savings, a greater amount of grain for seed and fodder, and grain to be exchanged for fertilizers were set aside in the cooperatives. But even with all this, the share allotted to their members increased systematically, as shown here:

GROWTH IN SHARE PER FARMING FAMILY IN THE COOPERATIVE

	1955	1956	1957	1958
Grain (kg)	1,250	1,616	1,742	1,826
Potatoes (kg)	193	357	434	501
Cash (<i>won</i>)	5,605	9,542	13,703	20,350

As can be seen from this table, in 1958 each farming family's share rose by 50 per cent in grain, 160 per cent in potatoes and more than 260 per cent in cash when compared to 1955.

Poor peasants, who made up roughly 40 per cent of the total farming families immediately after the armistice, are no longer poor, and the peasants' living standard on the whole has reached the level of the middle peasants.

The mud huts which had been used as dwellings for thousands of years are being torn down and today our rural villages are being swiftly transformed into neat, beautiful and modern socialist villages. In the postwar period, a large number of attractive and convenient modern houses have been built in the rural areas. Everywhere in our countryside, schools, clubs, nurseries, kindergartens and clinics have been erected, and bathhouses, barber shops and laundries have been set up to serve the collective cultural needs of the cooperative members. Thanks to the introduction of universal compulsory primary and secondary education and the further strengthening of adult education, the peasants' cultural standard is rising rapidly and technological knowledge is being disseminated on an ever-widening scale.

A great change is also taking place in the consciousness of the peasants. The remnants of the old, feudal and capitalist ideologies are being wiped out and the peasants' consciousness is being remoulded along socialist lines.

Our peasants, who have found happiness on the road of socialist cooperative farming, are firmly determined to defend their priceless gains. Clearly visualizing a bright future, and in response to the Party's

call they are making progress with redoubled courage and confidence at the speed of Chollima.

The rapid development of the productive forces, the further consolidation of the cooperative economy, the speedy improvement of the peasants' standard of living and the stimulation of their revolutionary spirit—all this is the result of the victorious agricultural cooperativization and the triumphant agricultural policy adopted by our Party.

Our peasants can take due pride in the great victory and achievements they have made in the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism under the guidance of the Party.

Comrades,

Although they were organized under extremely difficult postwar conditions, and though they are very young and inexperienced, our agricultural cooperatives have vividly demonstrated their great advantages.

The system of socialist cooperative economy, however, should not be allowed to stagnate, but should be developed and further consolidated.

With the rapid development of the productive forces in agriculture, the relatively small scale of our agricultural cooperatives became unsuitable for the further development of the productive forces. It hampered the rational utilization of land, improvement in the organization of labour, diversification of agricultural activities and, particularly, the mechanization of farming. At the same time, it was also incompatible with the extensive construction work going on in the countryside.

It became necessary to enlarge the size of the agricultural cooperatives through amalgamation so as to successfully carry out the urgently-needed technical revolution and to further develop the productive forces. This was an urgent requirement due to the fact that the agricultural cooperatives had been consolidated, politically and economically, and due to the fact that the level of leadership and practical abilities of the management personnel had been enhanced.

Our peasants also realized that small-scale cooperatives were unsuitable, and urgently demanded their amalgamation.

Therefore, last October our Party decided to amalgamate the agricultural cooperatives in each administrative ri and to nominate the chairman of the ri people's committee to hold concurrently the post of chairman of the cooperative. Although the amalgamation of cooperatives was a very complicated task, it was smoothly completed in only one to two months amidst the peasants' heightened political enthusiasm.

As a result, the existing 13,309 agricultural cooperatives have been amalgamated into 3,843 organizations, their average size having grown from 80 to some 300 peasant families and their cultivated land area from 130 to 500 hectares.

Thanks to the amalgamation of the agricultural cooperatives, we are now in a position to undertake the full-scale rearrangement of fields, introduce modern farming machinery and advanced farming techniques more widely, develop joint farming in a diversified manner through a more rational utilization of natural and economic conditions, eliminate the waste of manpower and materials and speed up planned and extensive rural construction.

At the same time, due to the fact that the ri people's committee chairman concurrently assumed the chairmanship of the cooperative, the local organs of power have become more closely related to production and it has become possible to further strengthen their role and functions in the development of the economy and the promotion of culture.

Simultaneously with the amalgamation of the agricultural cooperatives, we placed the shops of village consumers' cooperatives and credit cooperatives under the direct management of the agricultural cooperatives. This is of enormous significance in stimulating the agricultural cooperatives' interest both in farm production and in trade and credit, thereby further promoting the well-being of their members, placing all the economic activities of the agricultural cooperatives on a planned basis and increasing their

independence and initiative. This also represents an important step towards the strengthening of economic links between towns and the countryside and the further consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance.

Thus, in the first five postwar years, we have not only guaranteed the victory of agricultural cooperativization, but also further strengthened the cooperatives and pushed them forward onto a new plane.

Through this struggle, our Party, our peasants and all the people have acquired valuable experience and learned valuable lessons.

Firstly, our experience clearly shows that the path of agricultural cooperativization we have taken is the only correct path.

Because we led the individual peasant economy along the road of socialist cooperative economy, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, we could rapidly reconstruct and develop agriculture and improve the peasants' living conditions even under such difficult postwar circumstances. We could also lay foundations for transforming our countryside in due course into a rich and cultured socialist countryside equipped with modern technology.

Secondly, our experience shows that the cooperativization of agriculture is possible even when there are no modern machinery and technology and when primitive farm techniques prevail, and that an agricultural cooperative economy has decisive advantages over the individual peasant economy, even though it is organized on such a basis.

As a result of agricultural cooperativization, we have speedily reconstructed and developed agriculture and have obtained the possibility of further accelerating its technological transformation.

Thirdly, the victory of the agricultural cooperative movement shows that when the Party's policies are correct, when the Party enjoys a high respect amongst the masses, and the latter, firmly convinced of the correctness of its policies through their practical struggle, rise in unison to implement them, no difficulty is insurmountable and any task, no matter how arduous and complicated it may be, can be victoriously fulfilled.

The unfaltering leadership of our Party, the boundless trust of the masses in the Party and their high revolutionary zeal—all this served as a decisive guarantee for victory in the socialist transformation of agriculture and is serving as the decisive guarantee for all our victories.

Comrades,

Our countryside has completely extricated itself from the poverty, stagnation and backwardness of the past, and has undeviatingly taken the new path of socialist development. Under the guidance of our Party, our peasants have already been victorious in carrying out the socialist revolution in the rural areas and have achieved tremendous success in the course of socialist construction.

But we cannot rest on our laurels and we have no grounds for complacency whatsoever. We have only just laid the foundation for developing agriculture on a new and higher plane. The problem is to radically develop the productive forces of agriculture and further improve the peasants' living conditions on this foundation.

Today our basic task in agriculture is to further consolidate the socialist cooperative economy politically and economically and make our countryside rich, cultured, socialist and equipped with modern technology, by carrying out the technical and cultural revolutions within the next few years.

Building socialism in the countryside not only requires a change in production relations but also a technological reconstruction of agriculture and a transformation of the peasants' consciousness.

Today the technical revolution is the most pressing, principal task confronting our agriculture. Without equipping agriculture with modern technology, the highly-developed productive forces appropriate to a socialist society cannot be attained. The future development of our agriculture hinges decisively upon its technological reconstruction. We should radically increase agricultural production and make work easier by transforming our agriculture technologically.

Our objective is to build socialism and then communism by further developing industry and placing agriculture, as we have already done in

industry, on modern technological basis. Technological reconstruction of agriculture will gradually obliterate the distinctions between industry and agriculture, between towns and the countryside, rapidly raise the peasants' technical level and accelerate the transformation of their ideological consciousness.

As has already been indicated by our Party, the basic content of the technical revolution in our countryside is irrigation, mechanization and electrification. We must bring both rice paddies and dry fields under irrigation, mainly complete rural electrification and mechanize agriculture.

Today we have every possibility of fulfilling these tremendous tasks. Our agriculture has been cooperativized, the agricultural cooperatives have been amalgamated into bigger ones and their economic foundations have been further consolidated. We now have our own powerful heavy industry base. Thanks to the correct economic policy of our Party to give priority to the development of heavy industry and thanks to the heroic labour of our working class, it has become possible for our industry to supply the countryside in the future with a large amount of structural steel and building materials, tractors, lorries and different types of advanced farm machinery. The problem is to turn all these possibilities into reality by properly exploiting the mounting enthusiasm of our peasants.

Irrigation is the basis of the technological transformation of our agriculture. In our country—where arable land is limited, where production of paddy rice holds the most important place, and where, every year, there is a long spell of severe drought plus frequent summer floods—it would be of decisive significance in raising per-unit-area yields and increasing agricultural production to establish the irrigation system in rice paddies and dry fields and prevent flood and drought damage.

The irrigation of rice fields having been basically completed as a result of our Party's consistent measures for the expansion of the irrigated area, it has become the principal task in this sector to rapidly establish the irrigation system in the dry fields. While continuously

expanding the area of paddies, we must carry out dry-field irrigation on an extensive scale. Only by so doing can we swiftly increase grain yields in the dry fields, which make up over two-thirds of the cultivated area, and further develop the production of industrial crops, vegetables as well as fruits.

The experience gained last year by the advanced agricultural cooperatives and state agricultural and livestock farms shows that when dry fields are irrigated, the per-hectare yield of maize and wheat could be raised by 100 to 200 per cent, cotton by 200 to 300 per cent and fruit by 100 per cent. Moreover, the introduction of the dry-field irrigation system markedly raises the utilization of land and is very favourable to the progress of comprehensive mechanization.

The September 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party proposed the challenging task of establishing an overall irrigation system in all the cultivated area, excluding steep slopes, by bringing 700,000 hectares under irrigation and making another 300,000-odd hectares of rice fields fully irrigated in future. This great programme to improve natural conditions is aimed at making the ardent desire, cherished for thousands of years by our ancestors, a reality during our generation.

Immensely inspired by the decision of the Party, our peasants participated as one movement to implement this programme. Today all the villages and agricultural cooperatives are undertaking numerous irrigation projects, tunnelling through mountains, walling up the sea, and remaking our country's mountains and rivers. Over 10,000 projects, including the large-scale state-financed irrigation projects in Kiyang, Ojidon and in the Amnok River basin, are already under way, and this year 65,000 hectares of rice fields are to be brought under irrigation. This is proof that the historic cause of irrigation proposed by our Party is being carried out successfully.

Along with the irrigation projects, the area of protected land should be further expanded by extensively carrying out projects to improve river conditions and to prevent soil erosion. Due to the poor forest and river conservation in our country, it is still a frequent

occurrence that farmland is washed away and crops are damaged by floods.

We should prevent flood damages by improving river conditions, building banks, creating forest reserves and extensively carrying out anti-erosion projects. Particularly, in the east coast area which is often hit by floods, the main efforts should be directed to forest and river conservation, and the irrigation projects should be carried out simultaneously. In river-bank work, too, the large-scale projects should be undertaken directly by the state and the small- and medium-scale projects by the agricultural cooperatives.

Irrigation is a great task for improving natural conditions and part of a far-reaching plan for the permanent benefit of the state and society. Therefore, this work should be carried out through a mass movement. Not only the peasantry but all the people should be mobilized for this work.

The workers should produce, and deliver on time, cement, structural steel, timber, various kinds of electric motors, waterpumps, so on and so forth needed for the irrigation projects.

The office workers, students and soldiers should directly contribute their own energy to the irrigation projects. Our office workers, students, soldiers and all the people already have had the rich experience of giving enormous assistance to the state and peasants by their voluntary work in postwar irrigation projects. We should also continue to enlist public labour service on an extensive scale in the irrigation projects.

The most urgent problem in irrigation projects is the decisive improvement of the level of mechanization of work at the construction sites. Without mechanization, the vast projects requiring hundreds of millions of man-days of labour cannot be carried out.

We have already mechanized most of the work at the Kiyang, Ojidon and other large-scale state irrigation projects by installing various kinds of construction machinery. A large amount of construction machinery including excavators, bulldozers and conveyors will be supplied to large-scale projects scheduled to be

started this year. The state will further step up the mechanization of irrigation projects by sharply increasing the production of these construction machines.

It is impossible, however, to supply modern construction machinery at the same time to the medium- and small-scale irrigation projects numbering over 10,000 in all. Last year, in South Phyongan Province, such simple equipment as wooden cranes, pushcarts and steel-bar cableways were introduced in excavating, piling and transporting earth. As a result, this sort of work involved in the irrigation works, expected to be inaugurated this year, had already been completed by the end of last year, even saving 45,000 man-days of labour compared with the projected plan. At all irrigation construction sites a struggle should be waged to save every possible man-day and make work easier by widely introducing small- and medium-scale mechanization that can be done without much difficulty.

To economize on labour and materials in irrigation projects, surveying and designing work should be thoroughly carried out beforehand. We should correctly choose the sites of work on the principle of making a rational and comprehensive use of water power resources, to link several irrigation facilities into a single system, and see to it that no change is made in installations and waterways in the course of the work or after its completion. At the same time, the quality of the work should be further bettered and the irrigation facilities which have been completed must be used to the maximum.

Along with irrigation, mechanization is important in the rural technical revolution.

Since the completion of cooperativization, agriculture has been developed in a diversified way, advanced intensive farming methods have been introduced extensively, irrigation projects and other large-scale rural construction works have been carried out and various transport operations have been sharply increased—all this has put a strain on the labour force and brought about an acute shortage of farming machinery and means of transportation in the countryside.

Without mechanization, the problem of manpower in the

countryside cannot be solved and our agriculture cannot be developed any further. The mechanization of agriculture is an important measure not only for saving manpower but also for making the peasants' work easier, for increasing production and reducing the cost of agricultural produce. It is high time we replaced the outdated, primitive farming implements which have been used for centuries with modern farming machinery.

The most important thing in the mechanization of agriculture is to supply the countryside with the tractors and lorries which we have already begun to mass-produce. This year we will supply another 5,000 tractors and 2,500 lorries to the farming villages. At least 30,000 to 35,000 tractors and 25,000 to 30,000 lorries are needed for the mechanization of farming and transport work in our rural areas.

We will satisfy this demand in four to five years by steadily increasing the output of tractors and lorries. At the same time, we will produce large quantities of other kinds of advanced farming machinery and supply them to the rural areas. Thus, fixed-site work such as threshing and water-pumping will be completely mechanized, and mobile work such as transport, tilling, planting, and harvesting will also be considerably mechanized.

In mechanizing agriculture, we must take into consideration that rice farming accounts for the greater portion of agricultural production, that the land is hilly and the soil uneven, that such peculiar cultivation systems as intercropping, mixed cultivation and furrow cultivation are in practice, and that natural and economic conditions vary widely in different localities. We must adhere to the principles of gradually extending mechanization from the plain areas to the mountainous regions, of going over from mechanization of the most arduous and labour-consuming work to comprehensive mechanization step by step and correctly combining big machines with small- and medium-sized ones, modern mechanization with small, simple mechanization.

The agricultural cooperatives are making use of modern farming machinery through the state farm machine hire stations. We should continuously expand these stations and in future, too, push ahead

vigorously with the mechanization of agriculture. At the same time, the agricultural cooperatives should rearrange fields and build roads and bridges so that tractors and lorries would be able to pass and operate freely. Mechanized workteams should also be organized.

In farming machinery production, the increase of the number of tractors requires mass-production of different trailer machines corresponding to the capacities of different types of tractors and their accessories and the improvement of their quality. In particular, the research work on a rice transplanting machine, which is most urgently needed in our rural areas, should be completed in the shortest time possible, and various kinds of farming machines suitable to our countryside—simple, durable and suited for as many kinds of work as possible—should be manufactured.

To carry out irrigation and mechanization successfully, electrification must be given priority. Without rural electrification there can be neither irrigation nor mechanization, nor development of rural culture.

We have already had considerable success in rural electrification. Electricity has now been supplied to 67 per cent of all rural ri and 49 per cent of the peasant families in our country. But we need more electricity for the technological transformation of agriculture. At the same time, we must see to it that all the villages and peasant families have electric lighting and cable radio sets. For this purpose, the output of electricity should be rapidly increased.

Our Party has already clearly defined the basic orientation of the country's electrification. We are now constructing large hydroelectric power stations at Tongnogang, Kanggye and Unbong. We will continue to build large-scale hydroelectric power stations in future, and, at the same time, we will construct big thermal power stations as well.

The most important thing in rural electrification is to build small- and medium-sized power stations in all parts of the country through a mass movement. Since these stations can be built easily and quickly without much expenditure, in all local areas, it is possible to economize

greatly on wire and other electric equipment and materials.

Very rich water power and other resources for electricity can be found all over the country. The enthusiasm for work and the creativeness of our working people for undertaking electrification are very great, and many small-sized power stations have been under construction in different places since September last year. Already 165 power stations have been constructed in South Hamgyong Province, 163 in Jagang Province and 75 in Kangwon Province. As a result, the electricity supply has been extended to every ri in these provinces.

We should eliminate mysticism about the production of electricity, and build small- and medium-sized power plants on a large scale through the active utilization of water power, thermal power, wind energy, tidal-water power and all other sources of power. Particularly, by closely linking the construction of power stations in the rural areas with irrigation and river projects, we should make sure that all reservoir water generates electricity before it flows into rice paddies and dry fields and that not a drop of water is wasted.

Electrical machinery factories should produce and supply large numbers of generators, transformers, electric motors, etc., needed for the construction of small- and medium-sized power plants.

Irrigation, mechanization and electrification are inseparable and represent a unified task; they constitute the general line of the technical revolution in the countryside. We should carry out this magnificent task in the next few years. Then life-giving water would flow into our fields and agriculture would be equipped with modern machinery and technology; every year we would have a bumper crop and the work of the peasants would become easy and pleasant.

Comrades,

By actively promoting the technological reconstruction of agriculture we must guarantee a remarkable growth in agricultural production.

In the past, agriculture in our country was underdeveloped, it concentrated only on grain production, and still it could not meet grain requirements in full. We must completely eradicate such backwardness

in agriculture and diversify its development.

We must continue to implement our Party's agricultural policy on emphasizing grain production and simultaneously developing other branches of agriculture such as the cultivation of industrial crops, animal husbandry, silk culture, fruit growing and fresh-water fish breeding. Thus, we must turn our countryside not only into a powerful base for food grains but also into a reliable source of raw materials.

The grain problem is one of the most important questions in the building of socialism. Without decisively increasing grain output, food cannot be supplied to the population in abundance nor can animal husbandry and other branches of agriculture be developed.

In our country where the land area is limited, the key to increased production of grain and other agricultural produce lies in raising per-unit-area yields by the further development of intensive farming methods. Engels said, "The productive forces at the disposal of humanity are immense and the yields of land can be raised infinitely with the investment of capital, labour and science." Our country has a small area of arable land and even that is known to be very poor. However, if we reform agro-techniques and steadily develop intensive farming methods, even poor land can be made fertile and harvests immensely increased even on the small area of land. Intensive agriculture—this is the key to rich harvests and is our Party's basic policy on farming.

Our peasants have already gained rich experience in this field and have harvested bumper crops which our ancestors could not even have dreamed about. We should continuously develop intensive farming methods in order to further raise per-unit-area yields.

The first requisite for a bumper crop is to apply plenty of fertilizer. We should decisively increase the use of fertilizers and see to it that they are properly applied in accordance with a scientific system suitable to the soil and each crop.

Agricultural cooperatives should apply an average of 50 tons or more of local manure per hectare to all area where crops are cultivated. To do this, more than 100 million tons of local manure must be

produced annually throughout the country. Agricultural cooperatives must rapidly increase the output of manure by maximum utilization of all resources such as barnyard manure, compost and peat. This work should be done through a consistent mass movement.

Besides local manure, more chemical fertilizers should be applied. The state should further develop the fertilizer industry and endeavour to supply farming villages with more chemical fertilizers, bringing the amount applied per hectare up to 800-1,000 kilogrammes and, in particular, should markedly increase the proportion of phosphatic and potash fertilizers. Agricultural cooperatives must also build small-scale fertilizer factories and produce large quantities of phosphatic and potash fertilizers and lime.

At the same time, the soil survey covering one million hectares of cultivated area now under way should be completed as soon as possible and a scientific manuring system should be established on this basis.

The use of select seeds, improved care of rice paddies and dry fields, prevention of damage by blight and harmful insects have great significance in raising per-unit-area yields. Every agricultural cooperative must set up seed plots of its own and further improve and strengthen the work of securing high-yield select seeds suitable for the local climatic and soil conditions. We must tend all the rice paddies and dry fields meticulously as if they were flower gardens and decisively prevent crop damage by blight and harmful insects through the applications of agricultural chemicals and various other methods.

The cold-bed rice seedling method and the humus-pot cotton growing method, which have already proved through experience to be high-yielding methods of farming, should be widely introduced. All the agricultural science institutions and agricultural cooperatives must further strengthen experimental and research work to improve farming methods. Particularly, the peasants' enthusiasm and initiative should be actively stimulated in this regard.

The struggle against conservatism is of decisive significance in developing agricultural techniques and improving farming methods. As long as we accept as they are the outdated farming methods handed

down from feudal times and continue to cling to them, no progress can be made in agriculture. We must fight against all manifestations of conservatism, take the initiative and boldly and actively introduce advanced farming techniques. Thus, we must bring about a great change in agricultural science and continuously create new records in increasing the per-unit-area harvests.

All our agricultural cooperatives and their members must strive to raise per-hectare grain yields in the near future: paddy rice to 4.5-5 tons, maize to 3-3.5 tons and wheat to 2.5-3 tons. When the per-hectare yields are raised in this way, over 6 million tons of grain would be produced.

Then we would be able to supply the working people with rice only and lay a solid foundation for the development of animal husbandry to a new level.

This, of course, is a difficult task. But it is by no means a long-term objective. If all our peasants, upholding the agricultural policy of the Party, successfully carry out the aforementioned measures for transforming agricultural techniques and improving farming methods, this fighting task can certainly be fulfilled.

Along with grain, the production of industrial crops and vegetables should also be further increased.

With regard to industrial crops, emphasis should be laid on the cultivation of cotton and other fibre crops and various kinds of oil-bearing crops; sugar beets, tobacco, *insam*, hops, etc., should also be produced in greater quantities.

Today, it is very important for us to solve the problem of raw fibre materials. In the past, our country had an outdated textile industry which we could not even supply with raw materials. Now we have pushed up the level of the textile industry considerably and we also plan to gradually solve the problem of raw materials on our own through the production of chemical fibres. We are planning to raise the annual output of fabrics to 500 million metres within six or seven years by further developing the textile industry. To guarantee the raw materials needed for this, the production of cotton and other natural

fibres, as well as chemical fibres, should be increased.

With regard to cotton cultivation, we must further raise the per-hectare yields in order to increase output markedly. At the same time, flax and hemp should be grown extensively in the mountainous areas of Ryanggang, Jagang and North Hamgyong Provinces.

In order to supply the working people with enough edible oil, the agricultural cooperatives should extensively cultivate various kinds of oil-bearing crops such as peanuts, sunflowers, sesame, wild sesame, thereby guaranteeing the production of more than 100,000 tons of edible oil annually in the next few years.

The agricultural cooperatives operating around cities and workers' districts must expand their facilities for vegetable production and steadily increase per-unit-area yields so as to keep up a regular supply of various kinds of fresh vegetables to the workers and office employees.

The rapid development of animal husbandry is one of the most important tasks confronting agriculture today. From olden times Koreans have said that anyone who eats rice and meat soup and lives in a house with a tiled roof is a rich man. We are now striving to create a prosperous life for all our working people. For this purpose, we should supply the population with enough rice and, at the same time, produce plenty of meat for them.

Today the working people's demand for meat and other livestock products is growing rapidly. We must meet this demand by quickly developing animal husbandry.

To this end, the agricultural cooperatives must develop collective stockbreeding faster and, on this basis, also develop sideline stockbreeding by their members.

In order to raise meat output to the level of 25 tons per 100 hectares of cultivated land, the agricultural cooperatives should direct their main efforts to the breeding of pigs which are highly productive, while raising more cattle, chickens, ducks, so on and so forth.

The foundations of animal husbandry should be continuously strengthened to increase the number of domestic animals: cattle to one

million, pigs to 4 million, and sheep and goats to 600,000 or 700,000 respectively in two or three years.

The creation of efficient facilities for fodder production is essential for the development of stockbreeding. In the next few years, 200,000 hectares of land from the fields where wheat and barley are cultivated as first-crops, together with some sloping and inferior land, should be converted into fodder fields. On pasture land, waste land and on the foothills different varieties of grass should be sown extensively.

Silage and hay should be used as the principal kinds of fodder for domestic animals. Domestic animals eat and fatten well on silage; silage can reduce the cost of livestock products much more than any other feed. All the agricultural cooperatives must produce much silage. As for pig feed, in particular, a large amount of mixed silage should be made from immature maize stalks and ears grown after the wheat and barley harvest.

The accomplishments of the last few years, in raising tussah and castor silkWorms as well as domesticated silkWorms, have created excellent conditions for the development of sericulture. We need not only cotton fabrics but also wool and silk. To weave more silk, we must develop sericulture.

A variety of delicious fruits grow well in all parts of our country. We should complete the work of reclaiming 100,000 hectares of land for orchards within two or three years and expand the fruit-growing area to 200,000 hectares within the next decade. All hillocks and village land should be covered with fruit trees. Fruit trees should also be planted alongside the roads. In this way, we should produce more fruit and, at the same time, make our homeland more beautiful.

The agricultural cooperatives must raise per- hectare fruit yields to more than 20 tons within the next few years by widely introducing advanced methods of fruit growing, by applying more fertilizer and by constructing efficient irrigation facilities.

The agricultural cooperatives must develop shallow-sea aquaculture and fresh-water fish breeding on a large scale. This will provide us with reliable sources of fresh and saltwater products and

eliminate the seasonal character of the fishing industry, thereby ensuring a high and stable production which would satisfy the demand more fully.

We have favourable conditions for the development of shallow-sea aquaculture and fresh-water fish breeding. Our country has vast stretches of shallow sea and tide land along its east and west coasts and there are lots of reservoirs, lakes and rivers everywhere.

We should turn these favourable natural conditions to good advantage and rapidly develop aquaculture and fish breeding, thereby also increasing fresh and salt water products in a decisive manner.

Besides, the agricultural cooperatives must raise bees, gather wild vegetables and fruit, process foodstuffs and develop all other possible secondary activities according to their natural and economic conditions. We should continue to put into effect thoroughly the motto of our Party to make good use of mountains in mountainous regions as well as the sea in coastal regions.

Through such a diversified development of agriculture, we would rapidly increase the profitability of the agricultural cooperatives, further consolidate their economic foundations and make the peasants' life prosperous. By producing large quantities not only of grain but also of various other agricultural produce and sideline products, we would turn our agriculture into a developed socialist one capable of meeting the demands of the national economy and the inhabitants.

While guaranteeing a diversified, general development of agricultural production, the agricultural cooperatives must also direct great efforts to rural construction. Our Party has proposed the building of new, modern villages as an important task.

Our agricultural cooperatives have already achieved great results by carrying out construction work energetically. However, we have not yet completely changed the old look of the villages, the legacy of thousands of years of oppression, exploitation and poverty.

The agricultural cooperatives, while laying emphasis on productive construction, must build lots of new, modern houses and set up more educational, cultural, public health and public service establishments.

We must strive to improve decisively the quality of construction. Each house and establishment we build should be harmonious with the happy, socialist life of our peasants. It goes without saying that they should be convenient for the peasants, attractive, beautiful and durable.

In future, the state will also continue to supply the necessary materials for rural construction and give technical assistance to the peasants. At the same time, the agricultural cooperatives must strive to find and extensively use local materials for rural construction, and obtain building materials on their own as far as possible. This will reduce the cost of construction and further increase the speed with which it is carried out.

We must build our villages more beautifully by rationally distributing projected houses, cultural and welfare establishments, by building roads and planting trees. Thus all our villages should be completely turned into socialist villages.

Comrades,

The cultural revolution has now become an important task in our countryside. Without staging a cultural revolution, the technical revolution cannot be carried out in the rural areas, nor can the triumphant socialist relations of production be consolidated. In accordance with the actual requirements of socialist construction in the countryside, we must more actively push ahead with the cultural revolution.

The most important task in this field at present is to raise the level of general knowledge and the technological know-how of all the peasants.

We already introduced compulsory secondary education in November last year and will introduce universal compulsory technical education within the next few years. All our younger generation is in a position to receive a secondary education and will be able to enjoy technical education as well in the future. The state will also improve the training of agricultural specialists and technicians by means of technical colleges and universities. In all schools, education should be closely combined with production and the younger generation should

be brought up to be versatile, able socialist builders.

In the meantime, we must make sure that all agricultural cooperative members acquire knowledge above that of an elementary or a junior middle school graduate and also make sure that they all master a definite technical skill within a few years. For this purpose, our Party called upon the agricultural cooperatives to set up and run working people's schools and middle schools extensively. In accordance with the Party's policy these schools have been set up within the agricultural cooperatives all over the country and numerous cooperative members are studying in them. We must further strengthen and develop this work in future. Cooperative members should also be widely enrolled in correspondence courses and a mass movement for acquiring new techniques should be launched amongst them.

In this way, all the peasants should become knowledgeable men with technical know-how and farming skills.

While raising their level of knowledge and technique, the peasants should remould their life in a cultured way.

We are now living under a progressive socialist system. Our country has now been transformed from an underdeveloped agricultural nation into a socialist, industrial-agricultural state. Since society has made progress and the economy has been developed, the people should also live a cultured life. We must launch a mass movement to reform all aspects of our life in a cultured way.

We must put an end to all unhygienic and uncultured practices and boldly do away with outdated ways of life and customs. By further improving and strengthening public health and hygienic services in the countryside, we would eradicate distoma and other endemic and epidemic diseases, and thoroughly eliminate flies, mosquitoes, bedbugs, rats, etc. All agricultural cooperative members must keep their homes and villages more clean and beautiful, bring up their children better and build an orderly and cultured way of life.

At the same time, we must improve the running of the democratic publicity halls so that they would become centres of study, education and cultural recreation for the peasants. We must develop sports,

literature and art circles in the countryside on a mass scale.

In order to further consolidate the agricultural cooperatives politically and accelerate the building of socialism, communist education should be strengthened amongst the peasants.

Socialist relations of production have already triumphed in our countryside. But the remnants of feudal and capitalist ideologies left over from the old society have not yet been completely wiped out from the minds of the peasants. We must vigorously conduct communist education amongst the peasants to eliminate the remnants of old ideologies of every description and to remould their ideological consciousness.

First of all, we should fully drive home to the peasants the decisive superiority of the triumphant socialist agricultural cooperative system over the capitalist farming or individual peasant farming. Thus, we must lead the peasants in defending this system, in waging a resolute struggle against those who attempt to restore the exploiting system, and in firmly safeguarding socialist gains from enemy encroachment.

What is most important in the communist education of the peasants is to eliminate selfishness and small-proprietor inclinations still found amongst them. Selfishness is a serious impediment to our progressive movement.

To successfully build socialism, we must consolidate and further develop collective ownership, i.e., socialist ownership, in the countryside. And for building communism in future, collective ownership should be turned into ownership by the whole people. Without eliminating selfishness, this process cannot be accelerated.

We must educate every cooperative member in the spirit of taking loving care of common property, of respecting the interests of the state and society and subordinating individual interests to them, and of comradesly mutual assistance in the community. The common property and collective economy of the cooperatives are the basis for their development and the source of an improved standard of living for the cooperative members. A resolute struggle should be waged against misappropriation, squandering and embezzlement of common

property and against insincere participation in collective farming.

At the same time, we must educate all the cooperative members in the spirit of love for work.

Work is the noblest endeavour and all the wealth of human society is created by the labour of the working people. Today our peasants are working not for landlords or capitalists, but for their own happiness and for the interests of our country and society. Under our system, labour is the highest honour and solemn duty for everyone. It is a socialist principle that he who does not work shall not eat. It is very shameful to hate work, to loaf about and live at the expense of others.

We must cultivate a correct attitude towards work amongst all the cooperative members, so that they would love to work and earnestly join in collective work and voluntarily observe discipline in their work.

We must also arm the peasants firmly with the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Socialist patriotism must emanate from a love for one's cooperative. Our peasants must all become ardent patriots who love their socialist homeland.

Moreover, we must further strengthen the education of the peasants in proletarian internationalism so that, motivated by the love of their socialist homeland, they would be able to defend the socialist camp and promote friendship and solidarity with the peoples of this camp and with all the working people of the world aspiring to embrace socialism.

To guarantee success in socialist construction, the worker-peasant alliance must be further strengthened. This alliance is the foundation for the solidarity of all the people and a decisive factor for the victory of the revolution.

In our country, the worker-peasant alliance stood the severe test of the war and in the course of the socialist revolution it has developed on to a new plane. In carrying out the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside, we must further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and advance the leading role of the working class in this alliance by further strengthening the leadership and assistance given by

the working class to the peasants and by promoting the development of agriculture and the remoulding of the consciousness of the peasants.

Comrades,

The administrative and management work of the agricultural cooperatives should be improved and the guidance and assistance by the Party and the state to the cooperatives should be further strengthened for the successful implementation of the huge tasks confronting agriculture and for the political and economic consolidation of the cooperative economy.

Now that agricultural cooperativization has been completed and now that the agricultural cooperatives have been amalgamated and have entered a new stage of development, this congress will adopt the new Standard Rules of the Agricultural Cooperatives.

The basic objective of the draft Standard Rules consists of leading all our agricultural cooperatives and their members in the fight to consolidate the victories of socialism already achieved in the countryside under the leadership of the working class, and to accelerate socialist construction.

The new Standard Rules are the fruit of the protracted struggle of our peasants for land and freedom, a mirror showing the norms of their collective life and a lighthouse illumining a still brighter future for them. We must further improve the administration and management of the amalgamated agricultural cooperatives so that they would proficiently fulfil their tremendous tasks in accordance with the basic principles of the new Standard Rules.

Now that the members of the cooperatives have sharply increased and the scope of their work has expanded, a greater development of internal democracy is the key to their consolidation. We must enlist the masses of cooperative members in management so that they would be able to freely advance their views as masters of the cooperatives, to criticize shortcomings and, united firmly in thought and purpose, to demonstrate greater activity and creativity in all their work.

We must see to it that the bureaucratic style of work still found

amongst some management workers of the cooperatives is eliminated once and for all and that they acquire the revolutionary popular viewpoint of doing their work by relying upon the masses and going amongst them to learn from them and teach them. All questions should be collectively discussed and decided through the regular work of members' general meetings, conferences and the management board meetings. Details about the work of the cooperative and how its property is being managed should be made known to the members in good time.

As our experience shows, the improvement of the political level and practical ability of the management workers is of tremendous importance in consolidating the cooperatives. Although the ranks of management workers have been further strengthened through the amalgamation, their level still falls short of the requirements of the tremendous tasks they have to undertake.

All management workers, particularly the chairmen, must constantly strive to have a comprehensive knowledge not only of the organization and techniques of agricultural production but also of trade, credit, education, culture, public health, so on and so forth, and to be well acquainted with the internal life of the cooperatives. The Party and the Government will continue to give help to further strengthen the work of training and re-educating the management workers and raising their political level and practical ability.

Our agricultural cooperatives come under the category of a large-scale socialist economy. Needless to say, such an economy cannot be managed without planning. Particularly in the new situation which now prevails, the significance of planning has grown immensely.

All the cooperatives' economic activities should be planned—from production to distribution, trade and consumption—and education, culture and public health services should also be developed in a planned way. To ensure success in the technological reconstruction of agriculture, including the vast projects to improve natural conditions, and in the work of rural construction, and to develop the cooperative economy in a far-sighted way, every agricultural cooperative must

devote particularly great attention to the work of scientific, long-term planning.

The agricultural cooperatives must work out their production and construction plans so as to guarantee the greatest results with a small expenditure of manpower, materials and funds by exploring their reserves and exploiting their potentialities to the maximum.

The agricultural cooperatives must give profound attention to the maintenance of a proper ratio of accumulation and consumption to guarantee steady extended reproduction and systematic improvement of their members' standard of living.

We must eliminate both the tendency of undertaking construction thinking only of the future while ignoring the present living conditions of the cooperative members, and the tendency to consume all that is earned without paying regard for tomorrow, without caring for the future development of the collective economy and the economic foundation of the cooperatives.

In this issue, our principle is to give equal attention to both accumulation and consumption, gradually increasing the former as the living standard of the cooperative members improves. Only by increasing accumulation can we steadily and soundly improve the material and cultural life of the cooperative members. The joint accumulation of the agricultural cooperatives should be further increased in order to ensure the fulfilment of the technical revolution and carry out the enormous construction of production and cultural facilities in the countryside. Every year, each agricultural cooperative should determine the rate of accumulation within the limits provided for in the Standard Rules, taking into account its own specific conditions.

The joint accumulation fund shall be used by the agricultural cooperatives to buy modern machinery for the expansion of production and to build production and cultural facilities and dwellings; this fund constitutes the main means for increasing the common property of the cooperative. In future, the achievements of an agricultural cooperative should be assessed not only by the amount of profits and products

distributed to its members, but by the amount of its joint accumulation and the volume of its capital construction.

The cooperatives' common property, which would increase continuously with the growth of the joint accumulation, should be managed carefully and utilized more effectively for the development of the collective economy and the improvement of the well-being of the cooperative members.

Improved organization of work and rational use of labour have now become a particularly important problem for the agricultural cooperatives. Every cooperative must reorganize its workteams in a rational way to suit the new situation and further increase the rate of participation in community labour by all its members. We must thoroughly eliminate labour wastage which is caused by frequent transfers of people from one workplace to another, or by the failure to provide proper working conditions and to give assignments promptly.

At the same time, socialist emulation-spirited drives should be vigorously launched amongst sub-workteams, workteams and cooperatives so that worthwhile achievements and experiences would be widely disseminated and more innovations made without interruption in building the economy and in promoting culture.

The agricultural cooperatives must show close concern for the everyday life of their members.

Wasteful habits that may appear amongst cooperative members as a result of the rapid increase in their incomes must be eliminated; the members should be guided towards building their lives well. We must also give attention to providing labour protection to cooperative members and guarantee them regular rest and sufficient sleep. In particular, conditions must be provided for lightening the burden of household chores for women, and for protecting and bringing up their children better. For this purpose, nurseries, kindergartens, laundries, sewing shops, so on and so forth should be run well.

Now that agricultural cooperativization has been completed and the size of the cooperatives enlarged, the guidance and assistance that the Party and the state give them should be further strengthened.

From this year onwards, we are going to cut down the rate of agricultural tax in kind, which ranged from 10 to 27 per cent of the average yearly harvest in the past, to approximately 12 per cent. In particular, we are planning to exempt completely from this tax some agricultural cooperatives in mountainous areas whose economic foundations are still weak.

Today when agricultural production is increasing year after year, such a sharp reduction in the rate of the tax in kind will be of great economic benefit to the agricultural cooperatives. This will remarkably increase the accumulation of the cooperatives, and, as a result, will be a great help in furthering the technical transformation of agriculture and rural construction, in giving support to backward cooperatives and in consolidating their economic foundations, and in improving the living conditions of the peasants.

We must further enhance the role of Party and government bodies at all levels and that of leading agricultural officials in ensuring the development of agriculture and consolidating the cooperative economy.

Recently our Party has adopted a series of measures to increase the rural guidance forces of the provincial, city and county people's committees and to expand their authority. This is of great significance in bringing guidance closer to production in keeping with the new realities in the countryside, and in promoting local initiative and mobilizing production reserves and potentialities.

In the work of guidance in the rural areas, we must do away with formalism and further strengthen the system of on-the-spot guidance. Particularly, we must concentrate our efforts on providing guidance to those agricultural cooperatives whose economic foundations are still weak, so that they would be able to stand on their own feet as soon as possible. All the leading agricultural officials must thoroughly implement our Party's agricultural policy by combining their guidance with the revolutionary zeal of the masses and by further strengthening the unity of the Party and the masses.

In particular, the work of the Party organizations in the agricultural

cooperatives should be strengthened to ensure our Party's leadership in rural work.

The Party organizations in the agricultural cooperatives must fully explain and drive home the Party's policies to the broad sections of the masses, energetically mobilize them for the struggle to implement them and enhance the vanguard role of the Party members in this struggle.

The Party organizations should overcome the tendency of cooperatives to harbour old narrow-minded self-centred attitude and to indulge in nepotism which is still liable to be manifested under conditions where the production forces in several villages have been merged into one cooperative, and further strengthen the ideological unity and cooperation of the cooperative members.

They must strengthen their leadership and control over the management work and economic activities of the agricultural cooperatives.

They must intensify their work amongst the bereaved families of patriots and the families of soldiers in the cooperatives, take constant care of their living conditions and the education of their children, and help them in every way so that they would be able to play a central role in the affairs of the cooperatives.

Moreover, they must also give great attention to the work of the Democratic Youth League and other working people's organizations. The Democratic Youth League members, the reserve force of the Party, are playing the role of a shock brigade in the socialist construction in our country. The Party organizations must give correct guidance to the Democratic Youth League organizations, intensify the communist education of the youth, steadily improve their technical and cultural level and thus lead the young people to devote themselves to socialist construction in the countryside with all their talent and revolutionary ardour as valiant fighters for their country and people.

Thus, we must develop all the agricultural cooperatives into socialist cooperatives with solid economic foundations, whose

members are well-off, and which are politically sound. In this way we should make our Party's rural position impregnable.

Comrades,

In sharp contrast with economic conditions in south Korea, socialist construction in the northern half of Korea is progressing in a situation where our country is divided into two parts. Today the south Korean economy is sinking ever deeper into the quagmire of bankruptcy.

The only results of the 13-year rule of south Korea by the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique are the bankruptcy of the national economy, the impoverished people's living conditions, ignorance, darkness and degeneration.

The majority of the factories and mills in south Korea are small- and medium-sized enterprises and, on top of that, some 80 per cent of them have suspended or reduced their operations. Today in south Korea, there are more than 4,200,000 unemployed persons wandering the streets. The wages of the employed workers are equivalent to no more than one-third of the minimum living costs; and, to make matters worse, the workers' pay is kept in arrears for months.

Whereas our socialist cooperative farming is making rapid progress, agriculture in south Korea is still in colonial and semi-feudal shackles and its productive forces are being seriously undermined every day.

The cultivated area of south Korea has shrunk by 600,000 hectares and the total grain output by 40 per cent as compared with the years under Japanese imperialist rule. South Korea, which used to produce twice as much grain as north Korea in the days of Japanese imperialism, now produces even less grain than the northern half of Korea.

South Korea, once known as a granary, has turned into an area of chronic famine and nearly half of all the peasant households have run out of food. The majority of south Korean peasants have become tenant farmers or hired hands who do not have a patch of land of their own, or wanderers who have left their native villages to go begging.

In spite of all this, the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique

have allotted about 70 per cent of their budget for military and police expenditure and are not showing the least concern for the reconstruction of agriculture. They are resorting to every possible means to squeeze the last drop of sweat and blood out of the south Korean peasants.

All this is an inevitable outcome of the predatory colonial policy of the US imperialists.

The only way out lies in expelling the US imperialist aggressors and bringing about the reunification of the country.

The south Korean peasants now realize more clearly that under the rule of the US imperialists and the treacherous Syngman Rhee clique they cannot obtain land or freedom, nor can they extricate themselves from their present indescribably wretched plight.

The greater the achievements of socialist construction in our countryside and the better the life of our peasants, the more it will inject courage and hope in the south Korean peasants who are languishing under oppression and exploitation and suffering from hunger and cold. To save their compatriots in south Korea, our peasants must further develop agriculture and build socialism better.

Socialist construction in the northern half of Korea constitutes a decisive guarantee for the peaceful reunification of our country, and it will provide a powerful material foundation for rapidly reconstructing the economy of south Korea and improving the living conditions of the people there after the country is reunified.

As time passes, the socialist forces in the northern half of Korea will become stronger and the revolutionary awakening of the south Korean people will be further stimulated. No force can prevent the growth of the revolutionary forces of the Korean people aspiring to the reunification of the country and nation. The day will surely come when all our fellow countrymen will be enjoying a free, prosperous and happy life together in a unified land.

Today socialism is registering victories on a worldwide scale and the imperialist forces are being hurried to their doom.

The socialist camp is incomparably stronger than the imperialist

camp, encompassing a vast area comprising more than one-fourth of the land surface of the globe, and embracing a population of nearly 1,000 million which is twice as large as that of the imperialist countries.

The Soviet Union has made tremendous, world-shaking achievements in economic, scientific and technological development, and has gradually begun to get the upper hand of the United States. The Soviet Union has now opened up a new era in the history of the development of science by launching three artificial earth satellites. At the beginning of the new year, the Soviet Union again launched a space rocket to the moon. This demonstrates the decisive superiority of socialism over capitalism and helps to fortify further the confidence of the progressive people of the whole world in a future built on communism.

In all the People's Democracies, socialism is being successfully built, national economies are being rapidly developed and the people's living standard is improving continuously.

At present, the countries in the socialist camp account for one-third of the world's industrial output and will be producing more than one-half in the next seven years.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the countries in the socialist camp have become more firmly united.

All this demonstrates the invincible might of the socialist camp which is prevailing over the imperialist forces.

The general situation is developing more and more in favour of our just cause.

By marching forward shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the fraternal countries, our people will triumphantly build socialism in our country and will definitely accomplish the reunification of our country. Thus, our people will be making a further contribution to the consolidation of peace and the positions of socialism in the Far East and the world at large.

Together with the working class, our peasants are entrusted with

this honourable cause. The work of our peasants for the further development of agriculture is a struggle for socialist construction in the northern half of Korea and, at the same time, a struggle for the peaceful reunification and prosperity of the country.

I am firmly convinced that all the peasants of our country, rallying still more closely around our Party and under its leadership, will victoriously carry out the magnificent task which now confronts agriculture.

FOR THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF IMMEDIATE TASKS OF AGRICULTURE

Concluding Speech at the National Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives

January 9, 1959

During the last few days, we have done a great job which will be recorded in the history of our country.

At this National Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives we have analysed the brilliant victory achieved in completing socialist agricultural cooperativization in a few years despite the fact that it had been considered to be so difficult. We have also discussed very important tasks for the future development of agriculture.

All the delegates have fully supported and approved the vast tasks proposed by the Party Central Committee for the further development of our agriculture and made a firm resolution to fulfil them.

The congress has captured the attention of all the peasants and the rest of the people, and the delegates have demonstrated unanimous resolve and enthusiastic spirit. This vividly shows once again how ardently our people love and trust the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea—their heart and brain—and how firmly they are united around the Central Committee.

I am very satisfied that the congress is concluding its work with a great success.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I would like to express my warm gratitude to all the delegates, and all the members of

agricultural cooperatives who sent you to the congress to represent them.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and this congress, I also would like to sincerely thank the delegates from many fraternal socialist countries for their participation in this congress. Their presence has been an inspiration to us; they regard our people's work as their own and rejoice over our victory as if it were their own, giving active support and encouragement to us.

The success we achieved at this congress is enormous and very valuable. However, we cannot rest on our laurels.

At this congress we established the correct policy for the further development of our agriculture. It is wrong to think that all the work will go smoothly now that we have adopted a declaration or a resolution and put forward a new policy. After establishing a new policy we should strive to implement it. Putting a policy into practice is more difficult than proposing it.

All the peasants and the rest of the people should never be satisfied with the achievements; they should strive more strenuously and energetically to carry out the important tasks put forward by the Party Central Committee and accorded unanimous support and approval by this congress.

In carrying out these tasks, lots of difficulties may be encountered. But they would shrink to insignificance when compared with those difficulties we met immediately after the armistice when we had to reconstruct factories and dwelling houses on the ruins with barehands, without a piece of brick, a gramme of cement or steel. As we did then, we would be able to overcome the new difficulties easily.

On our way forward in the future there will be difficulties, but they will fully be overcome. I am confident that our people, who have gone through great difficulties and hardships in the past, will boldly tackle whatever problems they may meet in future.

As our experience shows us, no obstacles are insurmountable as long as all the people work hard, relying firmly on Party policy and rallying closely around the Party Central Committee. When they

remain true to the Party and vice versa, and the Party and the people unite as one movement as they did in the past, victory will always be ours.

To consolidate the agricultural cooperatives politically and economically and to carry out successfully the technical and cultural revolutions in the immediate future, thus making ours a wealthy, cultured and developed socialist countryside equipped with modern technology—this is an important task our Party sets before the agricultural sector.

In its letter addressed to all the members, the Party Central Committee has already called upon the peasants to accelerate the technical and cultural revolutions in rural areas and make efforts to increase agricultural production. This congress, too, made emphasis on this issue.

In order to thoroughly implement the tasks for agricultural development put forward at the congress, we should, first of all, drive home to the peasants the decision adopted here so that all of them would have a correct understanding of what is required and strive for its implementation.

What is important in performing these tasks is to maintain the high spirit of peasants and increase agricultural production rapidly.

According to our experience over several years, there is no special way to increase agricultural production quickly. All we have to do is to correctly implement our Party's policies.

In order to increase agricultural production as soon as possible, we should first expand irrigation facilities in accordance with the Party's consistent policy.

As pointed out in the report to the congress, in the future we should increase areas under irrigation to one million hectares and prevent damages from flood and droughts by undertaking effective afforestation and water conservation projects. In this way farming would become free from the effects of natural calamities. For this purpose we should keep expanding the area of paddy fields, while extensively carrying out irrigation projects for non-paddy fields.

Besides, we should further expand the area of protected land by conducting projects to improve river conditions and to prevent soil erosion on an extensive scale.

To follow up the present success in irrigation and river conditions improvement, we should actively introduce mechanization in these projects. In this way we will be able to increase labour productivity, guarantee the quality of the projects and complete them ahead of schedule.

Along with expanding the irrigation facilities, the mechanization of agriculture should be accelerated.

Without equipping agriculture with modern machines we would never be in a position to develop its productive forces, or increase its production radically. Therefore, we set as an important task the equipping of agriculture with up-to-date machinery and doing all farming work with machines.

This not only saves manpower but also increases agricultural production and lowers the cost of farm produce. Moreover, work would be carried out with ease.

Conventional farming implements should be replaced with up-to-date machines on an extensive scale. Rural mechanization should be promoted in this direction: to gradually expand mechanization from plain areas to mountainous areas, to begin with the most arduous and labour-consuming work and go over to comprehensive mechanization by degrees, and to properly combine large-sized machines with medium- and small-sized equipment.

The quality of soil should be continuously ameliorated.

Under the conditions of our country, it is more important for us to improve land now under cultivation than to reclaim new land. Our country has a proverb: "There is no bad land for a diligent farmer." It means that an industrious peasant can transform bad into good land. To make all arable land fertile, we should conduct detailed land surveys and, on their basis, set up a scientific system of fertilization.

An efficient use of land is of great significance in increasing grain production in our country which has limited arable land.

In order to use land better and to increase grain output, we should extensively introduce the multiple-crops methods. Particularly important is the development of intensive farming.

What is basic to intensive farming is to plough the fields deep, plant crops close together and to apply a lot of fertilizer. In order to increase grain yields this year through this method, we should make good preparations for farming as from now. For the present, a mass movement should be launched to produce plenty of home-made manure.

This year the state should produce large quantities of various chemical fertilizers suitable to soil conditions and the peculiarities of different crops.

In the intensive farming method, the peasants should plough paddy and non-paddy fields deep, plant crops close together and properly combine manure and chemical fertilizers that must be applied, thus bringing about a decisive increase in the yields of agricultural produce. They should steadily improve the quality of seeds, prevent damages from blights and harmful insects and till the fields carefully like a flower garden.

Then we will be able to produce much grain in smaller areas of land and successfully carry out the task of producing more than seven million tons of grain in the immediate future.

Animal husbandry should be developed as soon as possible.

From old times, the Koreans have regarded as rich people those who live in a house with a tiled roof and eat rice and meat soup. Poor peasants have envied such a life and dreamed to live likewise. If we try hard today, we can lead all the people into enjoying such a life.

If we make paddies fully irrigated and introduce intensive farming to increase grain output quickly as planned this year, everyone will be able to eat rice next year or the year after.

However, the people will not be satisfied to live on rice alone. They should be served with meat, too. As life improves, they would want to eat more meat. In order to meet their demand, we should develop livestock farming and increase meat production quickly.

At present, the foundations of our livestock farming are very weak. Therefore, agricultural cooperatives and their members should exert much more effort to develop this line of activity.

What requires special attention in animal husbandry is to develop Korean cows into milch cows so as to produce a lot of milk. In the past, our peasants only exploited Korean cows and slaughtered them when they became old. They did not know how to produce milk from Korean cows. Breeding Korean cows would give us many advantages. We can use them as draught or milch cows. With the mechanization of farming in the future, many cows can be used as milch cows, not as draught animals.

After the September Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held last year, experiments were conducted in different areas, with the result that it was established that a Korean cow could produce one to two tons of milk or three tons to the maximum a year. In case of a Korean cow producing one to two tons of milk, turning one hectare of dry fields into a base to feed four or five cows with fodder would be much better than producing grain in the fields. If agricultural cooperatives in mountainous areas develop Korean cows into milch cows well, their members would raise their living standard quickly.

Large numbers of Korean cows should be developed into milch cows. Only those Korean cows which produce plenty of milk should be chosen for this purpose. Cooperatives should undertake this work extensively.

To increase milk production cows must be given good feed. There are many resources of quality feed in rural areas. When we go out to the countryside in winter, we find that maize stalks have been left abandoned in the fields. This is tantamount to throwing away meat and milk. If maize stalks are cut in time to make silage, they would provide good feed for cows or pigs. If we feed cows with silage, they would fatten well and produce a lot of milk. It is, after all, the same as exchanging maize stalks for meat and milk. However, this work to date is not organized properly. Of course, rural officials still have no

experience in this. But it does not mean that they cannot do such work. Our peasants introduced cold-bed rice seedlings although they had no previous experience in it. They created this method through practice.

If they strive to utilize all their wisdom, the peasants will be fully capable of exploiting their potential for developing livestock farming. While working very hard to increase grain production, agricultural cooperatives should develop livestock farming quickly, enlisting every existing potentiality and possibility. Thus, they should reach the target of annually producing without fail 400,000 tons of meat and 460,000 tons of milk within two or three years.

They should diversify agriculture, taking proper account of their natural and economic conditions.

The living standard of some agricultural cooperative members in mountainous regions is still lower than that in plain areas. However, as many comrades said during the sectional meetings, the former can live as well as the latter by making a good use of natural and economic conditions to improve economic management. Agricultural cooperatives in mountainous regions should not try to produce low-yield maize for provisions, but should cut maize stalks with ears before they fully ripen and turn them into silage to produce meat. Then, they will be able to earn a large income. On top of this, if they breed Korean cows into becoming milch cows, they would be able to earn additional income.

For a long time, our Party has emphasized that mountains should be taken into good account in mountainous regions, while the sea in regions bounded by sea.

What does it mean by utilizing a mountain well? It means developing various kinds of secondary activities such as planting orchards, raising bees, picking edible herbs and breeding domestic animals on the mountain. In Ryanggang and other provinces, many agricultural cooperatives in mountainous areas have gained useful experience in diversifying their economy by taking advantage of mountains. This good experience should be disseminated so that all the

cooperatives in such areas would learn how to make a better utilization of mountains.

The coastal agricultural cooperatives should increase their incomes by catching fish, breeding shellfish and oysters, cultivating seaweed and the like on an extensive scale in the shallow sea.

In order to implement the Party's agricultural policy correctly, we must take into account the characteristic features of local areas. If the Party's policy is executed formally and mechanically without taking the local features into consideration, no success would be made however correct the policy might be.

Take Ryanggang Province for instance. They failed to implement the Party's policy on planting crops in accordance with the principle of the right crop for the right soil as conditioned by local features. In mountainous areas of Ryanggang Province which they call the nearest place to the sky, even if they plant maize as the main crop, it would not grow well. But when the Party proposed the slogan, "Maize is the king crop for dry fields," some leading personnel of this province encouraged maize cultivation in their province too, blindly harping on this slogan without any consideration of their climate and soil conditions. Moreover, they even went as far as to transform non-paddy fields into paddy fields and tend cold-bed seedlings eagerly with the intention of growing the rice crop. To say nothing of rice, even maize would not grow well in Ryanggang Province. As the leading personnel were not able to guide farming properly to meet the Party's intentions, many agricultural cooperatives in this province have failed to obtain a good result for several years.

Even agricultural schools in Ryanggang Province have so far been teaching the students how to grow cold-bed rice seedlings and how to carry on irrigation work despite the fact that this has nothing to do with their province's reality. But they did not teach them how to cultivate potato and flax which would grow well there. What is the use of learning about the cold-bed rice seedlings at the foot of Mt. Paekdu where rice would never produce a good harvest? Such a mechanical method of work should be remedied.

We studied the farming situation in Ryanggang Province and saw to it that not maize but potato was planted extensively. To tell the truth, in this province the king crop for dry fields is not maize but potato. Last year, a large quantity of potatoes were grown throughout Ryanggang Province, with the result that agricultural production increased considerably and supplies for one and a half year to two years were stored. Besides, they planted flax in large quantities according to the principle of the right crop for the right soil, thus giving great help to solving the fibre problem in the country and increasing the incomes of the peasants significantly.

Today the living standard of inhabitants in Ryanggang Province has improved on the whole. This shows that recently Party organizations in the province attained a correct understanding of the Party's agricultural policy and implemented it diligently.

Leading personnel in the agricultural sector should exactly grasp the quintessence of the Party's policy and strive to implement it correctly in a manner which is suitable to specific local conditions.

In order to perform successfully the important tasks of the technical revolution in agriculture, it is necessary to strengthen the working-class support.

The main tasks of the technical revolution in our rural areas at present are to bring about irrigation, mechanization and electrification. Without the strong support of the working class, these tasks cannot be successfully done.

As our working class volunteered to help the peasants in the past, so should they give active assistance to them in the future. The workers and technicians, in particular, should produce machines and materials needed for the rural technical revolution and forward them to the countryside in good time, and go out there to instruct peasants in the necessary-technology.

On the other hand, the peasants should actively support the working class, a leading class, who always guide them on the right track and help them. For this purpose, they should produce much more grain and industrial crops to supply enough provisions and materials for

industry, and strive to raise their quality and lower their costs.

When the working class and the peasantry help each other in this way, the worker-peasant alliance, the basis of our people's government, would be further consolidated.

Finally, I would like to make a few remarks on the need to strengthen the work of the management boards of agricultural cooperatives and Party organizations in the cooperatives.

Our agriculture has now been completely transformed on socialist lines.

In the old days of private farming the peasants were responsible for their own lives. Now that agricultural cooperativization has been completed, however, the cooperatives must assume the responsibility for the peasants' well-being. In other words, the livelihood of peasants must be placed under the responsibility of the management boards which run the cooperatives and also under the responsibility of the Party organizations which lead the cooperatives. Therefore, the duties of the management boards and their respective Party organizations are of great importance. If these boards and Party organizations work well, the cooperatives would develop rapidly and succeed to consolidate the foundations of production and improve the peasants' well-being. On the contrary, if they fail to work properly, the peasants would be subjected to hardship. Therefore, the members of management boards and Party committees of the cooperatives should work enthusiastically, very much aware that their responsibility is great.

Since an agricultural cooperative is organized with ri as a unit and grows in size, its work may be more difficult and complex than before. So the management and Party workers of the cooperatives should work more energetically than before, go amongst the masses to learn from them and teach them, and always work in unison with them. And they should study hard how to develop the cooperative economy and make efforts to promptly introduce advanced science and technology. They should also fight resolutely against all sorts of unsound practices which interfere with the work of the cooperatives.

Democratic principles should be fully manifested amongst the

cooperative members so that they would be able to participate in the management of the cooperatives as masters and give full play to creative zeal in all work.

The chairmen and other officials of the management and Party committees of the cooperatives should make strenuous efforts to raise their level of farming know-how and practical abilities. Without doing so, the management and Party workers would not be able to work properly in accordance with the requirements of the masses. That is why they should always learn and learn.

Face to face with the enemies, today we are building socialism. They scheme to destroy our socialist construction by sending spies, subversive elements and saboteurs to conspire with corrupt elements lurking in our ranks. The greater our success, the more our enemies will feel uneasy and plot to undermine it viciously. Therefore, we should always heighten our revolutionary vigilance and strive to defend our socialist gains firmly from enemy encroachment.

I am confident that all our peasants, rallying more firmly around the Party Central Committee, would keep on making strenuous efforts without losing any of their high spirit of enthusiasm and thus win new victories in socialist rural construction and agricultural production and, furthermore, make a great contribution to accelerating the country's peaceful reunification.

FOR KOREAN COMPATRIOTS IN JAPAN REPATRIATION IS THEIR LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHT

Talk to the Chief Director of the Japan-Korea Society

January 10, 1959

I would like to express my thanks to you for your visit to our country and for your innumerable activities to promote world peace.

You have made a great effort to strengthen friendship between the Korean and Japanese peoples. I appreciate your effort.

It is excellent that many people are now working for peace as you are. We hope the ranks of the champions of peace, like you, would continue to grow.

It is desirable that the Korean and Japanese peoples continue to promote friendship through mutual visits. Japan is a neighbour of our country. As neighbours the two peoples ought to live in harmony, not in discord. It was not the Japanese people, but the Japanese imperialists whom our people opposed in the past. Even now the Korean people regard the Japanese militarists, not the Japanese people, as their enemy.

The Japan-Korea Society has made a great effort to normalize the diplomatic relations between the two countries. You need not feel sorry that these relations have not been established. This question will be settled in due course. Since the Japanese government at present is taking an unfriendly attitude towards our country diplomatic relations between the two countries are impossible. And under these

circumstances such relations, even if established, would be useless. Establishing diplomatic relations is not an urgent question. What matters is to develop the friendly relations between the two peoples.

Diplomatic relations are not a must for the establishment of friendly relations between peoples; the latter does not necessarily precondition the former. Of course, it would be much better, if relations between the states and also closer friendly ties between the peoples were in existence. But the peoples will be able to promote friendship, even without diplomatic relations. It is preferable that in the future the Korean and Japanese peoples visit each other and also exchange culture, whether diplomatic relations exist or not. We hope that the Japan-Korea Society will make continuous efforts to this end.

The Korean and Japanese peoples' struggle for peace is closely interlinked. So they should support and sympathize with each other in their struggle for peace.

Since the revival of Japanese militarism is a threat to peace and security in Asia as a whole, our people actively support the Japanese people in their struggle against it. The Korean people also actively support their struggle against the amendment to the "Japan-US security treaty" for the worse. We believe that these struggles will be more successful in the future.

As for trade relations between Korea and Japan, we believe their development is necessary. Exchange of necessary goods would be beneficial to the peoples of both countries because they are neighbours.

We consider trade with Japan is possible, even though we have no diplomatic relations with her. At present we are trading with India, Burma, the United Arab Republic, Switzerland, Britain, West Germany and many other countries with which we have no diplomatic relations. But we have no trade with Japan, our neighbour. This is entirely due to the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government towards our country.

I would like now to comment briefly on the "ROK-Japan talks".

The so-called "ROK-Japan talks" are a secret dialogue between

aggressors and traitors. The puppet Syngman Rhee clique is the stooge of the US imperialists; it cannot represent the interests of the Korean people. The Japanese reactionaries, headed by Kishi, are dreaming of making inroads on foreign countries, under the manipulation and with the support of the US imperialists. Being secret talks between such shady negotiators, this dialogue has nothing to do with the will and interests of both the Korean and Japanese peoples. That is why we are completely opposed to these “talks”.

The “ROK-Japan talks” up to now show that the claims submitted before the puppet Syngman Rheeites by the Japanese reactionary government are all unjustifiable, and the Syngman Rhee clique’s dealings with such claims run counter to the will of our people. All the “items on the agenda” of the “ROK-Japan talks” are illegal and contrary to our people’s will in every respect.

This is true, for instance, of the “question of cultural assets”. It is natural that the Japanese militarists should return to the Korean people the cultural assets which they plundered from Korea in the past. Nevertheless, these reactionaries are plotting to justify this act of plunder. Their plan to return some of these spoils to the puppet Syngman Rhee clique is also criminal. If delivered to the puppet clique, which cannot represent the interests of the Korean people, the cultural assets would not be used for the benefit of the Korean people.

We do not recognize the “Syngman Rhee line”, which is at issue between the Japanese militarists and the south Korean puppet clique over the “question of fishing”. That is an arbitrary line drawn by Syngman Rhee, and does not represent the people’s will. On that account, none of the Korean people recognize it.

The “ROK-Japan talks” are being held between the Japanese militarists and the south Korean puppet clique, but the string-pullers are the US imperialists. They are trying to rally the Japanese militarists, their puppets in south Korea and the puppet Jiang Jieshi clique into a military alliance in the Asian region, and trying to install the Japanese militarists as its ringleader. The “ROK-Japan talks” have been set up by the US imperialists to link up the Japanese militarists

with the south Korean puppets as the first phase of their plot.

The US imperialists' scheme to create the "tripartite military alliance" between Japan, Syngman Rhee and Jiang Jieshi, their puppets, is very insidious. They are plotting to instigate Asians to fight among themselves, in order to attain their aim to mount aggression on Asia without difficulty, and furthermore, to invade socialist countries. For this reason, such a "military alliance" will seriously threaten peace in Asia and the rest of the world. The Korean and Japanese peoples must determinedly oppose it together.

I would like now to refer to the question of the repatriation of Koreans in Japan.

The struggle of these compatriots to return home is fully justified. I also think it to be quite reasonable that the Japan-Korea Society and many other social organizations and people of different strata give support and encouragement to the repatriation movement of the Koreans in Japan.

First of all I would like to thank them for their support and encouragement to this movement, and I hope you will convey our greetings to them on your return.

The Koreans are a homogeneous people and have an ardent love for their nation. When their country was under Japanese imperialist occupation, it could not be helped that they even had to live scattered about. But now that they have the government in their own hands, they cannot allow themselves to remain mere onlookers at their fellow countrymen suffering from national humiliation and mistreatment in foreign lands. At present, the Koreans in Japan are living in great difficulties. The Japanese government does not provide them with living conditions at all because they are Koreans. The better the living conditions of the people in the homeland, the greater pity we will feel for our overseas compatriots living in hardship. We do hope they will return home as soon as possible even if we would have to share a bowl of rice with them.

We are also not just looking at our brothers suffering in south Korea. At present more than four million people in south Korea are out

of job and several hundred thousand orphans are living in vagrancy. Some time ago the Cabinet of the Republic decided to send them relief and to place the vagrant orphans entirely under its care. The Cabinet notified the south Korean puppet regime about this decision. But they have given no answer yet.

Out of brotherly love, we requested the Japanese government to authorize the repatriation of our fellow countrymen. However, they have not yet complied with our request. I think the repatriation of Koreans will not pose any problem to the Japanese government, though there are no diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan. The Japanese government has the responsibility to send them back to their homeland.

Returning home is an inalienable, legitimate national right of the Koreans in Japan. So the Japanese government must repatriate them as early as possible.

We are ready to accept all the Koreans in Japan who are desirous of repatriation. We have already built a large number of dwelling houses, so that we would be in a position to provide them with adequate housing conditions. As you may have seen, our countryside has been reconstructed, and the food supply is guaranteed to all our people. Factories have been rebuilt and can mainly meet the people's demands for consumer goods. So our country is not in such circumstances that it cannot afford to provide for the well-being of the returnees from Japan even if they number hundreds of thousands.

There is no problem of employment, either. At present the trouble in our country is that factories and rural communities are short of manpower. We will provide them with jobs according to their abilities and physical aptitudes.

The education of their children, too, will not be a problem. The universal compulsory secondary education is already in force, and all the younger generation is receiving free and compulsory secondary education. We are fully capable of giving education to hundreds of thousands of their children without having to construct additional schools.

In short, we are fully prepared to provide all conditions that are required by the returnees, so that they would be able to lead a happy new life, with steady jobs and with their children educated. That is why there would not be any problem in our accepting them.

The repatriation of the Korean compatriots depends upon the sincerity of the Japanese government. If the Japanese government makes an effort to send them back home from a humanitarian standpoint, their repatriation would be easily effected.

The Japanese government should not only allow the Korean nationals in Japan to return home, but it should also take appropriate measures to guarantee their safe journey to their homeland. This is the reasonable thing and duty to do for the Japanese government. The safety of the returning Koreans in the Japanese territorial waters should be the responsibility of the Japanese government; and in our territorial waters, this responsibility would be handed over to the Government of our Republic.

We deem it imperative that the Korean nationals in Japan should have the freedom to visit their homeland. At present the Japanese government does not permit them this freedom, and this, too, is a hostile attitude towards the Korean nation.

The Japanese people's support for the repatriation of the Koreans is important. The Japanese people should actively support and sympathize with their repatriation movement and help them to return home. In this regard your role is very important. Our people expect a great deal from you. We hope you will continue your efforts to make possible the repatriation of our compatriots. Your efforts are for the good of the people. The people will appreciate those who work for them. We request you to work harder for the people.

Under the patronage of US imperialism, the Japanese and south Korean reactionaries are obstructing the repatriation of the Koreans from Japan, but their repatriation would be effected were the Korean and Japanese peoples to put up a determined struggle.

We are very pleased about the fact that there are many people like you in Japan who support us. Our dialogue with you represents our

dialogue with the Japanese people. Although we are not in a position to visit Japan, you can always visit our country. We hope that you will visit our country frequently and that the relations between you and our people will become closer.

You wished us success in building socialism. We will meet your wish by accelerating the peaceful reunification of our country and the building of socialism.

**CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE FEBRUARY
1959 PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS'
PARTY OF KOREA**

February 25, 1959

This plenary meeting discussed problems of great significance such as the improvement in the quality of industrial products and transport.

I should like to speak to you about some of the discussed problems which must be further stressed.

**1. ON IMPROVING THE QUALITY
OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS**

Since the problem of improving the quality of industrial products was clearly put forward in the report, I will not deal with it at length.

As we are wont to say, improving the people's livelihood is the supreme principle of our Party's activities. In fact, now we intend to improve the quality of goods to be able to raise the people's standard of living.

Our present production is not small in quantity. For instance, we are going to weave 150 million metres of cloth this year. If we do so, 15 metres of cloth will be provided per person. This is no small amount.

As another example we can mention that this year we plan to produce two million tons of cement, or 200 kilogrammes per capita. As for pig iron, the production is expected to be about 800,000 tons, or 80 kilogrammes per capita. Quantitatively, they are all not small.

The important thing is not just to produce goods in large quantity, but to improve their quality, so that the people could use them more pleasantly and effectively. Only then can the standard of living of the people be raised.

Even if we turn out 15 metres of cloth per capita, we cannot meet the demand of the people if we only weave the same kind of cloth as that produced last year. We should weave stuff for dress and coat better than that. We should produce good knitwear in various colours and patterns for children and for meeting the tastes of women. It is no use weaving only the same kind of cloth continuously.

We now have enough conditions to improve the quality of goods. Needless to say, this is not the first time that our Party has set forth this task. We have always striven to improve the quality of goods while increasing production. And today when the material and technical foundations for raising the quality of goods have been laid, this task poses itself as a still more urgent and realistic one. What we have to do now is work well by relying on the productive forces already achieved. Then the quality of goods will improve quickly.

Rapid improvement in the quality of goods means raising the people's standard of living and consolidating our economic basis at a faster rate. Therefore, the problem of higher quality was one of the most important issues discussed at this meeting and it was raised as a task of the whole Party.

There is no doubt that with the development of the productive forces, the quality of goods will be gradually improved. But we are now putting more emphasis on this problem because we want to work better and make more rapid progress.

Making continuous advance and innovation is a struggle for accelerating the country's industrialization and promoting the building of socialism to a higher stage.

We are now reaching the high peak of socialism. In order to accomplish industrialization quickly and promote socialist construction, we should carry on the technical and cultural revolutions and wage an ideological struggle. Otherwise, it is impossible for us to make quick progress and reach the high peak of socialism.

Even the problem of raising the quality of goods cannot be solved without ideological struggle. The main factor of the poor quality is exactly in the outdated ideological viewpoint of our personnel.

Our people still have the habit of making and using articles haphazardly, doing things at random and living in a desultory way. The Korean people, by nature, are a people who are sharp, have a great capacity for united action and like cleanliness. But during half a century of Japanese imperialist rule, they developed this random habit.

The Koreans were originally a nation with strong patriotism—they used to love their home and country. But, suffering from the Japanese imperialists' oppression and exploitation for 36 years when they were stateless, they became apathetic to everything and lived haphazardly from day to day. So their spirit of sparing and loving even a tree, a blade of grass and a river of their country was weakened, and eventually they did not bother any more about such things. When they got some money, people drank and wandered singing degenerate songs with tears and sighs. They were always saddled with debts. They would barely raise crops and pay back their debts, only to borrow money and drink again. In those years people had the tendency to behave and live in a haphazard way as a homeless nation.

This tendency was implanted by the Japanese imperialists. Instead of imbuing the Koreans with patriotism to love their land and their country, they instilled into them the tendency of degeneration and despair, leading an aimless and dissipated life drinking and singing fantastic songs. This is a dangerous tendency of defeatism. We must exterminate this ideological virus remaining in the minds of our people and arm them with socialist patriotism.

Socialist patriotism means the spirit of loving even a blade of grass, a tree, a river, a mountain, and one's village, one's county, one's

province and, furthermore, one's country and the entire socialist camp.

Many people lack the spirit of regarding everything as their own and as belonging to the Koreans. So, although we plant trees and turf, these people don't bother if they damage them. They do not take it into consideration that trees and turf are advantageous for them, for all people and for the country. We should constantly cultivate our people in the spirit of considering every tree and every blade of grass as theirs and as the country's property and considering them to be for their own happiness and for the eternal welfare of their posterity.

During the Japanese imperialist rule, the Koreans lived as slaves, but today when we have taken power into our own hands, all factories, farms, parks, schools and theatres belong to us, to the Koreans, to our people. When people build a house, they should regard it as their own and as belonging to the people, and make it functional, solid and clean so that it is comfortable for the people to live in. When railway workers carry a pack of load, they should convey it in time and with accuracy without causing loss or breakage, considering it as the property of the state and the people. In weaving even a yard of cloth, the worker should weave it attractively and to wear well for the country and the people.

Formerly, workers built houses for the rich and wove cloth for the capitalists. They did not care whether the rich and capitalists would live comfortably eating well in the houses and whether or not the cloth would wear well. All they cared about was the money they earned.

But today, in trade matters, we should start from the standpoint of serving the people. Our trade is not conducted for money's sake. It is for supplying the people timely with all necessities of life—clothes, shoes, bean curd, soy-bean oil, soy, bean paste and the like—that are nice, tasty and not expensive.

If one has a high sense of service to the people, one will do or make anything well and scrupulously. After all, what matters is one's mentality.

Therefore, the Party organizations at all levels should combine the struggle for improving the quality of goods with the ideological

struggle and with the work of educating the workers in socialist patriotism and the spirit of serving the people.

The second important thing required to improve the quality of goods is to raise the technical and cultural standards of the working people.

Without technology it is impossible to raise quality however hard we may try. Our industry is developing very fast, so we cannot keep pace with this development by relying only on our present technical accomplishments. Everyone should learn at least one technique. Not one, but two or three different kinds of techniques. The more the better.

The most important thing is to get versed in one's own work. Our Workers' Party members should become well versed in their work as prescribed in the Party Rules. To do so they should improve technological knowledge at any cost.

We should do this by learning from professors, engineers, assistant engineers, and then from those technicians who are among the people. In order to improve the technological level, we should take active measures to use all methods and possibilities such as school education, work and spare time. Thus, everyone should learn techniques and consider the ignorance in technology most shameful. The eating "skill" is common to all. Thus, they should acquire the technique of production. Only then will our country be developed quickly.

Our country is lagging behind. Our life is hard and we are backward, so we should advance more quickly than others. For this purpose we must improve the technological level.

Our technology is still backward in all aspects. We need technological knowledge both to improve quality and to invent new things. Therefore, everybody should strive to improve it.

The third important requirement in the struggle for higher quality is to strengthen discipline and system.

At present the standard operation regulations are being frequently ignored in the production process. The standard operation regulations are not fixed but change incessantly according to the technological development, and so we should make new standard regulations and

manufacture new products according to them.

Once they are laid down, discipline and system should be established so that all work is conducted according to them. If you simply reckon people will voluntarily observe the regulations, you are wrong.

In order to ensure that the standard operation regulations are observed and the quality of goods is improved, we should have a checkup system and also apply legal sanctions. I think it is not right to leave the checkup of products to the producer organizations only. To ensure more strict inspection of goods, it will be good to see to it that inspection is held by the producer unit itself and the final checkup is made by the goods inspection agency under the Cabinet. Only then can the inspection system be of help to improve quality.

All problems of production, including that of higher quality, should be put under the control of the Party organizations. At present our Party officials fail to delve deep into production processes. They are only able to make general appeal for production in large quantities, but they do not know concretely what to do and how. In order to take production in hand and guide it in a practical manner, they should unfailingly have the technical knowledge of the given branch.

As I said some time ago when I had a conversation with the factory Party committee chairmen, we should not think technology to be something mysterious. A few months will be enough to get a full knowledge of the fundamentals and production processes.

To take an example. It is not so difficult to work the lathe. Discharged soldiers who have been assigned to machine plants become third-grade workers in a number of days; fifth-grade workers in about half a year; and sixth- or seventh-grade workers in a year or so.

Party workers must not shout ineffectively, “produce more”, “do well” and “improve quality” while keeping themselves out of production and behaving bureaucratically.

Nowadays the county Party committee chairmen do not go to the local factories often. The reason is that they are not aware of their working procedures. They frequently go out to the agricultural

cooperatives. This is because they have some knowledge of cold-bed seedlings and humus-grown cotton and other things of farming. They often go to places of which they have some knowledge because they are interested. But they are unwilling to go to places with which they are not familiar.

Party organizations should be aware of all conditions and production processes of the factories, and even the performance of machines. All county and factory Party committee chairmen and factory Party organizers should have a knowledge of technology. Only then can they take production in hand, exercise practical Party control over production, express their opinions and give criticism when any problem arises.

2. ON IMPROVING TRANSPORT

Our production capacity has now been expanded greatly. The amount of freight alone has increased to about four times that of the prewar years. But the railways have not been expanded largely. Road transport has also grown compared to the prewar years, but it lags considerably behind the demands.

Under these conditions, the solution of the transport problem is a difficult, yet important task facing the Party. Without bringing about change in this field, we cannot carry out the national economic plan.

The main factor for introducing innovations in railway, road and water transport is in strengthening political and ideological education above all, though technical transformation is also important. Therefore, it is important, before anything else, to strengthen Party political work and enhance the role of Party organizations in the transport sector.

The Party organizations in railway transport have been placed under the local Party committees, but the latter are utterly indifferent to

the railways. Party organizations must discard such an indifferent attitude as soon as possible and exercise control over the railways.

While strengthening the political and ideological education among the railway workers, the Party organizations must wage a resolute struggle against bureaucratism and disorder remaining in this field. Bureaucratism is glaring in the railways. It is precisely in the railway field where there is still a lot of bureaucratism. The same can also be said as far as road transport is concerned. It is true that in the railways a strong one-man control and command system is needed and an army-like discipline and order is necessary. Nevertheless, it does not follow that bureaucratism is permissible. Commanding has nothing to do with bureaucratism. It seems people think bureaucratism is permitted in the railways because a command system has been established there. But this is not so. Command is command and discipline is discipline, but bureaucratic behaviour is not allowed.

The old Japanese style of work is still alive as ever in the railways. The leading organs of the railways have many cadres of worker origin and the railway regulations have all been revised. Nevertheless, bureaucratism persists. Cadres should not bear down on their subordinates in work simply because there is the system of command and control.

It appears that there is no revolutionary comradeship in the railways to respect and love each other. Indifference to the lower level is evident everywhere. The spirit of mutual love and cooperation between the superiors and the subordinates should be established in the railways.

The railways should have strict order and discipline. An army-like discipline is necessary. The railways should operate as correctly and precisely as the hands on the clock. This requires the strict observance of order and discipline.

Raising the technical level is very important for improvements in transport. Our railways are now technically at a low level. In particular, technical personnel are very short. Many technicians and skilled workers were killed during the war, and the new workers enrolled after the armistice are still inexperienced in many respects. And those who

have recently graduated from school are not skilled in the practical work. It is therefore very urgent to raise the technical level and skill of the railway workers.

In order to solve the transport problem, we should take all measures, and the most decisive of them is railway electrification.

At present, the railways use domestic coal, but they keep complaining that heating power is weak, steam does not get up well, and what not. In order to overcome all this and increase the volume of transport, we should decisively switch over the railways to electric traction.

Railway electrification was already proposed at the Third Party Congress and discussed several times at the Presidium of the Party Central Committee. We must strongly press ahead with electrification at all costs.

It is not too much to say that the railways have already fulfilled all their assignments specified in the First Five-Year Plan. Until the Second Five-Year Plan will be proposed, the railways actually have no new task to carry out. It is for this reason that the present plenary meeting is going to indicate the orientation of railway construction until the time when the Second Five-Year Plan will be adopted.

We should carry out railway construction with the aim of completing railway electrification during the Second Five-Year Plan. All railway workers and technicians should actively search for potentials to produce equipment needed for railway electrification, including electric locomotives, on their own.

According to our calculations, if we operate a thermal power station using one-third of the coal now consumed in the railways, we can electrify all railways with the power produced. Then many problems will be solved, for two-thirds of coal will be economized, more freight will be hauled, and personnel will be cut down.

Even after the railway electrification, transport capacity will be short. Therefore, more double tracks should be laid and water transport further developed. In particular, developing water transport is more urgent now. In fact, we have so far failed to develop water transport. Of

course, we have some difficulty in this connection, but the main cause is the lack of boldness to tackle this problem. In the future, water transport should be actively developed to lighten the burden of the railways.

If we had taken water transport into consideration when we built waterways, we could have settled many problems. But as we built them without giving attention to water transport, we cannot use them for water transport, although we devoted more labour than for the construction of canals. As an example we can refer to the Anju irrigation project. If we had built an aqueduct bridge, instead of an underground duct, vessels would have been able to navigate.

We have many favourable conditions to develop river transport. We should properly utilize all rivers including the Taedong, Amnok, Chongchon and Tuman. If only work is organized well, we can open waterways and vessels built especially for the purpose can be tugged up stream where water is shallow and float down riding the waves. When we build a large waterway, it will be good to make it usable as a canal. We should exert every effort to develop river transport.

As for road transport, the number of transport vehicles will increase in the future. We are going to send 25,000-30,000 transport vehicles to the countryside alone. This is not a small number. Besides, the army, factories and enterprises have a large number of transport vehicles.

What is important in motor transport is the fuel problem. At present they make much ado about substitute fuel or something like that. But there is no change to speak of. The personnel in the Academy of Sciences and in the field of transport should take positive measures to find a substitute for the present fuel. It is very hard for us to use hundreds of thousand tons of imported gasoline without producing substitute fuel. Of course, we can buy gasoline. However, we cannot ship it in time. So, we should unflinchingly solve the problem of substitute fuel.

Another important thing in road transport is road maintenance. Roads are not kept in good shape now. Provincial and county people's committees are quite indifferent to roads. Even when the roads which

were repaired and expanded during the war, are damaged in the rainy season, they do not bother to repair them.

In order to introduce mechanization in the rural areas, roads should be better maintained and more new roads built. Only then can we mechanize haulage in the countryside.

First of all, the streets in Pyongyang and its outskirts should be paved. This year we should start paving the highway between Pyongyang and Nampho where motor traffic is heavy.

Counties, too, can produce cement on their own and pave the roads. In the farmers' slack season, weak spots of the roads should be surfaced with concrete and protection walls should be well kept so that they do not crumble. Thus, good roads should be built.

3. ON PARTY WORK

Chairmen of county Party committees and managers and Party organizers of major factories and enterprises are attending this plenary meeting. So, I think it necessary to talk about Party work on this occasion.

As I have mentioned, all problems such as improving the quality of products, ensuring transport and so on depend on ideological work. With sound thinking, you will manufacture good products, learn technology more quickly, keep order well and ensure transport work smoothly.

Without strengthening ideological work it is impossible to consolidate the Party and the people's government, to build socialism well and to increase the faith in victory.

Ideological work which is so important is incumbent on Party organizations. However, the provincial and county Party committee chairmen do not conduct this work properly but still take administrative work upon themselves and devote themselves to it.

Party organizations must neither take administrative work upon themselves nor follow administrative organizations. They should explain Party policy to the people, fully implement it by mobilizing them, and guide and ensure all work politically.

The first and foremost task of Party organizations—factory, primary, county, provincial and all—is to strengthen the Party. In order to carry on the revolution the Party should be strengthened and the masses united around the Party. Without winning over the masses it is impossible either to consolidate the Party or to carry out the revolution. Only when the masses are united around the Party and mobilized can we develop revolutionary work.

Revolutionary work is nothing special. Those who serve in the People's Army assume the responsibility of defending the country, those in the internal security organs put down counter-revolutionary elements and maintain public order, factory workers produce a great quantity of goods, farmers increase agricultural production, those who work in the fields of science, education and culture strive to develop their work. This is exactly revolutionary work.

However, how is our Party work going on? The work is inverted. The Party workers neither strengthen the Party nor rally the masses but are devoting their time to economic work. If the Party is not strengthened and the masses are not united around it, economic work cannot be successful. Unless priority is given to political work to activate the masses according to the Party's will, the revolution cannot be successful.

As is pointed out in the Party Rules, the first and foremost duty of the Party members is to consolidate the Party and propagate Party policy. When the unity and cohesion of the Party ranks are strengthened and Party policy is explained to all the people to make it their own concern, all problems will be solved.

In January last year, the Party Central Committee put forward personnel management, that is, the work of thoroughly knowing and educating personnel, as the primary task of Party work so as to further consolidate the Party. But up to now there has been no significant

change in the Party's personnel management.

If the personnel of the Party and government bodies, economic establishments and social organizations are thoroughly studied and strenuously educated, if the one million members of the Party are all turned into combatants loyal to the Party through their influence, and if each Party member is made to work well and always play the vanguard role among the masses, then the ties between the Party and the masses will be strengthened further and the Party's fighting power will increase.

Our Party is not formed only of those who are completely armed with communist ideology. Therefore, it is of special importance to thoroughly study personnel and tirelessly conduct the Marxist-Leninist education among the Party members.

As everyone knows, our Workers' Party was founded through the merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party. The New Democratic Party was a party of petty bourgeois who could not be considered to fully approve of communism. Therefore, not all our Workers' Party members can be regarded as communists. This situation makes it necessary to educate our Party members well and turn all of them into communists.

Nevertheless, our Party organizations are engrossing in administrative and economic work, thus neglecting the work with Party members and the people and their education.

Party work is the work amongst people. The central task of the Party organizations is to promote the Party spirit of the members who are working in the Party bodies, government organs, economic establishments and social organizations, to strengthen their education in Marxism-Leninism, to rally all Party members firmly around the Party Central Committee, to win over the broad sections of the masses, and to mobilize them to the implementation of their revolutionary tasks.

The chairman of the North Hamgyong Provincial People's Committee did not carry out the Party's instructions to supply the workers and office employees with sufficient vegetables. This was

exactly due to his lack of Party ideological education. This tells us how much more important it is for the Party officials to study cadres well, place them correctly and educate them to become revolutionary cadres with a strong Party spirit who go through fire and water when it comes to carrying out the decisions and instructions of the Party, rather than to go round busily to conduct economic work.

Therefore, the Party organizations at all levels should place the main stress on the work of strengthening the Party in educating cadres and ordinary members, infusing Party policy to the people and uniting them firmly around the Party. This should be the basic factor in Party work.

However, this does not mean that the Party organizations should withdraw completely from economic work. They are not allowed to do so. Today economic work is an important task of our revolution. Therefore, Party organizations should get a grip on it and also control it.

The Party's control of economic work is to study Party policy, explain it to the people, encourage them to carry out economic tasks, see if this work goes well or not, encourage what is done well and correct what goes wrong. Party organizations should not work in such a way as to take administrative work upon themselves and work out plans by themselves. This kind of work should be left in the hands of the officials of government bodies and economic establishments.

Our Party work has undergone a great change since the April 1955 Plenary Meeting, the Third Party Congress and, especially, since the anti-factionist struggle in 1956. However, there is still the mistaken practice of taking on administrative work without conducting Party work and of working formally. We should thoroughly rectify this.

Moreover, it is important to improve the method of Party work. Party work should not be done by the administrative method or by the method of command which is used in the people's government organs or in the army. The fundamental method of Party work is persuasion and education. There can be no Party work apart from persuasion and education.

Party workers should always live amongst the people. Only by identifying itself closely with the lively creative life of the people, can

the Party always emerge victorious. It is the basic demand of our Party to go amongst the people and share good and bad experiences with them, not only to teach them but also to learn from them, and to strengthen the ties with them.

Party workers should firmly depend on the masses, learn to convince them of the correctness of Party policy and to mobilize them so that they uphold the leadership of the Party and follow the Party voluntarily. We cannot expect Party work to go successfully while we sit in the office behaving bureaucratically, using such a method as summoning people and drafting and sending out orders and instructions.

Party workers should always meet and have dialogues with the people, find out about their needs and desires and, on this basis, conduct mass work. Only then can the Party win the confidence of the masses and the latter will come out consciously in the struggle to carry out Party policy. Such is the method of Party work.

At one time a rut of bureaucracy and administrative style of work was formed in our Party. This was due to specific historical backgrounds: our Party came to power as soon as it was founded with not much experience in mass work, and, to make the matter worse, Ho Ka I, a self-styled “Party doctor”, spread a bureaucratic style of work in the Party. So our officials regarded it as the Party method of work to dictate to subordinates just as he did and thought that that was the authentic method. When he was dismissed from the Party, those who formed the Political Bureau of the Ministry of Railways were said to have remarked that Party work would go amiss because the “Party doctor” had been ousted. But, in fact, our Party was able to set its work on the right track since he was fired.

When we waged the anti-Japanese armed struggle, Party work depended on voluntariness and consciousness of the Party members. We trained and hardened the men by persuasion and education. At that time there were neither organs of dictatorship nor jail. Slipping away some five *ri* from a sentry post one could reach the enemy’s area. Under the circumstances it was unreasonable to handle them by force.

Only those who were educated in voluntary discipline and revolutionary ideas could struggle strenuously to the end without yielding to the enemy.

By order and administrative method you cannot guarantee the unity of ideology and purpose or mobilize the masses in the revolutionary struggle. Provincial, county and factory Party committee chairmen, factory Party organizers and all our Party cadres should thoroughly understand this truth and determinedly correct the method of Party work.

Our Party's work method has considerably improved in recent years. But there still remains the administrative and ordering method of work. We must do away with this method.

Some of our Party officials still abuse Party authority. The Party is not an establishment to throw its weight about. Since the Party is a body of conscious people, organized on the voluntary principle, there can be no wielding of authority nor can there be different ranks of people in the Party. As is stipulated in the Party Rules, there is neither a senior nor a junior among the Party members. It is an outdated ideology to regard the Party as a power organ or for Party workers to try to throw their weight about.

Since I began working directly in the Party Central Committee, I have particularly stressed the need for you comrades to desist from wielding Party authority. In order to eliminate the misuse of Party authority I told you to refrain from using the term "inspection" and change it into "intensive guidance". When instructors went down to inspect lower echelons in the past, they only ferreted out shortcomings. When they failed to bring several bundles of faults, they were considered unsuccessful and taken to task. So they hunted about here and there to find out as many faults as they could. Those who worked like this were recognized as best Party officials.

I received a lot of such bundles in the past. Of course, I could not look through them all, but, when I looked into some of them, I felt as if our Party were on the brink of crumbling. Such was the case with the People's Army. When I read the report on the inspection of the

People's Army, this army seemed to be collapsing altogether. But it still existed.

True, Party officials have to know how to discover defects. But what matters is not to discover them, but to correct them and put the work on the right track. The main thing is not to blame someone for the shortcomings discovered, fussing about, disgracing or dismissing people, but to save them and bring the work on the right track.

Our Party Central Committee has now got rid of the old practice of travelling about with a lot of fault bundles and the abuse of brandishing Party authority and throwing its weight about. But in lower Party organizations there still exist people who are fond of wielding power. When Party officials are told to take jobs in other organs, none of them feel happy. They take it for something like being dismissed from the post of a feudal government. This is all bad. Whatever job one is responsible for, one is performing a Party assignment. Those who work within Party bodies directly organize the internal-Party life, and those who work outside them perform the revolutionary duty given by the Party.

The Party organization must not just fuss about mistakes in work, finding fault with people. It must set the direction lest the work should go astray. It must organize work as well as love, enlighten and help the officials at lower units. Then, people will respect the Party organization and its officials, and come to them for advices and education on their own free will.

The Party officials must study Party policies deeply, and know how to mobilize the masses efficiently and organize work properly, and play the role of an organizer and educator. Only then would people become eager to consult Party workers, seek advices from them and call on them.

The provincial Party committee chairman, for instance, should approach people in such a way that the chairman of the provincial people's committee willingly comes to see him and ask whether or not he is working properly, whether or not he has suggested a question correctly. As the Korean saying goes that you must ask your way even

when you know it, the provincial people's committee chairman, though confident of what he is doing, should consult the provincial Party committee chairman. There is no harm in doing this. If they seek the advice of each other, give help to each other and discuss things between them, everything will go smoothly.

This does not mean, however, that the Party organization should work, just receiving visitors and giving them advices or assistance. The Party organization must play the role of an organizer and vanguard in order to carry out the revolutionary tasks; it must organize work, mobilize the masses and supervise the implementation of the work, leading the masses.

The Party officials should be a standard-bearer who leads the masses in work. They should behave like a mother to people. No children will refuse to follow their mother who loves, protects and teaches them. There will be no children who do not respect their mother who always gives advices to them and takes care of them lest they should commit errors.

But our Party organizations are not playing the role of a mother well in helping and educating officials. They frequently abuse Party authority and behave overbearingly. They tend to torment them by telling them that they have no Party spirit or are bad ideologically. Everyone is scared stiff if he is told that he has no Party spirit. You should not work like this.

Chairmen of factory and county Party committees sometimes misuse power, afraid for no reason that they might lose dignity. They are mistaken. If you acquire the work style of studying the Party's policy well and bringing it home to the masses, setting a right work orientation, mobilizing them, teaching them while at the same time learning from them, and sharing good and bad experiences with them, then they will naturally follow and respect you.

Besides, an important thing in Party work is to reject fame-seeking. Fame is needless to Party officials. Nothing is more valuable and glorious to a revolutionary than serving the people well, convincing them of the validity of Party policy and being loved by them. This is

much better for the Party officials than being decorated, highlighted in a newspaper or praised.

All that you need is to work for the benefit of the revolution and to be recognized by the people. Your work should be evaluated by the success in the work of the cooperatives in counties, improvement in the people's standard of living, smooth progress in production, enhancement of the people's cultural and technical levels and the resultant high speed of their progress towards communism. It is not an attitude worthy of a revolutionary to try to gain fame by show of a makeshift success instead of working substantially, or try to hide his faults in order to curry favour with his superior, paying no heed to the interests of the revolution.

Fame-seeking is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois ideology, and as such it makes a mess of the job. So it must be thoroughly opposed. Party officials must not try to put themselves in the lime light by means of fame-seeking, but must show an example of a revolutionary fighter who faithfully serves the Party and the people. They should set such an example by striving self-sacrificingly on the job at the head of the people; and in everyday life they should show an example of a true man who is frugal and modest, considerate towards others and helps them. If you work and behave in this way, you will win trust and respect from all Party members and people.

Changes have taken place in Party work since we hit Party bureaucracy, warlordism in the People's Army, police idea in the interior service establishment, dogmatism and waged a struggle to establish Juche at the April 1955 Plenary Meeting. Nevertheless, there still exist quite a few defects in the style and method of our Party work. We should make further efforts to wipe them out.

I am confident that after this plenary meeting changes will be made in the style and method of the Party work, and that a great innovation will take place in exceeding the state plan daily, monthly and quarterly in the fields of industry and agriculture and in improving the quality of products.

ON THE METHOD OF PARTY WORK

**Speech at a Short Course for Party Organizers and Chairmen
of the Party Committees at Production Enterprises
and Chairmen of Provincial, City
and County Party Committees**

February 26, 1959

I would like to take advantage of the opportunity offered by this short course for the organizers and chairmen of factory Party organizations and chairmen of city and county Party committees, and speak about the work of factory and county Party organizations.

The main points I want to stress to you today are the duties of factory and county Party committees, the work style Party officials should have, the education of Party members and self-cultivation of Party officials, the composition of Party membership, and some other issues arising from Party work.

1. ON THE DUTIES OF FACTORY AND COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEES

The first duty of the factory and county Party organizations is to conduct day-to-day educational work so that Party members will have a correct understanding of the Party's policies and a firm position on

the Party's line; to unite the Party organizations and all Party members with one will and one purpose around the Party Central Committee; to motivate each Party member to always participate in Party life faithfully and join in all revolutionary work voluntarily; and to strive for the continued growth and strengthening of the Party ranks.

This is the duty of the Party committee, as explicitly stipulated in the Party Rules. At present, however, our Party committee chairmen often forget this primary duty.

Everyone knows that the Party is the General Staff in the revolutionary movement. Without strengthening the Party there can be no victory in the revolution. Yet, many comrades neglect this most important work of strengthening the Party organizations and are concerned with trifling matters, trailing behind the administrative workers. If the Party organizations are not strengthened, all other work will not be done properly.

The second duty of the factory and county Party organizations is to rouse the chairmen of the Party committees and all Party members to do work among non-Party masses. The Party organizations should always propagate our Party's policies among the non-Party masses and educate them in revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, thereby rallying the masses around our Party.

In order to work among the masses the Party organizations should give correct leadership to those organizations that are closer to the Party, such as the Democratic Youth League, trade unions and the Women's Union. The Party should always propagate its policies and conduct revolutionary education among the masses through its peripheral organizations.

The revolution cannot be carried out by our Party alone. The revolution is an undertaking for the good of the masses, for the good of the people. Therefore, it cannot be successful unless many people take part in it. Many of our comrades, however, still fail to understand this simple truth or, if they are aware of it, do not put it into practice. It is of the utmost importance to rally as many people as possible around our Party and to induce them to support its policies.

We should accept whoever repents his past faults and wants to go along with us today, even if he served landlords or capitalists or was influenced by them in the past. If he turns against us, that is another question. But, as long as he wants to follow us, why should we not allow him to join us?

And we cannot brand all those who oppose our Party's policies as our enemies. Some are against our Party's policies because they are not yet fully aware of these policies. The information work of the Party is necessary precisely because there are people who are still unawakened. If it was not so, there would have been no need of information work.

It is a consistent policy of our Party to educate even the waverers and get them to come along with us, and to enlighten those who have not yet fully awakened. So, the basic task of the Party organizations is to propagate the Party's policies and conduct revolutionary education, so that everyone supports our Party and comes along with us.

Once our Party officials do this kind of organizational and political work efficiently, everything will go on without a hitch.

Yet another duty of the Party organizations is to carry out immediate revolutionary tasks.

In the past, we accomplished the tasks of the democratic revolution against imperialism and the feudal system, and now we are carrying out the tasks of socialist construction.

Economic work represents one of the most important tasks in the building of socialism and, at the same time, it is a revolutionary task for us. After all, we are strengthening the Party and uniting the masses around it to be able to successfully carry out this revolutionary task. Effective Party organizational work by no means implies that economic work may be neglected. We must take it firmly in hand and direct it efficiently.

Which method should then be adopted by the Party organizations to direct economic work? Though economic work is an important revolutionary task which the Party should not neglect, the chairman of the county Party committee must not directly execute this work, taking the place of the chairman of the county people's committee. While

dealing with economic work, he should not play the same part as the county people's committee chairman but should direct it by laying down the guidelines at the executive committee of the county Party committee in accordance with the policy and line of the Party Central Committee, and by giving assignments and by checking up on the results of their implementation.

Suppose the task of merging the agricultural cooperatives has been given by the central authority. Then, the county Party committee chairman should first of all brief the chairman of the county people's committee on the essence of the task and then send some Party instructors to the cooperatives to get necessary data for formulating the guidelines of the county Party committee for the merger. The county Party committee chairman will be able to form a positive judgment on the matter only if he personally goes down and inspects at least one or two cooperatives.

After that, the county Party executive committee should meet and decide on specific guidelines as to how and how often explanatory work should be conducted, when and where the merger should be started, how the cadres should be allocated, and what measures should be adopted to rectify any deviations that might crop up in the process of the merger.

Assignments may be given to the officials, but the county people's committee chairman should bear the responsibility for their implementation. In that way, he will discharge the responsibility for executing the tasks assigned by the Party. For the discussion of measures to be put into practice, the county people's committee chairman should call a meeting of the county people's committee, or a meeting of the chairmen of the agricultural cooperatives, or take other necessary measures.

Thus, whenever a new question arises, the county Party committee should call a meeting of its executive committee to discuss and decide on the matter. Of course, the county Party executive committee cannot deal with everything, and there is no need for it to do so either. Minor problems may be solved simply by giving appropriate assignments to the chairman of the county people's committee.

In short, the county people's committee should be made to work under the leadership of the county Party committee. Any concessions in this sense will lead to the Party forfeiting its leading functions, and this might give rise to liberalism and to cases of unscrupulous elements riding on the Party's back.

The drawing up of correct guidelines by the county Party committee is only the initial step in its work. It should be closely followed by a thorough explanation of the line of the Party Central Committee and the guidelines of the county Party committee to the officials of the county people's committee who must directly put them into practice. Next in importance for the carrying out of the task is to allocate cadres, mobilize the people, and check up on and supervise the process of its implementation.

In checking up, it is necessary to have talks with those who lead the work, but the best method is to go down below directly and have discussions with Party members and the masses. You may go to the factories, farm villages, schools, offices or any other places and talk with the people there. Through discussions you can find out how the work is progressing and at the same time you can educate the Party members.

If things seem to be going wrong, an intensive investigation may be carried out in order to get a better understanding of the situation. If the results prove that the defect is not so serious, it should be settled through some sort of discussion, and if it proves serious, another county Party executive committee meeting should be called to take measures for its rectification. And the officials of the county people's committee should go down to the lower levels to implement these measures.

Thus, the officials of both the county people's committee and the economic institutions should always be actively involved in implementing the tasks assigned to them by the Party.

Meanwhile, Party officials should find time for internal-Party work. In other words, they should study the policies and lines of the Party more profoundly, prepare lectures or educate Party members through dialogue.

In many cases, the county Party committee chairmen do not act this way, and, when instructed to merge the cooperatives, they set aside all

other work and, ignoring the chairmen of the county people's committees, push themselves forward and go scurrying about for a time. Where such work methods are adopted, the Party organizations cannot fulfil their role as organizers and leaders properly. Comrades who work in such a way claim that they do not find enough time to carry on their proper jobs as they are incessantly being asked to attend provincial-level meetings, short courses, etc., and are also told to go down to the lower units.

Whether you have time or not depends on how you organize your work. If you organize your work well, you will have as much time as you want. Then you will have time to call the chief of the internal security station and ask him how the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries is going on; to talk with the internal security personnel and learn what they are thinking and what their level of ideological consciousness is. You will also find time to attend study courses, lectures and general meetings of primary Party organizations, etc., and acquaint yourselves with the actual situation; or to visit the workers' homes and see how they live and listen to their demands. By doing so, you will be able to give correct guidance to all kinds of activities.

If a county Party committee chairman works in this way for a year or so, he will be aware of the actual situation in his county like he knows the palm of his hand. The number of Party members would be around 2,000- 3,000 in a county where there are not any large factories; and if you work properly for about two years, I think you can get a full understanding of every Party organization in your county.

But if the county Party committee chairman fails to do so but carries duties like those of the chairman of the county people's committee, he will not be able to tell whether things are going well or not, nor will he be able to find the time to attend to his regular job as a Party official.

With regards to Party organizers at factories, there is also a notable tendency to assume the function that should actually belong to the management. If the Party organizer is going to take upon himself the function of the manager, it would be better to appoint him manager at the outset. Why, then, should a separate manager be appointed? A

distinct line should be drawn between the work of the chairman of the Party committee and that of the manager.

It is easy to put your signature on papers instead of the manager, but it is a very difficult job to educate a Party member to carry through the Party's policies. Many Party officials put aside this difficult job and trail behind the administrative workers so as to take the easy way in work. Because everyone tries to do his work in such an easy way, the administrative workers, on their part, simply give orders to finish this or that job by such-and-such a date, and that is all.

If things go on like this, the ultimate result will be that neither Party nor mass nor economic work will be carried out properly. And it will be difficult to find out what is wrong, who is wrong and why.

There is nothing new in what I am saying today. It is all explicitly stated in our Party Rules. The Party Rules are for all of us to abide by, yet many comrades take them lightly.

There are two tendencies among our chairmen of factory and county Party committees. One is to perform the functions of administrative bodies, brandishing the authority of the Party. Party committee chairmen who are fairly capable often fall into this habit. On the other extreme, some of the slow-witted Party committee chairmen act as adjutants to the administrative officials. This is the second tendency. Both are wrong.

The relationship between the Party committee chairman and the administrative official can be compared to that of the helmsman and the oarsman of a boat. Only when the administrative worker rows in front, while the Party committee chairman, sitting in the stern and taking the tiller, directs the former to the right or left to keep the boat on the right course, can the boat move straight ahead. On the contrary, if both men are in front and occupy themselves with rowing, the boat may seem to go fast, but it will not make much progress in the long run, for its course will be zigzag rather than steady.

Once again I emphasize that the necessary Party work methods are to build up the Party ranks as firm as a rock, rally the masses around the Party and mobilize them to carry through the Party's policies,

supervise the execution of these policies, rectify deviations manifested in the course of their implementation in good time and draw out a new policy to fit in with the actual conditions at all times.

2. ON THE STYLE OF PARTY WORK

There is a serious defect in our Party work that must be corrected. It is the wrong style of conducting Party work by administrative methods and by issuing orders.

Ordering people about is, by its very nature, not the way Party work should be carried out. The method of administration and command, that is, the method of giving orders, might be used in the state organs, but it has nothing in common with Party work. Giving orders is necessary in the case of an army in battle, but it is not only unnecessary but even entirely harmful in Party work.

The way of conducting Party work is to induce the Party members and the masses, mainly through education and persuasion, to take part in the revolution voluntarily and purposefully.

Of course, imposing something upon the people by force of orders is much easier than persuading and educating them.

I have been thinking about the reason why our Party work was conducted in such a way.

Our Party had very few cadres who had been trained through a long period of underground activities or guerrilla warfare. So, after liberation we found ourselves in a situation where our basket, so to speak, was too small for the things we had to put in it. Therefore, we could not give our Party workers an adequate training in the revolutionary work methods. In addition, our Party was organized and developed in the relatively easy circumstances that followed liberation.

The only work methods that many of our comrades had seen and learned were the work methods of the Japanese imperialist officials.

On top of this, the notorious bureaucrat Ho Ka I was in charge of the organizational work of the Party for several years and spread bureaucratic methods of work throughout the Party.

If just one of the revolutionary nuclei, who had been engaged in guerrilla warfare, had been assigned to each Party cell, Ho Ka I, the bureaucrat, would not have been able to spread his bureaucratic style of work throughout the Party, even though he had a leading position in the Central Committee. But, at the time of the formation of the Party, few people knew how to educate Party members and perform Party work by revolutionary methods, whereas there were many who practised bureaucracy. This led many people to believe that Party work was something that should be conducted only by a sort of administrative method and by means of issuing orders. From the very beginning, this has never been an acceptable method for Party work.

Party members should do their work consciously and voluntarily. However, there are still quite a few cases of our comrades who are doing work in a passive manner because they have been dictated to do so from above. Such an attitude towards work should no longer be tolerated.

Think of our underground activities or guerrilla struggles of the past. They would have not lasted even one single day, had it not been for conscious unity. Therefore, it would have been suicidal in those days to stir up discontent among the people by using administrative methods and by issuing orders in Party work, instead of arousing the masses to voluntary action.

Needless to say, the guerrilla units, as armed forces, followed orders in their military activities. But the military orders were always explained patiently at Party meetings until the people accepted them consciously and everyone was determined to fight with all his might to carry them out. To save their meagre ammunition, the guerrillas closed in on the enemy and fought with bayonets, braving all dangers. Such heroic deeds could never be hoped for on the basis of brief military orders alone, without persuasion and education.

There was no means of control over the guerrillas except their own preparedness. There was no jail or guardhouse for them. In their case,

therefore, persuasion and education were of exceptional significance. Education was conducted even during meals, marches and battles.

Now we have the radio, newspapers, magazines and other effective communication media, but at that time all we had was word of mouth. Yet we patiently conducted information work and education among the masses, with the result that they always supported us, and we had supporters even among the puppet troops.

The guerrillas fought consistently for the people; superiors and subordinates loved and trusted each other and they were firmly united by comradesly loyalty and revolutionary friendship. The guerrillas lived in lofty comradeship as well as in the spirit of severe criticism and strict discipline. None of those who were criticized and punished, however, deserted our ranks. When punishing a guerrilla, we matched the seriousness of the punishment to his level of consciousness and then we immediately put one of our comrades in charge of educating him patiently.

This work style of the guerrillas must be taken over and developed.

Now, it seems that in some cases, the masses are following our Party officials, not out of sincere respect, but for fear of losing their jobs if they are not careful, since the Party officials have “power”.

True, Party work has made great progress, but quite a few administrative and bureaucratic practices still exist in our Party work.

There have also been many defects in the recent struggle against conservatism. We gave instructions to educate those conservative intellectuals to correct their views, shatter their conservatism and thus rescue them. But the matter was handled in such a wrong way that it created discontent among a considerable number of Party members.

At the Kangson Steel Plant, production showed an upward swing in 1957, but it has been dropping since the second half of last year. Our recent on-the-spot investigation into the matter indicated that the cause was the defective Party work. Party work was carried out by an administrative method and by issuing orders. This caused complaints and discontent among many people and dampened their eagerness to work. If things go on like this, no work can be done well.

Bureaucracy among Party workers also finds expression in their brandishing of Party authority. Ho Ka I was the ringleader who propagated this evil style in our Party.

Since the April 1955 Plenary Meeting, a continued struggle has been waged against the brandishing of Party authority, but the ulcer has not yet been completely removed.

Recently, there has been a tendency to scare people because of their lack of Party spirit, which is another way of brandishing Party authority. As people are apt to be branded as lacking in Party spirit for their slightest mistakes, they are impelled to say that everything is their fault for fear of being expelled from the Party.

It goes without saying that everyone should have Party spirit, should love and support the Party. No one is allowed to deviate from the Party's line or shun Party life. The standards of Party life must be constantly observed.

The standards of Party life, however, should not be forced upon Party members. On the contrary, Party members should be induced to observe them consciously, and the prestige of the chairman of a Party organization should be maintained by his real ability of leadership, not by brandishing Party authority.

Nor should you try to boost your prestige with the help of a big desk and an armchair. No red tape is needed in our Party work. A Party committee chairman cannot do his work well as long as he simply puts on airs and be happy to mark the names of others with a red pencil.

If certain persons do not come to see you, then you should go and see them first. What is wrong with that? There is nothing wrong with it, even if you visit them ten or a hundred times.

As I have always said, Party members should be encouraged to call on the chairman of their Party organization. Managers, intellectuals and all others should be induced to come to the Party committee for consultation. With this in mind, Party workers should first of all be modest and earn prestige among the masses. If the Party organizer or Party committee chairman implements the Party's policies correctly, gives ready assistance in administrative work and deals with all

matters wisely, then Party members will naturally come to him to discuss their work, and even their private affairs.

The Party organizer or Party committee chairman should find out what is wrong with his own work when Party members fail to call on him. But he is doing the contrary, marking down the names of those who do not call on him as men lacking in Party spirit. And when asked about how these people work, his usual answer is that they work all right but are somewhat lacking in Party spirit. This is wrong. If the manager does not come to him, the Party committee chairman should look for his own faults and endeavour to study the Party's policies more, propagate them well and work better.

At present many feel very unhappy to be transferred from a Party organ to an administrative body, because they take it as being dismissed from an organ of authority. This is really lamentable. After all, administrative work is Party work, too. Why, then, do they hate to go over to administrative work? There is no difference between guiding the Party organizations directly and carrying out the Party's policies on assignment from the Party. The reason is that these people regard the Party bodies as organs that wield power.

Whether he works at an administrative organ or a social organization, or in any other place, a Party committee chairman should be the standard-bearer, not the one who issues commands. It is not the Party committee chairman but the manager who should give commands in a factory. The Party committee chairmen should march in the vanguard holding high the banner; they should set an example for others in all work. Some of them, however, fail to hold up the banner and only give commands and order people to follow them. Party work will not be successful where things are done this way.

Furthermore, the Party committee chairman or Party organizer should not only be an example to Party members but should also be like a mother. As a mother looks after her children and educates them, so should the Party organ and its chairman look after Party members and educate them.

The Party committee chairman should always be attentive to what the Party members are concerned about, what they are thinking and what their ideological maladies are. In this way, he should give them appropriate and timely education, prevent them from committing possible errors and help them rectify any mistakes they may have made. This will make the Party members respect their chairman and look at him as if he was their mother.

Then, even if he does not brandish Party authority, Party members will voluntarily support the Party committee and the people will rally around the Party.

The enhancement of the leadership role of the Party and the strengthening of Party control, which we call for, should be achieved in this way. We can never strengthen Party control and elevate its leadership role by brandishing authority.

The rulers used to brandish their power, but there is no room for such behaviour by the Workers' Party members. Today there is no one who will bow to authority, even though some people may wield it.

Laying the main stress on persuasion and education in Party work does not in the least mean compromising with liberalism. But defects revealed in people's work and life cannot be remedied overnight by issuing orders. Although such methods seem to eliminate defects, the time will soon come when the same defects will reappear.

The same applies to the disease of bureaucracy. This disease cannot be cured overnight and this is clear from the fact that, even though we have been combatting bureaucracy for a long time, it still persists in some way or another. Therefore, a tireless struggle should be waged to wipe out completely the hangovers of wrong work methods of the past.

Moreover, there is another dangerous tendency in the style of work, namely, fame-seeking and formalism.

What other fame do we Party members need than to be loved and respected by the people? Is there any greater fame for us revolutionaries than the recognition by the masses of our loyalty to the interests of the revolution and the people? Apart from this, there can be no individual fame for us.

There will be a great change in our work if the methods of command and administration are eliminated completely, if the brandishing of Party authority is stamped out and fame-seeking and formalism are eradicated from Party work.

3. ON THE WORK OF PARTY EDUCATION AND THE SELF-CULTURE OF PARTY OFFICIALS

At present, our educational work seems to be conducted in two forms generally—short courses and meetings.

According to my experience, the principal method and best form of education is dialogue. Besides, short courses and meetings can be organized.

The chairman of the county Party committee should, on a regular schedule, have dialogues with the ri Party committee chairmen, internal security personnel, railway workers and other Party members in his county.

To draw up plans on a monthly basis is not effective, because most of these monthly plans might not be carried out. But plans drawn up for 10-15-day periods are fully workable. A plan for educational work should be worked out with a date assigned for talks with a certain person, another date for a lecture at a certain place, and yet another date for attending a meeting of a Party organization, etc. It is judicious for you to notify the Party member you want to have a talk with ahead of time and, if he lives far away, even to send a car for him on that date and talk with him for a couple of hours or so.

When you talk to him, you may ask about his health, how he is getting along, how his work is going on and what books he is reading. If he says he has read such-and-such a book, you may ask him to tell you about the most interesting points in it.

In the course of the conversation you can also tell him that you have read a certain book which contained such-and-such issues, and ask him what he thinks about them. In this way, you can shift the subject of the conversation to theoretical problems and thus educate him.

Also, you can lead the conversation to the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries or to the question of factionalism and elevate the ideological consciousness of the comrade. When the talk turns to work matters, you may explain to him what is right and what is wrong in the work he has done.

After you have talked things over with him this way a couple of times, you will become familiar with him, and he will not hesitate to come to you for guidance and assistance whenever any problem arises. In the long run, he may even come to consult you on his private affairs.

You can keep in contact with the masses at your office, but the best way is for you to go to them personally, get in touch and have conversations with them and educate them, giving them a helping hand in their work. In order to understand and educate the cadres and people in a ri, the county Party committee chairman had better go down to the ri and stay there for a week or so, helping the ri Party committee chairman in his work. There, he can talk with the ri Party officials, the cooperative's management personnel, the people's committee officials, internal security personnel, railway and local industry workers and school teachers, educating all of them in the course of the conversations.

As all those comrades who have experience in revolutionary activities know, in doing district work in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we used to go down to a Party cell and worked there a week or so. Living among the workers of the cell, we prepared documents, wrote leaflets for them and helped them prepare for meetings, which we also attended. Thus, we educated the workers at the lower levels while giving them practical help.

Our county Party committee chairmen should also work this way. If you go down to the ri frequently, the people will get very familiar and intimate with you and open their hearts to you. Only then can we say

that we have truly gone among the masses.

Furthermore, educating people through meetings is also important. One of the main objectives of a meeting is to enable many people to gain experience and draw lessons through the speeches of a few people, and thus to educate them. This is why Lenin called the meeting a school.

But if a meeting is to become a school, adequate preparations must be made for it.

In dealing with the problems of the railways at the recent plenary meeting, we set ourselves the objective of denouncing bureaucracy and establishing discipline, raising our technical level and blueprinting the future development of the railways. Apparently, there was no difference of opinion over the prospects for development of the railways and everyone agreed with them, and the attention of the speakers was focussed on bureaucracy. Many persons criticized others as well as themselves for bureaucracy. Our comrades must have learned quite a bit from this.

As you see, a meeting becomes instructive only when it is well prepared and properly conducted. A meeting that only provides a forum for cheering can be neither stimulating nor instructive.

Of course, meetings for cheering are necessary sometimes. Mass rallies fall in this category. A mass rally ought to be a meeting which stirs the participants so much that they cannot keep their feet from dancing at the beating of a drum.

But you should not organize a Party meeting in this manner. A Party meeting should be carefully prepared so that those attending can be stimulated and educated. Both the organizational and information departments should always pay great attention to this. Some comrades resent having the drafts of their reports or their speeches examined, regarding it as a sort of censorship, but all this is necessary for a well-prepared meeting. Good preparation and organization of a meeting have the purpose of achieving great results in less time.

Meetings can also be organized by another method, that is, the method of inducing all those present to awaken of their own accord by

involving them in prolonged debates.

If you want to apply this method, the series of meetings must continue for at least a month. At this kind of meeting, every participant should be allowed to express his opinions, good or bad, and to say whatever he wants, so that the masses themselves judge between right and wrong. Here, mistaken views should not be dealt blows rashly, but those who hold wrong views should be made to realize their own errors in the course of the debates. This is a very long-drawn-out method, but education given by such a method has lasting effects.

Here, too, of course, certain preparations are needed. If not all, at least 10 per cent of those attending the meeting should be well-prepared persons. Only then can they help the others rectify their wrong ideas.

Thus, there are two methods of conducting meetings—one in which the people are fed and the other in which they feed themselves. It is advisable to use both of them.

There is another form of education, the short courses. Short courses are not organized at schools alone. It is quite important for the county Party committee chairman to educate and train the Party officials systematically through short courses.

Our plan is to keep the county Party committee chairmen at their posts for about five years instead of transferring them frequently. Frequent transfers of cadres will not do any good.

When I visited Stalingrad in 1954, I found that the regional Party secretary there had held similar posts for 17 years. Of course, he had not spent all those years in Stalingrad alone, but had been in other regions as well. Having worked as regional Party secretary for such a long time, he was so well acquainted with local conditions that he knew what the district Party secretaries were thinking and going to do, and he had everything at his fingertips.

I think our county Party committee chairmen, too, should stay at the same posts for five or six years. Then they will be able to educate the cadres and activists in their respective counties systematically.

In my opinion, the county Party committee had better give a short

course lasting about three days after making thorough preparations for lectures on a few subjects, instead of running a month-long course, and then a couple of months later, when all those who attended the first course have digested what they have learned, call them together again for another course lasting a few days.

It is a mistake to think that such educational work is solely the task of the information department. Inasmuch as the education of Party members and motivation of the people are the main tasks of Party work, both the information and organizational departments must undertake them. Without theoretical knowledge those working in the organizational department cannot handle the organizational work at all. You are wrong if you think organizational work means merely issuing Party cards and compiling membership statistics.

Short courses can be held either at the county seat or in the ri.

The holding of meetings organized by the Party Central Committee in the provinces is now under consideration. The advantages of such a method are that the provincial workers can learn the work methods of the Party Central Committee and, furthermore, the Party Central Committee would be able to give more effective assistance to the province concerned. At the same time, people from other provinces can personally observe the work of that province.

This is not the first time we have suggested this mobile method. We had some experience of it when we were in Jiandao. We then felt the need to adopt the mobile method, first to ensure secrecy and, secondly, to spread the expenses equally among all localities concerned. According to my experience, this method was very helpful in familiarizing us with the actual conditions in local areas.

It is rather inconvenient to organize courses that extend too long. It would be better to avoid them in farming seasons. But you must not abolish short courses for Party officials for fear they might adversely affect other work. You should remember that a good short course gives better work results.

It is important to select the subjects of lectures for the short courses with care. Complex subjects are unnecessary. Easy and simple themes

are suitable. At present, communist education is most important.

For instance, the first course may deal with the exploiting nature of the capitalist system and the superiority of the socialist system. The second course may consist of lectures on the inescapable downfall of capitalism and the inevitable victory of socialism and communism. These subjects may be treated in conjunction with the victory of socialism and the construction of communism in the Soviet Union, the formation and development of the world socialist system, the two diametrically opposed realities in the northern half and the southern half of our country, and so on.

Then, you might take up the subject: the revolution will be won only through an arduous struggle. Here it is necessary to relate the lectures effectively to the historical fact that the guerrillas of our country fought bravely over a long period, surmounting all difficulties.

You can also teach those attending the course that the revolution cannot be won through the efforts of just a small number of revolutionaries; it can be won only when the masses are roused to action and induced to regard it as their own work. This subject may be handled together with the work methods among the masses.

Lastly, in order to raise the theoretical level of Party members and deepen their convictions, a lecture may be given on the universal laws of the development of nature and society, such as the inevitability of the destruction of the old and of the victory of the new.

All these are vital issues, applicable to practical work. Theory for theory's sake and knowledge for knowledge's sake are of no use. Education must always be conducted with theoretical problems which have a bearing on practical work.

There is still another method of educating the cadres and Party members. That is to urge the cadres to write articles and deliver lectures.

Today this work is not organized well in the Party Central Committee and in the provinces. In the provincial newspapers, I have never come across any article written by a county Party committee chairman on his own work experience. The central newspapers carry such articles once in a while but there are too few.

It is very important to let the cadres deliver lectures to the people. It would be a good idea to organize lectures, say, on Wednesdays and have the ri Party committee chairman or the chairman of the ri people's committee, for instance, give a lecture on his work experience, in the presence of all cadres of the county Party committee. He should not speak without any preparations for such a lecture. He should do his work better and read some reference books. Such a comrade may not be a very good lecturer, but as long as he does not wander too far off the track politically, that will do. If he makes any mistakes, you should not criticize him point-blank but help him to rectify them later. The lecturer may have to sweat a bit at first, but after a couple of lectures he will gradually become quite experienced once he gets interested. In this way, every cadre should be made a competent information and motivation worker. Everyone can become a information worker and everyone must become so.

It is wrong to think that all the lectures in a county must be given by the information department chief. Nor should the information or the organizational department chief monopolize the lectures at short courses organized by the county; ri and county Party committee chairmen, too, should give lectures, every one of them on a different subject. The information department chief should, of course, help those comrades who are not yet fully prepared. They will have to really work hard for a few days, reading books and newspapers in order to become fully acquainted with their subject. But this is the way they will learn.

Officials should be trained and educated in this way, so that they can do motivation work at mass rallies and make speeches at factories and schools.

At present, our Party officials are sadly neglecting their theoretical studies. It is important to know how to grow cold-bed rice seedlings or humus-pot seedlings, but you cannot lead revolutionary work with that alone. Some Party committee chairmen do not even read the newspapers regularly. Being empty-headed, such people can only speak nonsense.

We have to raise our theoretical level if we want to give correct

leadership to revolutionary work. The theoretical elevation of cadres now poses the most urgent issue.

Revolutionary work is the transformation of society, so how can you expect it to be easy? In order to transform society and the thought of people, cadres should first transform their own thinking and arm themselves with knowledge of the laws of social development. It is obvious that without studying, i.e., without acquiring knowledge, we cannot undertake the work of transforming society. Every cadre must be obligated to study at least two hours a day. Only by doing so can we carry our work to a higher level.

Nevertheless, when county Party committee chairmen are called in on some business and asked to stay for another day for a short course, they make a fuss, claiming that it will seriously affect the farming. Evasion of short courses under such pretexts cannot be tolerated. Farming can be left under the care of the chairmen of the county people's committees. From now on, no matter what the circumstances, the county Party committee chairmen should be summoned to the provincial centres every so often for short courses.

For this purpose, our method of work should be improved. A county Party committee chairman should no longer take upon himself to do the work of the chairman of the county people's committee, but he should undergo short courses and find time to study, thus acquiring the qualities of a political leader.

You need not regret that you could not attend the Central Party School. Of course, you might go there some time in the future. But studying while working is even better, though it is good to attend the Party school.

It is important, whether you study at school or at work, that you do not pretend to know what you do not actually know. It is also important to study with an open mind. If you do not know, it is better for you to start with the first lesson in political studies. There is no need to be ashamed. Even if you have so far pretended to know and have only talked nonsense, from now on you should learn frankly, and that will be good. Start from the most preliminary things and study tirelessly,

and you will finally attain a high level of theory.

You must read books on political theory, but what is most important is to read the Party newspaper. You cannot know the Party's policies and the intentions of the Party Central Committee, unless you read the Party paper.

It is through the Party paper that the Party informs all its members of its policies, indicates the course of action and sends messages to them. Especially, the editorials of the Party paper are the most important articles, for they reflect the decisions and intentions of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee. In them, the Party members can find the orientation for everyday activities as well as the instructions they have to carry out.

Party workers should also strive constantly to improve their practical ability, while elevating their level of political theory.

In my opinion, it would be better for you to be humble and admit that you are not good at conducting Party work. If you do not know how to carry out Party work, you must start from ABC—how to conduct a Party meeting, how to lead a primary Party organization, what the duties of the Party member are, etc.

We cannot know everything perfectly from the start. Not all the specific methods of Party work are described in detail in the Marxist-Leninist classics. The methods of Party work are derived from the experience accumulated in the course of prolonged revolutionary struggle.

Therefore, we should constantly learn from the experience of others, and study and analyse our own experience. Do not pretend to know what you do not know. When you have any question, you should write to higher-level Party organizations or ask the provincial Party committee chairman about it, and in this way you will learn.

Party officials are worthy of being called revolutionaries only when they fulfil their role. How could those who do not know how to do their jobs properly and are inconstant, although they shoulder the heavy responsibilities of a Party organizer or a county Party committee chairman, be called Party workers?

You should not think you have done Party work when you have merely learned some of its formalities, let someone prepare a report, spent much time delivering it, regardless of whether it is correct or not, and then had the minutes of the meeting filed.

Party work is not appraised on the basis of reports or the minutes of a meeting. It is assessed according to whether or not Party members have fully understood the policies of the Party, and whether or not they perform revolutionary tasks in conformity with the intentions of the Party Central Committee. Success in the ideological education of Party members should also be measured by the resulting improvement in their level of consciousness.

You will commit less errors and rectify those already committed in good time only by raising your level of political theory and practical ability through an untiring study of the Party's policies and Marxist-Leninist theories.

None of you are over 60 yet. Most of you are between 30 and 40 years old, that is, in the prime of life. You should learn boldly in order to work more and better.

In addition, Party officials should possess both economic and technical knowledge.

Today factory Party officials lack technical knowledge and this is a big drawback. If you are to do your work properly, you must not be ashamed to learn one technique at least, even by attending technical evening colleges.

If you do not have technical know-how your Party work will lack a firm groundwork and you will have no say in matters discussed at the factory. Such Party officials cannot tell right from wrong when the chief engineer or the workers put forward some questions at the factory. This often leads to the evil practice of deciding whatever is proposed by the workers to be right and of indiscriminately defining whatever is suggested by the technicians as wrong.

If an opinion is not accepted, however useful it may be, how can technicians be expected to make suggestion? On what grounds can you decide that all proposals made by a worker are progressive, while those

made by a technician are all conservative? Should matters be dealt with so arbitrarily, our work would be seriously spoilt.

If you lack technical and economic knowledge, you cannot give correct guidance to the organization of production. Hence, the Party workers must acquire economic and technical knowledge. Moreover, unless the general technical and skill level is raised, we cannot reach the high peak of socialism. The whole Party must be mobilized to acquire science and technology.

In order to raise our technical level it is necessary to raise our cultural level. Otherwise, we cannot learn techniques nor can we raise the level of our ideological consciousness.

Party officials must also be educated in literature and art. Truly realistic and revolutionary literature and art show the people the most beautiful and most noble things of human life. From literature and art we can gain a deeper understanding of life and draw strength and courage for our struggle to create a better life. We cannot live on theory alone. If you will not know any poems and will not read any novels, life would be too prosaic. Would that be an enjoyable life?

Literature and art are among the most important means of educating the people. That is why our Party has always been deeply concerned for the development of a genuinely people-oriented literature and art.

Today we have all types of art troupes and theatrical companies, but when we were engaged in revolutionary activities, we had to write stories and scripts and set songs to music ourselves, while conducting Party organizational and information work and performing military tasks. In those days it was impossible to invite a theatrical troupe to give a performance for us. But, even then, we were not reconciled simply to dry-as-dust information work in the villages, without any art activity.

If you want to do your work in the countryside effectively, you should also learn how to lead amateur art circles. For this you must read literary works. You must read the works of both foreign and home writers. The works of Gorky of the Soviet Union and Lu Xun of China are outstanding and everyone must read them once. They are permeated

with a real love for humanity, hatred for the old society, an infinite longing for a new society and the fighting spirit necessary for building it.

Party officials should possess a wealth of knowledge, a broad vision and sharp insight, inasmuch as they must give leadership to all sectors of our political, economic and cultural life. Without uninterrupted study and self-discipline, this complex and difficult task cannot be fulfilled. It is, therefore, necessary for our officials to make it a strict rule to study at least two hours a day, in order to raise their theoretical and cultural levels.

You always shout: “Long live the Workers’ Party of Korea, the organizing and leading force of the Korean people!” But what we call the organizing and leading role of the Party will not mean anything if our officials are ignorant.

Party officials should attain not only a high ideological and political level, but a high level of morality as well. Party officials should abide by the standards of revolutionary morality in their approach towards people and in all other activities.

As you have seen, you will be able to claim to be proficient Party officials only when you have raised your ideological and political levels, when you are well acquainted with the principles of Party work and when you have a noble moral character.

4. ON THE COMPOSITION OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND SOME OTHER QUESTIONS

Let me first touch on the issue of the composition of our Party membership. As you all know, it is very complex.

As for our working class, not all of our workers possess a high degree of revolutionary consciousness.

The history of the development of our working class is not very

long; its ranks grew rapidly only after liberation. Whereas its strength was only around 200,000 before liberation, it has now grown to nearly one million. Many workers lost their lives in battle during the war. Regiments of workers from major factories such as the Hungnam, Nampho and Songnim Regiments were formed and went to the front.

Most of our workers took up jobs at factories and mines only after the war. With the rapid postwar reconstruction and development of our industry, the ranks of our working class, too, have grown rapidly. The number of workers increased by hundreds of thousands each year. As a result, the ideological and political education of the working class has failed to keep up with its numerical growth.

Then, where have those workers who were recruited after the war come from?

First, some of them were urban petty traders, handicraftsmen and entrepreneurs who went bankrupt as a result of the war. There was no alternative for them but to join the producers' cooperatives or become factory workers. That is natural, and there is nothing wrong in it.

Second, some of them come from peasant families. Quite a few of them came to the towns as they could hardly remain in the countryside because they had served in the "peace maintenance corps" during the enemy occupation or committed other crimes in the villages. For them, too, the producers' cooperatives or factories were the only place to go.

Lastly, there are discharged servicemen and former prisoners of war. Of the discharged servicemen, many are from the southern half where they had joined the Volunteers' Corps. They have been taking part in the rehabilitation work of the national economy from the very beginning.

As you can see, the present composition of our working class is very complex. But the composition, too, is not unchangeable; it can and will be changed.

If, on the pretext of fighting against counter-revolutionaries, we were to reject indiscriminately all persons with dubious factors in their social origin and background, how could we run the factories? We could not.

So, we have to study ways and means of carrying out the revolution with this working class. There is only one way. That is to educate and transform all of them into a revolutionary working class. In other words, we mean to assimilate the workers with diverse chequered social backgrounds into the revolutionary working class.

Some Party committee chairmen are apparently now thinking of expelling all dubious persons, but this is a very dangerous idea. When we allocate people who should be transformed to ore mines, they are rejected there, and when they are sent to coal mines, the people there fear that they might destroy the mines. Then, where on earth should we send them?

These people, too, form part of our people and they support us. The only way we must take is to patiently educate and transform these people of chequered social backgrounds into members of our revolutionary working class.

While there is the “Left” tendency of getting rid of all people whose past records were chequered, there is also a capitulationist tendency of actually giving up the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries, for fear of estranging those people. At the Kangson Steel Plant, for instance, it has even been suggested that the struggle against the counter-revolutionary elements be dropped for the time being, lest it should offend certain retrograde intellectuals or certain dubious types among the former prisoners of war.

The struggle against the counter-revolutionaries should not be slackened but should be further intensified. The problem is that you are digging too much into the social backgrounds of people. It is wrong to suspect former prisoners of war indiscriminately and to categorically brand intellectuals as conservatives.

You should know clearly that by counter-revolutionaries we mean only those criminals who are presently engaged in activities against our revolutionary cause.

But some comrades suspect former prisoners of war indiscriminately and delve into their backgrounds. This is bound to come to their notice, as they are also sensitive. It is quite natural that

such a work method should make them feel extremely uneasy and dampen their enthusiasm for work.

In fact, many of the former prisoners of war have been working admirably since they came back to the bosom of the motherland. Those working at the Kangson Steel Plant have now all become fifth-grade or higher-grade workers. Many of them have even reached the seventh or eighth grade. What does this show? It shows that they are working with zeal, upholding the policies of our Party and the Government of our Republic.

It is not that we did not know the former prisoners of war had been subjected to Yankee propaganda when we got them back. We got them back, knowing well that they had undergone indoctrination by the Yankees for some years. It is unjust to distrust them without any warrant.

Of course, among the former prisoners of war there are some who have been sent by the Yankees on espionage missions. Needless to say, we must sift them out. We cannot give espionage agents a free hand. We oppose only the evil-doers who hide among the former prisoners of war, those who do not work but obstruct and subvert our cause. With the exception of few counter-revolutionary elements, the great majority of the former prisoners of war have worked alongside other workers for some years and have now become workers themselves. They have become fifth- and sixth-grade workers, which proves that they are good workers. There is no reason to repudiate them. Nevertheless, because people tend to look at them through coloured glasses, all of them are bound to appear as bad.

Our Party workers should be able to distinguish between good and bad people, single out the rascals to the very last one, and rally the good people around the Party properly.

It is also unjustified to regard as unreliable those who joined the Volunteers' Corps in south Korea and came to us. They fought the Yankees for three years. Why cannot we trust them? If you are so distrustful of men from the Volunteers' Corps, there would not be a single man in south Korea you could trust. They have lived for many

years under the influence of the propaganda of the Yankees and Syngman Rhee.

If you reason that way, the revolution in the southern half of the country should be considered impossible.

If you reason this way, few people could be considered reliable also in north Korea, because everybody received education under Japanese rule or worked under the Japanese. Here the question arises: Who will carry out the revolution? The notion that nobody is reliable except those who took part in the revolution in the past is, in fact, an erroneous view of distrust for the masses.

The same is true of the question of intellectuals. Some people tend to find faults with intellectuals, casting doubt on whether they stand on our side or not because their parents were landlords or they were somewhat well-off in the past. This, too, is unwarranted.

We already made our position clear on the intellectuals issue at the time of the founding of our Party. We clarified that, although the Korean intellectuals had served Japanese imperialism and capitalists in the past, they could now serve and were serving the people. Thus, our Party is composed not only of workers and peasants but also of progressive intellectuals. The emblem of our Party is symbolic of this.

Let me make a brief analysis of the character of the intellectuals in our country. The Korean intellectuals had served Japanese imperialism in the past, but we should make a clear distinction between those who served as lackeys of imperialism, betraying the interests of the nation, and those who were compelled to serve imperialism in order to earn a living.

For instance, those who served as military or civil policemen were faithful lackeys of Japanese imperialism. Being thoroughly pro-Japanese, they were the heinous enemies of the revolution, and they helped Japanese imperialism to oppress the Korean people. Immediately after liberation, we even deprived them of citizenship. But we boldly accepted all the rest, the overwhelming majority, considering that they could fight together with us in our revolutionary ranks.

The old intellectuals, though coming from the bourgeoisie, have severed their ties with their original economic base a long time ago and, since liberation, they have been educated by our Party and have fought in the interests of our Party and people for some 15 years. Though they had not fought Japanese imperialism, following liberation they joined in the struggle to confiscate the land of the landlords and the factories of the capitalists and took part in the socialist revolution and in the battle against US imperialism. If they opposed imperialism and feudalism in this way, and if they oppose capitalism and support socialism, what else can they be but part of the revolutionary masses?

If intellectuals have detached themselves from their original economic base and have been steeled and educated in the ideas of the working class under the leadership of our Party in the course of nearly 15 years of revolutionary struggle, they should now be considered revolutionary intellectuals, the intellectuals of the working class. Though they came from the bourgeoisie, they themselves have neither been landlords nor capitalists. The exploiters were their fathers, elder brothers or uncles, and what has this to do with them today? Why should we suspect and distress those who want to follow us, those who have followed us all along and done their work well?

As I have once said, before the war there was an electrical engineer named Ri Mun Hwan. We did our best to transform him, but he would not listen to us; he opposed us and finally deserted. So we called together all the electrical engineers who had been under his influence and had a talk with them. They said with one voice that they would devote all their technical knowledge to the working class if only the Party trusted them. After that, they did not break their pledge. We have nothing more to ask of them.

We retreated with them in the difficult period of the war. In Kanggye we had to put factories into operation right away and, for this purpose, electricity had to be brought over from Maengjung-ri, only four kilometres from a place which was occupied by the Yankees. Then, Comrade Kim Chaek called me up and asked me if he

could send out an electrical engineer there. I said he could, but asked him to give that man enough protection so that he would not be caught by the Yankees. So Comrade Kim Chaek gave him his own revolver and sent him over. The comrade fulfilled his mission admirably and came back. If he had intended to go over to the Yankees' side, it would have been very easy for him to do so. But we never thought he would betray us and flee. There is no ground whatsoever for not trusting such intellectuals.

During the retreat in the war, some officials of a local Party organization evacuated alone, flatly refusing to take along those intellectuals who wanted to go with them. Nevertheless, these intellectuals followed them to the end.

Bad elements may possibly be found among intellectuals, as well. But the overwhelming majority of them are good people who have already been tested.

Most of the intellectuals at the Kangson Steel Plant, for example, are people who have been trained by us since liberation. Yet you say you cannot rely even on those who have been educated at our expense.

It turned out that the mother of the chief engineer of the steel plant had formerly run an inn, and this caused a problem. The Korean inns of the past were, as you well know, poles apart from hotels. A signboard was put up and an inn was run with a couple of extra rooms at best, with the mistress of the house doing the cooking herself to earn a few handfuls of rice and bowls of soup. And yet some people made a fuss, saying that the son of such an innkeeper was the son of a businesswoman and, therefore, his class origin was not good. How could this woman possibly have been a businesswoman? Even if she had been, why hold this against her son who is a graduate of Kim Chaek University of Technology and who, while at school, fought resolutely in support of the Party as chairman of the Democratic Youth League branch there? He must have felt unhappy while his class origin was argued about adversely. Yet, he has gone on working as usual, not making any complaints. This happened during the absence of the Party

committee chairman of the steel plant and it was the vice-chairman of the Party committee who caused this trouble and made many intellectuals waver.

Originally, there were very few big businessmen in Korea. Middle and small traders were the majority. Of course, we do not mean that being a businessman is a good thing. However, many people could not help following this path in those days, as there were neither factories nor land for them. Many people ran drugstores, hospitals, inns and the like to earn their living. It is true that all these occupations contain, to a greater or less extent, elements of exploitation of the fruits of others' labour. But these are not so serious as to make it impossible to transform these people's thinking into that of the working class.

Shortly after liberation, Pak Hon Yong insulted our people by saying that the Koreans were fond of business. I refuted his unjust view then and there. Koreans do not like to live off others. They were compelled to sell apples or keep inns because there were not any factories to work in or enough land for all of them to farm.

You should make a correct analysis of Korean society. If you are not careful, you will commit the grave error of handing our own people over to the enemy side. In brief, the main thing is to educate and transform people; the important thing is to convert them all into our people, into the revolutionary working class.

If we thus educate, transform and join hands with all those who want to follow us, whoever they may be, then all the people will have a sense of security and work with greater enthusiasm. On the contrary, if we suspect such or such person, the counter-revolutionary elements may possibly take advantage of it. We should clearly realize that because some of our comrades have carried out the Party's policies incorrectly, the counter-revolutionary elements who are still lurking among us by taking advantage of this situation are befooling us.

This time, when you go back to your places, you should join hands with all the intellectuals, old and new, and boldly conduct political work among the masses.

Quite a number of defects have also been revealed in the ideological struggle against conservatism. Opposing conservatism means opposing conservative ideas remaining in the people's minds, and by no means rejecting those who harbour them. Many comrades failed to understand this point clearly and gave the cold shoulder to people with conservative ideas, with the result that the latter's zeal was dampened and they became more and more passive.

The Kangson Steel Plant is probably not the only place where this happened. The Chairman of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee says there are many similar cases elsewhere in his province. According to those who have been to North Hamgyong Province, apparently the situation is the same there, too.

Thus, there has now appeared even the brandishing of the authority of the working class. The abuse of working-class authority has now been added to the brandishing of Party authority. This is really a deplorable thing.

It is detrimental to socialist construction to alarm or disturb the minds of the intellectuals, those coming from the southern half or others with dubious social backgrounds. The ideological struggle should not be carried on in this way. This must be corrected by all means.

Furthermore, Party organizations and Party workers should give great attention to the working people's everyday life. The supreme law governing our Party's activities is to show constant solicitude for the material and cultural standards of the working people.

Party organizations and Party committee chairmen should pay attention even to the most trifling matters: whether or not the workers are eating well; whether they sleep soundly; whether their hostels are kept neat and their bedding is clean; and whether they bathe regularly. They should also actively induce the managers, chief engineers and other management personnel to do so.

We could not see to these things before, when the conditions were not ripe, but now this is entirely possible. It is wrong for us to try to do anything beyond our power, but it is still worse not to do something we

can. We can look after all such things as arranging dwelling houses, hostels, nurseries and laundries in a cultured way and providing the workers with vegetables, bean curd, bean paste, soy and oil.

The Party should always be the reliable champion of the interests of the people. A determined struggle must be waged against the phenomenon of giving no attention to the life of the working people, and a great change must definitely be brought about in this sphere.

Another important thing is to see to it that social organizations such as the trade unions, Democratic Youth League and Women's Union improve their work.

Today the Democratic Youth League is engrossed only in the shock brigade movement, neglecting educational work.

In certain workplaces, trade union organizations exist only in name. It is none other than you, who are present here, who are responsible for this.

Trade unions have many things to do. To educate the working people in communist ideas, to strive to carry out the cultural revolution and to improve the life of the working people—all this is the duty of trade union organizations. But you take all the work upon yourselves and do not assign any tasks to the trade unions. You do not even teach them how to carry out their duties.

You should also activate the Women's Union organizations to organize properly the work of looking after workers' families, and taking care of nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools. Those chairmen of the Women's Union organizations who do nothing but attend meetings, carrying their handbags, are absolutely useless. The chairmen of the Women's Union organizations should always give attention to such things as how children are educated in schools, whether sanitary conditions are ensured in restaurants and how children are looked after in nurseries.

Party organizations and Party committee chairmen should not take all the work upon themselves. The Party cannot undertake revolutionary work single-handed. As the saying goes, a general without an army is no general. You must know how to rouse the people

to action through mass organizations.

For the Party to fail to enlist the forces of social organizations and try to do the revolutionary work all by itself would mean, in effect, to negate the leadership role of the Party.

The work of the mass organizations is, at the same time, the work of our Party. It is to carry out the Party's policies among the masses and to work for the Party. In some factories not only the social organizations are conducting their educational work poorly, but the Party organizations as well are not making any great effort in this respect, with the result that immediate economic tasks are carried out in a willy-nilly way.

Meanwhile, from day to day, you spend your time examining people's ideology. The central guidance group and the provincial Party guidance group come down and conduct ideological examinations. Such examinations only give rise to complaints. Educating people to rectify their mistakes of their own accord will be the correct ideological examination. Instead, people are not educated but are threatened with regard to their Party spirit and are pressured willy-nilly to confess to their supposed misdeeds. So they are compelled to criticize themselves, saying that everything is their fault. This sort of ideological examination must be stopped.

Educational work should be the main task of both Party and social organizations. It should be strengthened so that everyone—Party members and non-Party people, men and women, young and old—may fight with dedication, upholding the Party's policies. Thus, everyone should be made to raise his cultural and technical level consciously and produce more, so that he exerts his energy to accomplish the cause of socialist construction.

Only by organizing all this work properly, firmly building up the Party and rallying the masses around it, can we successfully fulfil our revolutionary task.

We all know that this year's industrial production plan is an enormous one. This year, the workers have resolved to more than double last year's industrial output.

You are now waging an all-out struggle to put your words into deeds. Even if you fail to carry out your pledge, the state plan must be realized at all costs.

The plan is, of course, somewhat lower than the pledge of the working people, but it is quite high from the point of view of our rate of growth. The state plan must be fully carried out.

A struggle should be waged not only to realize and exceed the plan as a whole but also to implement it in all its indices, and decisively to improve the quality of products.

**DISABLED SOLDIERS SHOULD LIVE
IN A GOOD WAY AND ALWAYS
WITH OPTIMISM**

**Talk with Members of the Unggi Disabled Soldiers'
Daily-Necessities Producers' Cooperative**

March 16, 1959

The Unggi Disabled Soldiers' Daily-Necessities Producers' Cooperative is successfully implementing the decision of the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. You encourage your dependents to collect shells from the seashore with which to make various kinds of beautiful handicrafts. The cost of a silver carp ornament made of shells is 1.5 *won* and that is very reasonable. You also make nice buttons with locally available raw materials. This is a very good thing. In future you should produce more daily necessities of a wider variety with local materials and keep reducing the cost of products, thereby making a better contribution to improving the people's livelihood.

Our disabled soldiers were all wounded while fighting heroically in the honourable cause of the country. Just now a comrade has said he was wounded in a battle on Mt. Solak in Rinje County, Kangwon Province. Our People's Army fought well in this battle. They encountered Syngman Rhee's most vicious "Paekgol Unit", which was hard hit and destroyed. The comrade who has burns on his body, has said he was wounded in the Mundungri battle in the vicinity of Height 1211. This battle was as fierce as the one on Height 1211, which was

indeed a most arduous and fierce one. Almost every day the enemy dropped gasoline barrels as well as tens of thousands of bombs and shells on that height. But it was the enemy which suffered defeat in the long run. In those days our young People's Army fought a heroic, death-defying battle to defend the height to the end.

You really fought well during the Fatherland Liberation War. As you and other officers and men of our People's Army risked your lives when fighting for every hill and every inch of our land in those days, we could emerge victorious over the US imperialists who boasted of being the "mightiest" in the world. That is why I am most happy whenever I find myself with you.

The disabled soldiers should remember their feats performed during the Fatherland Liberation War and work better and build their lives well.

You should refrain from drinking too much liquor. This is harmful to your health. All the disabled soldiers shed their blood in the fight for the country in the past, so they should be disciplined in their organizational life and conscious of all their work.

Besides this, the disabled soldiers should be optimistic. I was told that you have national musical instruments and see films three or four times a month. This is a good thing. You should be always cheerful and optimistic and live a cultural life.

The disabled soldiers' wives should do good housekeeping and perform their work well. The dependents must be having much trouble in living with their disabled husbands. They should work well, being proud in living with the disabled husbands who got injured while fighting admirably for the country. They should play the part of their husbands' limbs, to take good care of their husbands and bring up their children properly.

Cadres should show deep interest in the work and life of the disabled soldiers lest they should have any inconvenience. They should provide ample conditions for them to study and live a cultural life. When they volunteer to do something laudable, they should actively support them and solve all their problems. The six-feet lathe

these comrades have asked for should be supplied to them immediately.

I should like to stress once more that the disabled soldiers should launch tireless efforts to carry on with their good jobs and always live with optimism.

ON IMPROVING THE WORK OF THE HOERYONG COUNTY PARTY ORGANIZATION

**Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Hoeryong
County Party Committee**

March 19, 1959

Comrades,

Yesterday I heard the report of the Party Central Committee guidance group on the work carried out by the Hoeryong County Party and Hoeryong County People's Committees. The message in that report is identical to that in the report submitted to today's plenary meeting.

I would like to take this opportunity to speak about efforts to improve the work of the county Party and people's committees.

I would first like to dwell on how the county Party committee should do its work.

What is most important in the work of the county Party committee is to get all the Party organizations within the county to firmly adhere to the line of the Party Central Committee and thoroughly put it into effect.

The Party is a revolutionary organization of the highest form made up of the most progressive and conscious workers, peasants and working intellectuals. The vanguard role in all revolutionary work is played by the Party organization. Democratic centralization should be firmly ensured and a voluntary strict discipline established within the

Party. Without this the Party cannot lead millions of people and advance the revolution.

The Party's democratic centralization means mapping out its line and policy and electing its leadership according to the will of the masses of Party members and getting the leadership to guide in a uniform way the struggle to put them into effect.

Democratic centralization is the organizational principle of our Party. In other words, our Party has been formed on the basis of the combination of centralization and full democracy and carries out its activities in accordance with the principle of democratic centralization. The source of our Party's might lies precisely in democratic centralization.

The Party Central Committee is the brain of the Party and the General Staff of the revolution. It is the highest leading organ of the Party which, representing the will of the entire membership, organizes and guides the work for implementing the Party's line and policy between its congresses.

The line and policy of the Party are discussed and decided upon at its congress by delegates representing members. Therefore, they do not reflect the will of a few people within the Central Committee but the will of all Party members.

The Party Central Committee elected at its congress carries out its work until the convening of the next congress, in accordance with the line and policy adopted at the congress as well as the decision of the Party Central Committee. It convenes its plenary meetings from time to time to discuss and decide upon measures for the implementation of the congress decisions. Furthermore, it guides all Party organizations in their endeavour to carry out the line and policy of the Party and the decisions of its Central Committee, just as the headquarters in the army commands the units in battle.

In this way, the Party performs its work on the principle of democratic centralization. Therefore, it can act as a united organization and can always move its ranks uniformly in the direction required by the prevailing situation. If the Party lacks a revolutionary discipline

whereby its entire membership moves united under the unique guidance of its Central Committee, it cannot activate the state and lead the revolution. Moreover, without such unified guidance, the Party cannot mobilize millions of the people for the decisive battle against the class enemy nor can it achieve a victory in this struggle. Therefore, it is the foremost duty of all the Party organizations and members to unconditionally accept and thoroughly carry out the Party's line and policy, and the decisions and directives of its Central Committee and follow its guidance without reservation. Only when they thoroughly implement its line and policy, can our Party be a militant detachment.

Then, how about the work of the North Hamgyong provincial and Hoeryong county Party organizations?

As far as I know about the work of these Party organizations this time, it cannot be said that it has been completely separated from our Party's line. They all follow and obey the Party Central Committee and strive to implement the Party's policy.

In many aspects, however, they have taken a formal attitude towards the Party's policy and did not carry it out faithfully. They did not even try to carry out parts of it. They boasted about their Party work and also practised nepotism conniving with each other.

As far back as 1947 we came to North Hamgyong Province with a Party Central Committee guidance group to inspect work on the spot. At that time we gave guidance on the orientation of work for the Party organization of this province, including the questions of getting rid of parochialism and improving personnel affairs. Nevertheless, it did not work as was indicated by the Party, thereby failing to overcome parochialism that was persistent amongst the provincial officials and to implement the Party's personnel policy properly. I will not refer to it any further today because I have no time; I will touch on it at the plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee.

The formal attitude of the North Hamgyong provincial Party organization towards the Party's policy was clearly revealed in putting into effect its agricultural policy.

As you all know, the Party mapped out a long time ago a clear

policy regarding agriculture in North Hamgyong Province. In 1954 I came to this province with vice-chairmen of the Party Central Committee and many other cadres to give guidance on the spot and to explain details on its tasks. Then I said that North Hamgyong Province should plant cold-resistant crops which were suitable for its climate and soil on a wide area, and I stressed this again when I came here in 1957. This was emphatically pointed out also in the decision on the development of agriculture in North Hamgyong Province, which was adopted at the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

Geographically, North Hamgyong Province adjoins high mountains on the north and has a coastline on the east. Consequently, in this place the fog sets in for a long time whereas the sunshine lasts for only a short period because of the cold and dry air coming down from Mt. Paektu and the damp air coming up from the sea. This is why the crops in this province are threatened by cold weather and suffer frost damage early. The only measure against this is to plant cold-resistant crops. This is the very reason why the Party Central Committee encourages this province to cultivate these crops in large quantities.

During my guidance in North Hamgyong Province in 1954 I stressed that people of mountainous regions should largely engage in animal husbandry while planting fruit trees, raising bees and creating bracken or mushroom fields. At the same time the coastline population should breed large quantities of oysters, *miyok* seaweed, tangle, shellfish and similar seafood. I told them to develop their economy in such a way that the main stress would be put on agriculture in the intermediate areas, and that agriculture should be combined with stockbreeding or fishing in the mountainous and sea areas respectively. Agro-stockbreeding and agro-fishing are the words I used while giving on-the-spot guidance in North Hamgyong Province in 1954.

As we see, the Party's policy with regard to agricultural development in this province is clear.

However, according to what we have learned this time, no part of its policy has been put into effect properly.

The Party Central Committee instructed North Hamgyong Province to grow large quantities of cold-resistant crops, but the officials here have not carried out farming as instructed by the Party on the plea that the grain was the best crop and other things. They did not extensively cultivate potatoes, a cold-resistant crop; as for sugar beet, they gave up after growing it for some time. As a result, they have even lost its seed. So we are now buying the expensive seed from another country, and have to transport it by plane.

Sugar beet is a highly profitable industrial crop and a good fodder crop as well. No part of it is thrown away. From the beet itself we make sugar, and the remaining parts and leaves are used as fodder. If we plant sugar beet we can make money by obtaining sugar and raising domestic animals with the fodder. It contains more than 10 per cent sugar. We can gather at least 20 tons of sugar beet from one hectare of land, and with this amount we will be able to produce two tons of sugar. With this amount of sugar we can buy four to five tons of rice.

However, in North Hamgyong Province they did not grow this highly profitable crop in accordance with the Party's policy, but cleared the land to turn it into paddy fields without permission to cultivate rice which does not grow well. This time I discovered in Aoji that people there also grew rice and, after failing in this, they replaced the crop with barnyard grass. What is the use of turning the land into paddy fields to plant this crop? The peasants had trouble in clearing the land for the paddy fields and then in turning them again into dry fields. As you do not implement the Party's policy faithfully, it is only the peasants who suffer hardships after all. You should learn a serious lesson from this.

Yesterday I had a talk with peasants in the Changhyo Agricultural Cooperative. They say that from now on they will grow sugar beet on a large scale. I wonder why they say they will plant this crop now. Had they started to cultivate it four or five years ago, as they were told by the Party, their income would have increased considerably.

North Hamgyong Province has not implemented the Party's policy of making full use of the mountains and the sea. It is true that in some

areas they tried to do something, but Hoeryong County did not endeavour to carry out various secondary jobs by making use of the mountains.

Hoeryong is widely known for its famous white apricot. As I said when I came here five years ago, Hoeryong County will do a good thing to plant white apricot in the mountains widely. If this county grows plenty of this fruit, creates mulberry fields, raises honey bees and creates pastures to breed a large number of cattle, sheep, rabbits and other herbivorous animals, it can make up for the low yield of dry field crops and improve the people's living standard quickly. However, it did not strive to do this.

I think there is nothing difficult in carrying out the Party's policy on doing extensive secondary jobs, by making use of the mountains. It will do if you, firmly adhering to the policy of the Party Central Committee, only discuss with the peasants what to plant and where to plant it and what to make and where, and mobilize them to plant white apricot, create pastures and cultivate pine mushrooms where necessary. However, Hoeryong County did not organize this work properly; worse still, it has kept the existing pasture idle without making proper use of it. Otherwise, you would have largely solved the fodder problem.

You not only failed to take measures for developing animal husbandry by utilizing the mountains, but also frequently reorganized the already existing stock-farm until you disrupted it. This is why the meat problem remains unsolved.

When I instructed you to plant white apricot extensively in 1954, it was meant for the well-being of the local population and of our posterity. Notwithstanding this, you have not even planted a single apricot. Why haven't you done this when there are neither capitalists nor landlords who will take them away from you. You have only to plant wild apricot seed in fields, move saplings to other places and afterwards graft them with white apricot trees. Then the white apricot will grow alone and come into bloom and bear fruit. Why didn't you do this when there is nothing difficult about it? Had you planted white

apricot five years ago, you would now be able to reap fruit from this year. If you plant it now you will be able to eat the fruit only in five years' time; so, in the long run, you made it impossible to improve the people's living standard that much earlier. You have been entrusted to work by the Party, so you should always devote all your efforts to put into effect the Party's instructions to make the people well-off. However, you did not do so, but acted wrongly, causing inconveniences to the people. This is a serious crime.

North Hamgyong Province did not strive hard to catch fish and breed oysters, shellfish, *miyok* seaweed and such things in the sea, nor did it breed fresh water fish in lakes and reservoirs. This province has many places that are suitable for fresh water fish breeding. Looking around the area of Sosura, I found many good lakes and reservoirs to meet this purpose, but they are not being properly used.

Distortion of Party policy and many formalities in the execution of its agricultural policy in North Hamgyong Province have brought about grave consequences.

At present peasants in other provinces are well-off with a living standard that has reached the level of middle peasants. However, this is not the case with some peasants in North Hamgyong Province. This is attributable to the fact that the Party organization of this province did not follow the instructions of the Party Central Committee, failing to firmly adhere to its line. Had it done its work in strict accordance with the Party Central Committee's line, all the peasants would already be leading a better life.

Neither the Party members and peasants nor the instructors of the county Party committee are to blame for this. The fault lies entirely in the cadres of the leading Party organ. The subordinate officials of the county Party committee work hard late into the night, but they are vexed, for there is no progress despite their painstaking efforts. So it is natural that they should only face problems and give up.

The responsible workers of the North Hamgyong provincial Party organization adopted an attitude of strict formality in implementing the Party's policy, but they boast that their province is the best of all. This

attitude about North Hamgyong Province has led the officials in this province to become arrogant and spoilt them. If North Hamgyong Province is the foremost one, it is so in that the population cannot have vegetables, children are going about without clothes, and that the peasants have to get loan grain. As a matter of fact, it is not wrong to love one's own native place and have pride in it. However, it is very dangerous if one goes too far, and adopts the attitude that "North Hamgyong Province is the foremost one" without adhering to the line of the Party Central Committee.

Therefore, a serious political task confronting you now is to thoroughly adhere to the line and policy of the Party Central Committee, implement them to the end and firmly establish the Party ideological system.

All officials and Party members should make a deep study of the Party's policy. A formal study and debate on Party policy make it impossible to understand its theoretical and practical significance. You should study it deeply and make it part of you. This is the only way for you to live in accordance with the intention of the Party Central Committee, put Party policy into effect thoroughly to meet your actual conditions and confidently cope with any task without making any errors.

You should not only understand the line and policy of the Party Central Committee, but carry out good organizational work in order to implement them. At present both the provincial and county Party committee chairmen go about just to make speeches. So everyone gives only the orientation, and no one organizes work meticulously for the implementation of the Party's policy. You should not work in this way. Only the Party Central Committee is authorized to set forth the orientation. The provincial and county Party committees are not organs that give the orientation but are units that organize and execute work in the province and county in accordance with the orientation put forward by the Party Central Committee. The province and county should study the policy adopted by the Party Central Committee, carefully arrange matters to implement it in conformity with their own specific

conditions and urge Party members and working people to carry it out.

To this end, the county Party workers should fully explain and make the Party's policy known to the masses.

Now the Party's policy is not being carried out properly because it is not being fully explained to the masses. I think there is no one among our Party members who is aware of the Party's policy and fails to implement it. All our Party members and working people support the Party Central Committee. If we explain the Party's policy to the peasants while talking with them, they unanimously support it and say that they will do as told by the Party. If Party workers correctly and rapidly make Party members and working people aware of the policies put forward by the Party Central Committee, they will always strive to carry them out by all means.

County Party officials should go amongst the Party members and working people to explain the Party's policy to them and discuss measures for its implementation. They should hold discussions with agricultural activists as well as experienced peasants and courageous young people. After seeking out ways and means to carry out Party policy in this way, they should mobilize Party members and working people for its implementation.

If they come across difficult problems while carrying out Party policy, they should lose no time in taking measures to find a solution. For instance, if the cooperative members have a difficulty in raising rabbits for lack of experience, a short course should be organized for several days to teach them how to do it.

If the Party's policy is to be thoroughly carried out, it is necessary to mobilize Party members and working people effectively and, along with this, assign concrete tasks to the county and ri people's committees for its enforcement.

What is important next in the work of the county Party committee is to eradicate bureaucracy and establish a mass viewpoint among the officials.

Bureaucracy is to be found everywhere—both within the Party and government organs.

In the past bureaucracy was seriously manifested amongst the Hoeryong county Party workers. They did not mix with the lower units, but only forced them to do things, sitting in their office.

Such extremely serious bureaucracy can be clearly found in the way they guided the work of drawing up the agricultural production plan.

This plan should naturally be mapped out through full discussions with peasants. Let us suppose the Ministry of Agriculture, or the province, has made plans on how many hectares of land should be allocated for sugar beet and potato crops respectively. After that the county officials should go to each cooperative to draw up a detailed plan by consulting its members, a plan which should indicate where and how many hectares of land should be planted with sugar beet and potato. Then the county Party committee should discuss it, take measures for its fulfilment and entrust the county people's committee with the work. That will be right. A good agricultural production plan can be mapped out if the county Party committee chairman discusses it with the peasants, staying at each ri for a couple of days. Hoeryong County is said to have 17 ri. So one month will be enough to make a round of every cooperative for detailed guidance of the work of drawing up agricultural production plans. If the tour is started around the 15th of January, this work can be completed by the 15th of February. Had this work been done well, a detailed agricultural plan would have already been mapped out. However, instead of doing this, the Hoeryong county Party workers sat in their office, ordering their subordinates what to plant and where to plant it, which was unfit for their actual conditions. They ordered the planting of maize in places suitable for sorghum, and sorghum instead of potato. So it is natural that farming could not be successful.

Bureaucracy implies precisely that officials fail to go amongst the people and mix with them, distrust their strength and only impose their own opinion and order about without caring whether work is going well or not.

Bureaucracy is manifested not only amongst the county Party workers but also, to a large measure, amongst the officials of

provincial Party committee and of the Ministry of Agriculture. This time in North Hamgyong Province I have found that the officials of the Ministry of Agriculture had issued instructions to amalgamate the agro-stock farms and such things, remaining in the capital even without going to the spot. According to their instructions the officials at the lower levels made much fuss in amalgamating the farms unnecessarily.

Bureaucracy has nothing to do with our Party's style of work. It can be permitted only in the state institutions of a capitalist society which exploits and oppresses the working people, but not in our Party and state organs which strive in their interests.

The officials in Party and state organizations should uproot bureaucracy and establish a revolutionary mass viewpoint. If leading personnel, and Party workers in particular, do not rely on the masses and work in their interests, they could not follow our Party. Should our Party fail to win the full confidence of the masses and rally them around it, it cannot build communism successfully.

The building of communism is aimed to make all people well-off on an equal basis. Therefore, the masses should take part in this work and all the people should strive for communism. The revolution can be accomplished through the efforts of the masses, and not by a couple of persons. Success in the revolution depends on the implementation of the mass line.

If we communists are to free the working masses from exploitation and oppression, and succeed in building a communist society, we should strengthen the Party and thoroughly carry out the mass line to rally the masses around the Party and inspire them to participate in the revolutionary struggle. This is the basic duty of the Party organizations and one of the most important tasks in the work of our Party. Following the last February Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee I gave a long lecture on this matter.

If the mass line is to be implemented to rally the masses around the Party, it is first important to give a greater role to the Party members by intensifying education on the Party's policy amongst them.

By intensifying this education amongst the Party members, you should induce all of them to become more aware of the Party's policy, think and act with one mind and will with the Party Central Committee anywhere and anytime, strive for the implementation of the Party's policy and explain and make information work on it amongst the non-Party masses.

In order to rally the masses around the Party, it is also important to strengthen relations with them. This is the source of the indestructible might of the Party. Party workers should firmly rely on the masses in their work and, at the same time, educate and train them so that they will themselves uphold the intention of the Party and follow it, confident of the prospects of our revolution and the correctness of the Party's policy. In this way they will grow to be indomitable revolutionary fighters, always ready to go into action if called so by the Party.

Joining hands with primary Party organizations, the county Party committee should mobilize the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union and other social organizations to conduct vigorous information work on the Party's policy amongst the non-Party masses. They should carry out this work amongst the workers, young people and women through the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union respectively.

Information work for different strata should be performed in various forms and methods. You should not merely hold meetings and lectures all the time in a simple way, but apply various methods such as talks, reading sessions and story-telling gatherings. Information work should be conducted even for two or three persons. It is good to intensively apply the method of talks.

If the Party workers are to conduct convincing information work on the Party's policy, they should read many novels and other literature to enrich their cultural knowledge. If in your talks with the masses after having read many novels, you first refer to an interesting story to attract their attention and then go over to the information work on the Party's policy, it will be a very effective method.

In order to transform all the working people into fighters with a high degree of political and ideological consciousness for the revolution and communism, it is necessary to explain things to them and persuade them in a persistent manner. However, instead of doing this in order to make the masses voluntarily join the revolution with a confidence in our cause, some Party organizations at present frequently send for people to threaten and criticize them, claiming that their origin is bad, and that they lack Party spirit and so on. It is of no use to press and criticize people who have not been educated. If you are to bend a dry tree, you should wet it in the water first. If you try to bend it with force, it will break. Likewise, you will not be able to re-educate people merely by holding meetings to examine their Party spirit or forcing them to make self-criticism, without patiently educating them through explanation and persuasion. As a matter of fact, we should fight against the practices which hinder the strengthening of the ideological unity of the Party and violate its discipline. However, we should not press and examine them in an unreasonable way. This is an administrative method.

Party organs should transform people through persuasion and education, not by an administrative method. Public security organs or public prosecutors offices rule the people by an administrative method. However, Party bodies are not ruling organs but organs to re-educate people, like when the mother teaches her children. In bringing up her children, the mother does not rebuke or beat them up but loves and educates them and provides them with good living conditions so that they may grow up well. Likewise, Party organizations should always teach and educate Party members and non-Party masses and take good care of them.

As I said at the short course for factory Party organizers and county Party chairmen, Party workers should be the standard-bearers in their work who lead the masses, and in their relations with people, they should be their “mother”. To this end, they should fully understand the Party’s policy, become experienced in their work and be honest and simple in work and life.

What is next important in the work of the county Party committee is not to take over administrative work but to strengthen political guidance and control over it.

Administrative work is a task for administrative officials. The county Party committee should not take over this work, but give effective assistance to the Party members in administrative organs, so that they become acquainted with the Party's policy and, abiding by it, do administrative work properly.

The overwhelming majority of administrative officials, including those of the county people's committee, are Party members. Take the Hoeryong County People's Committee, for instance. Only eight out of the 83 staff members are non-Party members. Therefore, it is important to encourage the Party members who are working in the county people's committee and other administrative organs to hold fast to the Party stand and carry out their tasks with success. All work in the county can progress smoothly if the county Party committee properly educate these Party members and guide and control them so that they do their work well.

Therefore, the county Party committee should, first of all, inform the Party members working in the county people's committee and other administrative and economic institutions, of the policies occasionally adopted by the Party as well as the decisions of the superior Party organizations. Our Party's policy is worked out at the plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee and at its Presidium, and is conveyed to Party committees at all levels. So, they are the first to be acquainted with Party policy. Of course, there are decisions that are issued by the Cabinet. However, the Cabinet adopts its decisions on the basis of the decisions or directives of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee. All the important problems concerning the policy are first discussed and decided upon at this Presidium. Then they go over to the Cabinet and are simultaneously sent down to the provincial and county Party committees. Every time it receives the Party's policy and decisions the county Party committee should convey them to the Party members in administrative organs, including the county people's committee, not to

mention its own officials, and should do organizational and political work so that they implement them correctly.

Meanwhile, it should supervise and control the work of the county people's committee and other administrative organs. This should not be done by a few instructors of the county Party committee through the method of disclosing shortcomings; it is advisable to do it by inspection. Inspection should be made by the county Party officials by going out to take part in Party meetings and have talks with Party members and non-Party activists. If inspection is made in this way, it will be possible to know quite well how work in administrative organs is progressing.

I would like to stress once more that in the work of the county Party committee, it is important, first of all, to induce all the organizations and officials in the county to closely follow the line of the Party Central Committee and think and act with one mind and will; secondly, to eradicate bureaucracy and establish a revolutionary mass viewpoint amongst the officials; thirdly, not to take over administrative work but strengthen political guidance and control over it.

Next, the county Party committee should conduct personnel affairs properly.

After correctly working out the Party's line and policy, it is necessary to select and assign cadres properly. As you all know, it is impossible to expect success in work by merely mapping out a correct policy. If the Party's policy is to be carried out, we need cadres who work tirelessly and energetically and are faithful to the Party and the revolution. Success in all work is determined by the cadres. To understand cadres and assign them to the right place is an important condition ensuring success in work. Work goes well where tested and qualified cadres are assigned and fails where this is not the case. Therefore, our Party puts forward personnel affairs as its foremost task.

In the past Party organizations at all levels have achieved some success in personnel affairs, yet they still have many shortcomings in understanding, selecting and assigning cadres. Party organizations should correct these defects as soon as possible and improve this work.

What is important in personnel affairs is to select and assign those officials who are faithful to the Party and competent, and continue educating them.

The criterion for the selection and assigning of cadres should be the level of political and ideological qualifications and practical abilities. Only those who have such high qualifications and abilities are worthy to be cadres.

The most important thing for cadres is loyalty to the Party. Loyalty to the Party means defending the Party Central Committee, maintaining Party spirit in the struggle for the unity and cohesion of the Party and always striving to implement Party policy. We cannot regard those who keep their position without doing anything like a dummy or Buddha as people who are faithful to the Party. We consider as faithful to our Party and the communist cause those who support our Party and work actively while firmly standing on our side.

The second important thing for cadres is practical abilities. Cadres should have the ability to do their work satisfactorily. In other words, they should have a wealth of knowledge and experience and organizational ability. When asked something about their work, some people say they do not know how to answer because of poor practical ability; nevertheless, they do not strive to improve their practical ability and become experienced in their work. Such people are not worthy to be cadres.

We cannot separate political-ideological qualifications and practical abilities from each other when considering the qualities of cadres. Here the most important thing is political and ideological qualifications. It is true that one cannot be faithful to the Party if one does not have practical abilities. However, if one has some practical abilities but lacks loyalty to the Party, one is of no use. There are now people among cadres who have some knowledge and experience but lack Party spirit. We do not need such people, because they are not on the side of our Workers' Party. Those who side with our Workers' Party are people determined to overthrow the landlords and capitalists and build communism. We need people who show loyalty to the Party

and the revolution, that is, people who stand by our Party and communism and fight in their interests while risking their lives. Even if one is somewhat poor in practical ability, one can soon make improvement during work if one is firmly determined to be faithful to the Party.

One's loyalty to the Party and the revolution is not always determined by one's class origin. Some people now think that all sons of former landlords or rich peasants cannot fight for communism. They should not continue doing so. Amongst them are people who, having received revolutionary education, supported us and joined us in fighting against the system of landlords and capitalists. Even the sons of landlords or rich peasants can join us in the struggle for communism if they transform their ideology.

Loyalty to the Party should be shown by deeds. We should always bear in mind that there are people who claim that they fight for the Party and communism, but in practice oppose the Party Central Committee and do evil things. We should determine, through a practical struggle, how loyal cadres are to the Party and communism.

This should be followed by the examination of their practical abilities. It is still better if one supports the Party without reservation and also has know-how and working experience, as well as organizational ability. The Party Rules explicitly stipulate the criteria for cadres.

Party organizations should regard loyalty to the Party as the imperative criterion and combine this with practical criterion to select and assign cadres to the right place.

You should not limit the personnel affairs to understanding, selecting and assigning people to the right place. After assigning cadres, you should always educate and help them.

Otherwise, they will become mentally rusty and degenerate in the end. If you truly love cadres, you should always examine their work, help them and kindly make them realize their mistakes. This is true comradesly assistance, education and control.

At present some cadres not only regard inspection as an annoyance

but even fear it. This is happening because inspection is not being conducted regularly so that it could be of help to them, and when conducted, it is done in such a way that they find faults in the work of cadres, reprove them or dismiss them. You should not conduct inspection just when it crosses your mind, without doing it regularly, or discharge people at random after inspection. As they are dismissed after inspection, people at the lower levels do not accept inspection with an open mind but fear it and tell lies.

Inspection should be conducted in such a way as to spot shortcomings in work and correct them, help the cadres and reason with them. Only then will cadres react positively to inspection. During my 30-odd-year revolutionary work I have always educated cadres along set principles and regularly inspected their work. Therefore, the comrades who fought together with me in the past, were worried when their work was not inspected. They said they were sad because their work was not inspected, for they wanted inspection to be conducted before things went wrong and shortcomings, if there were any, to be corrected. After assigning cadres, you should frequently inspect their work and help them.

Party organizations should train cadres in the same way as parents do with their children. They should value and love cadres and educate them properly, as a mother loves her children, reasons with them and looks after them. The county Party committee should constantly look after and educate the cadres of the county people's committee, the county internal security station, other county organs and the ri. The workers of the county Party committee should always meet them and talk to them, exchanging views with them, reasoning with them on their mistakes, if there are any and correcting them. Each time they meet cadres, they should teach them something new and inform them of new problems.

If the county Party committee scrupulously selects and assigns cadres and gives them constant education, they will be grateful to it for its guidance. If cadres receive constant education, their political and practical qualifications will be rapidly upgraded and all work in the

county will take a favourable turn. Farming, stockbreeding and cultural work will be done smoothly.

An important question in Party personnel affairs is to enhance the level of qualifications of county Party instructors.

These instructors conduct their work in constant contact with the masses at factories and rural villages. Therefore, they should be skilful in the work they perform amongst the masses.

What is most important in enhancing their level of qualifications is to properly make them aware of the Party's line and policy.

They are duty bound to explain and make information work on the Party's line and policy amongst the masses and do organizational work for their implementation. Therefore, making them fully aware of the Party's line and policy is a very urgent matter in raising their level of qualifications. County Party instructors should be acquainted with Party policy, like the instructors of the Party Central Committee. This is the only way for them to live together with the Party Central Committee, correctly explain the Party intentions to the masses and do good organizational work in order to implement them. However, at present county Party instructors are not acquainted with the Party's policy well.

For the prompt acceptance and implementation of the Party's policy, as soon as a new policy and decision are taken, the Party Central Committee explains them to the ministries and central organs as well as to provincial Party committees through the medium of the directors, deputy directors, section chiefs and the lecturers of the Party Central Committee; and the provincial Party committees then explain them to the city and county Party committees. The Party Central Committee requires that the county Party instructors go to factories and rural villages to explain and make information work on the Party's policy so that all Party members and people become fully acquainted with the intention of the Party Central Committee. However, this is not the case now. This is happening because the county Party instructors do not understand the Party's policy well. As a matter of fact, this greatly hinders Party work.

Notwithstanding this, in the past the Hoeryong County Party Committee did not do a good job in making its instructors more aware of the Party's policy and improving their qualifications.

Some county Party chairmen are said to have worked only with vice-chairmen but not with department directors and instructors. The same can be said for the Hoeryong County Party Committee. In this way the directors and instructors cannot improve their qualifications nor can they ever make progress. It is even said that officials in charge of the Hoeryong County Party Committee look at the Party resolutions themselves only to put them away afterwards. So it is only natural that the instructors are unaware of the Party intentions and thus they cannot say anything new at factories or in the countryside. The chairman of the management board of a certain agricultural cooperative here says that he only works with the vice-chairmen or department directors of the county Party committee but never deals with the instructors, and that he does not regard them as people who give guidance. This is not accidental. As the instructors go about without knowing the Party intentions, such things can be said by the people.

The senior officials of the county Party committee have not always got the time to work at the lower units. So they should improve the qualifications of the instructors and, through them, work with their subordinates.

At present the Party Central Committee is very strong and its level of guidance is high. Its work method has now greatly improved over three or four years ago. This is attributable to the enhancement of the instructors' qualifications. What instructors of the Party Central Committee say is identical with what I say. When a decision of the Presidium is taken, the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Party Central Committee convene the department directors, deputy-directors and instructors to tell them; such a policy has been put forward this time, its political and economic significance is this, we are going to implement it in such a way, there may appear such a tendency in the course of its implementation and so you should be aware of this. As even the instructors are informed in time of the intentions of the Party

leadership, the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, directors and instructors breathe, think and speak alike. So I have “many heads and eyes,” so to speak. The fact that instructors who observe and think just like me, go amongst the masses to work and share good and bad experiences with them, could be considered, in the end, as if I had personally gone amongst them.

The county Party committee should also work in this manner. The county Party chairman should not only be acquainted with the Party decisions and directives, but should inform the instructors about them in time and discuss with them the measures for implementing the Party’s policy. In this way what the county Party chairman says, and what the instructors do should be identical. It is not right if this man says one thing and that man another.

If the county Party chairman does not make the instructors aware of the Party’s policy, they will carry out their guidance without knowing it. This will only expose them to ridicule and in the end undermine the prestige of the Party. All the new policies put forward by the Party Central Committee are published in the newspapers. So, if the instructors carry out their guidance work without knowing them, their subordinates will say that it would be better for them to read the papers themselves rather than listen to them. In the long run, the instructors will lose the confidence of their subordinates.

Senior county Party workers should organize short courses and debates on the policies and measures taken by the Party to thoroughly explain the Party intentions to the instructors. You should hold a short course and debate on Party documents and Party work for some ten days to make the instructors fully aware of the Party Central Committee’s intention, before sending them to meet subordinates.

If he is to thoroughly explain the intentions of the Party Central Committee to his instructors, the county Party chairman himself should first make a deep study of the Party’s policy. The county Party chairmen should know all the problems discussed by the Party Central Committee. The Party Central Committee continuously makes decisions, notifications, material on Party life and similar things.

County Party chairmen should read them all. However, a certain county Party chairman is said to go about even without reading the *Rodong Sinmun*. Without reading the Party organ, one cannot know its intentions.

Party workers should also make it a routine to read newspapers and magazines, not to mention the decisions and directives of the superior Party organs. They should study for three or four hours every day. If you are to have time for your study, you should meticulously organize your work and improve your method of guidance.

Now I should like to speak on the work of the county people's committee.

Being a government organ which falls under the leadership of the Party, the county people's committee should naturally be guided by the county Party committee. The chairman, vice-chairmen, department directors of the county people's committee and almost all other officials of the committee are Party members. Therefore, from the organizational point of view, the county people's committee should also receive the guidance of the county Party committee. This time I am not going to refer any more to the relationship between the Party and government.

The county people's committee should map out its work plan and assign work under the leadership of the county Party committee, in accordance with the Party's policy, and always consult the Party committee on problems arising in its work. It should also discuss them with the provincial people's committee, a superior organ. After reaching agreements on some problems through consultation with these committees, the county people's committee should submit them to the county people's assembly in order to implement them. As the Korean saying goes "you must ask your way even when you know it," it is not wrong to ask something you already know. One may be doing a mistake by dealing with problems alone. The more there are discussions, the better. Therefore, you should not regard it as an inconvenience to ask and consult others.

Our Party recently took measures to extend the authority of the

local government organs and enhance their functions. Many of the functions performed by the central authority have been transferred to the local government organs. Therefore, the provincial and county people's committees have now more work to do. Our directive to keep the apparatus of the county people's committee as it is, is also related to this. In the past when local cadres were not fully qualified and their level of guidance was not high, the central authority took over much of the guidance work. However, there is no need for this now, as the local officials' level has been enhanced to a certain extent. As for the central authority, it should only map out the policy; much powers should be given to the local government organs, the city and county people's committees in particular, which carry out their work in direct contact with the masses. And their leading functions over production and construction, commerce, procurement and culture should also be enhanced. This will increase the activity and creativity of the local officials and enlist more people in state administration and in the management of production.

The county people's committee has a lot of things to do: work of supply to state-run industries, guidance of local industries, of the rural economy as a whole, including the management of agricultural cooperatives, and of the fishing industry, transportation by truck and cart, construction in the county seat and the countryside, cultural development, guidance of the trade, public health and education sectors, procurement work, road building, river improvement, prevention of floods, afforestation and water conservation, creation and conservation of forests, collection of tax, population census, security work in the county and so on. Indeed, the county has very much work to do. Now that the scope of work of local people's committees has incomparably extended than in the past, our Party demands that these committees decisively improve their work.

On many occasions I have stressed the need to improve and strengthen the work of the county people's committee. In particular, in my report made at the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Republic, I presented it as the most important task confronting the

Government of the Republic to strengthen the work of the people's committees. However, so far there has been no apparent change in their work. At present the county people's committees even fail to map out proper plans. We held a meeting for chairmen of the planning boards which fall under the county people's committees. Yet, these boards failed to play their proper role.

As for the agricultural production plan at the county people's committee, it is made in such a way that it is merely imposed on the lower units in a bureaucratic manner. Following the steps of the county Party committee, the county people's committee also carries out other work in this way. It only compiles statistics that are to be submitted to higher authorities and copies their decisions or directives to send them to lower units. If the county people's committee works in this way, we cannot quickly carry out the building of socialism nor can we rapidly improve the people's living standard.

It is very important to strengthen the work of the county people's committee. Being the lowest organ for administrative guidance and simultaneously the lowest organ of administrative execution, the county people's committee is an important administrative unit. Success in all work depends largely on the work of this committee.

Being such a unit, the county people's committee should not issue directives or official documents to its subordinate organs to tell them what to do and how to do it. It should go directly to local factories and trade, public health and procurement organs to plan and carry out the work.

The county people's committee should not take its work easily nor should it do it as before. It is true that formerly this committee played no more than the role of an intermediary. However, now it should directly plan and carry out the work. Therefore, its work is more difficult and complicated than before.

The most difficult and delicate thing in the work of the county people's committee is planning. In our country today industrial and agricultural production, as well as distribution and consumption, should be planned. Otherwise, there will be an imbalance between

production and consumption. The same can be said about running of schools and hospitals and about organization of trade and procurement work. If we are to give timely treatment to people and education to all children, we should run hospitals and schools according to a plan. You should never manage your large economic affairs in a rule-of-thumb way without a plan.

In the past when socialist economic relations were not fully established and private economy persisted in agriculture, trade and many other sectors, the county people's committee could not guide all work in the county in a unified and planned manner. However, now that the private economy has been abolished and all economy replaced by a socialistic system, the committee should plan and guide all the economic affairs within the county in a uniform way. This is the only way for all economic sectors in the county to be managed in a normal manner. Therefore, the county people's committee should improve its work method and system to meet the developing realities and do all work according to a plan.

However, this time we have learned that the work of the county people's committee falls short of such requirements. The committee should not force down the plan in a bureaucratic way. Officials should go amongst the masses to get to know the people's opinions and the actual state of affairs at the lower units so as to draw up the plan in conformity with them. Bureaucratic methods will not solve the question.

As the work of the county people's committee is very complicated, the officials of the committee should organize and carry out their work in detail.

For example, let us take the problem of trade. There is now only state and agricultural cooperative trade, but no private trade. In the past when there was private trade, this played an auxiliary role to complement state trade, even when it did not go well. As private traders wandered from place to place to sell their goods, the population could obtain its requirements, even though state trade was not run properly. However, now that private trade has disappeared, state trade

should be organized in a more meticulous way. Only then will it be possible to supply goods to the population in a smooth way. The county wholesale house should always secure plenty of commodities demanded by the population without running out of supplies and distribute them properly. You should send them to the rural, fishing or mountainous villages, according to their respective needs.

Let us now talk about agriculture. Prior to agricultural cooperativization, it was easy for the county people's committee to guide agriculture. Then this committee did not find it necessary to intervene and see whether private farmers sowed barley, raised chickens or pigs. All it had to do was just to establish a standard plan and control its implementation. However, now things are not as they were. All the peasants have joined the cooperative economy to become one family. There are 17 ri in Hoeryong County. As a result of the amalgamation of agricultural cooperatives, with each ri as the unit, the number of households in the county so to speak is not considered to be thousands, but virtually 17. The county people's committee should not give guidance to the agricultural cooperatives in such a way as to show lack of interest whether these 17 households will plant crops and raise animals or not. When farming was done individually, the head of each household was responsible for his household affairs. However, now that cooperativization has been realized, along with the ri people's and Party committees which are the heads of the 17 households, the county people's and Party committees should also be held responsible for providing good food and clothes to tens of thousands of cooperative farmers, who have become like one family. In the days of private farming households where heads only drank liquor and loathed work, were badly off but those where the heads were wise and diligent, and managed their household affairs meticulously, were well-off. Likewise, now that cooperativization has been realized, peasants in those ri and counties whose Party and people's committees have a high sense of responsibility and carry out the Party's policy conscientiously, are faring well while the others are not.

Although the Hoeryong County People's Committee officials are

working in the interests of the people in conformity with the Party's policy, they create great inconveniences for the population in its livelihood because they work in an irresponsible and haphazard way without a plan. For example, the county seat has only one noodle shop because the committee has failed to organize satisfactory welfare services for the population. Therefore, they say it is very difficult to obtain a bowl of noodle. The same can be said for public health services. Formerly, private doctors opened a number of Korean medicine hospitals, children's hospitals and Korean medicine dispensaries and similar centres in the county seat. But now it has only the county hospital and clinics. Furthermore, the medical workers are not kind and efficient and do not procure the necessary medicines regularly. Therefore, the population claims it is difficult to get medicines. It is not right to cause inconveniences to the people in their life, while you claim to be building a socialist society where all the people will lead an affluent life. The county people's committee should build more noodle houses, open Korean medicine cooperatives and dispensaries and such things and increase the number of welfare facilities so as to improve services for the population.

The county should give effective guidance to producers' cooperatives and local factories.

In the days of private handicraftsmen, they made various kinds of daily necessities through manual methods. However, a large amount of such necessities are now produced at local factories and producers' cooperatives. Nevertheless, they are not being produced at a normal rate because of a lack of raw materials and technicians. If the local raw materials and technicians are used properly, it will be possible to produce all sorts of things: iron, cement and as many cheap, serviceable and good-quality daily necessities of various kinds as we want. Therefore, the county people's committee should mobilize them all and fully operate the local factories and producers' cooperatives, thereby producing large quantities of good-quality daily necessities.

The county people's committee officials should not remain sitting

waiting for jobs, but energetically push ahead with their work by creating a new job after the completion of the one under way. There is much work for the county to do: it should level roads, build bridges, improve river conditions, undertake afforestation and water conservation, prevent forest fires, build schools and also carry out the cultural revolution. You should encourage the people to keep the schools and villages neat and tidy, plant trees and build flower gardens there, paper the walls of their homes, wash their clothes frequently and wash themselves regularly. However, these things are not done satisfactorily. As a result, the residential quarters and schools are very dirty. The office building of the county people's committee is not clean, either.

Our working people should build everything in a cultural way. Capitalists look down upon the workers labelling them as uncivilized people. But all the nice things they use are the products of the workers. It is the workers who make excellent planes and trains, as well as lorries and tractors. It is also no one else but the workers who weave good-quality silk fabrics. Then, why are the workers failing to keep their factories and houses where they work and live clean? Who is to blame for this? It is because the county Party and people's committees have failed to properly play their role as the master.

When I came to North Hamgyong Province in 1954, I gave instructions to repair all the vacant houses. However, up to now many of these houses still remain unrepaired. It is five years since I gave my instructions for this. However, a look at your residential quarters reveals that you have done nothing.

The county people's committee chairman told me yesterday that he fails to work well because he is incompetent. So I reprimanded him: If you were incompetent, how could you have been able to participate in the peasants' association movement in the past? You served a prison term and what was that for? Did you carry out a revolution to make the people lead a poor life?

We did not make a revolution to let the people live a mean life. I waged my revolutionary struggle to make our country a civilized and

prosperous one so that all Koreans can lead a good life. In making a revolution we aim to build a socialist and communist society where all the people will enjoy a good life. Those who strive for the building of a communist society should work hard without sleep even after eliminating the landlords and capitalists and seizing power. They should not try to lead a leisured life taking advantage of the fact that they had made a revolution, and sit cross-legged only to give commands.

In the immediate post-liberation days, even if the county people's committee chairmen failed to play their role properly, it could be tolerated somehow. If their improper guidance in trade resulted in a gap, private traders would fill it. However, now things have changed drastically. If one thing goes wrong, it will have immediate effect on the people's livelihood, causing them inconveniences. For instance, if the provincial or the county people's committee fails to organize the supply of vegetables in a responsible way, they will go rotten in some areas, whereas others will not be able to get them. Last year peasants in Hwadae County produced large quantities of radish, but faced big problems because they could not sell it. On the other hand, workers in Chongjin could not pickle vegetables because they did not have radish. Who is to blame for this? It is the provincial and county people's committees. Private merchants would have tried all means and ways to bring all the radish to Chongjin to earn money. Capitalists and merchants did this sort of thing in the past, but now the people's committee should be held responsible to undertake such a task.

People's committee officials who are making a revolution should know how to organize production and distribution, if they are to serve the people faithfully. You should not just merely say that you are making a revolution, but properly carry out your revolutionary tasks in practice. Only then will you be able to move over to communism, but you cannot do this if you fail to supply the working people with vegetables properly, rendering it impossible for them even to pickle vegetables as they should. A communist society is a society where the productive forces are highly developed and the people are provided with plenty of various goods.

If county people's committee officials are to fulfil their duty satisfactorily, they should improve their political and practical qualifications. If they do not strive to this end, they cannot keep pace with developments. Even those who made a revolution in the past will become old-fashioned if they do not try to improve their political and practical qualifications today. At a time when all people are rushing ahead with the free reins of Chollima, one cannot boast about one's insignificant record of past struggle. No matter whether one did make a revolution in the past or not, every official should know how to manage the economy according to plan. County people's committee officials should steadily learn, and improve their political and practical qualifications as early as possible, as required by the changes of time. Thus they will bring about a radical reform in improving their work method and their practical ability.

Next I would like to refer to this year's farming.

Last year Hoeryong County failed to fulfil its grain production plan of 10,000 tons, by reaching a 95 per cent target. So it cannot but be regarded as a backward county. While others are advancing at the speed of Chollima, people in this county are only moving ahead at a slow pace. While people everywhere else are boasting of their achievements in surpassing the agricultural plan, Hoeryong County has failed in its task. So this cannot but be a shameful thing.

I am not going to talk at length on this year's farming. There is one important principle with regard to agriculture in North Hamgyong Province. That is to thoroughly carry out the Party's policy on cultivating a large amount of cold-resistant crops.

We discovered at the Changhyo Agricultural Cooperative that this year it envisages to plant potatoes and maize over a large area. Its agricultural plan appears to be a good one. They say they will reap 12 tons of potatoes per hectare of land whereas last year they gathered only seven tons. I do not object to producing this amount of potatoes per hectare of land. However, the peasants there do not seem to have confidence yet in potato farming. Twelve tons per hectare of land is not a very large amount. They can reap more than that. Potatoes thrive in

cold areas. They grow well in Ryanggang and Jagang Provinces, as well as in Musan in North Hamgyong Province. Potatoes, late ones in particular, may thrive in the area around Hoeryong. Planting large quantities of potatoes can safely guarantee a high yield. Maize may also grow well in this area. You should investigate to see which crop thrives—potatoes or maize, and allow a bigger proportion of land to what gives a higher yield. You should plant high-yielding crops but even if a crop is high-yielding, you should not plant it if it does not thrive here. We cannot indicate everything in detail such as what and how much to plant. You should plant crops which can guarantee a high yield, in other words those crops which resist cold, ripen early and can yield a good harvest.

You should plant fodder and industrial crops in wide areas. In my opinion you will do a good thing to plant a large amount of sugar beet which thrives in Hoeryong County. We are going to build a sugar refinery here with the capacity of 10,000 to 15,000 tons. If we are to obtain 10,000 tons of sugar, we should plant sugar beet at least on 5,000 hectares of land. Hoeryong County as a whole should produce large quantities of sugar beet, and the seed should be supplied by the relevant sector. Leading county officials should directly go to the ri to draw up a good plan for the cultivation of sugar beet after discussions with the peasants. If sugar beet yields per hectare of land are to be increased, advanced methods of cultivation should be introduced on a large scale. A large amount of manure should be applied and weeding carried out frequently. Seed selection should also be organized properly. Before the sugar refinery is built, sugar should be produced by the ri itself. There is nothing mysterious about making sugar. You only have to put the sugar beet into a pot and boil it. If the ri itself makes sugar for sale next year, they can earn twice as much as this year.

Along with sugar beet, you should plant a large quantity of tobacco. Tobacco is also a profitable crop. You can increase the peasants' earnings considerably if you grow tobacco which thrives here.

Some old-fashioned peasants may complain about growing a large amount of potatoes, maize, sugar beet and tobacco. Even so, you

should not merely force them to do it or scold them but make them fully realize its advantages.

North Hamgyong Province has a large number of workers, so an important task confronting its agriculture is to produce large quantities of vegetables and meat to supply them to the workers. This province should produce large quantities of these things so that the working people can have enough supplies.

In order to produce large quantities of meat, you should rapidly develop animal husbandry. Hoeryong County in particular should raise a great number of domestic animals.

In developing animal husbandry, much attention should be given to collective breeding, while discouraging the private sector. If the latter is allowed to do this on a large scale, it will foster individualism and egoism. It will be a good thing to allow individuals to raise a couple of sheep, goats and pigs and several chickens. They should not be allotted a large area of kitchen garden. If cooperative farmers have a large garden and privately own many domestic animals, they will only dedicate themselves entirely to them without sincerely taking part in the work of the cooperative. Therefore, rapid progress in stockbreeding demands that collective breeding be widely encouraged while individual breeding should be limited.

The agricultural cooperatives will do the right thing to raise fast-growing domestic animals such as sheep and rabbits.

Being herbivorous animals, they can be bred wherever there is grass. Rabbit raising in particular has many advantages. It is good because we need not consume grain for fodder and can produce tasty meat, as well as fur and skin. We can make coats with its skin and the fur can be used instead of cotton in making quilts. The rabbit breeds very fast. A female can produce around 200 young a year. With these 200 rabbits we can produce 400 kilogrammes of meat. And with the 200 skins we can make 10 children's coats. Raising many rabbits is more advantageous than pig breeding. At the recent meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee I stressed the need for North Hamgyong Province to raise many rabbits to solve the meat problem

and provide all children with rabbit fur coats. This province should strive to solve this problem. You should not only urge students to raise rabbits but also make it the task of the entire population. You should make sure that rabbits are bred at schools, institutions, cooperatives and in every household.

Domestic animals such as milch cows, pigs, goats, chickens and ducks should be raised in large numbers.

Of course, you will find it difficult to breed many pigs just now because here the grain problem has not been completely solved. However, you can raise as many milch cows, goats, chickens and ducks as you want.

To begin with, you should raise many chickens. This should be done both by every household and jointly at the cooperative. By raising chickens you can get eggs. Eggs are, in other words, meat. A hen lays 200 eggs a year. If you obtain 10 *jon* for an egg, you can earn 20 *won* if you have a hen. Chickens should not be given grain alone but also a large amount of other fodder. And it is advisable to let them roam free. Only then can you lower the cost of eggs. You should try every possible means to raise many chickens so that all factory and office workers and peasants can get eggs. Each agricultural cooperative should rear thousands of them.

You should breed Korean cows into milch cows.

Although this is difficult, we should do it just the same, so that we can get milk. They say that the breeding will make it possible to obtain four kilogrammes of milk a day from each cow. Then we can get one ton of milk from each cow a year. One ton of milk costs 300 *won*. So such a breeding method enables us to get 300 *won* in cash and a calf from each cow. The agricultural cooperatives should not use cows as draught cattle but strive to turn them into highly productive milch cows.

If we are to get much milk from Korean cows, we should provide high-quality fodder. You should plant large quantities of beans to make albuminous fodder and make silage from maize stalks. You should also prepare other fodder.

Agricultural cooperatives should not try to raise milch cows, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens and rabbits alike. Where milch cows thrive, they should be raised, while chickens should be reared where there are good conditions for them. All cooperatives should raise rabbits because this is possible everywhere.

If we are to produce large quantities of meat, eggs and milk, we should conduct effective explanation and information work amongst the peasants. It is the workers who develop industry and produce industrial products needed by the peasants. They cannot do this unless they are fed well. You should fully explain to the peasants that only when they produce enough quantities of meat for the workers can the latter dig up iron ore and operate the iron works and also produce farm machines and fertilizers, and such industrial goods as cloth and shoes in large quantities, to be sent to the countryside.

You should make use of reservoirs for the extensive development of fresh water fish breeding.

You should also conduct meticulous organizational work to make use of mountains for large-scale secondary jobs. By utilizing mountains you should raise bees and build orchards everywhere. Large quantities of white apricot should also be planted on mountains. You should plant this fruit not only on the mountains but also in uncultivated areas as well as in the villages and by the roadside.

If we create vast orchards by utilizing mountains, we will make our country more beautiful and enable not only our generation but also future generations to lead a good life. We should do our best to leave our future generations the asset with which they can lead a decent life. We are not well-off now because we were left nothing by our ancestors. However, we should enable our future generations to lead an affluent life in a good world.

Frankly speaking, we are not happy with our forefathers for many reasons. It was their fault that our country was ruined and poverty and illiteracy prevailed in this land. So, with a view to abolishing this and enlightening the people we had to enforce compulsory education as well as technical education and build scores of institutes for higher

education. Our forefathers did not leave us even a single adequate house. What they left were only ramshackle straw-thatched huts. We cannot hand them over to our future generations. We should leave them fine and modern towns and rural villages, fertile land irrigated with vital water, and mountains and fields where flowers bloom and fruit ripen all the year round. If we embark on our work with determination, we can enable not only our future, but also our own generation to enjoy this fine world. If you plant white apricot now, in five years' time you will be able to live amongst apricot trees and take the fruit. It is worth having a try at it.

In the seaside areas they should make good use of the sea. This is not so difficult. Seaside agricultural cooperatives should land fish in large quantities and, at the same time, cultivate shallow-sea products skilfully by enlisting some of their labour. They should make use of the sea to cultivate shellfish, oysters and seaweed.

The leading officials of the county Party and people's committees should go to the lower units to help the cooperatives to map out perfect production plans so as to effect a change in this year's farming. This will bring about a sharp rise in agricultural production and improve the people's living standard.

Ryanggang Province splendidly carried out the Party's agricultural policy last year, bringing about remarkable improvement in the livelihood of the local population. In this province every household was last year allotted eight tons of potatoes and 1,000 *won* in cash after setting aside the public accumulation fund and paying back the loan grain to the state. In some places 3,000 to 4,000 *won* in cash was given to every family. Eight tons of potatoes amount to two tons of grain. So it is said that after a year's farming the peasants have produced enough food to last them for three years. All this success is attributable to the thorough implementation of the Party's policy on the part of leading officials.

If you do as told by the Party, you are sure to become well-off. Chairmen of ri Party committees are also present here. So they should have intensive discussions on what should be done in the countryside

this year and adopt proper decisions. If you do this at this plenary meeting and strive to implement them with determination, the Hoeryong folk will also lead a decent life.

I am confident that, as a reliable Party body, the Hoeryong county Party organization will thoroughly carry out the Party's policy and serve the population more faithfully and thus achieve greater success in all work.

TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF NORTH HAMGYONG PROVINCE

**Speech Delivered at an Enlarged Plenary Meeting
of the North Hamgyong Provincial Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

March 23, 1959

For more than a month, the Party Central Committee has been intensively guiding the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province.

To begin with, members of the Party Central Committee guidance group did their work for nearly one month. Then, leading cadres of the Party Central Committee personally inspected several factories and enterprises, agricultural and livestock farms and agricultural cooperatives in the province for some 20 days. They also attended meetings for two days and had a good account of the general situation through speeches and dialogues.

As was pointed out in the report, the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province has, in general, performed good work in the past, under the guidance of the Party Central Committee. We can say that firmly basing itself on the Party's line, it has achieved considerable success in rallying the Party members and the people around the Party Central Committee and in developing all sectors of the national economy.

North Hamgyong Province is a region in which the most important industries of our country are concentrated. The Party organization of

North Hamgyong Province has made a great success in restoring, readjusting and developing industries, and created favourable conditions for the progress of our national economy. When the Chollima Movement was launched throughout the country following the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the workers and technicians, upholding the Party's policy, were actively mobilized in the major industries in North Hamgyong Province, i.e., the Kim Chaek Iron Works, Songjin and Chongjin Steel Plants, and the ore and coal mines, as well as the main light industry factories. Consequently, enterprises in the province have manufactured large quantities of products and played a big role in the general development of our national economy.

Inspired by the Party Central Committee's Red Letter addressed to all Party members in September last year, the workers in North Hamgyong Province satisfactorily fulfilled the industrial production plan for 1958 with great enthusiasm, and this year they are continuing an unbending struggle to more than double last year's production. This is very gratifying.

We recently visited different factories, and saw that all the major enterprises, in answer to the Party's appeal, are waging a vigorous struggle for the development of the national economy.

We could also see that encouraged by the letter of the Party Central Committee, particularly by the resolution of the National Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives held last January, the cooperative members in the province are also striving to boost their farming which is lagging behind that of other provinces. It is a very good thing that the cooperative members in the province are struggling with determination to turn out better and more farm produce, including grain and livestock products, than last year.

In spite of these achievements, the work of the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province has had many shortcomings. First of all, there are defects in Party ideological work and in the carrying out of the Party's agricultural policy. There are also many shortcomings in the guidance to some industrial sectors.

The defects revealed in the work of the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province may also be found in other Party organizations. They are, however, more serious than in other Party organizations.

I do not know whether it is because the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province is far away from the Party Central Committee and has not properly received day-to-day guidance and control, but, generally speaking, you have revealed a strong tendency here to do things your own way. In the past, the Party Central Committee put forward specific measures particularly for the development of agriculture in North Hamgyong Province, and has time and again given correct instructions on how to properly conduct Party ideological work and personnel affairs. But from the way the Party organizations in the province have run things we see that they are under nobody's control, thus some of them are carrying out the instructions and others are not.

The pattern of bureaucracy and parochialism, which has persisted for nearly 15 years, has not yet been destroyed.

But I believe that the present guidance of the Party Central Committee will bring about a great change in the work of the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province, in the work of the people's power organs and of all sectors of the national economy. I say this because in North Hamgyong Province the working class makes up the overwhelming majority of the population, and all the people were under the influence of revolutionary struggles for a long time in the past, and they give unreserved support to the Party Central Committee and are firmly rallied around it. So there is not the slightest doubt that you will soon rectify your shortcomings and bring about a change in spite of some unsound elements who have caused no little hindrance to your work.

As we have clearly realized in the course of our talks with many workers, even though some elements wield bureaucracy, neglect the fulfilment of the Party's policies and try to distort the line of the Party Central Committee, the people do not obey them. They all know that the line of the Party Central Committee is correct, but that it is distorted because of the tricks played by wicked middlemen. Therefore, if, after

this meeting, you properly explain Party policies to the masses and strongly fight wrong tendencies with a firm resolve to rectify your faults, all defects can be corrected quickly.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to speak about Party work, the people's committee work and the work of all sectors of the national economy such as industry, agriculture and fishery.

1. ON PARTY WORK

A serious defect in the work of the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province is that the Party's policies and the decisions of the Party Central Committee have not been fully made known to the people as far as some Party organizations and localities are concerned, nor have they been carried out satisfactorily in many respects.

This defect is manifested in no small measure particularly in the implementation of the Party's agricultural policy and in the failure to eliminate parochialism in the Party's personnel and ideological work. In short, because the pattern of parochialism, nepotism and bureaucracy once set up by factionalists such as Jang Sun Myong was not eliminated, the evil aftermath of factionalism has persisted and the Party's lines and policies have not been implemented adequately even after Jang Sun Myong and other factionalists were removed from leading positions.

Where the pattern of parochialism and nepotism has not yet been smashed, the Party's policies have not been accepted and the situation that prevailed immediately after liberation remains unchanged. Where this pattern has been smashed, the Party's policies have been accepted and all work has progressed considerably. It is clear that unless this pattern is smashed, the Party's policies cannot be implemented, nor can good results be attained, however fine cadres may come to work.

It is true that most of the former provincial Party committee

chairmen were cadres who were not skilful in their work, lacked experience and did not receive enough political training. So there could be defects in their work, but they were people who wanted to live in the spirit of the Party Central Committee and tried hard to carry out the Party's policies. However, they could not break the pattern of parochialism and nepotism, and you did not help them smash it, so that they got caught up in its nets and could not carry out the Party's policies satisfactorily.

Factionalists, parochialists or those who are imbued with nepotism do not subject themselves to the leadership of those who are faithful to the Party. They say yes in front of them, but act differently behind their backs. This is a double-dealing act which implies expressing deference ostensibly and counter-plotting behind the scenes. It is something like the behaviour of the factionalists in South Hamgyong Province in 1946. At that time and even later, O Ki Sop outwardly pretended to support and agree to all the Party's lines and policies, saying "I support the Central Committee," and shouting *manse*, but then he acted in his own way.

In North Hamgyong Province, too, factionalists and parochialists have long acted with utter disregard for the Party and the state, bragging that they had waged a revolutionary struggle and had been in prison before. As a result, the Party's policies have not been carried out properly.

Had the Party's policies been explained to the masses in North Hamgyong Province and struggles been thoroughly waged to implement them, as instructed by the Party Central Committee, the people in the province would have been far better off than they are now.

The problems we have proposed this time for agriculture in North Hamgyong Province are not new. All of them have been already discussed in 1954. As far as I have now found out, factories and enterprises have fulfilled all the tasks we assigned to them when we came here in 1954. The Kim Chaek Iron Works has carried out almost all the tasks set in 1954, and the coal mines and other enterprises, too,

have fulfilled the tasks assigned to them by the Party. But strangely enough, the tasks set forth in the agricultural sector have not been carried out well. What does this show?

The industrial sector is, for the most part, guided by the central authority directly and the class consciousness of the workers is high. Therefore, those elements who play double games cannot hold their own here. Even if some element may shelve the Party's instructions and thus attempt to obstruct their fulfilment, he cannot run away with it, since the workers are fully informed of what the Party wants them to do. However, the parochialists ensconced in the agricultural sector did not work devotedly, and that is why this phenomenon has appeared today.

In agriculture, things have also gone well where there is no harmful aftereffect of parochialism, but went badly where there is much of it. Particularly, in those areas where those who only boast about their past prison life and neglect their work are ensconced, almost no tasks have been fulfilled.

For instance, let us take Kilju, Myongchon and Kim Chaek Counties which boast of being the "best" in everything. Their inhabitants were greatly influenced by our past revolutionary struggle; those areas have paddy fields and a relatively mild climate. And yet, today, they suffer most from the cold weather, flood and drought, and the people's standard of living there is the lowest in the province.

Things are rather better in the areas north of Chongjin in spite of having worse natural and climatic conditions. In the mountainous areas we found that they have enough provisions and get large incomes from sideline products since potatoes and other cold-resistant crops are grown and stockbreeding is developed to suit their natural conditions, as instructed by the Party.

Why is it that things do not go right in places such as Kilju, Myongchon, Kim Chaek and Kyongsong which have the best natural and economic conditions in the province? This is not a simple question.

It is because those dandies who were formerly engaged in

“revolution” just to cut a fine figure, are ensconced there and do not carry out the Party’s policies faithfully, only bragging about how they took part in the “revolution”.

During the present guidance, we studied the state of things, visiting one village after another beginning with Kim Chaek County. In the districts directed by those who have not been affected by factionalism and parochialism, even in those places where the economic basis was the weakest, conditions have been created for a good life and foundations laid for further development. But things were different in the districts led by the parochialists.

As you can see, the fault of the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province is that it has failed to remove the nefarious aftereffect of parochialism. You should first help the officials to get rid of evil ideology and then explain the Party’s policies to them. If not, they will remain confused, not knowing what is what, no matter what good things you may tell them.

It is not due to the people, nor because the lower officials are bad that the Party’s policies are not implemented. They have not been carried out because some districts are led by a few bad elements, especially those still affected by the evils of factionalism or those imbued with nepotism.

In 1947 the Party Central Committee inspected the work of the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province and already at that time pointed out that there was large evidence of parochialism and nepotism. Even in carrying out the Party’s cadre policy, competent personnel, including cadres of working-class origin, were not selected. Only those who had been in jail were picked out in an unprincipled manner whether they had become treacherous or not and, in the end, a man who had been imprisoned on a charge of opium dealing was even appointed to an important post. The Party Central Committee severely criticized this.

But Jang Sun Myong, the then provincial Party committee chairman, did not carry out the instructions of the Party Central Committee. He did not even inform the Party members of what had

been pointed out for hours at the review of the inspection at that time, and had only recorded a small part of it in the minutes. However, the spirit was left alive in the minutes, and even the factionalists could not blot it out completely.

The comrades who came here later should have looked at the records and rooted out parochialism and nepotism in accordance with the spirit contained in them. If they had done so, things would have gone well. But they did not look into that document and failed to uproot parochialism and nepotism. Consequently, those elements who carry out the Party's policies in a formalistic manner remain as ever, and the practice of shouting *manse* outwardly while neglecting their carrying out behind the scenes still continues to exist.

At its plenary meeting in December 1956, the Party Central Committee even adopted a special decision for the development of agriculture in North Hamgyong Province. The decision of the Party Central Committee, however, has not been fulfilled satisfactorily. This, too, is attributable to parochialism, as we have found out in the current inspection.

As you know, parochialism and nepotism are the hotbeds of factionalism. They are the roots of factionalism. When they grow, they will engender it. That is why parochialism and nepotism should be thoroughly rooted out.

The most important task in the work of the Party organization of this province is to wipe out the poisonous consequences of parochialism and nepotism. An uncompromising struggle should be waged against those who outwardly pledge support but are actually betraying us.

Our Party is not a reformers' party, but a Marxist-Leninist party, a militant party which fights against capitalism and for the victory of socialism and communism. In order to be able to overthrow capitalism and obtain victory for socialism and communism the Party needs an iron unity, based on the principle of democratic centralism.

The whole Party should move united with one mind and one will in accordance with the instructions and decisions of the Party Central

Committee, the General Staff of the Party. Within the Party there can be no hanging back when the leadership orders to go “forward” or running to the right when it orders to turn “to the left”. Only anarchists act that way.

Democratic centralism in the Party means that the Party takes into account the opinions of the masses of its members, adopts lines and policies and elects its leadership, which directs the struggle to carry out those lines and policies in a unified way.

No Party member has the right to violate the instructions of the Party Central Committee, which represent the will of all Party members. That is why we should fight resolutely against factionalism, parochialism and nepotism.

The conference of our Party held last year exposed and smashed the remnants of factionalism which had historically been formed in the working-class movement of our country. We should by no means tolerate parochialism and nepotism, hotbeds of factionalism. If we weaken the struggle against them, our Party will not become a militant one.

Furthermore, every Party member should cultivate the habit of studying the Party’s policies profoundly and carrying them out unconditionally.

As I said some time ago at the plenary meeting of the Hoeryong County Party Committee, the Central Committee of our Party was elected by all the Party members, and the Party’s line was decided upon by the Party congress representing the will of all the Party members. On this basis the Party Central Committee puts forth its policies as occasions demand.

Policies set forth by the Party Central Committee are an embodiment of the opinions which have come up from below. They represent the will of all the Party members—they represent the organizational will of the whole Party. Therefore, it is the duty of a Party member to study the Party’s policies and decisions thoroughly and carry them out unconditionally.

One must thoroughly carry out the Party’s policies whether or not

one participated in the revolutionary struggle before. A person who took part in the revolutionary struggle in the past should be more faithful to our present revolutionary work and carry out the Party's policies better. It is worse for a person, who is said to have done revolutionary work before, to run counter to the Party's policies.

Next, the Party's personnel affairs should be improved.

First of all, in improving this work, stress should be placed on thoroughly doing away with the tendency to parochialism and nepotism.

This tendency in personnel affairs is the root cause of factionalism. Everyone is duty bound to keep his eyes open against this tendency in personnel affairs.

Once, O Ki Sop took people from Hongwon down to Hwanghae Province with him. I noticed here that certain persons have brought people from Kim Chaek County up to Chongjin in an unprincipled manner. This is what bad elements do. This is exactly the same thing that Chinese warlords such as Wu Peifu and Zhang Zuolin used to do. This sort of thing can never be tolerated in our Party. It is impermissible to select cadres on the basis of family connections or provincialism or group considerations.

The Party's first criterion for the selection of cadres is loyalty to the Party. To be loyal to the Party means fighting determinedly to carry out the Party's policies. A person who only shouts *manse* is by no means loyal to the Party. One is loyal to the Party if one works well, not shouting *manse*, and fights to implement the Party's policies thoroughly even at the cost of self-sacrifice. It is necessary for you to understand this clearly.

Some comrades call a person simple-hearted and faithful, a person who, like a bonze, does not know how to do anything. A bonze may be loyal to Buddhism, but he cannot be loyal to the Party. How can we call a person faithful, if he does not work, and even does not endeavour, for the good of the people, and just eats the bread of idleness?

Cadres should, as a matter of course, be picked out from among officials who are loyal to the Party and are competent. To be competent

means to have a wide range of knowledge, including technical knowledge, and a strong enterprise and energy.

The first criterion for a cadre is his loyalty to the Party and the second is his ability. The best thing, of course, is that the cadre be both faithful to the Party and competent. We do not need a person who has only knowledge and no loyalty. Knowledge of that kind serves no purpose.

We need Party cadres who are, above all, loyal to the revolution, who support the Party single-heartedly and stand firm in their loyalty without the slightest vacillation, under any circumstances, no matter which way the wind may blow. We do not need those who bend with the wind that may blow this or that way and surrender to the enemy in the end. We must select and appoint cadres who are truly loyal to the revolution.

As for the revolutionary cadres, we cannot say any longer that only those who did revolutionary work in the past are revolutionaries. In 1946, the year immediately after liberation, or in 1947 and 1948, only those who had been engaged in revolutionary activities before could be called revolutionaries. But today our officials are all revolutionaries, because we have been waging a revolutionary struggle for nearly 15 years since liberation.

Who did we fight? First of all, we fought the landlords. The struggle for the agrarian reform, for confiscating the lands of the landlords and distributing them to the poor peasants, was not a simple struggle. The landlords put up a stubborn resistance. The confiscation and nationalization of factories owned by pro-Japanese elements and capitalists was also a revolution; it is a revolutionary struggle.

Why should we say that only those who had been in jail for having belonged to peasants' associations or for having shouted *manse* before liberation are revolutionaries, while those who, after liberation, crushed the resistance of the landlords, carried out the agrarian reform and joined the struggle for the nationalization of the factories of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation are not revolutionaries?

Moreover, these are the people who emerged victorious from the three years of fierce war against the US imperialists. The anti-Japanese struggle was a revolutionary struggle but even the fight against the US imperialists during the Fatherland Liberation War was a revolutionary struggle. Since the anti-Japanese struggle was a period of more arduous struggle, those cadres who took part in it are, naturally, more precious.

All those who fought in the Fatherland Liberation War are just as revolutionary as the revolutionary fighters of former days, even though they might be slighted because there are many of them, just as children are neglected when there are many in a family.

There was also a powerful popular struggle against the US imperialists in Orangchon, North Hamgyong Province, wasn't there? It was a revolutionary struggle. Dismantling and evacuating machines from factories on one's back through fire and water in the midst of enemy bombing or the difficult retreat were all acts of a revolutionary struggle.

The workers organized factory regiments and battalions and advanced as far as the Raktong River to fight the enemy; then they came back across the mountains and rivers breaking through the encirclement of the enemy, and again fought on the defence line in order not to give up even an inch of land. How could it not be a revolutionary struggle?

There were several hundred or several thousand revolutionaries before, but their ranks have now increased to more than one million. The one million members of the Workers' Party are all revolutionaries.

Why should only those who had been engaged in the revolution before the August 15 liberation be revolutionaries, and those who fought after the August 15 liberation not be revolutionaries? The only difference is that some people started the revolution a little earlier than others.

We should certainly treasure those who have been engaged in the revolution for a long time. Old revolutionaries, particularly those who took part in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, and those who had

waged a hard struggle in prison should naturally be the hard-core members in the ranks of our cadres. Because these were the people who raised the torch of revolution at a time when our situation was harder and more arduous, when our country was overcast with dark clouds and our prospects were really gloomy. Thanks to them, our Party now has a membership of a million—one million revolutionaries—and it is thanks to them that struggles could be unfolded against the landlords and capitalists to confiscate their lands and factories, and to establish the people's power. It is also thanks to them that we could carry forward Marxist-Leninist ideology and apply it creatively to our reality. Therefore, it is only natural that they should be our pivot and core. It stands to reason that the Party should treasure them.

However, those who participated in the revolution before should have a feeling of honour for their part, and they should act and think this way: I should work more and better than others since I have more experience in the revolution; I should also study harder than others, and I should make more suggestions and come up with more good ideas which will be useful for the revolution of our country, drawing upon Marxist-Leninist theory and my own experience, and I should always take the lead in all struggles. Only then will everyone respect them for the hard life they went through before for the sake of the revolution and for the hard work they are still now doing even without sleep.

In North Hamgyong Province, however, I found the situation somewhat different. There are people who go through life idly with their legs crossed on the pretext that they had taken part in revolutionary activities in the past. They do not even glance at a statistical table, but tell their secretaries to check it. They remain sitting, expecting that their subordinates will do all the work.

Our country has a social pension system, and if these people are not willing to work, they may as well receive the benefit of the social pension. Social pensions are also given to former revolutionaries who are now unable to work.

If they cannot work, they ought to give way to the young people. What is the use of holding down a job for nothing and preventing others from working?

When I visited your province in 1947, this vice already existed. If they had been in prison, it was for the revolution, not for the sake of their own well-being. They did what they were supposed to do. So they need not wield their authority for that reason. The habit of putting on airs and neglecting work, which they acquired at that time, still remains unrectified.

It is right to give priority to the revolutionaries in carrying out our Party's cadre policy. I am not against it. But if one is a revolutionary, one ought to work more and better than the others. Is it right for someone to sit idle and do nothing, and only assume airs and rant at others?

Also, there are some people who brag about their social status. They say: I am a member of the working class, I come from the working-class origin, and who would dare to lay his hand on me? They become so arrogant that as soon as they have been promoted to high positions, they become corrupt and commit excesses as if they were old-time government officials, forgetting their past when they were oppressed and exploited by the imperialists.

We select cadres of worker or poor-peasant origin because they strongly hate the system of exploitation and are expected to work better since they were the most exploited by the capitalists and the landlords in the past. There is no reason whatsoever for a person of working-class origin to brag about his social status, to become arrogant, do nothing and lead a corrupt and dissipated life.

Therefore, in personnel affairs you should not mystify the past career of revolution, but proceed on the principle that everybody has participated in the revolution. No one should practise nepotism. Everyone, whether he took part in the revolution before the August 15 liberation or fought after the August 15 liberation, should take pride in the fact that they have been engaged in the revolution. Whether they have taken part in the revolution or not, you should not try to promote

or draw cadres to your side by means of nepotism and parochialism. We should sternly oppose this.

In promoting cadres, you should always select those who are infinitely loyal to the Party, those who are enterprising in Party work, revolutionary activities, those who have ability and knowledge. I already referred to this point in 1947. But these guidelines were not followed in North Hamgyong Province, so I am saying it again today, ten years later.

One of the most serious defects in our personnel affairs that must be corrected promptly is that you do not help or educate cadres after their promotion. Everyone, no matter how good he may be, must always be assisted and educated after he is promoted.

It often happens that quite a few cadres of working-class origin are left to themselves without further education after promotion; as a result, they have scanty knowledge and lack ideological and political training, so that before long, they go wrong and commit errors and have to be demoted from their leading positions. Who is to blame for all this? This happens because our officials misconduct Party work. It is an important task of the Party to select cadres correctly and educate and help them at all times.

If cadres are merely appointed and not educated, any of them may commit errors and fall under the influence of bad ideas. That is why we should pay special attention to educating and giving assistance to cadres. Until now we have not done so, and this is one of the grave defects of our Party work. This defect seems to be more serious in the personnel affairs of the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province.

In the past, some officials of the provincial Party organization pretended to do Party work, showing off, abusing Party authority and making speeches. In consequence, there are many shortcomings in personnel affairs.

As in the past, particularly these days, the Party Central Committee has posed the personnel affairs as the foremost work of the Party.

The personnel work means to correctly select, promote and allocate cadres and properly educate and help them at all times. One of the faults committed by the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province was that it did not promote cadres properly and that, even after their promotion, it failed to educate and help them.

The education of cadres is always accompanied by checkup. Having allocated a cadre, you should always be concerned about him and look after him lest he should go wrong, call him in, talk with him or give him short courses, and even go to help him yourselves. You should understand him, teach him work methods and raise his ideological and political levels. It is most important to continue such education after his promotion.

Another question concerning personnel affairs is to pick out many workers who have been working in the key branches of industry for many years because North Hamgyong Province is a region with a large number of workers.

Cadres of working-class origin have a strong organization and revolutionary ability; they are valiant and have a deep hatred for imperialism and capitalists. They do not vacillate in a difficult situation and are loyal to the revolution. However, I do not mean that you should dismiss all the existing cadres. You should re-educate and keep them in service and, at the same time, train many new cadres from among the working class.

The next important thing in Party work is to work with the intellectuals.

Other Party organizations also have shortcomings in their work with the intellectuals, but Party organizations of North Hamgyong Province have many. Work with the intellectuals has not been performed rightly at the Chongjin Steel Plant, Chongjin Spinning Mill, Aoji Coal Mine and many other factories.

The Korean intellectuals in former days were intellectuals of a colonial country. It is true that many of them came from landlord or capitalist families and lived in affluence before. But they, too, were subjected to national oppression and discrimination under Japanese

imperialist rule. Therefore, they had an anti-imperialist revolutionary spirit.

Moreover, after liberation they did not go over to the side of imperialists, landlords and capitalists, but came over to the side of the people. The important thing is that the intellectuals came over to the side of the people after liberation.

At that time there were two roads for the intellectuals to take. One was to follow the landlords and capitalists and the other was to follow the working class. In north Korea a people's power was set up with the working class as the core and in south Korea a puppet regime centring around the landlords and capitalists. At that time, most of the intellectuals in north Korea did not want to serve imperialists, landlords and capitalists, and remained in the northern half, determined to serve the working class and the people. Furthermore, many intellectuals of south Korea came over to north Korea.

Together with us they took part in confiscating the lands of landlords, with us they took part in confiscating the factories of the capitalists and pro-Japanese elements, and for three years they took part in the war against US imperialism. During the Fatherland Liberation War they were trained revolutionarily through arduous struggles. Particularly after the armistice, under very difficult circumstances, they worked with us in reconstruction for the Party, for the working class, for the country, for the socialist revolution.

They are also well aware that the socialist revolution does away with the capitalists and with capitalism. But they, together with us, carried out agricultural cooperativization to get rid of capitalism and took part in reforming individual traders and entrepreneurs in towns along socialist lines.

What is the difference between them and us? If any, it is that because their fathers were rich they lived in affluence and studied when they were young, while we lived in poverty and had no opportunity to study.

However, they, too, have waged with us all the revolutionary struggles for 15 years to carry out the democratic and socialist

revolutions against the landlords and capitalists and to build socialism. What is more important, in the arduous struggle against US imperialism, they shed their blood with us and went through the same trials and hardships as we did. Is there any reason to be suspicious of the intellectuals? Is there any ground for distrusting them? There is none. We should only unite with them and march ahead towards communism hand in hand with them.

Nevertheless, some comrades are not willing to trust those who work well, bringing up different objections as to their social status.

Narrow-minded attitudes towards the intellectuals are a tendency of sectarianism. In the past, the sectarians rejected all other people, claiming that they alone were carrying out the revolution.

Communist revolution is the cause for the masses, the cause of bringing well-being to many people. A revolution cannot be carried out single-handed; it can be won only when many people take part in it.

Why should you reject those who have come to the side of the revolution and are ready to fight for the working class, for the people, for communism, picking flaws with their social origin and other inconsequential things? Well, what could you do all by yourselves if you chase away everybody who wants to follow you? That is exactly what the parochialists and factionalists say—and exactly what such factionalists as Choe Chang Ik and Yun Kong Hum did.

At the Party congress before the election of the Central Committee, we discussed with all the delegates the necessity of electing the intellectuals who fought well together with us to the Party Central Committee. At the congress everybody agreed. But a few months after the congress, the anti-Party elements came out against the Party's cadre policy, alleging that the intellectuals were all pro-Japanese. Yun Kong Hum called the intellectuals pro-Japanese elements, but in actual fact, he himself is a pro-Japanese element who piloted airplanes for Japanese imperialism.

Our Party has absolute trust in the intellectuals who fight on our side.

Of course, they may be influenced by their family origin, and

sometimes guilty of vacillation and liberalism.

For this reason, since immediately after liberation the Party Central Committee has persistently educated and transformed the intellectuals, and incessantly endeavoured to join hands with them and boldly admit them to the Party to make them communists and march hand in hand with them in the building of communism. This policy is still unchanged.

In future, too, the Party should continue to educate our intellectuals and instil the working-class spirit in them, thus training them into unyielding revolutionaries who, like the working class, are courageous in the revolution and can forge ahead confidently under any adversity.

The working class should look to the intellectuals for their knowledge and skills, and the latter should look to the former for their revolutionary spirit, strong organization and immense loyalty to the Party, thus uniting and cooperating with each other in the struggle for communism.

We should not make many people waver or reject those who work well, by finding this or that fault.

At the same time, the intellectuals should have a legitimate pride in themselves: "I am an honourable man who has fought for the working class and for the people over the 15 years since liberation"; "I am a proud fighter of the Party, a fighter of the working class." They should have this sense of honour and pride.

Work with the intellectuals should be improved. Party organizations should steadily intensify the education of intellectuals and provide conditions for them to do their job well. We should see to it that they unite with the workers, do not get arrogant, boldly root out the survivals of old ideologies, incessantly learn new technical know-how and do not persist in the old one, and inspire themselves with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook. In this way, our intellectuals should be converted into communists who can fight for the Party and the people with determination.

Now, it is an important issue for the factories to educate new workers and transform them patiently.

Today the composition of our factory workers is very complex. Why? When a country like ours emerges from a backward colonial, semi-feudal agrarian state into an industrial-agricultural one, it is natural that many people of non-working-class origin flow into the factories. Especially, in our country, a large number of urban small traders and manufacturers who had been ruined by the war found their way into the factories and So did part of the rich farmers from the countryside, in the course of the socialist transformation in the postwar years.

On the other hand, large numbers of formerly hard-core factory workers fell in the war or were promoted to cadres. Consequently, the majority of our factory workers are novices. Under the condition in which our industry developed rapidly after the war, it was not possible to train and educate the workers adequately before employing them at the factories.

As you see, the formation of factory workers in our country is complex. Yet, you must not weaken the unity on that account, saying that this man is unreliable and that man is impure.

As a matter of fact, the Workers' Party members, the communists, together with veteran workers in particular should play the main role in educating the new workers and transform their ideology while working at the blast furnaces and at the machines. You need not be afraid of the complex composition of the factory workers at all.

Veteran workers should be the core in educating and transforming all new workers into reliable members of the working class. Only then can production proceed more smoothly, the factory be put in proper order and the tempo of socialist construction quickened.

Who are we against? The flagrant delinquents, in other words, those who are against us at present. We must fight against those who vilify our system and try to wreck it.

We should forgive and transform even those who opposed us yesterday, if they work well and support us today. Those people were against us in the past because they did not understand us. We should not stigmatize them as bad elements.

The present is more important than anything else. If they opposed

us yesterday because of their ignorance, but have now come to their senses and support us and work well, we should unite and go along with them.

The main thing in the ideological struggle is education and transformation. You must determinedly fight the handful of elements who are doing mischief today.

Party organizations and the trade union and Democratic Youth League organizations in the factories should intensify educational work in this direction, and wage a nationwide struggle against counter-revolution.

Next in order of importance in Party work is to eliminate work methods of administration and command. The work style of resorting to coercion and abusing Party authority should be done away with.

The principal method of Party work should be persuasion and education. To be inquisitive and prying is alien to Party work. Many comrades still conduct Party work in an administrative way and take the apparatus of the Party for some sort of ruling machine.

As I have stressed time and again, the Party should always assume the attitude of a mother towards its members. The Party bodies, Party organizations, the Party committee chairmen, vice-chairmen and committee members should always pay attention to the ideological and cultural education of Party members and to matters related to their life, always educating and persuading them. Thus, every Party member should be led to rely on the Party organization in all realms of his life and regard the Party organization as his mother.

In this way, the Party organizations should always educate their members and, at the same time, draw them into practical struggles by giving them assignments. Party members should, on their part, always mix with the masses of non-Party people—the blue and white collar workers and peasants—and educate them and show interest in their life. Party members should be the vanguard of the masses in all work, be the first to plunge themselves into any work which is difficult for the masses, carry it out, and be of an example in both work and study. Thus, they should become the standard-bearers of the revolutionary

struggle among the masses, educating and leading them forward. In other words, Party members should become “mothers” to the people, and the Party organizations, “mothers” to the Party members, rallying the masses of the people around the Party.

Only then will the one million Party members be united consciously and more closely around the Party Central Committee and the masses be rallied firmly around the Party.

Another important thing in Party work is the issue of implementing the Party’s policies.

Before anything else, Party workers should study the Party’s policies and the decisions of the Party Central Committee, and explain and propagate them so that all Party members may be well-informed of them. Only when all Party members are well-informed of the Party’s policies and decisions, can we all, from the Chairman of the Party Central Committee down to the Party committee chairmen and, further, the one million Party members, breathe the same air, speak the same words and act in unison. And you should proceed to the work of guidance after you have had a good understanding of the Party’s policies. If you know the Party’s policies well, nothing will go wrong in your work of guidance.

I am told that at the Hoeryong County Party Committee, the chairman reads only the titles of the decisions and instructions of the Party Central Committee and keeps them in his file cabinet. Consequently, the instructors do not even know what the decisions and instructions are and so they are not only unable to give correct guidance but they can neither give lectures properly. Even when they want to say something, they hesitate for fear that their words may go counter to the Party’s policies. This is the most pernicious practice which keeps the people ignorant of the Party’s policies and obstructs their implementation.

On this visit to North Hamgyong Province I have seen that many officials of the Party and government organs are not well-informed about the Party’s policies and decisions. When they heard speeches made by cadres from the Party Central Committee, they exclaimed:

“Why, is that so!” as if they were foreigners being told about the situation in our country for the first time. It is obvious that things cannot go right under these circumstances.

During the last few years the Party Central Committee has greatly improved its method and style of work. In order to inspire the officials of the Party Central Committee with the Party’s policies before anyone else, when any problem is discussed and decided upon at the Presidium, the vice-chairmen promptly call together the directors and deputy directors of the different departments and tell them what problem was discussed and decided upon at the Presidium that day. The department directors, in turn, meet with the section chiefs and instructors and inform them.

So, from the Chairman down to the instructors, we think of the same thing and speak the same words. Since the instructors know our Party’s policies well, they can correctly analyse with confidence any new problem they may come across, and deal with it skilfully.

Officials of the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province, however, work in a different way. In many Party organizations in the province, leading officials glance over the decisions and instructions of the Party Central Committee upon receiving them and then keep them locked in the file cabinet, without thinking of informing others of them. You should not do this. The decisions of the Party Central Committee should be made known promptly to the officials of lower levels.

What is the use of sending down uninformed instructors who have no idea of them? They go to lower units to conduct what you call intensive guidance similar to that of the Party Central Committee, but they rather handle matters contrary to the Party’s policies because they are not well acquainted with the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party.

Why are you in such a hurry about guidance? The main purpose of Party guidance is to disseminate and implement the Party’s policy. If instructors do not know much about the Party’s policy, you should arrange short courses for them, say, for ten days or even a month, until they fully understand it, and then send them out to give guidance.

Not explaining and propagating the Party's policies properly is the same as keeping the people ignorant, and not carrying through the Party's policies is the same as doing harm to the Party. Therefore, you should fight strongly against such practices and implement our Party's policies.

There is no secret in our Party's policies and work. Except for military affairs, internal-Party organizational issues and the cadre problem, there is no secret. The more thoroughly the Party members know the Party's policies, the better; the more our Party's policies are disseminated among the people and the more fully the people understand them, the better.

The next important question in the work of the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province is the establishment of revolutionary order and discipline within the Party.

As I have already mentioned, our Party is a militant detachment. Our Party needs strict revolutionary order and discipline.

Without establishing revolutionary discipline and order, the Party cannot become a militant detachment. It is important, of course, to hold discussions and make suggestions in a democratic way in the Party. But Party discipline should be observed to the letter.

Certain cadres of city and county Party organizations in North Hamgyong Province make no scruple to violate at will the instructions of the provincial Party committee chairman and deceive him. Such acts are very wrong. These tendencies should be completely wiped out and internal-Party discipline and order tightened.

2. ON THE WORK OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

What are the shortcomings in the work of the people's committees? The main shortcoming is that the people's committees at all levels,

particularly the provincial and county people's committees, are not conducting their work according to the new circumstances where our social system has been transformed on socialist lines.

Unlike the immediate post-liberation or prewar days, the socialist system has now triumphed in our towns and countryside. It is important to reorganize the work of the people's committees in conformity to the socialist system.

Previously, our peasants were individual farmers. We could not give them any plan even if we wanted to, nor could we enforce a planned economy even if we wanted to, and individual peasants produced and consumed anything they wanted.

Today they are all united in one family. The ri has become a family. The head of the household in the ri is the ri people's committee, the Party organization and the cooperative management board. Here, everything must always be done according to a plan. Production, distribution and consumption should be planned. Products should be disposed of in a planned way; transport, too, should be planned, and the people should be fed and dressed according to a plan. Ours is a socialist economy, and so it must always be run according to a plan.

Previously, there were many individual traders and handicraftsmen in towns. When there were many handicraftsmen in towns, they manufactured goods and sold them on the market as they wished without any plan. Merchants purchased farm products from the countryside and sold them in towns at their own convenience. Needless to say, they did so to make money and it assumed an exploitative character.

Individual traders and manufacturers produced and traded not to meet the demands of the people but to make profits. When private trade and industry still existed, different goods were manufactured without plan, circulating freely on the market. Therefore, at that time it was not possible to meet the demands of the working people.

But today private industry has disappeared for ever and there exist only state-owned and cooperative industries; private trade has disappeared completely and we have only state-owned and agricultural cooperative trade. There is no exploitation now, and goods are

produced and supplied in a planned way to meet the demands of the people. Thus, it has become possible to definitely improve supplies for the working people and raise their standard of living.

But never does this happen automatically. Production and distribution, which individual manufacturers and traders formerly conducted at will, now have to be organized, planned and directed by the people's committees. The people's committee should organize production, by choosing which factory should manufacture machines, which cooperative should produce soap and make paper. Furthermore, the people's committee should direct the purchasing of eggs, cabbage and oil to ensure that these goods are placed on the market. If the people's committee, which has become the master in all realms of life, does not direct, organize and plan production and distribution, nobody else will do it and society cannot function properly.

Furthermore, in the past, large factories were guided directly by the central authority and small enterprises were in the hands of individuals; consequently, there were not many enterprises guided directly by the province or the county. But the situation is different now. Following the June Plenary Meeting every locality set up factories. Large numbers of oxcart shops, vegetable-processing factories, textile mills, daily commodities factories and others have been set up. It is you who should manage the factories. Therefore, the people's committees have quite a lot of things to do.

When the private economy held sway before the war, it was indeed difficult to control it, but even if the people's committee neglected its work, and only collected taxes, the consequences were not so evident. So, at that time quite a few people's committee officials neglected their work, neither controlling nor guiding the private economy. That habit still remains in spite of the new current situation, and the officials do not attend to their work well. Today, if you neglect your work, it goes wrong immediately.

For instance, because provincial and county people's committee chairmen have neglected their work, there are not even enough vegetables for the workers. Shops in North Hamgyong Province have a

very meagre amount of bean curd and a small quantity of eggs. This is because last year the provincial people's committee did not see to the growing of beans and did not draw up plans for making bean curd, and because it did not produce eggs in a planned way.

In the past you could hardly tell whether the provincial people's committee was doing its job or not even when it simply sat on its dignity. But today the situation is fundamentally different. Now, the work of the people's committee should run like clockwork. Both production and trade should be organized and directed in a planned way. You should have plans for everything—how many eggs should be produced and how much milk and so on, and all work must be organized. There should be plans for all matters—where to deliver the products through the channels of trade network, what to sell today, or in the autumn, or in winter. You should use your brains and think about what you have and how to utilize it and how to operate the factory to replenish what you lack. Instead of doing this, you mechanically impose the figures you get from the central authority on lower units, so things cannot go well.

Some people think it quite easy to be a people's committee chairman. But, in fact, this is the most difficult job. If a people's committee chairman does not do his job well, the people will go hungry, there will be no vegetables or oil; it will be impossible to repair houses and there will be no goods in the shops.

The provincial people's committee chairman has much work to do. He has to direct the state-owned industry, the local and cooperative industries and then trade. He has to attend to farming, run schools, train technicians, look after the hygiene and health services, see to the building and repairing of houses, the installation of heating apparatus, water and drainage works. You have plenty of work to do. How, then, can you have time to live in comfort, indulging in corruption and dissipation? It is necessary to definitely improve the work of the people's committee to fit in with the present institutions and conditions.

Furthermore, one of the greatest defects in the people's committee work is the lack of work ability among the people's committee

officials. It seems to me that you do not know how to run the government and manage institutions or the economy.

I think that in most cases it is due to ignorance. Some chairmen can be bad, but surely not all the people's committee chairmen are bad! The main reason why things do not go well seems to lie in your poor knowledge. You should not pretend to know what you do not actually know.

It is said that man has a weakness for pretence. To pretend to have something while you have not, to pretend to be big while you are small, to pretend to know while you do not know—all this is a malady. Your province is the worst off of all provinces, so why do you put on an air of affluence? The people's committee work goes wrong because of the lack of knowledge, so why do you pretend to be intelligent? You should frankly admit your ignorance and learn. People's committee chairmen themselves ought to ask that they may be allowed to study because they do not know much.

To carry out the work of the people's committee well, I think it is absolutely necessary to educate the cadres systematically. The ri and county people's committee chairmen and vice-chairmen should at least learn how to operate power organs and run a socialist economy.

They readily make speeches for an hour or two without knowing anything. So, their speeches are void of content and incomprehensible. Just as people previously used to do in the Singan Association. Those who were affiliated with the Singan Association went around carrying brief cases and made speeches, uttering only empty words: "Masses, let us rise!" Those days have gone. That cannot solve the problems. Speeches of that kind will not do now.

You can give guidance only when you are versed in everything—how to arrange the shops, how to organize the industries, how to run the stock farms, why the cold-bed rice seedling method is applied. Nobody knows everything from the outset. Everybody learns things before doing them.

But it seems you do not even read the newspapers regularly. It is a very complex matter to build socialism. But there is nothing

mysterious about it; study, and you will be able to do everything. If everybody reads books, studies, analyses the reality and uses his head, that will do. You should patiently learn what you do not know.

I think it would be a good thing for each province to open an on-the-job training school for people's committee cadres for a term of at least half a year in order to educate them systematically. I deem it necessary to teach them there how to run a socialist economy and how the people's committees should work in conformity to the actual situation of the province.

At the same time, all officials must study. Ignorance is not a sin. Coming from worker or peasant families, you could not learn before, could you? You must unfailingly study by yourselves. Cadres should learn through their actual work on the one hand and through self-study on the other. You should make it a rule to study for three or four hours a day.

Without learning you cannot manage the economy or expedite social development. We cannot mark time. We should keep on marching ahead in accordance with the law of evolution. That is why you should acquire knowledge.

Another important question in the work of the people's committees in North Hamgyong Province is to definitely oppose bureaucracy. Ours is a people's power. The people's committee itself is opposed to bureaucracy. But the outdated bureaucratic work method of previous days still remains in the people's committees. That should be eradicated.

We emphasized this point as far back as 1952. Five or six years after the establishment of the people's power, lots of bureaucrats appeared in the people's government bodies. Bureaucrats do not go to the masses, and do not lend their ears to their voice; they swagger about with their noses turned up, hurling abuses as soon as they begin talking. They are not interested in the living conditions of the people and only dictate them peremptorily, presuming to think that they alone are the men of utmost importance, men of best opinions and that the opinions of others are all wrong, even before hearing them. What can

you accomplish in this way? Nothing.

If you want to work among the people, you must get in contact with them and be modest. We come from the people ourselves, don't we? You were elected by the people. You were not born to be people's committee chairmen under a lucky star. The people elected you, because they wanted you to do something good for them.

A people's committee chairman is a servant of the people. That is, he is a person who does errands for the people. Think this way, and you will become modest, discard haughtiness and stop ranting at the people. Instead of ranting at the people, you should teach them, work with them and learn from them. Only then you will be able to breathe the same air as the people and they will tell you everything they want to tell. In curing a man's disease, you must feel his pulse first and then find out what his trouble is, mustn't you? How can you do your work without knowing how matters stand with the people?

The Party organizations are doing their job by the administrative method and there is a great deal of bureaucracy in the people's committees. Bureaucracy should be uprooted from the people's committees.

I visited the Pongam Agricultural Cooperative in Kilju County; I had a talk with the farmers and asked them if the county people's committee chairman had ever come and consulted them about the farming plan or drawn it up with them. Because the chairmen of the county Party and people's committees were present, the farmers would not answer and only looked at the county Party committee chairman. I said to him: "You didn't, did you?" Then the county people's committee chairman answered: "No, I didn't."

There are only about twenty ri in a county. If the county people's committee chairman begins in January and spends a couple of days at each ri, discusses with the farmers and draws up the farming plan, he will be through by February, won't he? What, then, is the difficulty that makes you just sit down and dictate?

Furthermore, the people's committee chairmen should know the problems of the people. How can he who does not know their trouble

become their servant? Without inquiring into their actual circumstances, you arbitrarily dictate to them: “This is a state affair, this is a state law.” The same bureaucracy that existed in 1946 and 1947 is still alive in North Hamgyong Province. Things have not gone well here because you dictate to your people in an arbitrary manner.

It is important for the Party to break the pattern of parochialism and nepotism, and for the people’s committee to break the pattern of bureaucracy.

Moreover, people’s committee officials should be infinitely loyal to the Party’s policies. The people’s committee is a power which has emanated from the people. Who guides the people’s committee and who leads the revolution? The Party does. The people’s committee cannot get along without the Party’s policies.

It is not right for the People’s Committee of North Hamgyong Province to refuse to be guided by the Party and to claim that it is on an “equal footing” with the Party. The people’s committee officials should know the Party’s policies better than anybody else, and devotedly struggle to implement them. Only by doing so can the people’s committee be called a power that is truly under the Party’s leadership.

The county people’s committee chairman should carry out everything under the leadership of the county Party committee; the county Party committee should not take upon itself the work of the county people’s committee but let the latter work under its leadership; and the provincial people’s committee should work under the leadership of the provincial Party committee.

3. ON INDUSTRY

North Hamgyong Province is an important centre for our country’s key industries. That is why the success or otherwise of its industrial production plan greatly affects the national economy of our country as

a whole. If the plan in the industrial branch of North Hamgyong Province is carried out properly the general national economy can develop properly, but if not, it hampers the development of the national economy as a whole.

So far, industries in this province have obtained great results both in restoration and in new construction. Blast furnaces No. 1 and No. 2 of the Kim Chaek Iron Works are now in full operation, and its two coke ovens are turning out coke. Besides, its by-product workshop is operating on schedule, and the roasting shop is fully restored and in operation.

At the Chongjin Steel Plant, six revolving furnaces as well as the electric furnaces of the steel shop are now in operation. At the Songjin Steel Plant the existing equipment has been completely restored and the construction of a new rolled steel shop is in full swing.

The Chongjin Spinning Mill has also been completely reconstructed in spite of the many obstacles, and as from this year, it is in a position to produce more than 14,000 tons of rayon and staple fibre. The Kilju Pulp Mill, too, has been fully restored, with the paper output exceeding the prewar level by many times.

The Aoji and Kocham Coal Mines and many other coal mines have been restored or newly built, producing millions of tons of coal, and a struggle is being waged to produce over 3,500,000 tons this year.

Meanwhile, with regards to geological survey, the tasks set forth in 1954 have been fulfilled and there is a definite prospect of more coal production in future. Many mines, including the Musan Mine, have been fully equipped to be able to increase production.

Furthermore, the Puryong Power Station, Komusan Cement Factory, Rajin and Chongjin Dockyards and Ranam Machine Plant have laid foundations for the development of production, and large factories such as Juul Electric Appliances Factory and Saenggiryeong and Kyongsong Ceramic Factories have been constructed.

In reconstructing these factories and enterprises, all workers, technicians and office employees acted in response to the call of the Party Central Committee and have scored worthy achievements with great vigour.

This year, the enthusiasm of the workers is still greater and they are determined to more than double last year's production. In many factories and coal mines their resolutions are being carried out on schedule.

However, some of the leading officials in the industrial sector have not made due preparations in line with the enthusiastic spirit of the workers. Particularly, they have not taken proper measures for winter, not securing all the necessary tools and jigs with the result that there are some factories which are not fulfilling their plans.

For instance, metallurgical factories have not stored up enough fittings to ensure the plan for the first quarter, and they try to get them only after something goes wrong with the metallurgical furnaces. At the Musan Mine, they did not take measures for winter and, as a result, the water pipes were frozen and there was no water supply, which caused troubles to excavating and ore dressing operations. Part of the coal mines are concerned only about the extraction of coal without first doing the basic and preliminary tunnellings. Therefore, production is being held back now for lack of coal to extract.

Furthermore, some leading officials still do not know the main factor in their work, doing things at random and, consequently, they fail to do anything.

Officials of the Chongjin Steel Plant should have mainly emphasized the normalization of production by waging a struggle to increase the utilization of the equipment and accurately observing the standard regulations of operation. Instead, they merely dispersed their work for capital construction and what not, with the result that they have failed to carry out their production plan. Things also did not go well during the first quarter because they dispersed the work force of the repair and maintenance shop in this or that job. True, things have been getting normalized recently. Besides, officials of this plant are not yet fully prepared to carry out the strict instructions of the Party Central Committee that daily plan must be carried out on that particular day.

Their efforts are not yet satisfactory enough to introduce advanced

methods of work and elevate the technical levels and skills of the workers. They neglect the work of introducing new techniques, raising the technical levels and skills of the workers and elevating production efficiency, only paying lip service to it. By and large, as for the advanced working methods invented by the workers or by the technicians, they make a fuss about them, but are very bad at introducing, developing and popularizing them promptly.

Not only that. They tend to organize work haphazardly without a keen sense of responsibility about the fact that if things do not go well with their factory, it will also affect other mills. The officials and workers of the Chongjin Steel Plant do not seem to feel really sorry about the fact that their failure to produce the planned amount of granulated iron this year affects the Songjin Steel Plant and many other enterprises. These failures have adversely affected the industrial development of the whole nation as well as the fulfilment of the first-quarter plan of North Hamgyong Province for industrial production. These shortcomings should be remedied immediately.

Now I would like to speak on the tasks of each sector of industry.

In the metal industry, you should first of all struggle to produce more pig iron, granulated iron and rolled steel, upholding the Party slogan: "Iron and the machine are the king of industry!" The Kim Chaek Iron Works should take technical measures for lowering the coefficient of utilization per cubic metre of the blast furnace volume and improve the work of the raw-material charging system. It should also take effective measures to introduce pellets which can further increase the productivity of the blast furnace and save on coke and which have a great importance also for the solution of the lump ore problem.

It is an urgent task for the Kim Chaek Iron Works to complete the construction of the converters by April 15, as was decided upon by the workers, and begin the production of steel. Expansion projects of the Kim Chaek Iron Works in future will be very ambitious. So you should have the general blueprint of the expansion works mapped out soon and first step up the construction of two additional coke ovens. The

factory should be enlarged to such an extent as to produce approximately 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 tons of pig iron at the first stage, and to produce steel and rolled steel by a continuous method. With the prospect of the reunification of our country before us, the factory should be expanded later to produce and process 4 million tons of pig iron for the manufacture of steel and rolled steel, and should be turned into the biggest metallurgical centre of our country.

The Songjin Steel Plant should not only shorten the melting time in steel manufacturing by electricity and increase its steel output, but should also decrease its consumption of electricity. This time I noticed that each furnace there consumes approximately 400 kWh more electricity a day. An end should be put to this wastage.

The most important task for the Songjin Steel Plant should be to raise the quality in the production of rolled steel. A struggle should be waged to eliminate rejections. The workers and technicians of this plant should realize that theirs is the only plant which manufactures special steel in our country, that the steel materials produced here are all used for our production of machines and that the production results of this plant will, therefore, greatly affect the development of our nation's engineering industry.

Furthermore, at the Songjin Steel Plant, the heavy jobs, including the forging section, should be mechanized to facilitate the work. A great deal of tough work has still to be done. It is necessary for the technicians and workers to join forces and work towards the mechanization of laborious work.

Also, the 600-ton press at the forging shop should be quickly restored to ease the shortage of press capacity in our country. The new project for the rolled steel shop should be completed by the end of June, and the construction of the middle-size rolled steel shop by May Day.

The Songjin Steel Plant should make more use of equipment, above all that of the repair and maintenance shop.

The Chongjin Steel Plant should struggle to normalize the production of granulated iron. The operation of the revolving furnaces

now in production should be normalized to raise each furnace's daily production to 80 tons. A struggle should be launched to produce over 100 tons, so that the annual production of granulated iron would be more than 200,000 tons, not to speak of 150,000 tons.

Granulated iron is very important for our country. It can be produced inexpensively because we do not have to use imported coal. Granulated iron is one of the most important raw materials for our steel industry. All the workers, technicians and office employees of this plant should fully realize the importance of the production of granulated iron and strive to increase it. Some time ago the manager said that production efficiency could be raised if hot blast is blown into the furnace. Therefore, hot blast equipment should be installed right away.

Next, dust-collecting devices should be installed to improve the working conditions. They have been put in at some places, but we still need more. Because these devices have not been made properly, the workshop which is not in itself noxious, is now considered to be so. Dust-catching equipment should be installed to eliminate noxious conditions for the workers.

The setting up of thermal power plants to utilize the waste heat of the furnaces is an urgent necessity. The slag should also be used rationally. In other countries slag is fully utilized.

Furthermore, revolving furnaces No. 7 and No. 8 should be rapidly built to produce more granulated iron. This factory should be converted into a plant which will produce up to 500,000 tons of granulated iron per year in future and, at the same time, measures should be taken for the manufacturing of steel directly from granulated iron by the continuous steel-manufacturing method. An important task is to raise the technical level of the workers and establish order and discipline for the observance of the standard regulations of operation. This will increase the output of granulated iron.

Now the Musan Mine is confronted with the important task of meeting the ever-increasing demands for raw materials of the Kim Chaek Iron Works and the Chongjin Steel Plant as a result of the

increased production of pig iron and granulated iron and the growth of the steel industry. The Musan Mine should see to it that the equipment for mining and ore dressing is repaired and readjusted and the production efficiency raised.

A struggle should also be launched to improve the quality of iron ore. Unless the Musan Mine does a good job, the work of metallurgical factories cannot go well. It is said that production is not well organized now at the Musan Mine. So, I think measures should be taken by the Party to improve the work at this mine.

Capital construction of nonferrous metal mines, already developed in such localities as Samhae, Ryonchon and Hoeryong, should be pushed ahead rapidly, so that plenty of rare metal ores are produced to speed up the production of special steel.

The equipment in the repair and maintenance shops of all enterprises and in the engineering industry of this province should be used to manufacture equipment for the metallurgical factories and to produce plenty of spare parts for them, giving priority to the Kim Chaek Iron Works and the Chongjin Steel Plant. Equipment and accessories required by the Chongjin Steel Plant seem to amount to approximately 1,200 tons; the Ranam Machine Plant, Chongjin and Rajin Dockyards and various other machine factories should give priority to their production. The Ryongsong Machine Factory should also manufacture the equipment and accessories needed by those factories.

The Kim Chaek Iron Works and Chongjin Steel Plant should be restored quickly, and the converters of the former and revolving furnaces of the latter should be built or enlarged rapidly. Only by so doing can we meet our ever-increasing demands for steel.

Ceramic factories in the province should produce and supply in good time the firebricks which are required by the metallurgical factories, and they should also improve their quality.

Moreover, lumber, iron materials and cement should be allocated preferentially to the construction of metallurgical factories. The State Planning Commission and all ministries should help to ensure priority

to metal production. Otherwise, we cannot fulfil this year's general plan for industrial production. Only by giving priority to the metal industry, can we build machines and expand the machine factories.

In the coal sector, all coal mines should strive to produce more coal. First of all, a struggle should be waged to mine a little more high caloric coal than envisaged in this year's plan. If possible, they should mine 100,000 tons more, which will enable other factories to raise their output.

To produce more coal, efforts should be concentrated on the capital construction of the existing coal mines; basic and preliminary tunnelling should be kept ahead of production. You should also strive to increase the speed of tunnelling to secure the coal which is to be extracted. Meanwhile, hydraulic transport should be widely introduced, and the introduction of hydraulic coal cutting should be prepared and realized. You should improve the quality of coal and eliminate the practice of increasing the output by mixing it with debris. That is a self-deceit, which lowers the caloric production of other enterprises.

The most important issue for the coal mines is to perfect the safety devices and the labour protection arrangements and to strengthen work order and discipline in the pits. Without discipline and order, it is impossible to prevent accidents. A strict shift system and a strict checkup system must be established in the coal mines.

North Hamgyong Province should endeavour to raise its bituminous coal output to 8 million tons and more in the coming two or three years. If the coal output of North Hamgyong Province hits that mark, we can solve our coal problem more satisfactorily.

To reach our aim we should see to it that efforts are concentrated on capital construction in the existing coal mines so that in a year or two the Aoji and Kocham Coal Mines each turn out at least 1.5 million tons. The Kogonwon, Hamyon and Onsong Coal Mines should be expanded to produce at least one million tons each. Otherwise, the coal problem cannot be solved.

Another important thing is to develop the power industry. The

situation of electricity in our country is very much strained. Before and during the war, as well as immediately after the armistice, our country was said to have more than enough electricity. But industry rapidly developed following the armistice, and by 1958 its output was four times as much as that of the prewar days. Thus the consumption of electricity has greatly increased and we are now short of electricity.

Our country has many hydroelectric power stations but only a few thermal power plants. Consequently, we lack electricity, especially in the dry season. The production of electricity should logically precede the development of other industries. Only then can these industries be developed. Especially, in order to develop the chemical industry extensively during a second five-year plan, we should produce more electricity. Today the electricity problem is so important for the Party. That is why the Party Central Committee now plans to construct more power stations in the shortest time possible.

To reach this aim, the Party organizations, all Party members and working people in North Hamgyong Province should be mobilized to raise the output of the hydroelectric power stations in this province and, on the other hand, begin to construct a power plant on the Sodu River.

The Sodu, a tributary of the Tuman River, should be dammed up and its water brought up to Ranam and Puryong to raise the head so that a huge power plant is erected. The plant will have an output of approximately 337,500 kW. The construction of the power plant should be started in the near future and a struggle should be waged to complete it in a few years.

The people of North Hamgyong Province should work energetically on this project. You must not expect any aid from other provinces. They all have their own tasks to attend to. The same is the case with Ryanggang Province, North and South Phyongan Provinces, North and South Hwanghae Provinces. Let us build the Sodusu Power Station with the efforts of the people of North Hamgyong Province.

At the same time, for afforestation and river conservation in the

province, a movement of the masses should be launched to dam up all the rivers, big and small, for the production of electric power and for irrigation.

Comrades, a struggle should be waged everywhere to produce electricity. We should fight to do away with the practice of casting off the heat at the factories and generate electricity by making full use of waste heat, rebuild the existing thermal power stations quickly and also build many new big ones. Since North Hamgyong Province abounds in coal and has many large factories, it can set up many power stations which will make use of waste heat. We should, in this way, satisfy the demands of industry for electric power by giving priority to the production of electricity.

It is necessary to develop the engineering industry on a large scale since there are many heavy-industry enterprises, coal mines and other various factories in North Hamgyong Province.

In a year or two the Ranam Machine Plant should be expanded so that the number of its machine tools may reach at least 200 to 250, and, later on, it should be developed into a large factory with 500 to 600 machines. There are many other engineering factories in North Hamgyong Province, and all of them should be developed.

The Chongjin Dockyard and Rajin Dockyard have now begun to build 3,000-ton ships, but they should build bigger ones in future. The Chongjin Dockyard should later switch from building wooden vessels to building iron-clad ones. It is important for the Rajin Dockyard to learn techniques and lay the foundations well for the manufacture of high-speed engines for itself.

Furthermore, all the factories in North Hamgyong Province have plenty of cutting tools for repairs and maintenance. Here, they are currently making simple cutting tools by themselves and carrying on the work of enlarging the factories. It is a very good thing. I absolutely support your zealous participation in this undertaking.

The Juul Flax Mill manufactured single-purpose cutting machines with five cutting tools. I was told that as from April this year, the mill is going to manufacture 10 cutting tools every month. Very good. The

manager and the Party committee chairwoman especially think and work boldly. They are determined to develop this mill into a flax-textile mill by making lathes for themselves and thus increasing the number of machines and manufacturing looms. They are really enterprising.

At the Komusan Cement Factory, I have seen them cut large equipment with small machine tools and they say they will build a kiln by themselves. That is precisely the way how the machine-building industry should be developed. If the metal-working industry also takes creative initiative in this way and all other factories work in the same way, I think North Hamgyong Province will be able to make many cutting machines and expand many factories by itself.

All factories will do well to follow the example of the Juul Flax Mill. Make plenty of machines on your own.

You should see to it that machine tools do not take too much space. The enterprises in the fishing sector are the worst in doing this and in using them ineffectively. They scatter the machine tools here and there unnecessarily. They should be utilized more intensively and repair workshops should be well equipped.

The chemical industry should also be developed. The Komusan Cement Factory must carry out its plan by further raising the capacity of a calcining kiln now in operation; they should quickly complete another one which they are going to set up by themselves, and rapidly raise the production efficiency of the ten vertical kilns already constructed. The operation efficiency of the existing calcining kilns should be increased, and this year at least 10,000 more tons of cement should be turned out, and the factory should be developed into a plant which will be capable of producing over 500,000 tons of cement per year.

The Aoji Chemical Factory should be rebuilt quickly to produce methanol next year. The manager of this factory seems to have the old habit of keeping the plant, just doing nothing in fact. He should work intensely and thus restore the plant rapidly, equip it with better techniques, produce methanol quickly and also organize the work of

refining oil in future. This is what we expect and what the Party wants him to do.

In light industry, as I have already mentioned, the Chongjin Spinning Mill has decided, and is already working, to produce approximately 14,000 tons of rayon and staple fibre this year. Workers, technicians and office employees of this mill have devoted great energies to the reconstruction of the mill; they are also now carrying out their production plan according to schedule. I am sure they will also fulfil their plan in future.

An important task at present is to improve the quality of our products. The yarn should be thinner, stronger and prettier; only then it would be possible to weave good drapery. While waging a struggle to improve the quality of products, you should complete the work of rehabilitating the mill and installing more equipment. Thus, you should produce 20,000 tons of rayon and staple fibre next year. I think this factory should also take steps to produce pulp from maize stalks and reeds.

Next, you should see to it that the health hazards of this mill's spinning shop are eliminated and make it a hygienic and convenient place to work in.

The production results of the Hoeryong Paper Mill are good. The Kilju Paper Mill is lagging a little behind, and it should increase production quickly. As for those sections which are not yet fully equipped with production facilities, the Party organizations should appeal to the workers to wage a struggle to perfect the equipment quickly.

Next, sugar beet should be cultivated in the Hoeryong area and a sugar refinery erected there. First of all, this year you should try out an initial production of sugar, and next year, complete the construction of a factory with a production capacity of about 10,000 tons. All the equipment necessary for the factory has been ordered; so the construction should be pushed decidedly forward.

You were already given the task of constructing the sugar refinery in 1954, but even the sugar-beet seeds were lost. This year, you should

unfailingly build the sugar refinery, and at the same time you should cultivate sugar beet.

As you know, North Hamgyong Province has tremendous possibilities of meat production. It is necessary to strive to produce meat, milk and eggs in large quantities and set up plants for processing them.

In North Hamgyong Province, factories such as the Juul Electric Appliances, Saenggiryong Ceramic and Kyongsong Ceramic are manufacturing porcelain. This is very important. The Party should pay attention to those ceramic factories. Porcelain is indispensable for the people's life.

The porcelain of our country is traditionally famous. Our ancestors produced excellent porcelain. Today, however, we are worse than our ancestors in porcelain production.

We should develop the ceramic industry and raise the quality of the products. Baking time should be fully ensured and the technical level heightened in order to improve the quality of the porcelain.

I have seen boundless possibilities of mechanization at the Juul Electric Appliances Factory. No mechanization has been carried out at the Saenggiryong and Kyongsong Ceramic Factories. The Juul Electric Appliances Factory has invented machines and used them in production. It is advisable to share this experience to introduce machines, raise the technical level and develop the ceramic factories in a planned way.

From now on, you should turn the district of Juul into the best centre for porcelain production in our country and make the Juul porcelain famous. You have good clay, the feldspar is nearby, you have all necessary conditions for porcelain production, and so you can manufacture plenty of good porcelain.

As for the local industry in the province, it is important to strengthen the newly-built factories organizationally and economically. Since the June Plenary Meeting last year, quite a few local industries have also been set up in North Hamgyong Province. This is a very good thing.

You should strive to further expand and develop local factories, draw all the unused labour of every county into production, and strengthen the producers' cooperatives organizationally and economically. And you should tap plenty of local raw-material resources. You need to do away with the bad habit of relying on other places, and ensure production with locally available raw materials.

As has already been mentioned, you may produce porcelain and you may also set up factories which use shells as raw materials. The Unggi Disabled Soldiers' Cooperative makes excellent buttons from shells. You can get as many shells as you want at the seashore. With them you can make ornaments and many other things.

The seaweed *zostera marina* is also useful for various purposes. In Rajin, I saw fibre made from *zostera marina*, and it was quite excellent. If you collect the seaweed in quantity and process it, you can substitute it for cotton and also weave it for lining cloth.

Furthermore, North Hamgyong Province produces crystal in abundance. With the crystal you can make various kinds of industrial art objects.

Not only that. With willow withes you can make wicker trunks and various articles for travel. If you raise the quality, you can even export them. You should make things like wicker trunks and baskets with willow withes on a large scale.

It will be good to utilize our abundant local resources in this way.

You should also see to it that food-processing factories are set up in county seats to press oil, process meat, vegetables and fruit in a big way.

It is an important issue for local industry to raise the quality of products. You should wage a struggle to increase production, raise the quality and lower production costs.

Both the provincial and county people's committees still do not guide local industry properly. The local industry management bureau of the provincial people's committee and the local industry management sections of the county people's committees should strive for the planned operation of the province-owned and county-owned factories.

4. ON AGRICULTURE

In agriculture, the task we assigned to the Party organization of North Hamgyong Province in 1954 was to attend principally to agro-fishery and agro-stockbreeding. The Party organization of North Hamgyong Province, however, carried out this task very badly.

Today, I would like to stress again the task of the Party organizations of North Hamgyong Province as far as agriculture is concerned: North Hamgyong Province should lay emphasis on solving the grain problem and pay no less attention to developing stockbreeding and fisheries.

Thus, you should farm well and also produce plenty of meat and fish.

You should catch more fish and produce more meat, eggs and milk by making good use of your environment. There are only small plains in North Hamgyong Province. Therefore, those who live near the mountains should engage mainly in stockbreeding and those near the sea, in fishery as well.

By and large, you can attend to both farming and stockbreeding in mountainous districts, both farming and fishery in seaside areas and exclusively farming in some districts. The majority should engage mainly in agro-fishery or agro-stockbreeding. It is a matter of primary importance to make good use of the mountains and the sea.

Forestry and water conservation is an important task which devolves on the provincial Party organization for the development of agriculture and stockbreeding. Without forestry and water conservation, it is impossible to develop agriculture and stockbreeding.

North Hamgyong Province is geographically an area with high mountains, a nearby sea and frequent fog. Because the mountains are high, there is drought during the dry weather, but when it rains a little,

water rushes down, causing floods which wash away much land and often people are injured. That is why you in North Hamgyong Province must regard forestry and water conservation as the most important task. Everything will go well only when you put an end to the damages caused by floods and get rid of the damage of drought by introducing non-paddy field irrigation and laying out paddy fields through the harnessing of water.

You should start with the area between Kim Chaek and Puryong Counties, and then work your way northward. If each county dams its rivers to make reservoirs, conserves water in the rainy season and uses it for irrigation during drought, flood and drought damages can be prevented. The provincial Party organization should, therefore, start the work of forestry and water conservation as a mass movement this year.

Rivers such as the Kalpha of Kim Chaek County, the Namdae of Kilju County, the Ryongsan and Hwadae of Hwadae County, the Juul and Onchon of Kyongsong County should all be dammed up. These water-conservation projects must be carried out in such a way as to make it possible to generate electricity, prevent flood and drought damages and breed fish.

If you do so, peasants of North Hamgyong Province will also be well-off. It all depends on whether you work quickly or slowly. The standard of living of the peasants in South Phyongan Province is rising fast precisely because many difficult projects, such as the Anju irrigation project, were carried out.

Therefore, irrigation works should be undertaken as a mass movement. Irrigation will enable North Hamgyong Province alone to get a generating capacity of approximately 40,000 to 50,000 kW. This is not a small figure. Most of the forestry and river conservation projects should be completed by 1961, starting from the second half of the current year. The issue depends on whether you have confidence in completing them in two years' time or not. If you do not get to work but just remain trembling, you will never complete them. South Hamgyong Province has already started all its projects. North Hamgyong Province should also follow suit as is pointed out in the

Party decisions.

The forestry and river conservation projects should first be started on a large scale in the districts south of Chongjin. The workers and the urban students and youths will help in these projects. When the Anju irrigation project was started in South Phyongan Province immediately after the armistice, many people laughed at it, saying: "They are trying the impossible." But we have done it. If North Hamgyong Province carries out its forestry and river conservation projects, approximately 20,000 hectares of cultivated land can be irrigated and floods damages prevented almost completely.

Now, in allotting crops, it is important to cultivate those which resist the cold. Crops which can resist the cold should be selected and cultivated. It is a dangerous thing to make a speculative venture. Crops which stand the cold appear to yield less harvest, but they in fact yield more because they are safe. By taking risks you may suffer a great loss. As for the paddy, you should also cultivate strong seeds which resist the cold. In the region south of Kilju there has been much controversy over the issue of cultivating *Suwon No. 82* or *Wonya No. 2*, but they should cultivate *Wonya No. 2* which resists frosts. *Suwon No. 82* should be planted when it is proved safe by experiments.

As for the non-paddy crops potatoes should be cultivated as the principal crop in areas where they grow well and maize where it thrives. In other words, the principle of the right crop in the right place should be observed.

The cold-bed rice seedling method should be applied where experiments have shown positive results. But you should not force your people to apply it where it is not fit. In my opinion, you can grow cold-bed rice seedlings here since they quicken transplanting by a month.

In this region, you should grow a lot of cold-resistant industrial crops such as soy bean, wild sesame, flax, hemp, sugar beet, tobacco and hops. To press cooking oil and make bean curd, you should have soy beans. You should grow soy beans not only as a catch crop but also as the main crop. Particularly in areas north of Chongjin, it is necessary

to grow plenty of industrial crops such as wild sesame and sugar beet. Since North Hamgyong Province is a factory region, it is important to attend to farming in such a way as to supply the workers with enough vegetables, cooking oil and the like.

Furthermore, you must produce seeds which are suitable for this region. You cannot get along with the experimental farm in Kyongsong alone. Each county and each agricultural cooperative should have an experimental field and produce the seeds suitable for this region.

In general, stockbreeding should be the main part of agriculture in North Hamgyong Province. So it is good to create a lot of pastureland and cultivate fodder crops in quantities. For instance, at the Sangphyong Cooperative, Kim Chaek County, potatoes grown on good fields yielded seven tons per hectare, but girasols grown on poor fields yielded 22 tons. Pigs eat girasols just as well as potatoes, and it is much advantageous to grow girasols for fodder.

Moreover, steep slopes and wastelands should be turned into grazing grounds. Grass should also be planted to create pastures. In regard to this point, let us cultivate the grass which we have and which grows well in our country. Our hills abound with arrowroot, purslane and clover. You should get their seeds and plant them. Our peasants know well what kinds of grass pigs and cattle like.

In this way, we should create fodder bases and raise mainly rabbits, sheep, goats and milch cows in mountain areas. The Korean breed of cattle must be improved into milch cows. They are grass-eating animals. Grass-eating animals should be raised mainly in mountainous districts as they abound with grass, and in the plains, you should raise mainly chicken, rabbits and pigs. You should be audacious, not passive, with stockbreeding. There are comrades who accept it against their will. But I am certain you will have success if you tackle the problem with determination.

In the plains, lakes and ponds should be utilized. There are many ponds and lakes in Rajin County. It would be very good to use them for raising crucian carp, and also use the weeds in the ponds as fodder for raising ducks. You can also attend to bee cultivation and

fresh-water fish breeding here.

Stress should be laid on agro-fishery along the coast, and the seaweed, tangle, sea cucumber, oyster and so on be raised. You should attend to the cultivation work and derive a good income from it at the seashore, instead of only hoping for easy gains.

Various fruit trees should also be planted in the mountains. Do not cultivate only such things as apple tree which takes seven or eight years to bear fruit. You should grow trees which produce fruit quickly, and you should especially improve wild-fruit trees. We should plant large numbers of fruit trees for the benefit of the coming generations. We are badly off now because our grandfathers did nothing, aren't we? If we do a good job, our posterity will be well-off. You should cultivate mushrooms and brackens, plant mulberry trees and create groves for tussah so that you raise silkWorms. Since you have abundant acacia flowers and bush clover blooms here, you can also produce plenty of honey.

All these projects precisely mean a utilization of the mountain and sea areas.

In animal husbandry, it is important to intensify breeding. All the cooperatives should breed their own stock, instead of expecting the agricultural and livestock farms to deliver breeds to them.

The prevention of livestock epizootics should be intensified for the development of animal husbandry. The most important thing in stock-breeding is to prevent epizootics. Therefore, you should strictly observe the regulations on the prevention of epizootics, and maintain good hygienic and cultural conditions.

There are many large agricultural and livestock farms in North Hamgyong Province. The Party should give right guidance to improve the work of those farms.

Farm No. 5 should be turned into a stock farm which produces pork and raises big domestic animals. So far it has produced potatoes, but now it must produce meat. State-owned agricultural and livestock farms should reorganize all their work so as to produce meat. From now on, all grain produced by the agricultural and livestock farms

should be turned into meat. Farm No. 5, Hoeryong Stock Farm, Ryongje Stock Farm and Rajin Stock Farm should rapidly increase their meat production.

All livestock breeding stations should also produce meat and other livestock products. Of course, this does not mean that they should give up breeding. As soon as new breeds arrive in our country, breeding should be done promptly; most of the agricultural cooperatives should also do their own breeding.

Unggi County had better try, on an experimental basis, to turn the whole county into a single state farm by amalgamating all its agricultural cooperatives, fishing stations and fishing cooperatives. Its advantage is in the possibility of using manpower seasonally and rationally and developing a large-scale, versatile economy, by attending to fishery, pisciculture, duck raising and farming.

The Kyongsong Livestock Breeding Station should be reorganized to supply Chongjin directly with livestock products. This is necessary to supply the workers of Chongjin with rabbit, chicken and eggs.

5. ON THE FISHING INDUSTRY

In the fishing industry, deep-sea fishing should be developed. Even after the adoption of the decision of the April 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the work is still not going well.

For deep-sea fishing, we should build big fishing vessels and purchase some.

Furthermore, fishing for whales and dolphins should be developed. Thus, the oil problem should be solved.

The greatest weakness in the fishing industry at present is that you work only seasonally and do not attend to medium and small-scale fishing and inshore fishing. You should fish year in and year out, never leaving the sea, and increase the number of times you go out fishing.

At present, this number is very low. Workers in other sectors work over 300 days a year, but the workers in the fishing industry do not seem to work even 150 days. They should go out fishing at least 250 to 300 days.

The bureaucracy of the dockyard officials offers quite an obstacle here. When a vessel is sent in for repair they take a long time to carry out the necessary work. Because they do not repair it properly, it soon goes out of order and has to be repaired again. Besides this, they repair the vessel only when it is accompanied by more than ten people including the chief engineer. That is the case with the Chongjin and Rajin Dockyards, and bureaucracy is rampant particularly at the Unggi Repair Station.

Moreover, the fishing stations are just idle, when big vessels are under repair, even though they can fish with small boats. The fishing industry must rid itself of seasonal limitations.

And it is advisable to see that all the family members of the fishing station employees go to work. It is necessary to employ them in the work of drying the nets, darning them and making new ones.

The next important issue in developing the fishing industry is to intensify fresh-water breeding and shallow-sea culture. You must grow tangle, seaweed, sea cucumber, trepang, etc., in the shallow sea, and plenty of carp, crucian carp, rainbow trout and other fish in fresh water.

Next, you should raise the quality of processed seafood.

You should collect ice and set up many refrigeration plants so that fresh and frozen fish is supplied in large quantities, and you should also improve the quality of processed pollack. In processing pollack, it would be advisable also to gut them, salt them and dry them flat. And a plant should be built to produce fish meal from their heads. Above all, you should install facilities for drying fish and process it.

Furthermore, you should give more scientific and technical guidance to the fishing industry. Our fishing industry lacks science and technology. Fishing is still done according to old methods and it advances at a snail's pace. This practice should be vigorously counteracted.

Young people should enter this sector in large numbers. To bring about great innovations in the fishing industry, the youth should go out to sea.

Meanwhile, an ideological struggle should be conducted among the fishermen. A struggle should be waged against the old habit of doing things in a hit-or-miss way, against the speculative spirit, and against the tendency to carouse it recklessly because of a good catch at sea, and then to have a soak on the pretext of a failure.

6. ON CONSTRUCTION WORK

Now, let me speak of the work in the construction sector.

In construction work, it is important to build more dwellings for the workers. We should build dwellings for 5,000 families in Chongjin this year by adding 3,000 to the planned figure. To build dwellings for 5,000 families, the Kim Chaek Iron Works and Songjin Steel Plant should produce more steel and make wire rods and round steel, and the Komusan Cement Factory should produce and supply 10,000 more tons of cement to Chongjin. Dwellings for 1,500 families should be built in the city of Kim Chaek over and above the plan to be able to solve the housing problem.

In construction, efforts must be concentrated on utilizing plenty of local materials and the quality of construction must be improved.

An important issue in rural construction is to stop building houses on the plains against the Party's policy, and build them at the foot of hills. You should see to it that the houses are moved to the foot of hills from the fields so that more land can be made available and ploughing can be mechanized. New houses which have already been built cannot be pulled down. But you should strengthen the struggle to build houses at the foot of hills in future and thus prevent the cultivated land from being encroached upon.

In North Hamgyong Province, people do not think of repairing and reclaiming the existing buildings into use. There are many good houses in Rajin, but they do not try to restore and use them in spite of the instructions given some years ago.

Would it not be nice to transfer the deteriorated houses at the abandoned mines to the agricultural cooperatives to restore them into schools or houses for the cooperative members, instead of leaving them out of use to fall into decay? A struggle should be waged against the incorrect tendency of people who leave the houses to deteriorate, refusing to give them to others, while they are not using them themselves.

Finally, the whole Party should pay attention to the problem of improving the workers' standard of living. North Hamgyong Province has failed to supply its workers with enough meat and vegetables.

We carry out the Party's policies to defend the interests of the workers and to raise the standard of living of our working people.

The factories must install laundries and barber shops, should fully provide dining halls, stores, dormitories, etc., not to speak of public baths, kindergartens and schools, and wage a struggle to keep them clean. Meanwhile, hospitals and clinics should serve the working people efficiently. In the districts where there are factories and enterprises, a struggle should be waged to ensure that there would never be shortages of vegetables, cooking oil, bean curd, milk, meat and eggs, and, above all, to ensure that every grocer's shop has fresh fish in store.

These are the important tasks of the Party organizations of North Hamgyong Province. I am firmly convinced that after this meeting there will be a great change and a big leap forward in the work of the provincial Party organization and the people's committees and in all sectors of the national economy.

**SPEECH AT THE CEREMONY FOR THE
COMMISSIONING OF BLAST FURNACES
NOS. 1 AND 2 AND COKE OVEN NO. 2
OF THE KIM CHAEK IRON WORKS**

March 23, 1959

Dear comrades,

Dear comrade workers, technicians and office employees of the Kim Chaek Iron Works,

Today we are holding this ceremony to mark the commissioning of furnaces and coke oven of the Kim Chaek Iron Works with a great sense of pleasure and satisfaction.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to offer my warmest congratulations and thanks to the workers, technicians and office employees who have rebuilt the furnaces and coke oven successfully.

As rapid progress was made in our socialist construction after the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the demands of the national economy for iron grew sharply. To meet these demands the furnaces needed to be reconstructed urgently. That was why the Party Central Committee proposed the important task of ensuring uninterrupted production of pig iron by rebuilding furnace No. 2 before starting large repair work on furnace No. 1 which was already in operation. At the same time, the Party called for early completion of repair work on furnace No. 1 to increase the output at the

Kim Chaek Iron Works as quickly as possible.

The last war brought havoc to the furnaces of the Kim Chaek Iron Works. Therefore, either the rebuilding of furnace No. 2 or large repair work on furnace No. 1 was no less a huge and difficult project than building a new furnace. Our Party, however, believed firmly that our workers, who were not only trained and seasoned in the fierce war but also bravely overcame untold hardship arising in postwar rehabilitation, would be able to fulfil such a difficult task ahead of schedule.

The workers and technicians of the iron works creditably lived up to the Party's expectations by demonstrating unparalleled labour enthusiasm and creativeness in rebuilding the furnaces and the coke oven.

Though inexperienced in building furnaces, you were successful in solving difficult technical problems, dispelling all sorts of mystery about techniques, in response to the Party's call "Think boldly and act boldly!", and bravely surmounted many difficulties and hardships which cropped up in the process. You made large-sized and many other processing machines to secure on your own most of the machinery and equipment necessary for the reconstruction of the furnaces and coke oven, thereby shortening by far the duration of the projects.

The furnaces of the Kim Chaek Iron Works have not been rebuilt in status quo ante, but were further equipped with up-to-date techniques. By converting the former method of iron band into a method of iron cover and effecting many other technical transformations, the life span of furnaces has been prolonged, their production capacity raised considerably and the conditions for workers' protection radically improved.

The recent reconstruction projects produced Heroes of Labour and many other labour innovators.

All the workers, technicians and office employees, who participated in the reconstruction of furnaces and coke oven, united firmly and mounted a mass innovation movement, learning from and

helping each other, with the sole aim of carrying out the tasks proposed by the Party. Thus, they accomplished brilliant labour feats—rebuilding furnace No. 2 with a capacity of 350,000 tons in only six months, cutting the duration of work by half, and completing large repair work on furnace No. 1 which has the same capacity, in three months.

Your meritorious action on behalf of our Party, country and people will be recorded for ever in the history of our socialist construction with great pride by the Korean working class. Our Party and people are very glad of your achievements and appreciate them highly.

The magnificent furnaces soaring high in the middle of the iron works demonstrate the heroic spirit and inexhaustible creative power of our working class, and the glowing molten iron pouring out of furnaces symbolizes the burning enthusiasm of our working class boundlessly loyal to the Party's call.

The furnaces and coke oven of this iron works have been reconstructed with the positive support of major factories and enterprises and the broad sections of the masses throughout the country. Workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works, Songjin Steel Plant and many other factories and enterprises produced and supplied materials and equipment needed to rebuild the furnaces in good time. In particular, workers of the Pyongyang Electric Appliances Plant, for the first time in our country, made technically complicated skip switchboards needed for the charging equipment and sent them to the Kim Chaek Iron Works, with the result that we could automatize the charging equipment by our own efforts. And a large number of rural youths and students in North Hamgyong Province helped in the reconstruction of furnaces and coke oven with their precious labour.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to extend my warm gratitude to all the workers, technicians, rural youths and students who gave support to the reconstruction of furnaces and coke oven of the Kim Chaek Iron Works.

The operation of two furnaces capable of producing a total of 700,000 tons of pig iron at the Kim Chaek Iron Works will have great

significance in the industrial development and socialist construction of our country.

We have rebuilt the furnaces and coke oven with our own designs and efforts as in the case of the Hwanghae Iron Works, and also produced all machinery, equipment and materials needed for their reconstruction independently.

We have strenuously implemented the Party's economic policy of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry and waged a strong ideological struggle against conservatism and mysticism about techniques. In consequence, we were able to strengthen the material and technical foundations of our industry to their present state and build large-scale, up-to-date production equipment such as furnaces independently within a short period of time.

These furnaces built by your devoted efforts will rapidly boost the output of pig iron so as to supply more steel vitally needed by the machine-building industry and in capital construction which is being undertaken on a large scale in all parts of the country. This would be a great contribution to further strengthening the material and technical foundations of the national economy and promoting our socialist construction.

While building furnaces, you have gained rich experience and trained many technicians and skilled workers. This is a valuable asset for the future development of our industry, the metallurgical industry in particular, and confirms our self-confidence in socialist construction.

Your success in the building of furnaces is tremendous, and you have good reason to be proud of it. However, you should never rest on your laurels. Self-complacency and indolence would bring about stagnation and retrogression. There can only be continued innovations and progress for communists. You, the heroic working class of Korea, should consolidate past achievements and register new, greater success by keeping up the revolutionary spirit as befitting communists.

Comrades,

Socialist construction in our country at present is in a great upsurge. As socialist relations of production undividedly hold sway in towns

and the country and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses grows higher, the productive forces are developing at a rapid pace. Under the leadership of our Party, all the people are rushing ahead in the spirit of Chollima to exceed the targets of the First Five-Year Plan this year and turn our country into a developed socialist industrial state within a few more years.

Developing the metallurgical industry has decisive significance in our socialist construction at the present time.

In order to develop the productive forces highly in conformity with socialist society, we should place all sectors of the national economy on the basis of modern technology. Without a radical increase in the production of pig iron, steel and structural steel, we would not be able to produce various machines and equipment in large quantities and, accordingly, we would fail to carry out the current urgent task of technical revolution satisfactorily.

Capital construction also requires iron. We should build many more factories, mines and power stations, strengthen the material and technical foundations of transport services and continue to carry out large-scale construction in towns and the country.

The development of every sector of the national economy is dependent on iron production.

Satisfying the ever-growing demands of the machine-building industry and capital construction for iron is a vital question in guaranteeing the rapid growth of the productive forces.

We should more than double the output of pig iron within one or two years and raise it to the level of four million tons within four or five years.

In carrying out this huge task the Kim Chaek Iron Works is confronted with a very important responsibility.

The question which calls for an immediate solution at this iron works is to normalize operations at the rebuilt furnaces and increase their utilization in every possible way. It is essential to take technical measures to avoid accidents in the operation of furnaces and to lower the coefficient of the utilization of their volumes, and to introduce ball

ores, raise the quality of roasted ore and widely apply different advanced methods of work, in order to augment the output of pig iron quickly.

Meanwhile, you should step up the building of converters now under way so that all of them would be unfailingly put into operation on schedule. In this way, you should not fail to exceed this year's production targets for pig iron and steel.

You are confronted with the task of carrying out large-scale construction to expand and perfect the iron works.

We intend to develop the Kim Chaek Iron Works into a big, combined metallurgical base, where work ranging from the production of pig iron to steel-making and rolling would go on uninterruptedly.

We should see to it that the iron works produces more than 2,500,000 tons of pig iron in a year within the next four or five years and expand its productive capacity so as to stabilize the production at four million tons in the future.

To this end, you should carry out capital construction in a farsighted and planned way. Your energy should not be spread on different projects but should be concentrated on the construction of the most important projects so as to put them into operation quickly. You should make every possible effort to mechanize construction work, thereby increasing its speed and quality, and to produce your own necessary equipment.

In expanding and developing the Kim Chaek Iron Works, it is very important to supply to it a sufficient amount of iron ore. Concurrently with the expansion of the iron works, the Musan Mine should also be expanded and its production processes mechanized in order to extract more iron ore and raise its quality decisively.

The Kim Chaek Iron Works should thus be converted into the most powerful base of metallurgy in our country.

This is a very important and honourable task that has been entrusted in your hands. The greater your achievements in production and construction, the faster socialist construction in our country would progress.

With a view to producing even one more ton of pig iron and steel and building new production facilities more quickly and better, all the employees of the Kim Chaek Iron Works should demonstrate maximum initiative and zeal and steadily raise the level of their techniques and skill. Workers and technicians should strengthen their unity and cooperation and show collective wisdom and strength to the maximum to bring about a continued upsurge and innovations in production and construction.

I am convinced that all the workers, technicians and office workers of the Kim Chaek Iron Works will successfully perform their honourable duties, upholding the policy of our Party.

HEALTH WORKERS SHOULD BE TRUE SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE

Talk with Health Workers

April 24, 1959

The most important task confronting the health workers is to intensify the struggle to get rid of the remnants of bourgeois ideology.

The remaining bourgeois ideology obstructs and is detrimental to the building of socialism.

As long as people retain these things in their mind, the building of socialism and communism will not be successful. Therefore, it is imperative to uproot bourgeois ideology.

The shortcomings you have criticized in your speeches are all due to the bourgeois ideology. Contrary to the working-class ideology which serves the people, the bourgeois ideology knows only money but not the people.

We are striving to feed the people well, clothe them well and let them live well. There are many good people who are imbued with the ideas of the working class in the ranks of the health workers. However, some of them have not yet discarded the obsolete ideological viewpoint. The health workers must vigorously push ahead with the ideological revolution.

Nowadays one can hardly see chickens in the regions north of Kim Chaek County, North Hamgyong Province. This is because the Ministry of Public Health issued a directive to destroy them, under the pretext of promoting sanitation. This is not beneficial to the people; it

infringes on their interests, and goes against the policy of the Party and the Government. The people should be encouraged to raise many chickens for meat.

As I heard in your speeches, there were many serious abuses. At present, some doctors do not consider it a serious matter if any of their patients die; they are cruel and do not care about the sufferings of the people. Such people do not know for whom they work. The question is their viewpoint on the masses.

In the old society doctors sought only money. They did not care about the lives of the people. Since they did not regard the working masses as human beings, they showed no concern about the death of workers from illness. We must determinedly combat such an old-fashioned mentality. This meeting must put forward as its most important task, the work to uproot the remnants of the bourgeois ideology from the mind of health workers. Everyone, from the Minister of Public Health to doctors, should struggle to get rid of the remnants of such an old ideology.

You should have a clear understanding of this struggle. We do not oppose people who were well-off in the past; we oppose the bourgeois ideas remaining in their mind and also those who deliberately hinder socialist construction.

At present, there are neither private doctors nor privately-owned hospitals in our country. A new health service system has been set up for the people. Regardless of this system, the remnants of the obsolete ideology persist in the mind of people.

In the public health sector the struggle against these things has not yet been effective. Through an intensive ideological struggle, health workers must wipe out the old ideology with which they worked for the bourgeoisie and to get money in the past. They must serve the workers, peasants and socialism in good faith. All health workers must strive to change their obsolete ideas and become true popular health workers who serve the working people and socialism.

Leading officials of the ministry should first get rid of all remnants of the bourgeois ideology. As I said, critically, at the Presidium of the

Party Central Committee some time ago, some people think that many diseases break out because of the Chollima Movement. This is totally wrong. The claim that the Chollima Movement is the cause of inefficient health and sanitation work is the manifestation of bourgeois ideas and opposition to this movement. How can this movement be the cause of inefficient sanitation when we are accelerating socialist construction in the spirit of Chollima in order to eat, dress and live better? We must get ourselves out of the difficult situation as soon as possible by building socialism more rapidly and to this end, we must naturally ride on Chollima.

And some officials are said to be attributing inefficient rural sanitation to agricultural cooperatives. This is an act that goes against our Party's policy on cooperativization.

As a result of cooperativization, agricultural production has increased, the livelihood of the peasants has improved and the rural working people are in much better health than before. There were many cases of tuberculosis and stomach trouble among the Koreans in the past when they were badly off. However, since the formation of cooperatives, the income of peasants has increased and all rural communities are provided with clinics, bathrooms and other sanitary facilities. This has resulted in the further improvement of their sanitary and hygienic conditions and in a considerable drop in the number of diseases. Attributing the cause of inefficient sanitary and hygienic work to agricultural cooperatives is a preposterous distortion of facts and an absurd lie against the Party's policy.

Some people have also been quoted as saying that women in rural areas fall ill and are unable to become pregnant because they work on cooperative farms. This is also an incorrect representation of the facts, which is due to a bourgeois ideological viewpoint. With their participation in work, women have become healthier; and with the increase in production, they are better fed and have become better off. In view of the large number of working women in rural areas, the Party and the Government have taken measures to ease their burden by setting up many nurseries, kindergartens, bathrooms, laundries, tailors'

shops and similar centres. Some people are not properly following the instructions of the Party, and instead speak ill of our system.

We must resolutely combat such old-fashioned ideas.

In order to accelerate socialist construction, the whole Party and all the people must consider this as their most important task to uproot the remnants of bourgeois ideas. It is especially important to eradicate the bourgeois ideas from amongst the health workers.

Keeping pace with the Chollima Movement, all our health workers must strive to prevent outbreak of diseases and treat any patients with care. In this way, they will work devotedly to improve the people's health and protect their lives, and thus fully live up to the expectations of the Party.

**CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO ALL
MEMBERS OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES,
THE WORKERS, TECHNICIANS AND OFFICE
EMPLOYEES OF THE OJIDON IRRIGATION
CONSTRUCTION COMPANY, AND
YOUTHS, STUDENTS AND SOLDIERS
WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED
IN THE OJIDON IRRIGATION PROJECT**

April 30, 1959

The first stage of the Ojidon irrigation project has been successfully completed in a short period through your devoted efforts. You have striven together to carry out the gigantic project to transform nature, upholding the decision of the September Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea on increasing agricultural production quickly through the establishment of an extensive irrigation system for dry fields, and through the continuous expansion of the area of paddy fields under irrigation in our countryside.

On the occasion of the opening of the Ojidon irrigation works completed through the first stage, I would like, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, to greatly praise the brilliant feats of labour performed by you, the workers, peasants, youths, students and soldiers, who have successfully carried out the project, and extend warm congratulations and gratitude to you.

Thanks to your creative efforts, the Party's policy of irrigation is being put into effect with success.

The valuable fruit of your labour constitutes another excellent contribution to converting our countryside into a rich region, where all crops always thrive and where there are no crop failures by providing vital water supplies to sterile land, over which our forefathers used to lament, while waiting for rain to fall, an excellent contribution to the cause for the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people.

Your achievements are not only a great contribution to hastening the technical transformation of agriculture and socialist construction as a whole, but another strong blow at the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. These achievements will greatly inspire our brothers in the south who are valiantly struggling against the enemies.

I hope you will achieve brilliant victories and successes in the struggle to promote the technical transformation of our agriculture by further extending the irrigated area and intensifying afforestation and water conservation with a higher degree of creative spirit and patriotic enthusiasm, without resting on your laurels, and will be always ready to actively carry out spring ploughing, sowing and other urgent farm work.

ON MAINTAINING REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTING THIS YEAR'S NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

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

May 5, 1959

This enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee is being attended by the provincial Party committee chairmen, the managers and Party committee chairmen of major factories and enterprises and many other leading workers. Today I would like to speak about the need to maintain revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction and successfully carry out the national economic plan for this year as well as develop local industry.

1. ON MAINTAINING REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTING THIS YEAR'S NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

As you all know, the national economic plan we must carry out this year is an ambitious and difficult one. Nevertheless, we should not try

to curtail this plan in order to carry it out. The Party Central Committee wants no cuts in this year's national economic plan. Today when our country is in a period of revolutionary upswing, the curtailment of the plan is tantamount to slowing revolutionary upsurge.

It is by no means an easy task to mobilize all the people to bring about an upsurge in socialist construction and push ahead the revolution. A revolutionary upsurge has taken place in our country because our people are very eager to make changes and progress and have a strong fighting spirit and our Party gives well-advised guidance in the revolutionary struggle and construction work.

Robbed of their country and subjected to maltreatment by the Japanese imperialists in the past, our people lived a sorrowful life. Even before their country was lost, they had long been exploited and oppressed under the feudal dynasties and suffered from foreign invasion several times. As they suffered such oppression and exploitation, the Korean people have a deep hatred and animosity against the exploiting classes and foreign aggressors, as well as a great desire for progress and reforms. In addition, they have a deep love for their country, Party and Government. Our people, who lost their country, had no government and were maltreated in the past, have now become the masters of the country and have their own Party and government for the first time after liberation. So, why shouldn't they have a great affection for their country, Party and Government?

Ever since its foundation, our Party has successfully carried out the revolution and construction, relying on the masses in overcoming difficulties. The Party and the people have always had confidence in each other. The Party carried out democratic reforms, including the agrarian reform, nationalization of industries and Law on Sex Equality, and went through an arduous war hand in hand with the people, achieving victory. During the Fatherland Liberation War our people defended with their life our Party, the Government of the Republic and the people's democratic system which had provided them with a genuinely new life.

As soon as the truce went into effect, our Party urged all the people

to embark on postwar reconstruction of the national economy and, in a hearty response to the Party's call, they became united in the struggle to rebuild the ravaged economy. In the postwar period the Party and the people worked hard enduring all hardships in strong unity, with the result that they successfully fulfilled the Three-Year National Economic Plan and laid the economic foundations of the country and embarked upon the task of implementing the First Five-Year Plan.

The road our Party and people have taken since liberation is one full of revolutionary struggles. The democratic revolution, the building of a new country, the three-year Fatherland Liberation War, the postwar reconstruction, the socialist revolution and the building of socialism—these are all glorious revolutionary struggles waged by our Party and people in firm unity.

Through these struggles our people have come to realize the correctness of the Party's policy more deeply and place a greater confidence in our Party. Today the unity and cohesion of our Party and people have become stronger than ever before and their force is so powerful that it is capable of fully smashing the moves by any aggressors and reactionaries.

Thanks to the strong unity of the Party and the people forged in the revolutionary struggle, and to the wise leadership of our Party, we can today witness a revolutionary upsurge.

We should maintain this upsurge and never fail to implement the enormous and tense national economic plan for the current year.

As a matter of fact, nothing serious would happen to us, even if this year we do not draw up a more ambitious national economic plan than last year, and do not strive to implement it. The only problem will be that irrigation and mechanization in agriculture will be delayed a little and the people's living standard will not improve much. However, on no account, can we permit this. We should continue to advance with a high spirit and with more vigour. Only then can we fulfil the First Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule and catch up with advanced countries in the shortest time possible.

We should make strenuous efforts for one more year to keep the

electric power industry ahead of other industries and further develop the metallurgical industry, and should show our mettle to the world's people once again.

More machine factories should be built and large numbers of machines and equipment produced to lay solid material foundations for the technical revolution. A communist society is a society where the productive forces are highly developed. Development of the productive forces requires plenty of steel and machinery.

Agriculture should be developed in order to provide enough food for the people.

At least 20 metres of cloth should be produced per person, so that the people will be clothed properly.

We should attain, through one or two five-year plans, the results achieved by other countries through three five-year plans, and catch up with fraternal countries at the earliest date possible.

We have conditions and possibilities to do so. At present the masses are seething and endeavouring to carry out much more work. Their revolutionary spirit is really high.

In the last six months we expanded the irrigated area by over 300,000 hectares, and this is attributed entirely to the high spirit of the masses.

In carrying out work on irrigation systems in the last six months we did not simply dig canals on the plains. The projects to dig canals, which literally passed through hills and across rivers, were very difficult. But, because all people who expressed much revolutionary enthusiasm were mobilized, we were able to expand the irrigated area by over 300,000 hectares through our own efforts and techniques in a very short time, in only six months. During this period more than 7,000 pumps were made and supplied. Such great nature-remaking tasks are impossible without the high revolutionary spirit of the masses.

What matters is how our leading personnel perform their work. The revolutionary struggle entails great zeal and scrupulous organization of work. Since there is the correct leadership of our Party and the high

spirit of the masses, nothing is impossible if the leading officials organize work well with much enthusiasm.

At present officials of the Ministry of Light Industry are making the spinning and weaving equipment necessary to produce 200 million metres of cloth on their own. They are doing this not because there are mechanical engineers amongst them. No one of the leading workers at this ministry graduated from the university of mechanical engineering. They only have a firm determination and loyalty with which they thoroughly implement the Party's policy unconditionally.

All leading personnel should organize work carefully from now on, even though it has been delayed a little, with a determination to work hard to fulfil this year's national economic plan by all means.

First of all, vigorous efforts should be made in the metallurgical industry to fulfil its assignments in the national economic plan for this year.

It is important for this sector to carry out capital construction on a priority basis.

Understanding the main factors in their work and concentrating efforts on them, is one of the revolutionary work methods which the leading personnel should adopt. As an army wins in a battle only when it chooses the correct direction of the main attack and concentrates its forces on it, so in economic construction, too, all the work goes on smoothly only when the main factors in their work are understood correctly and the forces concentrated on them.

The Ministry of Metal Industry should examine construction projects and undertake them in such a way as to finish one important project after another by concentrating efforts on them. This is the only way to solve the problems of manpower and materials as well. If construction is not concentrated but spread, no one of its projects can be completed.

While undertaking one important project after another in capital construction, the metallurgical industry should devote its efforts to steel production.

It is essential to produce pig iron, but what is more important is to

produce steel in large quantities. Now the shortage of steel prevents different sectors of the national economy from doing what is within their power.

In order to produce plenty of steel, it is imperative to increase the role of repair and maintenance shops in the metallurgical plants and produce the necessary equipment and parts on their own.

At present, the Ministry of Metal Industry has 1,500 machine tools. If it makes effective use of them, it will be able to manufacture anything. We already advised the officials of this ministry not to rely on others but to increase the operation of machine tools at the repair and maintenance shops and make the necessary equipment and parts for their own use. However, they only want the Ministry of Machine Industry to produce equipment for them, while showing little interest in their repair and maintenance shops. Just because they have made some equipment and parts, they feel satisfied with this and do not try to produce more, though they can do so.

Over the past years our Party put forward the slogan, “Iron and machine are the king of industry!” and saw to it that other ministries gave positive assistance to the metallurgical industry. This led the officials in the Ministry of Metal Industry to get the bad habit of making no effort to produce the necessary equipment and parts on their own, only expecting other ministries to help them. They should get rid of this bad habit.

The Ministry of Metal Industry is one of the most important industrial ministries in our country. Therefore, it should set an example to other ministries. The repair and maintenance shops should use machines and equipment more effectively and build machines for themselves to produce the necessary equipment and parts satisfactorily.

The Ministry of Metal Industry should make rolling machines and such things itself. The Ryongsong Machine Factory is not the only one which is able to produce rolling machines. The Kangson Steel Plant and the Hwanghae Iron Works are also fully capable of doing this. Therefore, the ministry should make rolling machines on its own in

order to produce steel in larger quantities.

Mines should also increase the output of mineral ores.

They should not rely exclusively on mining machinery factories for production equipment but should strive to make such equipment themselves. They should thus increase production equipment and introduce mechanization widely. The Musan, Hasong and other large mines, in particular, should launch vigorous efforts to produce and improve equipment and mechanize operations themselves.

Management bureaus should be set up again under the Ministry of Metal Industry.

At present one shortcoming in this ministry's management system is that the Minister's failure in work makes it impossible to effectively supervise and guide the factories and enterprises under this ministry. By re-establishing the management bureaus under this ministry, it would be able to give proper supervision and guidance to the factories and enterprises and thus help all of them to run smoothly, even if the Minister does not perform his work properly. The ministry should establish the management bureaus at an early date in order to control and guide the factories and enterprises well.

The managers, Party committee chairmen and chief engineers at factories and enterprises should have a stronger sense of responsibility and a bigger role.

The leading workers at large factories and enterprises are like divisional or corps commanders of the army. They take charge of tens of thousands of people—workers and their dependents, and manage state property that is worth hundreds of millions of *won*. Therefore, they should run their factories in a skilful way with a high sense of responsibility. They should work in a responsible way with a firm determination to devote all their efforts to the fulfilment of their revolutionary tasks like Hero Ri Su Bok who unhesitatingly devoted his life to carry out the battle order.

Leading economic officials should make full use of the collective wisdom of the masses. Once the masses' intellect is enlisted no problem will remain unsolved. It is because the opinions of many

people are put together that the correct ways and means for the solution of problems can be sought at a meeting.

In order to enlist the masses' wisdom properly, it is necessary to make good preparations in advance. Tasks should first be given and studied deeply and then put up for discussion in order to hear opinions about them. Collective wisdom cannot be shown simply by people sitting together for discussion. After the right ways and means are determined through discussion, they should be actively put into practice to bear good fruit in time. Needless to say, by intensively enlisting the masses' collective intellect, it does not mean that the people should gather together to discuss every trifling matter.

There are many good people in the metallurgical industry. Some time ago I had talks with workers during on-the-spot guidance at the Kim Chaek Iron Works and I found that they were all hard-core Party members who were ready to fight at all times for the implementation of the Party's decision. Besides this, the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Kangson Steel Plant also have many hard-core members. If the leading personnel work well amongst these people to bring their collective wisdom into full play, nothing will be beyond their power.

Leading officials of the Ministry of Metal Industry should not follow subjective and empiric practices in their offices, but go to lower units and give a free hand to the collective wisdom of those who are working in the production sector. Only then can everything make good progress.

Next, the coal production plan should be fulfilled by all means.

The country's coal situation is very critical now. If coal is not produced as planned, cement and steel materials could not be produced properly while the assignments in the machine-building and other industries cannot be carried out. Therefore, the coal industry should by all means fulfil this year's production plan and produce a further 100,000 tons of highly calorific coal than planned.

This meeting is being attended by many managers and Party committee chairmen in large coal mines. Upon returning to the mines, you should convey the intentions of the Presidium of the Party Central

Committee to hard-core Party members and colliers and encourage them to vigorously struggle for an increase in coal production.

Recently we visited the Aoji Coal Mine and took an optimistic view of coal production. To tell the truth, when we visited this mine in 1954, it was so miserable that we were very upset. However, this time we found that 80-90 per cent of the colliers were young people, who were very cheerful and vigorous in their work and life, participating in amateur art group activities. The ranks of hard-core Party members have also been strengthened in this mine.

The manager of the Aoji Coal Mine is a Labour Hero and carries out his duties properly. I have been told that he tours all pits at dawn every day to clearly acquaint himself with the condition of equipment and factors that lead to accidents, and takes the necessary measures without any delay. All cadres should work in this manner.

The chief engineer at this coal mine is also working in an admirable way. He goes into the pit every day to work with the colliers and continuously learns advanced techniques, studying in every spare moment. In the meantime, as chief engineer, he helps the manager well in his work.

Not only the Aoji but also other coal mines have a large number of hard-core Party members. Therefore, if only these hard-core members and other workers are encouraged to play an active role, all the mines will be fully able to attain this year's coal production targets.

In order to do this in a successful way, the coal mine workers should eliminate any fear of technology and strive to produce the necessary machines and parts by themselves. This is the only way to increase equipment, ensure an adequate supply of necessary parts in time and do away with the practice of disrupting production because of a short supply of parts.

Other industrial sectors should help the coal mines, sending hauling equipment and such things and supplying indispensable parts to them. However, during our recent visit to the Aoji Coal Mine, we found that the Ministry of Chemical Industry had not given proper help to the coal mine even though the Aoji Chemical Factory had good machines

available for making various parts. So, while giving on-the-spot guidance to this chemical factory, I instructed it to supply the parts to the Aoji Coal Mine.

Coal mines should take labour safety measures in a proper way and establish strict discipline and order, as is done in the army. Establishing such a strict discipline is the only way to avoid accidents and steadily boost the coal output.

Coal mines should build up the ranks of hard-core Party members and enhance their role.

Coal mines should be reinforced with manpower. It will be a good thing for the State Planning Commission to increase the number of employees in coal mines, which are short of labour forces. Besides this, the organizations concerned should send many young people to work in coal mines.

Next, cement should be produced as planned.

Some comrades suggest curtailing the cement production plan to a certain extent. They should not suggest such things. Cement is essential for building roads and carrying out irrigation work as well. No construction work is possible without cement. We should not fail to produce two million tons of cement this year as specified in the plan.

However, the Party Central Committee, the Cabinet and the State Planning Commission at present give little attention to cement production, on the ground that such production has now got on the right track. Leading workers of provincial Party committees also find themselves often on the sites of irrigation projects, but do not frequently visit cement factories. Worse still, they entrust the task of producing parts for metal equipment or irrigation facilities to the cement factories which are even incapable of producing their own parts in time. The Ministry of Chemical Industry in charge of cement production, too, does not supervise and guide the cement factories properly and neglects training of technicians in this sector. And it fails to carry out efficient political work amongst the workers at cement factories. As a result, cement production is not normal and the assignment for the first quarter of this year has not been fulfilled.

These shortcomings should be remedied as soon as possible and efforts should be concentrated on cement production in order to increase it.

Senior officials of provincial Party committees should firmly resolve to be the foremost in the forthcoming struggle. They should go and remain at the cement factories which have failed in their assignments and encourage the Party members and other workers to play an active role through positive political work. They should thus make sure that the cement factories normalize production and fulfil the production plans smoothly.

In order to normalize and increase cement production, crushers should be supplied, if necessary, and more quarries should be set up when the existing ones are not enough. Furthermore, new vertical kilns should be built, if need be.

If we make a vigorous effort by all means this year, we will be quite able to produce two million tons of cement.

Moreover, light industry should concentrate its efforts on the production of 200 million metres of cloth this year.

Only when we do this will it be possible for us to produce 250-300 million metres of fabrics next year.

It is true that a difficult struggle has to be waged in order to produce 200 million metres of textiles this year. Since the spinning equipment which has been expected to arrive from a foreign country is still not available, we should make 100,000 spindles ourselves in order to produce textiles. It is not very easy to make 100,000 spindles in a short period in our country, which has little experience in making spinning and weaving machines. However, this year we should make 100,000 spindles ourselves so that we would be able to produce 200 million metres of fabrics, come what may.

At present, officials of the Ministry of Light Industry are very enthusiastic. They have a strong determination to produce, by all means, 200 million metres of fabrics this year. This is a very good thing. However, this difficult task cannot be successfully carried out by them alone. Therefore, the whole Party should be mobilized to help the

Ministry of Light Industry, and the other ministries should give their full assistance.

It is particularly important for the provincial Party committees to give efficient help to this ministry. The Party committees of Pyongyang and North Phyongan, South Hamgyong and Jagang Provinces should extend positive assistance to the spinning and textile mills.

Furthermore, great efforts should be made to ease the transport problem.

In order to do this, it is imperative to radically increase the efficiency of the existing means of transport. At the same time, consideration should be given to the measure to ensure small-scale transport by electric car, instead of locomotives, in factory compounds. Since electric cars are now being made in our country, there is no need to carry even a small amount of cargo by locomotives in factory compounds. If electric cars are used in factory compounds, those locomotives and freight cars which have been used there, can be transferred to other places where the transport problem is acute, and can thus be used more effectively.

Next, capital construction should be intensified.

If the capital construction plan for this year is to be fulfilled successfully, the shortage of building materials should be decidedly solved.

The iron problem should be solved first. Iron materials are at present in shortest supply in construction.

The solution to this problem requires an active campaign to collect scrap iron. Collecting large quantities of scrap iron is an important method to increase the output of iron materials without having to build new blast furnaces. If only we have scrap iron, we will be able to boost the production of iron materials as much as we want. Scrap iron may be sent to the iron works for the production of steel or to be made into iron rods in local areas after the installation of equipment to melt scrap iron. Blast furnaces are difficult to build but equipment such as that used for melting scrap iron can be produced anywhere—at large factories and

even small plants—if people decide to do it.

Scrap iron is found everywhere in large quantities. It may be found under water or scattered near railways.

A campaign should be launched to collect 100,000 tons of scrap iron this year above the planned figure. This amount of scrap iron will greatly help us to solve the problem of iron materials arising in capital construction and help us build much more. Ministers and provincial people's committee chairmen should firmly take over the work of collecting scrap iron and intensify it further.

We must fully economize in the use of iron in capital construction.

Good designing in capital construction will make it possible to economize a lot in the use of iron. The designing agencies and other establishments concerned should re-examine the designs of capital construction projects and seek more ways how to economize the use of iron materials.

Iron rods should be extended before they are used. This may seem insignificant, but it is by any means not so. The use of extended rods can help us save over 20 per cent of the iron rods used without being extended. If we can save around 20 per cent of the rods, we will be able to save 200 tons of iron rods in case 1,000 tons are used or 2,000 tons in the case of 10,000 tons. This is tantamount to producing that amount of iron rod.

We instructed people in the building industry on several occasions that an extending machine should be made and installed at each construction site to extend iron rods for use. However, they have not carried out the task we entrusted to them properly. As the state has supplied them with the required reinforcement rods, they do not give much thought to the matter of extending such rods for better use. Party workers also fail to carry out an uncompromising struggle against such a practice.

As a matter of fact, it is not a difficult task to make and install an extending machine at each construction site. Since the building industry has large machine factories, it can produce as many extending

machines as it wants and install them at every construction site only if its officials resolve to do this.

Strict discipline should be established so that iron rods will, on all accounts, be extended wherever they are being used. Whoever violates this rule should be made to face the consequences and be strongly criticized.

Substitute materials for iron rods should be used extensively in house construction. We can build as many houses as we need even with blocks which are made with substitute materials instead of iron rods. Therefore, we should this year build a small number of multi-storey houses which require lots of iron rods and, instead, should construct many houses using substitute materials. It will be a good thing to build such houses in county seats and on the outskirts of Pyongyang and provincial seats as well. In future we should build houses with such blocks on a large scale. This will make it possible to economize widely in the use of iron materials and timber and solve their shortages considerably. At the same time, a struggle should also be intensified to use cement in an economical way.

Timber should be saved. Owing to the nation's acute timber problem, the capital construction sector cannot receive the established amount of timber as planned. Therefore, it should fully economize in the use of timber and organize work in a scrupulous way to build more with less timber.

Furthermore, power stations should be constructed on a large scale.

At present the power situation in the country is very difficult. Only by building many power stations and intensifying efforts to economize in the use of electricity, can we solve the electricity shortage and successfully fulfil the First Five-Year Plan as well.

A major campaign for the construction of power stations should be launched from this autumn till the end of next year. Needless to say, this necessitates the readjustment of irrigation works to a certain extent since materials, funds and manpower are not sufficient. As the irrigated area has been greatly expanded through large-scale irrigation projects, if we readjust irrigation works for about two years, this will

hardly affect agricultural production. Therefore during this period, we should carry out only major irrigation projects that have already been started and forest and water conservation work in North and South Hamgyong Provinces on a small scale, and should concentrate all our forces on the construction of power stations. Even when irrigation, afforestation and water conservation projects are undertaken, those projects connected with the building of power stations should be started as early as possible. Thus the electricity problem would be solved.

Now, the machine-building industry should be further developed.

Since the Party Central Committee sent a letter to all members last year, great success has been achieved in the machine-building industry. In a hearty response to the Party's call "Think boldly and act boldly!" the workers in this sector, while overcoming any fear of technology, made tractors, trucks, bulldozers, excavators and various other new machines and equipment, and produced a large number of big pumping machines in a short time and thus contributed greatly to expanding the area under irrigation. They have also increased the utilization of equipment in a remarkable way as against the past period and brought about great changes in production of machines and equipment by taking advantage of many creative ideas. The workers of the Ryongsong Machine Factory in particular devised a single-purpose general machine, using small cutting machine tools, and admirably produced large machines and equipment, including thin plate rolling equipment.

Many designers have also been trained in the machine-building industry. They are now designing machines and equipment with confidence and courage.

I am very satisfied with the great success achieved so far in the machine-building industry and would like to extend my thanks to all Party members and working people in this sector.

Machinery is the king of industry. Machinery is indispensable to the rapid development of industry and all other domains of the national economy, and to the successful accomplishment of the technical

revolution. The technical revolution is immediately the mechanical revolution. So the machine-building industry should be definitely kept ahead of all other spheres of the national economy and its foundations should be strengthened further.

The production of machine tools should be sharply increased before anything else.

At present machine tools are in demand everywhere. They are essential to further consolidate the foundations of the machine-building industry and to produce more trucks, tractors and other different machines and equipment. They are also necessary to actively introduce the mechanization of production processes in all spheres of the national economy, to increase the number of machines and equipment and to repair them in time.

However, the demand of the national economy for machine tools cannot be met through their importation. Importation of machine tools requires a large amount of foreign currency and, moreover, takes much time. Once we imported a turning lathe, paying much foreign currency and it took us four years to get the machine. If we import ten turning lathes in this way, it will take us 40 years. Therefore if we buy machine tools from other countries, we can neither solve their shortage nor succeed in carrying out socialist construction in our country. It is also difficult to satisfy the growing demand of the national economy for machines by relying only on the Huichon and Kusong Machine-Tool Factories. Many machines will be made at these two factories next year, but this is not enough to meet demand.

For a prompt solution to the problem of machine tools, a campaign to use each machine to make more machines should be launched in all sectors and at all factories which have machine tools.

Some time ago we went to inspect the Juul Flax Mill, and saw workers there striving to attain an ambitious goal of producing scores of cutting machines this year by operating five old ones. They had already made several machines on their own. This deserves much praise.

I would like to call upon the whole Party and the workers in the machine-building industry to dynamically carry out a machine-making

campaign in all sectors of the national economy from now till next May Day, and thus produce over 13,000 machine tools over and above the state production plan.

All the factories and enterprises that have machine tools should ensure that during this period all their machines are used to produce more than one machine, in addition to the state plan target. The campaign to produce more machines should not be confined only to ordinary machine tools such as lathes; we should also boldly start to produce large and special machine tools. For this purpose, officials in the machine-building industry should get rid of the old habit of trying to import large and special machine tools, never thinking of producing them themselves.

We should make those special machine tools which have been imported on our own. If only officials try, they would be fully capable of making them. Some time ago when I went to the Ryongsong Machine Factory, I instructed the workers to manufacture an 8-metre turning lathe and they said they would do it by August 15. That is a wonderful thing.

While carrying out state assignments, the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory should set up a machine factory just the same as itself by next May Day. The factories under the First Bureau should also produce many large and special machine tools by themselves and thus steadily increase their production capacities.

If we are to urge big machine factories to make a large number of large and special machine tools, we should ease the burden imposed on them. We should do so by producing machines everywhere through a vigorous campaign to produce more with each machine tool and by enlarging the maintenance shops of other factories.

If we produce more than 13,000 machine tools over the state plan in a year through such a campaign, we will be able to reinforce the maintenance shops at all factories and equip ship and various other repair factories properly. We will also be able to set up a farm-machine repair plant in each rural county in order to mend tractors, other farm machines and ox carts in a short time.

The campaign to produce more with each machine is a very interesting one. It should be conducted dynamically in all spheres of the national economy so that the number of machine tools in our country will be increased to 30,000 next year. Then the country's economic might will increase and our revolution will advance more rapidly.

Along with machine tools, a large number of tractors and trucks should also be produced.

Unless large numbers of tractors are produced, we can neither carry out the rural technical revolution successfully nor boost agricultural production quickly. Close planting of crops requires us to plough fields deeper and to supply larger quantities of chemical fertilizer and barnyard manure than before. It is impossible, however, to plough fields deeper with cattle. Besides this, oxcarts are not suitable to transport such large quantities of chemical fertilizer and barnyard manure and to carry bumper crops in time in the autumn. Therefore, the machine-building industry should not fail to fulfil the tractor and truck production plans for this year. The production of tractors and trucks should be increased decidedly next year.

In order to do this, all machine factories should give positive assistance to the tractor and motor works. The former should make special machine tools and measuring apparatus that are needed by the tractor and motor works. The machine factories under the First Bureau in particular should produce and supply a large number of special machine tools. At the same time, the tractor and motor works, too, should not just wait for help from machine factories but should strive to make the necessary machines and equipment themselves.

The machine-building industry should build many new machines and equipment suited to the conditions in our country.

This sector is making great efforts to reshape foreign machines to suit our actual conditions, but new machines are few. Of course, it is necessary to reshape foreign-made machines to adapt them to our actual conditions. But an important thing is to build a large number of new machines which suit our conditions.

Our country has many technicians and workers engaged in the machine-building industry. So the role of mechanical research institutes and mechanics should be enhanced and the creative cooperation between technicians and workers should be strengthened so that new machines suited to our conditions will be invented in larger numbers.

2. ON DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY

In order to satisfy the demand of the people for consumer goods, light industry should develop large centrally-controlled industries and small and medium local industries simultaneously. Only when this is done on a large scale can we mass-produce consumer goods directly in local places where there is abundant raw material to supply them to the people.

The development of local industry makes it possible to solve the problem of technicians as well.

In our country there are many localities which have a long tradition in the production of consumer goods. Some areas have the tradition of good ceramics and others the tradition of fine handicrafts. In these areas there are many technicians and skilled workers in the respective spheres. They can all be given a role in production, if small and medium factories are built in these areas.

If, for instance, a small or medium plant to make handicrafts is set up in Kaesong which has been famous for such objects since olden times, the craftsmen in that region can be actively enlisted to work in production. Then the old local traditions in the production of consumer goods will be carried forward in a more admirable way.

The development of local industry is also beneficial for idle family members. In county seats there are many wives of factory and office workers who waste time at their homes. If small and medium local

industry plants are built, they will all be encouraged to participate in production activities. Participation of housewives in such activities will be of benefit not only to the state but will also increase the income of their families and improve their level of political consciousness quickly.

If local industry is developed, large quantities of goods can be produced at a low cost. Provided the goods now being made at local factories are produced at large centrally-controlled factories after they are built, a huge capital construction investment would be necessary and large numbers of technicians must be trained for them. And houses should also be built for the workers. Therefore, it takes a long time before goods can be produced after the construction work on large centrally-controlled factories starts. Moreover, if these factories alone are built, it will be difficult to provide them with enough raw and other materials, even after production starts.

In view of the building of communism, the development of local industry is also important. It is also not wrong in a communist society to produce consumer goods directly in places where local raw materials are available to be supplied to the inhabitants concerned.

The correctness of our Party's policy on simultaneously developing the centrally-controlled large industries and the small and medium local industries has been shown with facts. After the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee we developed local industry on a large scale, with the result that goods are made at local plants in large quantities at present. This year's output value of local industry will account for 27.5 per cent of our country's total industrial output value. Since the local industry plants produce large quantities of goods, both the producers and consumers are satisfied and great profits are made by the state as well.

We should continue to thoroughly implement the Party's policy on the simultaneous development of large centrally-controlled industries and small and medium local industries, and thus advance local industry still further.

Today local industry is confronted with the important task of improving and reinforcing the existing local factories.

After the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee local factories sprang up like mushrooms. Now it is high time to readjust and reinforce those existing factories.

The material and technical foundations of local plants should be strengthened. Production processes should be actively mechanized, while solid raw material bases should be created and new factory buildings constructed, as well.

Construction of single-storey factory buildings would be enough. So these will not be difficult to build; we can easily build them with local materials available, even if there is neither steel nor cement. They should be constructed by the supporters' organizations and by the factories themselves.

Management personnel at local factories should also be selected from amongst the best people and their qualifications raised constantly. The organizations concerned should take positive steps to improve their abilities.

Small local industry plants should be amalgamated. Excessive scattering of local factories is not desirable. Food and other factories in the counties should be merged, where necessary. But all the small plants should not be automatically merged. Those which have to be developed independently, should be left as they are, even though they are small.

It is important to increase the sense of responsibility of the supporters' organizations in readjusting and reinforcing local factories. To help these factories does not require much money and time, and is not a very difficult task. The question is how high the cadres' sense of responsibility is. If they are prepared to help local factories, they will be fully able to do it. When they are given an assignment to help these factories, they should assist them properly. The officials concerned should encourage the supporters' organizations to help local factories in a responsible manner.

Educational work should be intensified amongst local industrial workers.

A large number of entrepreneurs, traders and craftsmen who had

their businesses damaged due to the war are now working at local factories and producers' cooperatives. It is a very good thing that they are supporting the socialist revolution and are working at such cooperatives and factories. Needless to say, there may be those amongst them who make complaints, showing no enthusiasm in socialist construction, because they cannot discard old ideas. But it would not be right to keep them away or try to expel them from factories and cooperatives. If they are expelled, where could they go? They all should be educated to be turned into revolutionary workers.

In the field of local industry former entrepreneurs, traders and craftsmen should be generously treated and re-educated. Local Party organizations, the county Party organizations in particular, should give close attention to their education. Thus they should be transformed into socialist builders and revolutionary workers.

Guidance in local factories should also be intensified.

These factories should be transferred to the counties so that they will be guided directly by the county Party and people's committees. This will make it possible to give them more adequate guidance.

In order to give proper guidance to local factories, it is necessary to markedly improve the qualifications of county people's committee officials. At present they have low qualifications and some of them are not enthusiastic in their work. So those who have poor qualifications should be given further training and those who lack enthusiasm should be taught to work in real earnest.

Leading officials of central organizations should show deep concern for the development of local industry. They should individually take charge of local factories in Pyongyang and help them in a responsible manner. On Sundays they should go to the factories under their charge, where they should conduct ideological work amongst workers, help to raise their technical level and teach them methods of enterprise management.

In the field of local industry a campaign to create model factories should be launched and an emulation drive between provinces should be widely organized.

It is not right to hastily place the producers' cooperatives under the state-run local industry. The conversion of cooperative ownership into ownership by all the people necessitates a stage of ideological transformation. The producers' cooperatives whose conditions are good should be placed under the state-run local industry; otherwise they should be left intact. Socialist production is also carried out at the producers' cooperatives. So it is not wrong to keep them intact.

Local factories should be supplied with coal. If the state is unable to supply them with enough coal, they should be authorized to develop coal mines themselves. It goes without saying that these factories should not be given a free hand in coal mining. The provincial people's committees should supervise and guide this work properly.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few remarks on the tasks confronting the different branches of local industry.

The paper industry should be developed to increase the output of paper quickly.

Without boosting paper production, success cannot be expected in the cultural revolution. Paper plays a very important part in the cultural revolution. Therefore, the paper industry should be developed to produce paper in greater quantities.

It is important to produce large quantities of pasteboard. At present cartons and such things are rarely supplied to rural areas, and as a result fruits and other farm products are packed carelessly in straw-bags. That is why the production of pasteboard should be increased to completely solve the problem of packing paper. As pasteboard is made from rice straw, its production can be increased as much as we want.

Kraft paper should also be produced. We should not wait only for a kraft paper mill to be brought from another country in future but should build such a mill ourselves to produce kraft paper. It is true that when local factories start producing kraft paper, its quality may be poor at first, but this does not matter.

Floor paper, writing paper, toilet paper, paper to cover cold-frames for rice seedlings, and various other kinds of paper should be produced in large quantities.

For the increased production of paper, many small and medium paper mills should be built. One or two paper mills similar to the Hoeryong Paper Mill should be constructed in each province. While giving on-the-spot guidance at this mill, I found that most of its production equipment, except paper machines, was made of wood. It will be a good thing for the Ministry of Light Industry to make good blueprints for paper mills to be built with wood before they are sent down.

Production of ceramics should also be augmented. Our country is very rich in raw materials that are good for ceramics and so a few pottery factories should be built in each province in order to produce many bowls, jars, pots, vases as well as building-ware.

Various kinds of high-quality handicrafts should be manufactured in large numbers.

They are at present making only hats of shavings which are easy to make and even these hats could not be used for a long time because of their low quality. Besides quality hats of this kind, they should produce many good-quality hats, using wheat and barley straw, rinds of sorghum stems and such things. In Jagang Province we saw hats that were made of rinds of sorghum stems, and they were very good.

Grass mats should also be made well. As it is not cold in our country, if grass mats are properly made from sedge and such things, they would be good for use. There is no need to try spreading only thick carpets, as in cold countries. When we visited a hot country, we discovered that the people there also spread thin grass mats and not thick carpets. This was a very admirable thing. Therefore, the local industry should make many good-quality grass mats from sedge and such things.

Large numbers of benches for parks should also be made from willows or roots of pine trees. Besides this, stone should be processed into various handicrafts.

For the mass-production of various handicrafts of a good quality, the provincial people's and Party committees should organize work scrupulously. All idle skilled workers in localities should be sought

and urged to take an active part in production, producers encouraged greatly to propose original things and inventions, and production plans formulated with care.

The food industry should be extensively developed as well.

Lately we raised the wages of the workers, technicians and office employees by an average of 40 per cent. At present their wages are not low. So, if the food industry is developed to produce large quantities of processed foodstuffs, the living standard and diet of the working people can be improved quickly. Furthermore, the burden of housewives can be eased and money circulation increased.

Vegetables, edible herbs and fruit should be processed properly. Vegetables or edible herbs, if processed correctly, will be turned into good finished foodstuffs, and fruit could be dried or processed into jam and other items.

Since eggs and milk will be produced in large quantities in future, measures should be taken to process them. Milk, in particular, should be processed into butter and various other goods.

Duck and rabbit meat should also be processed properly. At present they try to simply boil duck meat in water to sell it, but they should not continue to do so. Duck meat should be either smoked or processed in many ways.

Fish should also be processed properly. The best thing is to supply fish raw but large quantities of fish should also be processed. You should not process only fish caught from the sea, but carps, crucian carps and other fresh-water fish as well.

The production of cooking oil should be increased. You should not rely only on one or two large oil plants. Oil plants should be set up everywhere to produce plenty of oil from sesame, soy bean, wild sesame and peanuts.

Cookies and other sweets should be produced in large quantities. Their quality is not very good at present; it should be radically improved.

The production of soft drinks should also be increased sharply.

At present not enough soft drinks are produced to provide beer,

aerated cider-like drink, and other refreshments satisfactorily to the working people. Not enough soft drinks are sold even on Mt. Taesong and Hill Moran where many working people go for pleasure while cider-like and other sweet cold drinks, mineral water and such drinks are rarely sold on trains.

Soft drinks can be easily produced if only the officials try a little harder. Why can't soft drinks be sold to the people as much as they want? Beer, cider-like and other sweet cold drink and mineral water should also be produced in large quantities and sold to the people.

For the rapid increase of foodstuff production, it is necessary to develop the food industry through a campaign involving all the people. Food factories should be built everywhere to produce various processed foodstuffs. At the same time, food processing methods should be widely introduced amongst the working people so that they will make and eat plenty of tasty and durable processed foodstuffs themselves.

Agricultural cooperatives should also produce processed foodstuffs. I was told that in a certain country, wine is produced at agricultural cooperatives and its quality is so good that it is sold even to foreign countries. Agricultural cooperatives should make good-quality processed foodstuffs in large quantities.

At the current meeting we are going to adopt a good decision. A decision, no matter how good it may be, will be of no use unless it is implemented. All officials should thoroughly implement the decision to be adopted at this meeting by conducting scrupulous ideological and organizational work.

**ON OPPOSING DOGMATISM
AND ESTABLISHING JUCHE
IN PARTY POLITICAL WORK
IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY**

**Talk with Military and Political Workers
at the Corps or Higher Levels
of the Korean People's Army**

May 16, 1959

Today I am going to talk to you on a few problems arising in the effort to improve Party political work in the People's Army.

All the things that have happened in the People's Army since the March 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee have shown once more that there had been serious shortcomings in the work of the General Political Bureau. Had these main shortcomings in Party political work of the People's Army not been criticized in time at the plenary meeting, the consequences would have been grave.

After the war the Party Central Committee entrusted the General Political Bureau with all Party political work of the People's Army. But Choe Jong Hak, the former director of this bureau, was not faithful to Party line and worked as he pleased. Therefore, our Party's line could not be carried out correctly in the People's Army.

Choe Jong Hak asked me on many occasions to address the army. But he did this for the sake of formality and, in fact, did not even inform the soldiers about what I had already said in my addresses to the army units. Besides, he did not follow the Party's instruction on

eliminating dogmatism and establishing Juche.

The major shortcoming in the work of the General Political Bureau in the past is that it did not struggle to establish Juche thoroughly in the People's Army.

Dogmatism is very harmful to Party work and the revolutionary struggle. As the counter-revolutionary incident in a certain country a few years ago shows, if a party accepts dogmatism and blindly follows the policy of another country, it will disrupt the revolution and construction. Ho Ka I, Pak Chang Ok and their ilk, who once held leading posts in our Party, abandoned Juche to give way to dogmatism. Our Party discovered this during the war and struggled to oppose dogmatism and strengthen the Party. Especially in the postwar period the Party made it the foremost task to oppose dogmatism and flunkeyism and establish Juche.

In 1955 when the Party was relentlessly combatting bureaucracy and dogmatism, Choe Jong Hak did not organize the struggle as he should have done in the army. Worse still, he tried to adopt a foreign system of Party political work in the People's Army.

Our country differs from other countries as far as both the revolutionary task and actual situation are concerned. We must liberate the southern half, reunify the country and carry out the democratic and socialist revolutions throughout the country. For this reason, we must not copy foreign methods of revolution and construction.

The most important thing in the revolution is to establish Juche thoroughly, adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. To establish Juche is the duty of all communists. It would be impossible to carry out the revolution properly, if one blindly copies foreign methods without Juche.

Our Juche means the Korean revolution. We will be unable to solve any problems correctly, if we copy another country's policy as it is and impose it upon the people, without knowing the aims of the Korean revolution, the stages of its development and our Party's line and policy.

The Party spirit of our officials and Party members finds expression

in their loyalty to the Korean revolution. Success in the Korean revolution will contribute to the success in the international revolution; only when we are loyal to the Korean revolution can we be genuine internationalist fighters.

Establishing Juche does not exclude the need to learn from the experience gained in other countries. We should study their experience, but in such a way as to promote the Korean revolution. It is not advisable to copy “A” simply because others write down “A” or try to eat food with a fork instead of chopsticks simply because others do it.

We should learn from foreign experience in order to benefit from it in the Korean revolution. We must not just copy it automatically but adapt it to the specific conditions in our country. The study of the history of foreign parties must also be handled to suit the Korean situation.

The general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction are the same and unchangeable. To violate them would lead to revisionism. However, the way how to do away with capitalism and build socialism varies from one country to another according to the actual situation.

For example, let us take the question of socialist agricultural cooperativization. The Soviet Union developed the engineering industry through industrialization and then carried out agricultural cooperativization. However, in view of our specific realities, we carried out the cooperativization of the rural economy prior to technical transformation. Lenin said that even a simple merger of the peasants’ lands and farm implements into a communal economy could bring about economic improvements which the small individual peasant economy could not.

In the early stage of the agricultural cooperativization in our country, some people wavered. At that time, when we said that we would complete the agricultural cooperativization during the First Five-Year Plan, some foreigners also expressed fear that we were captivated by subjectivism. But we gave correct guidance to the

agricultural cooperative movement in keeping with our actual conditions, with the result that we successfully completed cooperativization rather smoothly in all parts of the country by August last year. If we had failed to adhere to Juche in this task, it would have been impossible for us to win such a victory.

Our Party has eliminated dogmatism and formalism through the struggle to establish Juche during the last few years. Nevertheless, the People's Army still retains dogmatism and the outdated framework to a considerable extent. Dogmatism inevitably coexists with flunkeyism and bureaucracy as an outdated way of work.

The People's Army must vigorously struggle to eliminate dogmatism and the old pattern of work and establish Juche. It should revise internal service regulations to suit our specific conditions, and refrain from the dogmatic introduction of a foreign one-man management system. At one time in the past, Party political work in the People's Army and military affairs were handled exclusively by political workers and military workers respectively, in accordance with a foreign practice. At present, the Party committee is active in the army, so military commanders participate in Party work. But this was not the case in the past and the General Political Bureau and the political organizations in the People's Army worked in an arbitrary manner.

Formerly, the General Political Bureau also neglected efforts to correctly implement the Party's policy on intensifying ideological education, in keeping with the change in the situation and the requirements of the developing revolution.

In the postwar years our Party set forth the task of intensifying the socialist revolution on a full scale in the northern half of Korea and, in line with this, strengthened class and communist education for its members and the rest of the working people. Inspiring them with communist ideology was very essential in connection with the full-scale building of socialism.

But the General Political Bureau was very passive in executing the Party's policy of intensifying class and communist education. Choe

Jong Hak even attempted to adopt the educational system of a foreign army as it was, in the People's Army, without making any report to the Party. Worse still, he disregarded the revolutionary traditions of our Party.

We should show all the soldiers and working people how the Korean communists and people fought in the past and bring the revolutionary traditions of our Party to the fore.

Giving prominence to the revolutionary traditions and carrying them forward is by no means a question of who has a share in them or not. What is important is to realize how the Korean communists and people fought for the revolution in the past and properly educate the younger generation in these traditions.

Some people express a doubt about whether those who returned from abroad would agree to put stress on the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. This is a typical expression of fame-seeking selfishness by those who disregard the cause of communism. It is wrong to ignore the fine revolutionary traditions of one's own people, captivated by narrow-minded localism and nepotism. How could it be claimed that upholding and inheriting the revolutionary traditions can only be beneficial to the veterans of the revolutionary struggle? Our revolutionary traditions are not a heritage of any individuals but a heritage of all the Korean people.

We regret that our ancestors failed to carry out a bourgeois revolution. But the Korean communists have fine traditions of a 15-year-long glorious anti-Japanese armed struggle. And why should our Party not carry them forward? It is the honour and the pride of the whole Korean population that our country has such excellent revolutionary traditions. Some people criticize our Party's revolutionary traditions for ulterior motives.

Our Party's Rules explicitly stipulate that the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle should be inherited. Nevertheless, the General Political Bureau neglected the duty of educating the soldiers in the revolutionary traditions of our Party.

Their failure to follow the Party's policy on political work resulted

in the building of a castle in the air, with regard to Party political work in the People's Army in the past. They merely shouted the slogans, "Long live the Workers' Party of Korea!" and "Long live internationalism!" The Party political work was lacking any specific content and purpose. Taking advantage of this, the anti-Party factionalists influenced a large number of people.

That is a summary of the shortcomings revealed in Party political work in the People's Army in the past. We must rectify these shortcomings as soon as possible and make a fresh start.

What, then, is the orientation of future ideological education in the People's Army?

First, you must eliminate the remnants of flunkeyism and dogmatism and establish Juche thoroughly.

What is important to do this is to make a deep study of the line of our Party building and its policies in each different period.

Following the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, our Party embarked on the task of implementing its organizational line correctly and brought about great changes in the Party building and work. So it is necessary to deeply study the document of this meeting. At the same time, you should study the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, the Twenty-Point Platform, and other policies the Party has adopted so far, in each period. Especially you should study profoundly and objectively the documents of the Third Party Congress and the December 1957 Enlarged Plenary Meeting and the speech delivered to Party information and motivation workers on December 28, 1955. It is also advisable to study the 1957 Declaration of the Moscow Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, which deals in detail with the problem of opposing dogmatism and revisionism.

The need to establish Juche and the validity of our Party's policy must be fully explained to the soldiers. Establishing Juche does not conflict, in any way, with the principles of Marxism-Leninism nor

does it hamper internationalist solidarity. On the contrary, carrying out the Korean revolution with success by establishing Juche means that we are loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and carry out the internationalist duty.

Secondly, you must provide effective education by making comparisons between the situation in the north and the south of our country.

Such education will give the army men a clear understanding of the advantages of our socialist system and the corruptness and the reactionary nature of Syngman Rhee's ruling system in south Korea.

This education must deal with tangible facts from both parts of the Republic. You should present, in contrast, the formation of our Supreme People's Assembly and the puppet National Assembly of Syngman Rhee in south Korea, and show that the former consists of true representatives of workers, peasants and other working people, whereas the latter is made up of landlords, capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements, traitors and political swindlers. And our Party's people-oriented policy and the Syngman Rhee clique's infamous policy, as well as the economic systems and economic policies of both sides can be topics of comparison. The wages, income and other living conditions of workers, peasants and the rest of people in the north and the south should also be compared for educational purposes. Soldiers should thus clearly understand that in the northern half of Korea all the people are well-off whereas in south Korea only the rich are getting richer while the poor become poorer.

It would also be a good idea to compare parties and the formation of their cadres' corps. Ours is a party which champions the interests of workers, peasants and the rest of the working people, and whose cadres are all revolutionaries. In contrast, the Liberal Party of Syngman Rhee is a party that protects the interests of landlords and capitalists, a group of political stooges. Besides this, the missions of the People's Army and the south Korean "National Defence Army", the formation of their officers' corps and the relationship between officers and men should also be compared.

There are many other things, including the educational system, that can be the subjects for comparison. The slaughter of south Korean people by the US imperialists, the villainous “emigration” plot of the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique who try to sell our brothers to foreign countries, the miserable state of students who are selling their blood to meet school expenses, the frequent flood and drought damages, and similar things in south Korea should all be considered for this purpose.

Comparison between the two parts of Korea should also be made in speeches and visual methods of education. When they are educated effectively in this manner all the servicemen will clearly understand that the differences between the two parts of the country are as great as those between heaven and hell; and they can have a firm determination to defend the socialist system in the northern half of Korea, and, hate and fight against the reactionary social system in the south to the end.

The comparative method of education should also be used in giving information about the international situation. The changes in the balance of world forces in the years after the First and Second World Wars, as well as the present relationship between the forces of the socialist and capitalist camps, neutral nations and colonial countries should be handled in contrast to show that the strength of the capitalist camp is on the decline while the socialist camp is growing stronger with each passing day. Efficient education through such comparisons will convince the soldiers that in the event of another world war imperialism will finally perish from this world and the world revolution will emerge victorious.

It would also be necessary to arrange a brief written explanation of the *Communist Manifesto* in order to convince them of the inevitable downfall of capitalism and victory for socialism. The study of this document must be properly supported with the explanation of the changes in the world since its publication.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we provided ideological education, putting the main emphasis on imbuing the guerrillas with hatred for the enemy and confidence in victory. At that time we told

our men of the fact that the Soviet people had defeated the armed intruders from 14 countries immediately after the October Revolution. We also impressed them with the idea of the socialist system, to be set up in our liberated country so that they might fight courageously, cherishing this ideal, which has now come true; the socialist system has been established in the north. This is a very favourable condition for political work.

The General Political Bureau and other political organizations and political workers at all levels in the People's Army must carry out comparative education efficiently, taking advantage of the present favourable conditions. Then, you will be able to stir up a burning hatred for the enemy in the mind of every soldier, and to make him more confident of victory.

Thirdly, you must intensify communist education.

The most important thing in communist education is to inspire the soldiers firmly with a revolutionary spirit so that they will oppose the system of exploitation and devotedly struggle to build a society where all the people are well-off. Only by strengthening communist education can you wipe out the remnants of capitalist ideas lingering in the minds of people and imbue every soldier with the revolutionary consciousness of the working class.

Through intensive communist education in the People's Army we must train all the servicemen to be communist revolutionary soldiers who hate the system of exploitation and devote their lives to the struggle for the cause of socialism and communism, and must develop the People's Army into an invincible revolutionary force. Moreover, we must prepare all the People's Army soldiers to perform the role of information work and teachers in case they confront the south Korean puppet army.

The question of communist education was explained in detail in my speech at the Short Course for Motivation Workers of City and County Party Committees of the Country in November last year. You should study it profoundly and carry out educational work strictly abiding by it.

Fourthly, you must plan the servicemen's life decently and combine army political work with literature and art activities.

A new February 8 Film Studio should be set up for the army, for the production of many good films. This will facilitate the education of soldiers and the rest of the people.

The February 8 Film Studio should produce a host of films dealing with our revolutionary traditions and the Fatherland Liberation War. Difficult struggles, sharp vigilance, inseparable ties with the people, comradeship, unity between officers and men and similar subject matters should be taken up for the production of films to contribute actively to the ideological education of soldiers. Besides this, scientific films necessary for military training should also be made.

The February 8 Film Studio should have facilities to produce seven to eight copies of feature films every year. It should be staffed with the necessary personnel, including scriptwriters.

Political work in the army should not be too monotonous; it should be organized in a different way. Amateur artist groups should be run in an active manner, many military novels published, and the quality of the army's literary magazines improved. Every small unit should be provided with cable radio facilities as well as musical instruments.

Fifthly, the People's Army must improve the method of Party political work.

It must do it boldly in the spirit of what was emphasized at the recent February Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and the enlarged plenary meeting of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee. The most important method of Party work should be persuasion and education.

Commanders should always closely keep in touch with their men in everyday life. This is the way to get rid of warlordism and bureaucracy. Officers and generals are said to be campaigning at present to take part in the daily routine of the rank-and-file soldiers. It is a very good thing. This campaign should be steadily intensified in future.

The People's Army should thoroughly uproot the lingering evil effects of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists. The main

culprits of the anti-Party faction should be removed and those who are less influenced should be re-educated.

Those who are of an involved class origin and record should be judged on their merits, mainly on their present work; if they work in good faith, they should be educated to go along with us.

After this, you should energetically follow the basic direction of ideological education set by the Party, and thus radically improve Party political work in the People's Army.

TALK WITH OFFICIALS OF THE WONSAN RAILWAY FACTORY

June 4, 1959

Today I have inspected the Wonsan Railway Factory and found it better equipped than it was last year, its construction project almost completed and the workers' technical skills much higher. And all the workers are striving, as one team, to implement this year's plan. All Party members, workers, technicians and leading officials have made great efforts to build their factory. I am very satisfied with this.

You should not rest content with this success, but work hard to further equip the factory and increase labour productivity. You should, at the same time, use steel most economically and boost production. Above all, you should vigorously struggle to exceed this year's production target.

Now that the factory has been mainly equipped, your most important task is to strengthen the Party committee and unite all the workers behind the Party.

The Party committee should be firmly built up with hard-core elements and its role definitely enhanced. Party guidance of the working people's organizations should be improved so that the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union organizations will work efficiently.

You should intensify education of the workers.

Workers in this factory have different backgrounds. There are

recruits who came from the countryside in the postwar years; there are former small merchants and entrepreneurs who had gone bankrupt during the war and people from south Korea. They still have a great deal of remnants of outdated ideas: the men of merchant origin, the selfishness which is due to their old habit of dishonest dealings; and the former entrepreneurs, exploitative capitalist ideas.

As I said at the short training course of Party organizers and Party committee chairmen of enterprises and chairmen of the provincial, city and county Party committees, which was held last February, we should re-educate even those with involved class origin to be revolutionary workers. The Wonsan Railway Factory should do the same.

The factory Party committee should intensify education for the workers and thus uproot the remains of obsolete ideas, including selfishness, and enlighten them with communist ideology. Party core elements should be imbued with communist ideology, so that they will educate other Party members, who in turn will teach the people. In this way all the workers will be united firmly around the Party and trained to be revolutionary fighters who defend the Party and carry out its policies through thick and thin. Furthermore, they should be induced to take care of their factory and machines like the apples of their eyes and strive to increase production, regarding it the greatest honour to work for the country and the people.

The Wonsan Railway Factory should train many of its men into fine Party workers for assignment both at the provincial Party committee and the Party Central Committee.

Our working class is the cardinal force who safeguard the Party and struggle to carry out the Korean revolution.

The workers of the Wonsan Railway Factory should guard in good faith not only their own factory but also our Party, the people's government and the socialist system, and fight to the end for the completion of the Korean revolution.

In addition, you must combat indolence and dissipation.

There have been quite a few such cases among some officials in Kangwon Province.

The ex-provincial Party committee chairman led a carefree life, drinking day and night without showing up at the office regularly. He came down to the Wonsan Railway Factory but did not attend factory Party committee meetings or Party cell meetings, nor did he ever give any lectures to the workers. It seems that he followed the example of Ho Ka I who had drunk day and night, doing mischief during the war.

The former provincial people's committee chairman, too, was a drunkard, addicted to misbehaviour. He did not properly fulfil any of the assignments given by the Party. Since the town construction at Wonsan was not successful in 1957 I summoned him and gave him the task of building many houses and schools and provided him with the necessary funds. But only few houses and schools were built. He also neglected the tasks we gave him during our on-the-spot guidance to Kangwon Province last year.

Quite a few of the county Party committee chairmen are also leading a dissipated life. It is very dangerous for officials to indulge in drinking and a carefree life.

Our Party is a working-class party, and our government is a people's government. There is no room for drunkards and dissipators in our Party and people's government. How can we today tolerate such villains when all the people are rushing forward in the spirit of Chollima? But Kangwon Province has connived at the misdoings of the dissipators who had entrenched in the leadership of the provincial Party and government bodies for four or five years; it neither combatted them nor reported them to the Party Central Committee. This is very bad. We should strongly combat those who live a dissipated life drinking every day.

If Kangwon Province is to combat indolence and irregularities without compromise, it has to build up all Party committees with hardcore Party elements of working-class origin.

At present, the composition of Party committees is not good enough. Take the Wonsan City Party Committee for example. Few of the workers of the Wonsan Railway Factory are on this committee.

Many of the workers who shed their blood for the country during

the last war and who are now working zealously at the factory, must be elected to the committee. There are many hard-core elements among the workers of the Wonsan Railway Factory who are qualified for the membership of the city Party committee. Many of its Party members took the field and fought valiantly, shedding blood for the country and the people during the Fatherland Liberation War. And after the war they returned to the factory and they are now working with all their enthusiasm. All these members are the nuclei of our Party, and these hard-core elements make our Party strong. We should build up the Party committees at all levels with Party core of the working-class origin so that they will relentlessly combat the dissipators.

If we are to eliminate the indolent and degenerate practices among the officials, we should strengthen mass control over them.

Such immoralities among some leading workers of the Party and government bodies in Kangwon Province were mainly due to weak mass control over them. Therefore, we should give free rein to internal-Party democracy, tighten the mass control of Party and government officials, and deal timely blows at these degenerate practices so that they may correct such attitude.

In future, many hard-core Party elements should be invited as observers to plenary meetings of the provincial Party committee and similar meetings. This will make it possible to disclose and combat in time the mischiefs of some officials of the Party and government bodies. This will also be helpful to raise the political level of hard-core Party elements.

Workers, too, should be guarded against the habit of drinking and a carefree life.

This habit has been inherited from the old society. Our working class must not lead such a dissipated life.

We still have to reunify the country and carry out the Korean revolution. At present the people in the southern half of Korea are suffering from the oppression of the US imperialists. From the viewpoint of their standard of living, the people in the northern half

still have to go a long way to attain the level required by communism. How, then, can we be pleased with the results we have obtained and indulge in drinking and indolence? We can never live like that.

We must reunify the country as soon as possible and build socialism and communism in our land. This is our most important task. We must always live and work in a mobilized posture.

The Wonsan Railway Factory should intensify ideological education for its workers to prevent them from indulging in drinking and dissipation.

For this purpose, different cultural activities should be organized for the workers. Amateur art performance, sport, story reading and similar activities should be arranged on holidays. If several persons who are good at story reading are prepared for public reading at the house of culture, many people will be interested in such activities. The *Tale of Chun Hyang* or *The Tale of Sim Chong*, along with revolutionary novels, should be presented. Chess and similar games could also be advisable for old people. These activities should be arranged under the sponsorship of the trade unions, Democratic Youth League and Women's Union organizations. All workers should thus be able to rest in a cultured way. Let everyone spend his holidays enjoying his hobby, whether it is singing, dancing, swimming, boating or hearing someone reading.

Furthermore, you should strongly combat factionalism and parochialism.

These are very harmful ideological trends which undermine the unity of the Party and split the ranks of the working class.

Factionalists used to fight each other. Consequently, they destroyed the Korean Communist Party which was founded in 1925, and made a mess of the Korean revolution. Today they are still trying to split our forces, instead of abandoning their habits.

This time I have found quite a few factionalists and parochialists, even over here in Kangwon Province. They did not accept the Party Central Committee's directives willingly, and manoeuvred viciously to split our Party.

Factionalism and parochialism can never be allowed in a working-class party. A working-class party should be closely united in a monolithic ideology.

The working class should take the lead in combatting factionalists and parochialists who try to wreck the unity of the Party. Our working class should always be loyal to the Party, firmly defend the Party Central Committee, wholly united around it, and relentlessly fight whoever slanders the Party Central Committee or opposes its policies.

In Kangwon Province, the Wonsan Railway Factory, which has a large number of workers, should be on the forefront to safeguard the revolution and carry out the Party's policies. With the strong fist of the working class, you should strike the factionalists who try to undermine the unity of the Party. Kangwon Province should particularly eradicate the evil effects of the factionalist Ri Ju Ha and the parochialism that was prevalent in the Munchon area. In this way, you will leave no room for the evil effects of factionalism and parochialism to affect the ranks of our Party and working class.

Next, you must strengthen the struggle against counter-revolutionaries.

You must not assume that there are no counter-revolutionaries in our ranks. It is probable that spies, subverters and saboteurs are lurking even in this factory, working to destroy machines, sabotage production plans, incite one cadre against another, degenerate workers and collect secret information. Wonsan in particular is a town where the probability of spy infiltration is greater than other areas in view of its coastal location and strategic importance. So you must be on the alert all the time.

If you are to combat counter-revolutionaries efficiently, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between friend and foe. You must not suspect indiscriminately the people with involved family backgrounds, seeing their personal records. This would make even hard workers feel uneasy. A person's social status is not immutable, but it can change. Even a person of checkered origin can be reformed if he becomes a factory worker. There are many old-line intellectuals and other people

of involved origin who are working well. This explains why it is wrong to judge people on their personal records. The point lies not in their class origin but in whether they are now supporting our Party policy or not. If one supports our Party and works honestly, one can be a good man, no matter what his origin is. Of course, some people may have talked nonsense because of their ignorance or may not have supported us or may have opposed our Party policy because of their misunderstanding, or may have made mistakes under the bad influence of their parents. But if they now admit their mistakes and work honestly in support of our Party, we must trust and educate them. We must educate and transform everybody who supports our Party and people's government, upholds our Party's policies and continues to follow our Party.

In the struggle against the counter-revolution, the red-handed must be the target. By "red-handed" we mean those who oppose our Party at present, find faults with its policies and do not work earnestly, but sabotage machinery and spread misleading rumours surreptitiously. These elements should be watched sharply and combatted mercilessly.

To fight the counter-revolution efficiently, it is imperative to establish a strict revolutionary order and discipline in the factory. Such order and discipline will prevent moves of spies, subverters and saboteurs. If all work proceeds in a strict order and under tight discipline, with machines inspected closely at each shift, seals put on where necessary and electric equipment well maintained, there will be no chance for mischiefs, and even if mischiefs are done, they will be discovered immediately.

You should actively organize the people in the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries. This factory has hundreds of Party members and Democratic Youth League activists. If you enlist them skilfully, they will prove very effective in this struggle. If they are all mobilized with revolutionary vigilance, the counter-revolutionaries will be unable to stir.

Furthermore, you must increase the production of machinery and contribute actively to the technical revolution.

Technical revolution is an important task confronting us today. We must carry out the technical revolution in all sectors of the national economy. To reach our aim, we must produce machines in large numbers.

The workers of the Wonsan Railway Factory should make great efforts to increase machine production, with a determination to play their part in the technical revolution. This is how they should fulfil their duty as the leading class of the revolution.

Today I saw a planer you had made, and found it fairly good. In line with the decision of the enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee held in last May, the Wonsan Railway Factory should ensure that all its workshops equipped with cutters make machines. It should thus increase its production capacity, and further mechanize and automate production processes. And it should send some of these machines to other factories. It should particularly help well in building a provincially-controlled general machine factory in Wonsan.

At the same time, the Wonsan Railway Factory should produce a large number of farming machines and supply them to the countryside. This will accelerate the rural technical revolution and the development of agriculture.

The factory should also manufacture plenty of building machinery.

We are far from satisfied with the construction of Wonsan. Houses should be built in large numbers and parks laid out better by speeding up construction. For this reason, the Wonsan Railway Factory should produce not only cranes for its own use but large numbers of various building machines including tower cranes, so as to accelerate the mechanization of building operations.

Workers should improve their technical levels and skills quickly.

This will increase labour productivity and the output of goods.

In order to enhance the technical standard of the factory workers, it is necessary for technicians to teach them technology zealously, along with specialization of production.

Our technicians are people's technicians who have been educated

by our Party since liberation—technicians of the working class. It is, therefore, their obligation to teach technology to the workers.

The Wonsan Railway Factory should take the lead even in the cultural revolution.

The cultural level of the workers should be raised so that all of them may live in a cultured way and everyone would be able to study zealously. The factory should select good comrades and send them to the Central Party School.

I firmly believe that you will fulfil creditably the tasks given by the Party.

FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF FISHERIES

**Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Active Party Members
in the Fishery Sector of Kangwon Province**

June 11, 1959

This time, we have guided the work of the Party and government bodies and the economic work in Kangwon Province in accordance with the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee.

The fishing industry is very important for the economic development of Kangwon Province. This meeting of activists from Kangwon Province's fishery sector is of great significance for the development of the province's fishing industry.

Since the April 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, big achievements have been made in the fishing industry of Kangwon Province. The number of fishing boats has increased considerably and the quantity of seafood has grown fairly greater than before. Moreover, many processing shops and plants including refrigeration plants and canneries have been built or enlarged. The standard of living of workers in this industry has also been markedly improved and the incomes of the fishermen's cooperative members, too, have increased. In general, the workers in the fishing industry show greater enthusiasm for the renovation of their industry in line with the decision of the April Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

We have found, however, that in spite of those achievements the

fishing industry of Kangwon Province still has many shortcomings. The output of marine products is still not large, and the people's increasing demand for fish is not yet being met.

This is not because the seas around our country lack fish. The coastal waters of our country and the deep seas off it abound with both sedentary and migratory varieties. The natural conditions for aquaculture are also very good. We have rich sea resources.

Nor is our failure to catch a lot of fish due to a shortage of fishing tackle. We possess a large number of fishing boats and also have a variety of fishing implements. Moreover, we are now able to build more boats and supply as many nets and assorted fishing gear as necessary, since our industry has developed.

Furthermore, the reason does not lie in the lack of zeal of our fishery workers or their poor performance on the job. They are working with great enthusiasm, and are striving to carry out the Party decision.

Why, then, has the fishing industry not yet developed to the level that the Party desires? The reason is that the leading officials of all bodies of the fishery sector have failed to do good organizational work.

Quite a few officials in the fishing industry do not promptly solve the problems raised by subordinates and, even worse, they flatly turn down good suggestions from below and do their job in the same old way, stuck in the old rut.

By word of mouth, they all claim that inspired by the letter of the Party Central Committee addressed to all Party members, they are doing their work enthusiastically. But in reality, some leading officials fail to organize and mobilize the great enthusiasm of the workers properly, and rather quite often they hinder their work, while the workers, encouraged by the letter of the Party Central Committee, display enthusiasm.

On the basis of what I have found out in the course of directing the work of the fishery sector in Kangwon Province, I want to bring up a few points to you here with a view to implement more thoroughly the decision of the April Plenary Meeting on a nationwide scale and bring

about a great innovation in our country's fishing industry.

First of all, we should actively carry on the work of bringing the decision of the April Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee home to the officials and workers in the fishery sector.

The Party's policy on fisheries, especially the spirit of the decision of the April Plenary Meeting, has not yet been fully explained to all Party organizations and to the workers in the fishing industry. Some workers in the fishing industry do not know the Party's policy well, and do not understand clearly that it is precisely their revolutionary task to carry through the Party's policy in their own sector.

Such people are not fully aware that our Party is the vanguard organization which struggles in the interests of the working people and leads them to victory in the revolution. Thus, they fail to study the Party's decision properly, and they regard the Party organizations as some sort of supervisory bodies and Party guidance as a nuisance. That is why they know only the term April Plenary Meeting, but do not fully understand the content of its decision. Then there are some people who know about the decision of the April Plenary Meeting, but who do not conduct the organizational work scrupulously for its implementation and, what is worse, there are even cases where the Party decision is not being sincerely carried out.

The Party organizations in the fishery sector, however, fail to wage an energetic struggle against such tendencies. All the Party organizations in this sector should therefore hold discussions on the decision of the April Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee once again.

That decision has not become obsolete. The issues set forth in that decision are still important tasks for us. The Party organizations, therefore, should discuss once again the decision of the April Plenary Meeting and the letter of the Party Central Committee and thus make the Party's policy on fisheries fully known to all the Party members and working people.

Of course, the issue cannot be settled merely by discussion. One cannot say that one has accepted the Party's decision simply because

one has read it once or learned it by heart.

A fresh discussion would induce all the Party members, workers and fishermen's cooperative members to adopt and apply measures to thoroughly implement the decision of the April Plenary Meeting. They should assess how the decision has been carried out and what has yet to be done and then concrete plans should be drawn up to implement what has still to be carried out from the decision of the April Plenary Meeting.

Party policy is being neglected because speculative tendencies have not yet been discarded and medium- and small-scale fisheries are not extensively developed, and because the Party's policy on pelagic fishing is being approved only by word of mouth, but no real arrangements are made for this work, and no positive measures are taken for the work of aquaculture, either. As I have already pointed out, this is due to the fact that the officials in the fishing industry work bureaucratically and, led astray by conservatism and empiricism, fail to respond to the Party's appeal for thinking and acting boldly.

Obstinate people simply stick to the old ways, lose sight of reality, and continue in the same old rut, but our Party members fail to crush these tendencies boldly and do not actively struggle to make innovations in the fishing industry.

Therefore, while discussing the decision of the April Plenary Meeting and the letter of the Party Central Committee once again, you should break down the resistance of those who are swayed by such conservatism, mysticism and empiricism and that of the bureaucrats and the obstinate elements, and establish the trait of thinking with daring, displaying bold initiative and acting dauntlessly.

To make a fine landing of fish in all seasons, we should combine pelagic fishing with medium- and small-scale fisheries and apply various fishing methods.

As many comrades have said in their speeches, deep seas abound with fish, including big fish. You should not merely pay lip service to the need of developing deep-sea fishery, but rather should make good preparations for it and organize it actively in a planned way.

For large-scale pelagic fishing, we should also build comparatively large boats. In pelagic fishing, vessels of several hundred or several thousand tons, as well as small boats, should stay at sea for long periods.

For this aim, as from this year, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Fisheries should organize the work of building large craft.

For the time being, even when doing pelagic fishing, you should not go out too far and stay out too many days.

The example of North Hamgyong Province shows that considerable successes can also be achieved in whaling. We should catch whales, dolphins and similar ones to solve the oil problem, which is a very important issue in our country at present.

We should do pelagic fishing in this way and, at the same time, develop medium- and small-scale fisheries. We should employ all kinds of medium- and small-scale fishing methods such as set-net, gill-net, long-line, dragnet and scoop-net fishing. The examples of the fishermen's cooperatives which have earned large incomes by organizing them well, show clearly how advantageous the medium- and small-scale fishing methods are.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, medium- and small-scale fisheries also thrived. It is said that in the Bay of Yonghung alone, 600-700 set-nets were laid. In a talk with the workers of the Munchon Fishery Station, I learned that in the days of Japanese imperialist rule so many set-nets were laid that they could row their boats only by dodging their way through them. Nevertheless, our fishermen now think only of big things, and belittle and neglect such medium- and small-scale fishing methods.

It is a big mistake to think that these methods are only for fishermen's cooperatives and that state-owned fishery stations should engage only in large-scale fisheries. The Party Central Committee has never said so. This is all a story cooked up by speculative elements.

The state-owned fishery stations should also engage both in pelagic and in medium- and small-scale fisheries, employ both big boats and small ones, and even use hooks and lines and all that. As you said in

your speeches, set-nets or gill-nets could be laid when the boats sail out and could be hauled in when they sail back. Why can't you do this? Gathering shellfish is also an easy and highly lucrative job. But things of this kind are neglected.

Even a technologically developed country like the Soviet Union, makes use of all kinds of medium- and small-scale fishing methods. Why, then, should we not do the same? A resolute struggle should be waged against the incorrect tendency to neglect medium- and small-scale fisheries, and they should be developed on an extensive scale. If there is a shortage of manpower, it should be increased to develop medium- and small-scale fisheries.

And we should also chase and catch big schools of mackerel, pollack, sand eel, anchovy and other migratory fishes. This method, together with medium- and small-scale fishing and all other methods should be adopted.

It is necessary to catch fish all the year round through both collective and individual fishing, in deep seas and in adjacent waters, with large vessels and with small boats, and catch all varieties of fish. In this way fish must be landed by various methods. This is the only way to guarantee a big catch of varied fish and other seafood all the time.

If you want to fish in various ways like this, you will naturally have to prepare more suitable fishing tackle, build a larger number of appropriate boats and organize work efficiently. Thus, fishermen should make sure that they fish for more than 300 days a year.

An energetic struggle should be launched against the old speculative practice of looking only for schools of pollack and other seasonal fish and abandoning the rest.

Even with the existing vessels, it is perfectly possible to catch fish by adopting various methods. The situation is not so bad as to keep us from fishing due to the lack of boats. As for fishing implements, it is also possible to catch fish with the ones we have by adopting different methods.

The point is to thoroughly implement the Party's policy which calls for the elimination of the conservative and speculative ideas which still

remain among fishery workers and for fishing through different methods all the year round, without leaving the seas.

Next, it is highly important to intensify the work of culture in shallow seas and lakes.

I was told that according to approximate data, Kangwon Province alone has an area of more than 42,000 hectares suitable for shallow-sea culture. In seaweed culture alone, 10,000 hectares of tangle, over 1,600 hectares of the *miyok* seaweed, and over 2,300 hectares of sea lettuce and the like can be cultivated and it is said that agar-agar and laver can also be raised. It is also said that 17,000 hectares of shellfish, more than 7,000 hectares of sea cucumber and over 1,300 hectares of trepang can be raised. Besides, in this province there are many reservoirs and lakes such as Lake Tongjong and Lake Sijung.

Though there are wide areas suitable for shallow-sea culture as well as many lakes and reservoirs, the provincial Party organization and the officials in the fishing industry have not yet paid much attention to the work of aquaculture. Only recently have individual activists set about this work.

I feel impelled to say that you are carrying out the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee on the aquaculture in a very unsatisfactory way. I appeal again to the provincial Party organizations, all Party members and workers in the fishing industry to go all-out in doing aquaculture.

It is said that according to preliminary estimates, if aquaculture is undertaken well in an all-round way, the output of seaweeds and shellfish alone can be about 390,000 tons in 1965. This would really be a great achievement. Culture in shallow seas and lakes, therefore, should be carried on extensively. If you do so, you can continue to conserve the resources, cultivating on the one hand and harvesting on the other. In my opinion, women are fully able to do jobs like aquaculture.

And fresh-water fish culture should also be developed. The way you are doing it now is very poor. You all do it by handicraft methods in a simple and haphazard manner, only by way of experiment.

It is not necessary to go on making experiments alone. Fish culture

is widespread all over the world, so why should we stick to experiments all the time? In our country, too, the experiments began long ago. After attaining a certain level of technology, apply it, and you will succeed.

The crux of the question is to renounce passivism, and go into action promptly, boldly and with energy. At present there is not even a hatchery in large lakes. If you merely catch a few passing fish and throw them carelessly into the lakes, and then claim you are raising fish, when do you expect to have fish turned out?

Work must be organized in a planned way and carried forward energetically. At present our country finds nothing beyond its power in supplying materials needed for aquaculture. This notwithstanding, you do not actively conduct the work on this or that pretext, complaining about the absence of this or that, but only expect to find ready-made things somewhere and have them brought free.

Work should also be done in the planned protection of fish and propagation of sedentary fish; an intensive struggle should be waged against the practice of exterminating fish through random catching.

It is a crime against the people to cause fish to become extinct instead of protecting and raising them. This might soon exhaust the resources.

Poor work in the protection and raising of fish is due to insufficient explanations being given to the fishermen. The personnel of all establishments and workers of the research institutes in the field of fisheries, are only sticking to their offices and they are even neglecting their duty to give lectures on the protection and multiplication of the aquatic resources. As a result, many fishery workers are rather unaware of the ways that should be adopted to protect and multiply the aquatic resources and they do not even know why it is necessary to do so. Things cannot go right because fishermen are not being taught to be conscious of such ways.

Our people will refrain from such things as exterminating the fish by catching fish right and left if only you inform them well about the varieties of sedentary or migratory fish, about when each of them spawns, when certain varieties should not be caught, why only

full-grown fish should be caught, and about the serious results of reckless exploitation of aquatic resources without protecting and increasing them, and so forth. You must provide fishermen with sufficient knowledge about the conservation of aquatic resources.

It is very important in the fishing industry to process the catch properly. The decision of the April Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee set it as one of the most important issues to ensure proper processing of fish.

Our present catch is not small. But all the fish is not processed in such a way that the people can eat them with relish. As a woman worker of the Wonsan Seafood-Processing Plant said in her speech a little while ago, it is a major crime against the state and the people to allow the fish which the fishermen have caught with so much effort to decay or spoil. It is very wrong, when the people's demand for fish is great, that fish should be processed so poorly that they spoil or deteriorate and cannot be eaten or that fish of poor quality, even though edible, is distributed.

Yesterday, I visited the Wonsan Fishery Station and found that though they had a good refrigerator with a capacity of freezing over 20 tons of fish a day, instead of using it, they were putting stale, smelly saury into boxes and sending them to the market. A vigorous ideological struggle should be waged against such practices.

In processing marine products, good refrigeration is required, and dried, smoked and canned fish should be produced. It is necessary to install refrigerators at many places in order to prevent the catch from getting spoiled and preserve its flavour. Boats should also be equipped with refrigerators, and each fishery station and, further, each fishermen's cooperative should be furnished with a cold storage of moderate size, so that all the fish caught reach the people fresh. In cases where this is difficult, fish should be canned or dried and supplied to the people, and the leftovers should all be used as manure or feed for domestic animals.

For this purpose, along with refrigeration plants, dried goods factories and canneries should be built everywhere. As for the

canneries, you should not try to set up very big ones, but build a large number of medium- and small-scale plants in various places. It is not hard to set up a cannery. It can be constructed in a simple manner, without much effort.

Keen attention should also be paid to the processing of by-products. As for pollack in particular, while the flesh is nice, its roe and entrails make fine food, more palatable to the Koreans. You should process them cleanly and make plenty of pickled roe, pickled entrails and liver oil; you should also produce paste of seasoned sea-urchin eggs and other edibles preferred by the Koreans. These you should supply to the people in an efficient way.

In processing marine products, you must also endeavour to raise their quality in accordance with the decision of the February 1959 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. A wide variety of tasty, clean and inexpensive processed seafood should be produced and supplied to the people in sufficient amounts.

The most important thing for the development of the fishing industry today is to lay the technological foundations for the management bureaus and for all the fishery stations and fishermen's cooperatives.

These foundations are not yet firmly laid and this is the weakest link in the fishing industry.

Laying technological foundations means setting up the necessary factories under each management bureau. Only then can the fishing industry rapidly develop.

First of all, there should be fishing implement factories under each provincial management bureau. It would be desirable to set up small- and medium-size factories that can easily be built with small investments, for instance, factories like the present local enterprises, instead of trying to erect large ones. Thus, nets, buoys, ropes and various other fishing implements should be produced.

Due to the lack of such factories under the management bureaus, we are failing to ensure a timely supply of fishing implements required by the fishery stations and fishermen's cooperatives. People have to go

through a lot of red tape to get supplies of fishing implements. As it was mentioned during today's session, the Munchon Fishery Station wanted to lay set-nets and applied for the nets last September, but the management bureau delivered them only in April of this year. Because vital fishing equipment is not obtained in time, the season is missed and so is the opportunity for a big catch.

That is why every management bureau should have fishing implement factories. These factories should be set up at an early date, not later than within a few months.

Also, the management bureaus must have general machine-building factories. Such factories, each of them with some 50 machine tools, should unfailingly be set up for each bureau by encouraging them to make machine tools for themselves and supplying them with machines manufactured through the let-each-machine-tool-make-more movement, plus some high-precision machines produced by specialized machine-building plants.

By setting up such factories, we should build the cranes necessary for unloading operations, machines for the production of wire ropes and for disembowelling the fish, pushcarts, conveyers, and various other kinds of machines.

As these factories develop, it would also be a good thing for them to manufacture small-size motors. In the future, small sailing boats should also be equipped with motors to increase their manoeuvrability. In this way, all work, from fishing operations to the processing of seafood, should be mechanized and the technical revolution set forth by the Party should also be actively promoted in the fishing sector.

Furthermore, one or two dockyards should be set up in each province according to the number of craft. Two dockyards should be set up in South Hamgyong Province, but one will do for Kangwon Province. That would solve the problem of boat repairs.

The dockyards should make machine tools on their own and increase their equipment, and guarantee rapid and high-quality repairs.

For timely repairs of ships, spare parts and engines should be produced or kept in stock ahead of time, and they should be used in

quick replacement when a boat requiring repairs comes in, instead of spending time in dismantling and repairing its machines after its arrival, as is the practice now. This will make it possible to shorten repair time markedly and raise the boats' operation rate.

Besides, in boat repairs, order and discipline should also be established. At present, work in this field is done in awful disorder and irresponsibly. Repairs of ships are done with no time limit, and nobody is called to account for it even when it takes more than a hundred days to repair a boat. Such shortcomings should be promptly remedied.

The time limit for boat repairs should be definitely fixed according to the extent of the repairs, and a system should be adopted under which the failure to finish the repairs within the set time is punishable by a fine.

Moreover, in case the fixed term of repairs is violated, the captain or the chief engineer of the vessel concerned should have the right to call the dockyard to account for it and demand the completion of repairs on schedule.

Provincial fishery management bureaus should have the factories and dockyards I have just mentioned and other necessary plants such as rope and wire factories. They should also set up for themselves factories to produce refrigerators, cannery installations and equipment for packing materials plants, plus wooden barrels and glass containers.

A management bureau can play a role worthy of its name, and work creatively and enterprisingly, only when it has factories. The director or the chief engineer of management bureau cannot conduct his work dynamically and daringly without such a technological basis, even if he wants to.

Of course, a profuse manifestation of bureaucracy and poor organization of work are the main shortcomings of the management bureau's work, but it cannot properly play its role as master no matter how hard it tries, because such conditions have not been ensured for it. Hence, it is a matter of first consideration to lay the technological foundations of the provincial fishery management bureaus as soon as possible.

At the same time, three or so lathes, drilling machines, shapers and the like should be installed at each fishery station and fishermen's cooperative so that they can do simple repairs all by themselves. Because they lack these things, they are compelled to bring their vessels into a dockyard even when a small accessory gets out of order. Further, the dockyards cannot organize the repair work efficiently if they have to handle the simplest repairs. To organize repairs promptly and raise the boats' operation rate, a way to handle simple repairs at the fishery enterprises themselves should be found quickly.

In the final analysis, you cannot raise the fishing industry to a higher level without technological foundations. Therefore, the Party must pay great attention to improving the technical equipment of the fishing industry.

In particular, some kinds of machines produced by ministries with large factories such as the Ministries of Machine Industry, Transport, Metal Industry and Chemical Industry, should be supplied in large quantities to the fishing industry. I think it would be a good idea for the factories in Wonsan which belong to different ministries to start this work. Local factories, too, should launch a struggle to lay the technological foundations of the fishing industry, not to speak of such big factories as the Wonsan Railway Factory, the Munchon Machine Factory, the Munphyong Smeltery and the Chonnaeri Cement Factory.

Only by strengthening the technological basis of the fishing industry will it be possible to guarantee a regular supply of fishing implements, repair the boats quickly and mechanize fishing, unloading, processing and all other operations.

The issue cannot be settled by trying to land fish in the manner of shouting yo-heave-ho, yo-heave-ho as in bygone days without carrying out technological reconstruction, without laying a technological basis.

In the fishing industry, necessary factories should be fully equipped immediately through an energetic struggle to lay its technological basis. This work should be undertaken not only in Kangwon Province but also in South and North Hamgyong Provinces and in all parts of the west coast. It is high time to do this work. Only two or three years ago,

we were not able to discuss such an issue.

But today the situation is different. Our industry has reached a new stage of development. Moreover, mysticism about machinery has been smashed, and the let-each-machine-tool-make-more movement is extensively under way throughout the country. Under these conditions, we are fully able to carry out the task of laying the technological foundations of the fishing industry.

While improving the technical equipment of the fishing industry, we should develop it on a highly scientific basis. For this, it is very important to energetically introduce the achievements of advanced science and technology, train a large number of technical personnel and raise the technical level of the fishery workers.

Our country is still weak as far as fishing by scientific methods is concerned. It is weak in creating new scientific and technological methods by displaying creative initiative, and we generally catch fish through past experience and by old-fashioned methods.

Our fishery establishments and scientific workers even lack a clear knowledge of things like the change of sea conditions and alteration of ocean currents and a clear understanding of the migratory patterns and habitat of the fish. Consequently, in searching for a school of fish, too, they only follow the former courses of migration.

It seems to me that fish are not like hares. A hare always sticks to its familiar track. The hare, too, will find a new course when frightened, so how can the fish living in the vast sea always take the same course? Moreover, ocean conditions and currents change constantly. According to such variations, changes may take place both in the habitat of the sedentary fish and in the conditions of the migratory varieties. But people just bemoan the flight of sardines and the absence of the schools of mackerel, instead of forming a scientific estimation of such changes and actively searching for the fish.

Furthermore, scientific research is very deficient on problems dealing with the kind of fishing tackle suitable for our country and ways to speed up the catch. In our country, scientific research in the fishing industry is still backward when comparing with other industrial sectors.

Our country is bounded on three sides by the sea, where there are inexhaustible resources. Exploitation and utilization of those resources are of great significance in promoting the welfare of our people and improving their standard of living. Scientific research in the fishing industry should be actively promoted and new and more scientific workers be trained.

Moreover, the training of scientific and technical personnel should also be conducted in close connection with production in keeping with the actual situation of our country. In the past the negative elements lurking in the Wonsan University of Agriculture did great harm to the education of the students. In the eight years since the opening of the fishery faculty of the Wonsan University of Agriculture, many students have graduated, but none of them have ever been out to sea. It is said that last year the students went out to sea for the first time. And I was told that they were all down with seasickness at first. After they had made several trips out at sea and got used to sailing, they never got seasick, and caught lots of fish by themselves, and now they are said to be very fond of going out to sea.

Those technicians who left school without going through such practical exercises will not be able to inspire the fishermen to activity in fishing operations, for they themselves are afraid of going out to sea. Technicians must get out on board a ship together with the fishermen, but they are afraid to do so because they get seasick. So, they are obliged to stick to their offices, and thus they will get out of touch with the actual situation. It is only too clear that things cannot go well if you train technicians and conduct research work in such a way.

The Party should pay special attention to the work of training scientific workers and technicians for the fishing industry who have a high level of scientific and technical knowledge and who have been seasoned in productive activities.

We are very short of technicians in the fishing industry. In fact, there are no technicians in almost all fishery stations which I have visited.

Fishery colleges and schools should be set up in large numbers. In my opinion, in maritime counties like Kosong and Thongchon, it

would be good to reorganize all the senior middle schools into fishermen's vocational schools. Only then will the ranks of technicians expand among the fishing workers, new fishing methods be created incessantly and greater activity exhibited to conquer the sea.

The fishing industry cannot develop unless numerous new technicians and cadres join it.

Besides, it is important to conduct extensive technical education among the workers in the fishing industry. At present, such people as head fishermen neglect technical studies once they obtain certificates. In general, workers in the fishing industry are negligent about technical studies, and they do almost nothing to introduce the advanced technology of other countries. Consequently, they know nothing more than the outdated methods they have adopted so far. Indeed, the experience hitherto gained is also important, and needs to be learned. But that alone is not enough.

Since society incessantly changes and develops, all our science and technology should also progress in step with it.

We should learn from the Soviet Union and other advanced countries, and also learn from the positive experience of capitalist countries. At the same time, we should study the fishery techniques of our country and exhibit creative initiative in this field.

Our country has now reached a high stage in socialist construction and has already started the technical revolution for its acceleration.

The fishing industry should also keep pace with the development of the national economy as a whole. The fishing industry alone cannot mark time while all other industries embark upon a new stage. It is therefore necessary in the fishing industry to step up scientific research and improve the training of technical personnel and, at the same time, dynamically conduct technical education to raise the technical level of the fishery workers.

The work to conquer the sea and exploit the rich marine resources should be launched as a nationwide movement and, for this purpose, a widespread mass education should be conducted to cultivate the spirit of actively going out to sea.

Our country is a maritime country, bounded by the sea on three sides. For our people, especially for those who live by the sea, it is a glorious and worthy task to conquer the boundless sea and exploit its rich resources.

This honourable mission cannot be fulfilled without a love for the sea, without getting familiar with it, and without a great desire to go out to sea.

We should impart the knowledge of the sea to the new generation from primary school on and imbue them with a longing for the sea and the desire to work there cheerfully. Particularly at schools located on the coast subjects concerning the sea should be included in the curriculum so that pupils would have more knowledge on the sea.

Now there seem to be shortcomings with regard to the school curriculums and textbooks prepared dogmatically, that clash with our actual conditions. These matters need re-examination.

Education should be so conducted as to enable everybody to possess a general knowledge of ocean currents and tides as well as of the marine resources.

Moreover, the young generation should be taught to love the exciting job of hunting for the treasures of the seas, and trained to operate as freely at sea as on the shore. Young people should be encouraged to go swimming, rowing and fishing on the sea. Only by so doing can the people be greatly inspired to go out to sea and everybody operate freely at sea without fearing it so that he conquers it and exploits its resources.

This kind of educational work should be extensively conducted both in school and amongst the people.

But now there is not even a song worth mentioning about the sea. There is, if any, only one or two songs about the scenic beauty of the sea. There is almost no song which describes how rich the marine resources are, how glorious and worthwhile it is to go to sea and exploit these resources, or which tells about the dynamic struggle of the fishermen. Many such songs should be composed and sung.

Our Party has long since emphasized the importance of exploiting

the sea resources. The Party's slogan "Effective use of the sea should be made by sea-side regions" means precisely that you should go to sea and exploit it. Yet, those who live in the coastal areas sit atremble in fear of the sea instead of exploiting it. How can you conquer the sea if you are afraid of it?

There is nothing to fear about the sea. From olden times, our country boasts of many feats of marine exploitation and brave sea fights.

Admiral Ri Sun Sin built turtle-shaped battleships which no other country had ever made before, to counter the Japanese invasion. Only the ruling classes failed to go to sea. Under the corrupt feudal government they led a luxurious life, merely singing the praises of the scenic beauty and drinking liquors. In fact, our people have always loved the sea and exploited it generation after generation.

In our age, the work for the conquest and exploitation of the sea should be launched as an all-people movement. Exploitation of marine resources will make it possible not only to raise the people's living standard, but further improve their health as well. Not only men, but even women should go to work at sea. It is said that women divers at Jeju Island leave their men at home and feed them with their earnings from the sea. Women, too, can take up jobs at sea.

In Kangwon Province, I found out that the Democratic Youth League is not carrying out its duty. In Wonsan, a port city, there is not even a swimming club, and sports such as yachting and boating are not organized, either. The Democratic Youth League should conduct this kind of work. But the young people go only to such inappropriate places as the Juul hot-spring, Sogwangsa or Sambang for holiday recreation. Those places are just for old folks who feel cold even on ordinary days.

Young people should go to work at sea on a wide scale. Moreover, to smash conservatism and innovate work in this sector and push it a step forward, large numbers of young people should go to work at sea.

What is the pride of our young generation? It is that they are always willing to bear the brunt of any task, be it more difficult,

more arduous and more important, and always move forward with courage and audacity. The sea is, indeed, a workplace for young people who are highly enterprising and burning with passion. What a worthwhile thing it is for young people in full vigour to plough through the waves to head for the open sea and exploit its inexhaustible resources for the prosperity of their socialist country! Work at sea cultivates boldness and courage in the young people and makes them physically stronger.

If young people take up jobs at sea, more fishing voyages will be made and net-casting will be increased, more active fishing methods will be devised and new things will be introduced with greater audacity. Because there is a shortage of young people in the fishing industry, few new fishing methods and inventive ideas and proposals have yet been advanced in this field.

In the future, large numbers of junior and senior middle school and fishery school graduates should be sent to work at sea, so that young people make up 80-90 per cent of the personnel in the fishing industry. This is also of great importance in view of the national defence of our country surrounded by the sea on three sides.

Young people should cooperate with the elders and learn from their experience and, taking difficult jobs upon themselves, should catch more fish by new and active methods.

Now, I would like to refer to the fishermen's standard of living.

Fishermen are engaged in an arduous job. More attention should be paid to the life of the fishermen who go out and struggle against heavy seas even on cold, blustery winter days and rainy days.

In the Wonsan area, more attractive houses should be built for the workers of the fishery station, and cultural facilities should also be improved for them.

In connection with the fishermen's standard of living, their wage system should be reviewed.

I think it would be a good idea to revise the wage system to give much higher wages to those who go out fishing frequently. It is also advisable to establish fishing quotas, so that those who make big

catches are paid more. Besides, fishermen who go out to sea for over 300 days a year and obtain good catches should be awarded by the state with definite amounts of bonuses.

In this way, to induce the fishery workers to go out to sea more often and make big catches, they should not merely be mobilized ideologically but they should also benefit materially. This is good both because plenty of fish will be caught and because the incomes of the fishermen will increase.

They should be given longer vacations. It is said that the vacation period of the workers in the fishing industry is longer than that of workers in other sectors, i.e., 28 days, and this is a good thing. I think it would be good to grant a month's vacation to the fishermen and allow them to have it in two separate periods.

As is set forth in the decision of the April Plenary Meeting, nice resting places should be set up for the fishermen, so that they can enjoy a pleasant life of cultural recreation, listening to the radio and seeing films, when they return from the sea. Good rest homes should also be provided for them.

A system should be established to educate the fishermen by making an effective use of the time when they are unable to go out fishing because of strong winds and rough seas, and arrangements should be made for them to go to rest homes on such occasions.

Furthermore, communist education should also be intensified among all the fishing workers.

Some fishermen still retain the habit of bygone days when they passed the time away drinking when they earned some money from fishing.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, when they were oppressed by the capitalists and shipowners, they had no prospects and had a dim future before them. So they might have lived from day to day, spending the money they earned on drinking. But today their situation has changed fundamentally. The workers, as masters of their country, are now building a socialist society and struggling to lay the foundations for the well-being of the generations to come, so why should they lead

a frivolous and carefree life, drinking liquor? They should not do so.

The remnants of outdated ideas still lingering in the minds of fishermen should be eliminated and the habit of hoboism as manifested in the former lumberjacks, gold-miners or boatmen who lived in a happy-go-lucky fashion should be discarded.

Today, our fishermen are full-fledged builders of socialism and workers of a socialist society who have been educated for 14 years. We should educate all the fishermen to become workers who struggle more actively to defend the socialist system and step up socialist construction with such a sense of honour.

We should see to it that they are equipped with revolutionary ideological consciousness, that the communist way of life is established among them, so that all of them work and live in a way worthy of socialist builders.

We should tell them in time about the situation in the country, about the state of affairs in the Party and other developments so that they will not lose touch with all the life in our country since they are always out at sea, and, especially, we should give them a thorough knowledge of our Party's policy and thus bring them to display patriotic devotion in its implementation.

Moreover, a resolute struggle should be waged amongst the fishermen against the practices of not caring for the state and society but thinking only of themselves. We should see to it that they take good care of the boats and fishing implements which are the properties of the state and cooperative organizations. At the same time, education in collectivism should be strengthened to lead them to rely on and help each other, inasmuch as they wage an intense struggle on the rough sea.

The struggle against bureaucracy should be intensified. The bureaucracy remaining in some leading officials in the fishing industry, causes no small hindrance to work.

Bureaucracy should be eliminated, so that everything is carried out quickly and correctly and the creative proposals made by the people are applied in practical work without delay.

And the socialist gains should be defended and the enemy's acts of subversion and sabotage should be crushed at every step.

The faster we build socialism, the more rabidly the enemy tries to wreck our socialist system. Particularly, the enemy attempts to send in numerous spies by sea. Therefore, our fishermen should sharpen their vigilance and further intensify their struggle against spies and launch a vigorous campaign to prevent the enemies from worming into our midst to gain a foothold or conduct harmful activities in the fishery sector.

For an effective struggle against spies, you should also avoid all kinds of corruption. The enemy tries to take advantage of it.

The reason why work did not fare well with the Party organization of Kangwon Province in the past lies also in the fact that some unsound elements in the leading positions of the provincial Party committee and the provincial people's committee were corrupted and did not attend to their work. They did not properly guide the work for improving the people's standard of living in the province and speeding up socialist construction, nor did they wage an energetic struggle against espionage agents.

In view of such an experience, I would like to emphasize again that the workers of every fishery station and the members of every fishermen's cooperative, by heightening their revolutionary vigilance, should all launch more vigorous struggle against spies and should not become slack and corrupt and dissipated.

If the struggle against spies is to be waged effectively, order and discipline should be strengthened. At present, however, there is no discipline, and no order has been established in the fishing industry of the province. During my visits I have found out that this is true as far as fishery stations and the fishermen's cooperatives are concerned. The same can be said for the shipyard and the dockyard. In such places, saboteurs cannot be detected however freely they may manoeuvre. Even when something goes wrong, there is no finding out whether it is done by a good person or an ill-intentioned one, whether it goes wrong in spite of good intentions or whether it is an intentional action.

A spy does not go around with a spy label on his forehead. Discipline and order should also be tightened, to ferret out the hidden enemies.

If stringent order and discipline are established, corrupt and dissipated practices would be eliminated and work would be taken in hand and carried on properly in all fields, and if all the people are on the lookout, even a “superhuman” spy would not be able to manoeuvre, and, wherever he may go, he would be detected by them as by a “demons”-revealing mirror.

Following this meeting of activists, our Party members and all fishermen should discuss the decision of the April Plenary Meeting once again and wage a vigorous campaign for its implementation and bring about a great innovation in the fishing industry.

I wish all the Party members in the fishery sector would strive to make continuous progress, maintaining the upsurge of socialist construction in keeping with the spirit of the Party’s Red Letter, firmly rallied around the Party Central Committee.

LET US SHOW THE WHOLE WORLD THE EXCELLENCE OF SOCIALIST ART

**Talk with the Artists Who Are to Participate
in the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students**

July 1, 1959

I am told that the artist delegation which will be attending the forthcoming world festival of youth and students includes many workers, peasants, youth and students. That is very good.

If we are to develop our art on a right track, we should popularize it. Only when broad sections of the working people in factories and rural communities are able to take an active part in art activities, art would truly belong to the people and so would be developed quickly.

People's art means creating an art which truthfully reflects the life of the people and is congenial to their thoughts and sentiments. Only such an art would touch the heartstrings of the people and excite them to laughter or move them to tears. It will also inspire people to get down to work with fresh strength and courage and will play the role of an educator that stimulates them to reflect upon their work and lives and correct their mistakes on their own.

We have achieved many successes in popularizing art and developing it into the people's art. This time I have seen your performance, and found it much better than before. But you must never rest content with this success. On the contrary, you should strive to develop it even further.

A major shortcoming in developing our literature and art is that

they still fail to truthfully depict the people's lives. Some of the novels dealing with the People's Army are still not agreeable to the life, thinking and feelings of soldiers. The People's Army soldiers feel very dissatisfied with such novels. These do not truthfully represent the soldiers' actual life not because their authors are bad people but because they are not aware of the life of the People's Army.

If our art is to be developed into a people's art which is congenial to their life, thinking and feelings, all sectors of the people, including workers, peasants, servicemen and students, should take an active part in art activities.

If the wisdom and talents of the people are enlisted, many excellent works will be produced, which vividly mirror the reality. Needless to say, works of art created by factory workers or farmers may not be so good in their artistic skill as those of professional artists. But artistic pieces produced by the people depict life truthfully and vividly, and they can be improved with a little touch by professionals, to be excellent works of high ideological and artistic qualities.

Our country has now favourable conditions for developing the art on a mass basis. Formerly our people lived without joy and songs under the exploitation and oppression of the Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists. Today they are working and living optimistically, with a great hope and ambition for the future as masters of the country. Dances and songs are today natural part of their labour and lives, and their artistic level is also very high.

Last summer, we were inspecting North Phyongan Province; one day when we were having a break, we heard melodious songs of cooperative girls weeding their fields, echoing back and forth from the hills. The girls on the front hill sang a song, and those on the back hill returned another, working merrily, indeed. Their simple melodies were so beautiful that we recorded it to be able to listen it even later. Such beautiful songs of the people should be positively encouraged and developed.

I was told that this year there would also be a national art festival

and it would be advisable to arrange such activities more often. If it is done regularly, amateur art group activities will develop widely among the people, and many beautiful new dances and songs will be presented.

Our Party's policy of popularizing art is absolutely correct. You comrades should strive to implement this policy.

Next, I would like to touch on some problems of how you should conduct yourselves and work at the world festival of youth and students.

It is most important that all the comrades who are going to the festival have a firm conviction and a high sense of pride that our socialist system is superior to the capitalist system beyond compare.

Over there in the capitalist country, you will see at a glance the glittering streets and rich people walking about in fashionable dresses and shoes. But it will be a mistake if you imagine that the people in capitalist countries are well-off or that capitalist society is more developed than socialist society.

In social progress, capitalism lags one stage behind socialism. The socialist society is a society which is free from exploitation and oppression and in which all the people work alike and are equally happy. But the capitalist society is a society where exploitation and oppression prevail and the working people are poverty-stricken with no political rights. Even in the United States which is regarded as the most developed country of the capitalist world, there are a large number of unemployed people and beggars wandering in the streets.

True, our country still lags a little behind the developed capitalist countries economically and technically and people are not as finely dressed because it was under feudal and Japanese colonial rule for a long time and skipped over industrial revolution. But in our country there are no ill-clad and hunger-stricken people; all the working people are leading a free and happy life as masters of the country.

People from capitalist countries get their first impression that our country is not developed at the sight of our modest streets, but when they see the true picture of our society in the course of their stay, they

unanimously say that our socialist system is incomparably better than the capitalist system.

Last year a south Korean passenger plane happened to land in the northern half of Korea. At that time a stewardess gave her impression of Pyongyang: in the streets of Pyongyang there are no people who are particularly well dressed or ill-clad, and all of them are going about in decent clothes; in the morning the grownups all go to work and children go to school; the shops keep no luxurious goods worth mentioning but a large stock of ordinary fabrics and other goods for the working masses. This is what it differs from Seoul, she said.

In Seoul, for example, there may be a lot of makeups and fancy goods. But only the landlords, capitalists and bureaucrats who are rich and lapped in luxury can afford to buy them and so they are useless for the ill-dressed and starved workers and peasants. There are a number of universities in south Korea, but the poor people have no access to them, and even if some of them manage to go through them, they can hardly find employment.

Socialist society has an incomparable superiority over capitalist society especially in the ideological and cultural aspects. The level of ideological consciousness of our people who have received socialist education for 15 years since liberation is very high. All of them possess a sound ideology and noble moral qualities. The problem of developing technology and providing the people with fine clothes can be resolved soon if factories are built and the technical revolution is carried out. But not everyone can easily acquire such a high degree of ideological awareness as our people. You should have a sense of pride in your peerless ideological superiority over the people of capitalist countries.

Moreover, you should be highly proud of our art. Ours is the most beautiful, noble and revolutionary art in the world. Foreigners who have seen artistic performances in our country are struck with admiration for our art, and say that Korean art is the best in the world.

Probably there are good singers and dancers among the artists of capitalist countries. But their songs and dances are not for the people,

so that they do not cater for the thinking and feelings of the people and are not liked by the working masses.

Unlike the capitalist art, our art, born of the people, depicts the people's own lives. Since our art belongs to the people, it will win acclamation from the people even in capitalist countries. In any capitalist country, the working people including workers and peasants form the overwhelming majority of the population. As toiling people they are similar to our people in thinking and feelings, although their national customs and languages differ from ours. So our art will no doubt be enjoyed and welcomed by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals in the capitalist country.

At this world festival of youth and students, capitalists and their spokesmen, the bourgeois critics, may speak ill of our art one way or another. Our art will look beautiful to the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals, but it will offend the eyes of the capitalists. Since capitalists are addicted to a dissipated life or take pleasure in looking at naked women dance, they will find fault with the songs and dances of our artists, however excellently these are performed. You are not participating in this festival to win their favour or appreciation. Therefore, you should give no heed to their clamours.

You, comrades, must clearly understand the purpose of attending the festival. Your aim is not to bring golden or silver medals by winning the first or second place at the festival, but to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the progressive people the world over, give wide publicity to our brilliant success in building socialism and our Party's policy of national reunification, lay bare the crimes of the US imperialist aggressors, and thus win over many more supporters and sympathizers for our revolution.

In order to force out US imperialism and reunify the country, we must strengthen our internal revolutionary forces and, at the same time, cement friendship and solidarity with the progressive people of the world, so that peoples of many countries oppose US imperialism and support us. To reach this aim, we should take advantage of all opportunities and places in the international arena to make our country

known to more people by various means. If we avoid contacts with people in capitalist countries or follow a policy of seclusion, on the ground of adhering to the revolutionary stand, we will be unable to convince the world people of the wickedness of US imperialism and exert revolutionary influence upon these people.

The world festival of youth and students will be attended by young people from the socialist countries, from those struggling for national liberation and from the capitalist world. Among them may be those who believe in Buddhism or Christianity, or reactionaries and what not. But you should not be afraid of it. You should establish close ties with the youths of all strata and strive to exert revolutionary influence upon them.

At the festival you should properly explain the advantages of our socialist system to the Austrian people and the young people from many countries. In other words, you should convince the world of the fact that our country has made great progress in all political, economical and cultural sectors. To do so, you have to sing well, dance well and do political work well. In particular, you should show them how beautiful and progressive our art is, and illustrate that ours is not outdated and corrupt art, but that it is for our nation, for socialism and for the working masses.

Successful art activities are of great significance in creating favourable climate for the external activities of our Party and Government. Skilful art activities will help greatly towards increasing the international prestige of our country, promoting cultural interchange with other countries and developing political and economic relations with them.

If you make good artistic presentation at the festival, it will have a good effect on people in capitalist countries, and especially on the Koreans in Japan and the people in the south of our country.

The authority and prestige of our Republic are now very high among the Korean compatriots in Japan. Most of the Koreans living in Japan are from the Jolla and Kyongsang Provinces, but they hope to come to the northern half of Korea rather than south Korea, if the road

to repatriation is opened. About 300,000 of them have reportedly expressed their desire to return to the northern half of the country.

This is because south Korea has turned into a veritable hell under the rule of Syngman Rhee. In south Korea several millions of jobless people are now roaming about the streets, and the people are suffering from poverty and they have no rights. Even south Korean newspapers are expressing public discontent with Syngman Rhee's rule.

Today the realities in the two parts of Korea show a striking contrast. Some time ago a Japanese journalist said in his article in a magazine that one part of Korea north of the 38th parallel is a bright land and the other, the south, is a dark land. Our brothers in Japan are well aware of the entirely different realities in these regions. That is why they regard the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as their genuine homeland and are resolutely struggling to realize their repatriation to the Republic in spite of all the obstructive manoeuvres by US imperialism, Japanese reactionary ruling circles and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.

The Korean compatriots in Japan are now said to be fond of our music and dancing. Although Korean artists and other compatriots in Japan have not been personally to the northern half of Korea, they are fully aware of our radiantly blooming art by means of radios and movies and they strive to learn from our art. Recently the Korean writers and artists in Japan got together in Tokyo and formed an organization of men of literature and art who declared in their programme that they would endeavour to carry forward the traditions of our revolutionary literature and art.

Our art has also great influence on the south Korean people. It is said that many of them sing our songs in secret even under the cruel repression and strict watch of the enemy. This explains that ours is a genuinely national art which represents the thoughts and sentiments of all the Korean people.

South Korean students studying in France, West Germany and other capitalist countries may come to the world festival of youth and students. If they see your performance they will be influenced. At

present, American “gang” dances and decadent songs hold sway in south Korea. If they compare our art with the “gang” art of American style in south Korea, they will realize which is genuinely patriotic and which is traitorous to the country and the people.

Even a former “minister” of the south Korean puppet government, seeing our artist performance over here, said that a pure national art of Korea is being inherited and developed in north Korea.

This spring, south Korean fishermen drifted to the north in a storm while fishing in the waters off Haeju. At that time our government officials looked after them kindly out of brotherly sympathy and showed them around the different places of the northern half including Haeju and Pyongyang before sending them back home. They were reportedly detained on their return and questioned by the south Korean police about what they had seen in the north and what mission they had been given. They are said to have replied that they had seen art performances and films several times in Haeju and Pyongyang, farmers raising crops in well-irrigated fields with the help of tractors, free from drought damages, and children of workers and peasants receiving free education at universities, and that they had been given no other mission than to tell their neighbours about the facts they had witnessed in the north. Then, the policemen grumbled that the fishermen had all become “Reds” in a few days’ stay in north Korea. From this we can see clearly what a great influence our reality has on the south Korean people.

There were a few enemy agents among the fishermen who came at the time. We knew it, but we did not detain them. We sent them back after showing them around factories, farm villages and schools. We are not afraid to show our things to the south Koreans because everything we do is just for the cause of the country and the people.

Our Party’s policy is to convince more south Korean people of the vibrant reality in the north and influence all of them through our brilliant success in building socialism.

As I have said more than once, Kim Ku came to Pyongyang for the north-south joint conference held in 1948. He was a die-hard

nationalist who had doggedly opposed communism. But when he met us over here and saw with his own eyes the achievements made by the people in the north, he said that he found north Korea to his liking on that visit; that the north Korean communists were different from those he had met in Shanghai and south Korea; that communists were excellent, though he had considered them narrow-minded and useless before; and that they were true patriots and masters of Korea. When he was departing for south Korea, he said that he would like to remain in the north but had to go back because they would say that he had been detained in the north. He also said that he would no longer work for the Americans, but would tell the south Korean people that government in north Korea was right and people were living a happy life. Moreover, Kim Ku said that if it would get worse to live in south Korea, he would come again, expressing his wish that he would be given an orchard if that would happen. Back in south Korea Kim Ku worked against US imperialism and explained the correctness of our Party's policies to young people. Then, the American imperialists assassinated him.

Ryo Un Hyong also visited the north several times, and this made him change his idea much better. So they killed him, too.

All the people of different strata from south Korea who have seen things in the north, support us because we are doing the right thing for the country and the people—the motherland and the nation. At the world festival of youth and students you should clearly show the excellence of our art and thus exert good influence on the south Korean youth and students.

Your efficient art activities at the festival must be buttressed with the noble qualities of the heroic Korean people and with your strenuous efforts to bring honour to the country.

You must never forget, not even for one moment, that you represent the heroic Korean youth who beat down the US imperialists in the three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War and that you are the delegates of the industrious, resourceful and civilized Korean people. You must behave yourselves and set an example in all manners for the youths from other countries. Since you are going to a capitalist

country, you must unite and cooperate with each other, live up to the code of your organization and strictly observe discipline. In this way you will show in deed the good discipline and order, strong unity and a high degree of moral qualities of the Korean youth who have received socialist education.

In addition, you should heighten revolutionary vigilance. Enemies may manoeuvre to hinder our delegation's activities at the festival. So you should be on the alert for possible enemy plots all the time.

In conclusion, I hope you will show the whole world the mettle of the heroic Korean people at the world festival of youth and students, and I wish you a safe journey there and back home.

LET US GRASP THE MAIN OBJECTIVE AND CONCENTRATE FORCES ON IT IN THE SOLUTION OF ALL QUESTIONS

**Speech at an Enlarged Meeting of the Party Committee
of the Hwanghae Iron Works**

September 4, 1959

During our present visit to the Hwanghae Iron Works we have acquainted ourselves with production and construction work and with the living conditions of the workers. We have also participated in the enlarged meeting of the factory Party committee which lasted for three days. Yesterday we attended departmental Party committee meetings of sectional nature, talking with many comrades and exchanging opinions with them.

This has given us a fairly good understanding of many questions such as the real state of their Party life, production and construction and the living conditions of the workers. Of course, we could have listened to many more opinions and could have formed a better understanding of the situation, if we had devoted more time and participated even in sub-departmental Party meetings to talk with many other comrades. But circumstances did not permit us to stay longer, and we chose to attend enlarged departmental Party committee meetings during the day.

In our judgment, the Party committee, its organizations and all its members, and all officials, workers, technicians and office employees of the Hwanghae Iron Works have exerted all their efforts to

implement the directives of the Party Central Committee and the state plan by steadfastly following the policy of the Party Central Committee. Thus they have achieved a lot of success.

We were here on May Day last year and it is more than a year since then. You have done a great deal of work in this time.

Big strides have been made in production, before all else. Much construction work has also been done. The blast furnace and coke oven which started operations on May Day last year are now working on a normal basis. Another coke oven is under construction, and the foundations for blast furnace No. 2 have already been laid. Although the construction of the converter shop has not been finished, the laying of its foundations is near completion; and many other things have been built as well.

Last year the steel shop had only three open-hearth furnaces, leaving a lot of space empty. But now it has six furnaces of this kind working, including the mixer. In other words, their number has been doubled in the meantime. The ingot shop, too, has been greatly enlarged, the large-size rolling equipment has undergone maintenance, and the plate and sheet steel shops are near completion. In the matter of transport, the hauling tracks within the factory premises have been improved, and many other difficult problems resolved. As for housing construction, large hostels and many dwelling houses have been built.

Along with this success in production and construction, there has been a considerable improvement in the livelihood of the workers. With its working force nearing 17,000, this factory has already been developed into a major industrial centre of our country. In fact, it is justifiable to say that the Hwanghae Iron Works is now the industrial heart of our country.

We can say that the Hwanghae Iron Works is now completely geared up as an enterprise which is playing a most important role in the building of socialism in our country. There has been tangible progress in the technological aspect as well. The fact that all the modern metallurgical equipment such as open-hearth furnaces, blast furnaces and coke ovens have been built with our own hands and are being

operated by ourselves must be considered to be remarkable progress. This has amazed the peoples of fraternal countries and other nations.

Having looked around our country, many foreign visitors often ask us when the Workers' Party of Korea trained so many cadres capable of undertaking construction work and managing large enterprises independently. One can really see that the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Kangson Steel Plant, the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Suphung Power Station, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and any other factory or enterprise one may visit, without exception, are run by our own cadres.

As I said at the commissioning ceremony of the blast furnace at this factory on May Day last year, it was, indeed, a great success that we had trained so many technical personnel. Today, we can see that our technology is much more advanced. The blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces, coke ovens and the rolling shops are being operated without serious accidents, and the skills in the operation of these facilities have attained a fairly high level. This is what our Party should naturally be proud of.

We consider that our training of a great number of technical cadres has resolved the most vital question in laying the foundations for our future development. If our Party had not opportunely trained enough technical personnel, we would have been unable to build socialism as quickly as we are doing now.

Today, we have a large number of technical cadres because our Party has made every effort to train them since immediately after liberation. With foresight, our Party devoted great efforts to this end even in the difficult war years. That is also because many cadres have striven day and night to make continued innovations and continued advance, have studied diligently and adopted new ideas.

Your success is not limited to this. As we can see, the surroundings are in such a good shape that not a trace of the war is to be seen. The town of Songnim is now much better than it was before the war in all respects. At that time it was only a small village. There was only one factory then, but now there are virtually four large factories. Songnim with a modern iron works and rows of high-rise buildings can be called

an industrial satellite of Pyongyang.

Many cultural facilities have been provided in the town. Not only primary schools but middle schools, colleges, kindergartens, nursery schools, drama and film theatres and other educational, cultural and service establishments have been set up, and cultural life is pretty well organized. The cultural standard of the factory workers and the inhabitants has risen considerably.

All this success is the result of the determined struggle you have waged to implement the economic policy of the Party, united closely behind its Central Committee.

Your success is tremendous, and our country is extremely proud of it.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to you for the great success you have achieved by correctly implementing the Party's policy.

Through the three-day Party meetings, however, we have identified shortcomings in your work and other things you would have to do better by being more careful about them in the future. Although your success is very great, the need for further improvement in your future work does not allow me to pass over these shortcomings.

Now, I would like to speak to you on a few questions, so that you would quickly correct these shortcomings and improve your work.

1. ON NORMALIZING PRODUCTION

This year's plan of production is, of course, much greater than last year's, and, in fact, it is going to be somewhat difficult to carry it out.

But this is not the question. The point is that production has not yet been normalized. The graphic presentation of the results of your productive efforts shows that there is a great deal of fluctuations in output.

What does this mean? If likened to a man, it would mean that he is not a man in a normal state. If a man's temperature rises and falls, it would mean that he is not in good health. Likewise, fluctuations in the output of a factory are an indication that production is not going on as it should. The abnormal state of production results repeatedly in a steep rise when production takes an upward spiral, and in a nose dive when it goes on a downward curve.

Take steel production for example. The daily steel output in March was above 800 tons, but now it has dropped to 500 tons. The decrease from 800 tons to 500 tons is a serious question.

If we leave this problem unattended, instead of putting it right, the downward trend might continue. Even if a rise in production somehow takes place, it would be very difficult to recover the 800-ton level.

The fluctuations in production are due, without exception, to definite causes. This time we have paid much attention to this problem and looked into the causes of these fluctuations in our talks with you comrades.

The main reason is that the work of industrial management is not properly organized by the factory Party committee, the leadership of the factory, shop and departmental Party committees and leading officials in these bodies. In other words, the cause lies in the fact that the operator of this factory is not handling the steering wheel correctly. A driver of a motor vehicle, for instance, turns the wheel to the right when the car swerves to the left, turns it to the left when the direction deviates to the right, slows down the speed when the car runs too fast and vice versa. Only when it is thus regulated and steered properly all the time, can the car run as it should. Driving a car is not an easy job. Nor is running a factory, to say nothing of a country. Keeping a household in good shape is never easy, either.

The factory leadership has not correctly organized the work to ensure a stable production level. If this work had been organized efficiently on a regular basis, such serious fluctuations in production would not have occurred.

What is meant by this organizing work? It means opportunely

providing raw materials and other requirements for production, getting machines and equipment regularly inspected and promptly repaired, and supplying necessary equipment and spare parts in time.

Even if a small nut is loose, it must be located and tightened up before it is too late; if a bolt is likely to break, it must be promptly replaced. If you neglect the organization of work in a meticulous manner, saying, “Never mind, leave them alone”, or “Nothing is serious. What are you worrying about when we are so busy?”, raw materials would run out, a bolt would suddenly break off and put the machine out of order before you are aware of it, and then production would inevitably drop.

Your foremost task now is to end fluctuation in production and put it on a normal basis.

You seem to have been indifferent to the instruction I gave to the Chongjin Steel Plant on my last trip to North Hamgyong Province. That was an improper attitude. You ought to have accepted as your own task that part of the instructions, which was applicable to you. You should have examined the question on your own and implemented the task. But you did not. According to today’s issue of the *Rodong Sinmun*, it seems to me that at the Chongjin Steel Plant they have completely rectified the shortcomings which were revealed at that time.

At one time they used to have a strong tendency to undertake several new projects without paying attention to the effective use of existing facilities and equipment. In those days there were six revolving furnaces in all in that plant, and yet they were wholly occupied with two new furnaces under construction. Devoting all the capacity of the repair and maintenance shop to the new projects, they failed to provide the six revolving furnaces with necessary spare parts in time. In consequence, when a furnace went out of order and they were busily repairing it, another would come to standstill in the meantime.

I advised them that it was necessary to make arrangements for the normal operation of the six existing furnaces before undertaking new

projects. The Chongjin Steel Plant correctly followed the Party's instructions. As a result, the average daily output of a furnace has reached 80 tons and production has come back to normal state. They are striving to attain a daily target of 90 to 100 tons for the period ahead.

Comrade Minister says that the Chongjin Steel Plant has got more spare parts in stock than any other under the Ministry of Metal Industry. This means that the Party organization of this factory has implemented the Party decision in good faith. You have exactly the same defect that the Chongjin Steel Plant had before.

What has been the result of your inefficient work organization?

Five open-hearth furnaces or six including the mixer are not producing steel normally. If these furnaces are operated as they should, a lot of steel would be produced. But you are not providing the necessary spare parts, nor are you getting the cranes repaired and new doors supplied. This created many a difficulty for the steel shop, but bent on building the converter shop, you have failed to make regular inspections and to effect the necessary repairs to guarantee its normal operation. You have concentrated exclusively on large-size rolling, and on the plate and sheet steel shops.

True, you will have to build plate and sheet steel shops. But maintaining the existing furnaces and normally operating them is more important than anything else. Hitches in steel production will greatly hamper the whole process of work. You failed to take this into consideration.

Since it has directed all its efforts to the plate steel shop, the workers of the repair and maintenance shop have been unable to inspect and repair the equipment in time. So it is obvious that production is not at its normal level.

The cause of this weakness lies, after all, in the officials' inefficiency in organizing work.

This inefficiency in turn means that the factory leadership, departmental officials and shop officials do not go to the lower ranks and are infected with subjectivism. If they had always been amongst

the masses, listening to their voice, or, in other words, if they had not been divorced from reality, thus falling victim to subjectivism, they would have been able to prevent defects in organizing work and would have instantly known what was going wrong.

Because of this shortcoming in giving guidance, they did not produce as much steel for the state as they could have done. This is what you have lost in a steel output in two months: if we take daily output to be 700 tons, the loss would be equivalent to a two-month output amounting to 40,000 tons.

You can see what a serious mistake you have made by falling into subjectivism through your reluctance to go amongst the masses and hear their opinions. As the old proverb says that a general without an army is no general, single-handed, you cannot do anything that requires great strength; you can only act as a general when you consult the masses and unite their strength. You must go amongst the masses and attentively hear their suggestions and handle affairs by integrating their opinions. In this way you would be able to make little shortcomings and achieve a lot of success.

Another defect in your organizational work is that you are ignorant of one of the most important principles of revolutionary struggle. To put it in other words, you do not know how to take the different conditions into your reckoning and find out the fundamental factor in all work. This is a great weakness.

The cardinal requisite for victory consists in making a correct assessment of the balance of forces in all struggles—both in the revolution and in the effort to harness nature.

In war, for instance, you can work out correct strategy and tactics only when you make an accurate assessment of the enemy strength and arms, to say nothing of your own forces.

The same is true of economic work. Only when you make a reasonable assessment of the available materials, funds and work force in relation to your task, can you determine the amount of work you can do in a year.

And then, it is very important to determine the order of priority in

your work, identify the main objective and concentrate your efforts on it. If you disperse your forces, you would be unable to succeed in any undertaking.

Your shortcomings are precisely due to the lack of a full understanding of these principles. Shackled by subjectivism, you have failed to make a correct assessment of your forces and to determine the order of priority in your work, and scattered your efforts over more than thirty construction projects.

You should have directed your efforts primarily to normalizing production. By neglecting this task, you have not only hampered production, but have not been successful in construction. The converter shop, though its construction is reportedly near completion, will, in fact, start working in June or July next year. Its construction could have been put off till next spring.

You had striven to finish the construction of blast furnace No. 2 before August 15. Your courage is, of course, commendable, but you have not reached your objective because you had failed to correctly take into consideration the supply of material; rather, you created a great deal of difficulties in other work.

Your preferential tasks were to build houses to make up for the housing shortage and complete the repair of the open-hearth shop, but you neglected them and organized a string of projects of secondary nature. This shows that the factory Party committee has not given correct guidance in the work.

The factory Party committee should, though belatedly, shift manpower to housing construction. Needless to say, a hospital is necessary and so is a palace of workers. But they can wait a little. Housing construction is urgent.

Of course, it would be very fine, if communism could be built in a day. But this would be nothing but a subjective desire. In order to build communism, we must lay the necessary material and technical foundations and also remould the thinking of people. It is impossible to do all this in a day. We must distinguish between our ideal and reality. Unless we transform our reality step by step on the basis of a correct

assessment of all possibilities, it would be impossible to realize our ideal. Here, the officials' guidance is of decisive significance.

I once more emphasize that success in your work depends on whether or not you make a correct assessment of your strength, rightly judge the order of priority in work, grasp the main objective and concentrate your efforts on it. I think you must fully acquire this art of leadership and work properly next year.

The Party's basic policy on the economic development next year has already been clearly pointed out at the enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee. Next year we are going to put stress on building many houses and resolving the problem of non-staple foodstuffs in order to improve the people's living standard. We will, therefore, concentrate our energy on the development of stock and poultry farming and fishing. Next year in the light industry sector, they will have to produce plenty of consumer goods of various kinds for the people by developing local industries further.

We intend to set next year as a year of adjustment and continue to develop the iron and steel, electric, and coal-mining industries and railway transport, which are weak links. In this way we will regulate and readjust the imbalance revealed in some sectors in the course of our rapid advance to implement the First Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule. Thus we will consolidate the success achieved in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan and raise the living standard of the people and proceed to undertake a new plan. We must resolve all these problems next year. Otherwise, it would be impossible to move ahead.

Is our Party's policy correct? Of course, it is. If one is to capture another height after the capture of one in a war, one would have to regroup one's troops and resupply them with ammunition and provisions to get them fully ready for a further advance.

This applies much the same to economic construction. We have achieved a great victory during the Five-Year Plan. We must raise the working people's living standard by providing them with enough non-staple foodstuffs and more houses, reorganize the forces in such a

way as to bolster up those sectors which are lagging behind, and keep ahead those branches which need to lead the rest in economic construction, and get ourselves fully ready for a new “battle”.

In line with this policy you would have to set a correct orientation for your work next year. You must first of all build more houses and arrange more service establishments to improve the living conditions of the workers. You should also supply them better with secondary food items. With firm resolution, right now you must take measures to correct the shortcomings in the fields of production and construction. The existing facilities and equipment must be improved to perfection for normal operation; in the sector of capital construction, the projects now in hand should be finished. New projects should not be started. Finishing those projects which are under way is essential.

You must not start too many projects, but concentrate all your efforts on the main objective.

What is important in doing this? Iron production is important. Your energy should be concentrated first on this target so that equipment would be repaired in time and improved to perfection and spare parts provided adequately, for normal operation of blast furnaces. The average daily output of pig iron should be stabilized at 650 tons initially, and then increased further through strenuous efforts. Production should never be allowed to soar to 800 tons only to drop to 500 tons and then to 400 tons.

You should attain the target of 650 tons and increase it to 700 tons and then to 800 tons in such a way as to consolidate the victory which one has achieved in the conquest of one height and then proceed to capture a second after making full preparations. If you raise the output like this, it would never fall again.

The same applies to steel production. As I heard at the Party meeting of the steel-producing department yesterday, they said they would normalize the daily steel output at 700 tons. This is an excellent idea. Some comrades said they could do it at 800 tons. That, of course, is good.

But you must first produce at least 700 tons regularly. To do this,

you will have to arrange various necessary things, including cranes. You must shift wagons to this branch right away, this evening if possible, as the workers require, and provide them with lorries or something like that for the hauling of the goods they need.

When steel production is normalized, you should finish the construction of plate and sheet steel shops, and then proceed to the construction of new shops and new blast furnaces in earnest. This seems to be the right order of priority.

You must not become divorced from the masses, but seek to listen to their suggestions, in organizing the implementation of all these tasks. While organizing and executing their monthly work, the manager and workshop leaders should hold a meeting every ten days with the participation and consultation of the masses. These meetings should be held to identify shortcomings in the implementation of the plan during the previous ten-day period and to examine what has not been done and what has to be done in addition. If you thus check up on things and settle them in time and solve problems before it is too late by drawing on the opinion of the masses, nothing would get stuck.

You must consult your subordinates once every ten days without fail, listen to their requirements and suggestions and comply with their requests. Even if you discuss matters with the masses and listen to their opinion, it would also be useless unless you help them to solve their problems. The point is that you must not only know the demands of the masses promptly through consultation with them, but also meet their requirements at the opportune time.

The key to normalizing production lies in bringing leadership closer to the masses, organizing work on the strength of their opinion and advancing by holding the steering wheel firmly.

One other thing: it is very important to establish order and discipline in implementing the state plan. If you are to normalize production, and carry out the state plan daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly, the workers, too, must do their jobs well, to say nothing of the need for efficient organization work on the part of leading officials.

All workers, technicians and office workers must observe discipline

and order. There must be a tight discipline through which orders, decisions and directives are implemented thoroughly. Without this, production would not go smoothly. Since everyone agreed to a decision, everyone must get down to its implementation in concert.

All operations must be performed correctly in accordance with prescribed technical regulations.

Furthermore, everyone must have a higher sense of responsibility. Everyone must fulfil his duties and must always be responsible for his job. This is one of the most important requisites for the establishment of order and discipline. The head furnaceman must stick to his post as such, the workteam leader must fulfil his functions, and the rank-and-file worker must carry out his duties.

According to what a comrade said yesterday, a crane operator lazed about for a long while away from his post because it was hot, leaving his crane to the care of an assistant charger. He hurried back and got busy with repairs only when the machine had gone out of order. This is nothing but an expression of indiscipline and disorder. True, the work is hampered by heat and it is difficult. But these difficulties must be overcome for the building of socialism and in the cause of revolution, must they not?

Because not everyone sticks to his post, carefully checking up on the blast furnace with a high sense of responsibility at all times, one breakdown would be followed by another. Even if a single man neglects his duty when everyone else is doing his bit, time would be wasted and accidents would occur, greatly hampering the whole process of production.

You should strive to tighten order and discipline, so that everyone fulfils his duties, standing firmly at his post, works in accordance with technical regulations and observes standard operation procedures.

Furthermore, you must acquire the revolutionary trait: you must boldly discard the old and adopt the new, give up passivity and conservatism and always be active and make continuous progress and ceaseless innovations.

Our Party is determinedly opposed to mysticism about technology. It

requires that everyone should be able to operate a blast furnace and work a coke oven and that everyone should learn new technology. Recruits in particular must zealously learn technical skills.

All the workers of the iron works and particularly the freshmen must have a high sense of honour about their jobs. This is also important. The discharged soldiers considered it most honourable in the past to fight, at the risk of their lives, to defeat the enemy at the front for the sake of the country and the people. Now their greatest service to the country and the people and their greatest honour consist in engaging in iron and steel production and increasing the output of pig iron and steel.

Every worker must devote all his talent and energy to building up the iron and steel industry with a strong sense of responsibility, a high degree of revolutionary spirit and a sense of great honour.

2. ON THE QUESTION OF WORKERS' LIVING STANDARD

I have examined the living conditions of the workers here and found them much better than before. Their living standard is on the whole much better than it was in the initial period of postwar reconstruction, to say nothing of the war years.

The workers' wages, too, are fairly high. Our wage levels are pretty high in comparison. There is a little discrepancy in wages for workers in different sectors and different jobs. It seems to me that a little adjustment would settle this matter.

What is the question? It is to ensure that the working people are placed in a position where they would be able to buy whatever consumer goods they need with that money. Fabrics, for instance, are now being produced in quantities and the output is expected to increase further in the future.

The most important thing to do is to adequately provide them with foodstuffs, secondary food items in particular. Producing quantities of subsidiary foodstuffs for the working people is one of the essential questions confronting our Party.

The Party Central Committee has long been giving serious attention to this question. Recently its Presidium re-emphasized this question on a number of occasions and has taken specific measures.

But over here I have found that the Songnim City Party Committee and People's Committee, the factory Party committee and also the factory leadership are giving little attention to the matter of supplying plenty of secondary food items to the workers.

What does this mean? It means that our leading officials are not clearly aware whom they are working for and that the people's committees are not playing their part as they should as people's government bodies.

This state of affairs should not continue. The Songnim City Party and People's Committees should immediately organize a cooperative specialized in the cultivation of vegetables, on the basis of a correct assessment of the citizens' demand for this product. After formation, it must be expanded gradually.

For the present you must first endeavour to supply an adequate amount of autumn vegetables. While starting now to make good preparations for vegetables cultivation in order to be able to supply plenty of spring, summer and autumn vegetables in the coming year, you must direct your efforts preferentially to the preparation of this year's autumn vegetables production. It is important in this regard to enhance the role of the vegetables cooperative and selling organizations in particular.

Furthermore, the Songnim City People's Committee must at once organize a state-run poultry farm. It is necessary that this farm should be large enough to keep at least 20,000 hens, each capable of yielding an egg every day.

Besides, dairy farms should be set up in several cooperatives and a state-run farm organized to produce plenty of milk. Korean cows, too,

give good yields. I was told that this iron works has 14 milch cows. You should take steps to increase this number and form a comparatively large farm with at least several hundred cows.

There is no other large factory in North Hwanghae Province except the Hwanghae Iron Works. The provincial Party and people's committees should, therefore, take measures for the province to ensure adequate supply of a variety of secondary food items to this industrial district. At present, this work is not being done with enough efficiency.

I have inspected the shops over here, and I do not think the supply of subsidiary foodstuffs is always satisfactory. The figures kept by the statistical section of the Songnim City People's Committee say that 370 grammes of vegetables have been supplied daily to each person. If that is the case, it is fairly good. Of course, 500 to 1,000 grammes per head would be better, but some 300 grammes is no small amount if that much was really supplied. The working people, however, do not seem to have eaten so much.

Referring to the figures of the statistical section of the city people's committee alone is not going to provide us with the solution to the problem. The question does not lie in the figures on the paper, but in the amount really consumed. The province and the city should take steps to supply this industrial district with more vegetables, eggs, milk and meat.

And it would be advisable for the dependents of the workers to set up a joint stock and poultry farm. Raising chickens, rabbits and fish to provide the workers with secondary food items is a most urgent task today.

Whether or not the officials of Party and government bodies and economic organizations strive to supply non-staple foodstuffs adequately to workers' districts and towns is a major criterion which can be used to gauge their fidelity to the people.

At present, nearly 70 per cent of our working people's expenses on foodstuffs is for secondary food items. Rice costs very little, since it is supplied virtually free.

Supplying plenty of secondary food items to the workers of the

Hwanghae Iron Works is one of the most important tasks of the Party Committees of North Hwanghae Province, Songnim and the Hwanghae Iron Works. I think it would be a good idea to abolish the existing commercial guidance committee in Songnim and instead set up a secondary food items supply committee.

The next important thing that must be done to improve the living standard of the workers is to resolve the housing question and increase nurseries, kindergartens, laundries, bathhouses, barbers' shops and other service and cultural establishments.

We must continue to give profound attention to resolving the housing problem of the workers. This year, too, we should, of course, devote as much funds, materials and manpower to housing construction as possible, but next year in particular housing construction must be the central task in capital construction.

With the expansion of the factory the workers continue to increase in number. We must build more houses for them faster.

Demobilized soldiers are flooding our factories. It would be unreasonable if we fail to provide them with comfortable, married home lives on their return from the front where they had fought in defence of the country, overcoming all difficulties for several years. Just as parents care for their children at home, so the Party committee and leading officials should show motherly care for the workers and give attention to their everyday lives. Party organizations and leading officials, on receiving demobilized soldiers, should provide them with houses so that they would be able to bring their wives and create a home.

In addition, laundries, bathhouses, barbers' shops, kindergartens, schools and hospitals should be built with priority next year. Such cultural and service establishments should be built in large numbers in all parts of the country. These establishments are necessary not only for the promotion of people's health and their cultural lives but also for increased production.

We have a great deal of work to do to improve the cultural lives of the working people. Dwelling houses, streets and factory premises too, should be kept spick and span at all times.

The working class ought to play a leading role in the cultural revolution, too. But, judging from the present state of affairs here, they cannot be an example for the peasantry in building their lives in a cultured and sanitary way.

The core force of the working class is living in this part of the country, including a large number of Workers' Party members. Workers' Party members are the most advanced of all workers. You must play the vanguard role also in building cultural lives and developing sanitation. You must launch a widespread campaign for a cultured and sanitary way of life, while relentlessly combatting outmoded customs.

Materials should be supplied for the repair of dwelling houses and other buildings so that people would be able to repair houses in time, painting them, mending broken doors, plastering walls well, clearing ditches and paving lanes.

The cultural revolution must start from workers' districts, but you are not doing it well. There must be a great change in this regard.

We are now living under the most advanced, socialist system. Our country has become a socialist industrial-agricultural state with self-reliant economic foundations. It has attained a fairly high level in terms of per-capita output of major industrial goods. In the cultural aspect, however, it is still behind others. This gap must be bridged over quickly.

The whole country and all the society must get down to the struggle to promote the cultural life and sanitation, those with physical strength offering their strength, and those with technical skills contributing their skills, instead of depending on the efforts of the state alone. You must get rid of the bad habit of neglecting to repair even your own houses and to keep such good houses clean, in the hope that someone else might do it for you.

All people, both as individuals and as factory working forces, must strive to keep their houses and streets clean. Only then would peasants come and see and say that the working class who leads the revolution is excellent, indeed, and that they must follow its example.

3. ON STRENGTHENING THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL WORK

This time, we have participated both in the departmental Party meetings and the enlarged meeting of the Party committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works. Our impression of the three-day Party meetings is that the Party organization of the iron works is very healthy. The Party organization and all its members here are closely united behind the Party Central Committee. They are zealously championing Party policy and vigorously struggling to implement it.

The position of the hard-core elements, too, has been strengthened. The political level of the Party members is relatively high, their Party awareness is keen, and many of them have a strong Party spirit.

In the course of the factory's reconstruction since the armistice, the Party organization has grown stronger, and its members have been hardened. Indeed, you are one of our Party's dependable pillars. We are very satisfied with this.

In your Party organizational life, however, there are quite a few shortcomings.

What, then, are these shortcomings?

First of all, there is still a considerable number of Party members who are lagging behind. There are people who still lack a sense of responsibility in their work and who idle away their time in dissipation at a time when the working class and the rest of the people are making strenuous efforts to build socialism and communism. Some of them get drunk and do not go to work the following day, and others are only seeking their own comfort. There are even some Party members who were cooped up in their houses to sleep in peace with their shoes off, when the factory was in turmoil because of a flood.

There are people who are passive in work as well as people who

believe in their experience and persist in old things, and are reluctant to learn new things and make progress. Some of the intellectuals are not yet courageous enough to stimulate themselves, shedding sweat together with the workers, clearing off the debris and working at the blast furnace. Of course, many of them are working in unison with the workers, but some still have quite a few shortcomings.

Some people even consider Party organizational life to be something of a nuisance, regarding Party organizational discipline as a sort of restraint.

Why did they join the Party if they consider Party life cumbersome? We did not beg anyone to join, nor did we invite them to join. Our Party is a voluntary organization of fighters who are totally committed to the cause of the revolution, for the happiness of the working class and the rest of the people. Our Party's discipline is a discipline which its members observe voluntarily for its own sake and for the revolution.

Some people are working in an undesirable manner, depending more on their relatives and friends, rather than believing in the Party and its members. I am told that a certain Party member and chairman of a Democratic Youth League organization, when absenting himself from his job, delegates his authority to a friend of his, not to a Party member.

Such a practice, though manifest amongst some individual Party members, must be combatted without compromise. The main thing in this struggle is to educate them. This is absolutely necessary. They must be educated both individually and collectively, and given assignments for their training so that all Party members would become healthy Party members with a strong Party spirit.

Another shortcoming is formalism in Party work. This weakness is still a great hindrance to Party work. Even Party meetings are often held as mere formalities. Such meetings have been allegedly held many times, but Party members are not well aware of their decisions, which, accordingly, are not implemented properly. Meetings are conducted in such a way that fluent reports are followed by speeches

by predesignated persons; previously-made decisions are then read out, after which the meetings break up. That is why the Party members are unable to speak out their minds frankly. Moreover, they cannot improve their work by demonstrating their initiatives. So it is obvious that they are not interested in Party life.

We must determinedly oppose formalism in Party work. Only when this shortcoming is eliminated, would the work of the factory Party committee and departmental Party committees have effect on its members. Only then would they be able to discuss and decide on every item on the agenda effectively in accordance with the will of the members so that the latter can fully understand and implement the decisions.

According to our investigation, many people from higher authorities visit the works, but they do not talk with Party members. So they have to go back without knowing the actual situation.

We must do away with the perfunctory style in all work of leadership and go to the Party members and talk with them. We must explain Party policy and the tasks for its implementation to them, listen to their opinions, correct erroneous views and adopt good suggestions, for the improvement of work.

Furthermore, some Party members lack respect for Party authority and do not work hard to implement its policy.

Party life means the political life of its members. A Party member ought to have the awareness that he has joined the Party to hew out his political life, to live as a revolutionary fighter, and that disregarding Party decisions and neglecting their fulfilment is tantamount to killing his political life.

A man without political life is a miserable being. Would life be worth living for a man, if he knows nothing about political affairs, nor about his country and society but kills the time just eating rice? One must lead a political life. One must be a man who knows the affairs of his country, who knows the problems of his society, and then strives for his country, fights for his people, and struggles to reshape an outmoded society. We have joined the Party to become such people.

Party members, therefore, must respect Party decisions and struggle to carry them out. Some members, however, still do not know clearly that they are not qualified for Party membership if they do not strive to implement its decisions.

Improving the Party life of its members is the foremost task. Through the fulfilment of this task all Party members should be taught how to love the Party and carry out its decisions with boundless enthusiasm. They should be staunch fighters who strive through thick and thin to carry out Party decisions and who do not tolerate disparaging acts against the Party from any quarter.

Party members should continue to harden their Party spirit. Hardening Party spirit means striving to be boundlessly loyal to the Party, carry out its policy, and fighting in defence of the Party and its Central Committee in any situation. A Party member, whoever he may be, must work hard to stimulate his Party spirit and thus uncompromisingly struggle against all unhealthy practices that are contrary to Party ideology and principles.

Furthermore, Party members must always stand at the head of the masses in all work and set an example to them in everyday life. If a member lags behind the masses, how can he be called a Party member? Party members must at all times stand in the forefront and lead the masses, teach them, learn from them, and organize and mobilize them.

Let us proceed. What is important in Party life is to increase the political awakening of the members. Some of them are weak in their ability to analyse a problem politically. Mistakes in the work of smelting or steel making should not be examined merely in such a way as to attribute their cause to sub-standard spare parts or to the shortage of equipment or materials; you should be able to see whether or not people's work attitudes, their ideological inclination and their judgment of things are right.

Suppose, for example, the steel output at the Hwanghae Iron Works is small. If you analyse the cause of this deficiency and tell the masses what would be its effect on the whole economy and mobilize them to producing steel, many people would not ignore such a call; they would

be able to produce much more steel.

Party members, therefore, must always have a high degree of political awareness so as to be able to analyse all problems from a political point of view.

The next important thing is to firmly safeguard our achievements in building socialism.

We have now finished the cooperativization of agriculture in the countryside and transformed all the urban private commerce and industries, and this has resulted in the establishment of a socialist economic system. At present, the point is that we have to consolidate this system and carry out the technical and cultural revolutions, so as to build a completely socialist society and further lay the foundations on which to proceed to communism in the future. This would bring about the reunification of the country sooner.

The enemies dislike the success we are achieving in socialist construction. They hate to see the blast furnaces working, the open-hearth furnaces running, and the coke ovens operating at this iron works, producing pig iron and steel every day, for the manufacture of machinery, thus developing the productive forces and improving the people's living standard. They are always looking for a chance to undermine our success in socialist construction. This is because they know that growth in our economic strength and improvement in our people's living standard will facilitate the achievement of the cause of national reunification.

If our strength and the international revolutionary forces become stronger, the Yankees would be unable to stay in south Korea for long. They must withdraw and would find themselves compelled to do so.

How, then, is our country going to be reunified in a peaceful way after their withdrawal? We can give you a clear answer to this question.

We will tell Syngman Rhee to come to north Korea and conduct information work freely and in return allow us to do the same in south Korea. After such information work and reciprocal visits by the people of one side of the country to the other, we will propose to them to hold free elections without any interference whatsoever.

In such a case, our Party would be able to put forward an excellent platform.

We would say, for example, that we will introduce compulsory education for the young people as we are doing in the northern half, that we will teach them gratuitously and provide them with school uniforms and other school things. Since we have powerful material foundations, we can put forward such a manifesto.

But Syngman Rhee is not in a position to say this. Lacking funds, he cannot even speak of compulsory education. In south Korea factories have been devastated, and they have only a few in operation. But such factories do not belong to the people but to capitalists. Capitalists are keen to educate their own children, but are indifferent to the education of the children of the poor. And the Syngman Rhee “regime” itself belongs to the landlords and capitalists; consequently it hates to educate poor people’s children.

Our Party and Government, in contrast, are struggling for the people. In the north all factories are owned by the people, and the economy is becoming more prosperous with every passing day. That is why we in the north are providing free compulsory education and supplying the pupils and students with school uniforms. If only the country is reunified, we would do the same for the youth and children in south Korea.

Who, then, would the south Korean youths support, our Party or Syngman Rhee? There is no doubt that they would support our Party.

It goes without saying about the workers. In our northern half the workers are masters of the country. Our Party has introduced an 8-hour workday, social insurance and free medical care for the workers, and is striving to improve their living standard still further. Our workers are now free from all worries. The only thing they have to do is to work hard.

The workers in south Korea, however, are ill-clad and going hungry. So it is obvious that they would support our Party.

As for the peasantry, they make up a vast majority of the south Korean population, the workers being relatively few in number. What can we do for the south Korean peasants after the country is reunified?

First of all, we would confiscate the lands from the landlords and distribute them to the peasants. And then, for about three years we would build irrigation works in the fertile land in south Korea and carry out projects for afforestation and flood control to ward off damages by drought and flood. Then, crops would flourish and the peasants would become well-off in a matter of three years. Now that we have economic foundations, we can undertake irrigation, afforestation and flood control projects.

We can also afford to exempt the south Korean peasants from paying the tax in kind for several years. As a result of our Party's decision taken earlier this year, the peasants in approximately 30 counties in mountainous areas are going to be exempted from the payment of the tax in kind for three consecutive years. When our economy is developed, we would give the same exemption to the peasants in south Korea. It is obvious, then, that they would support us.

How should we approach the non-comprador capitalists in south Korea?

In the north we expropriated only the factories of the Japanese imperialists, comprador capitalists and the collaborators with the Japanese, not the property of private entrepreneurs and merchants in general.

The same principle would hold true of south Korea. It is unnecessary to touch the enterprises run by non-comprador capitalists. We would help and guide them to work in the interests of the state, society and the people. As for their attitude towards socialism, that is something they themselves would have to judge according to their own will and their own firsthand experience.

At present, the south Korean non-comprador capitalists are going bankrupt one after another, because of the plunder and oppression of the US imperialists. Their only way out lies in the peaceful reunification of the country, and to this end they would join hands with us.

In short, nearly all the south Korean people would support our Party. On that account Syngman Rhee is obstinately opposed to peaceful reunification.

Comrades, the point is that in the north we should build socialism, increase our economic power and raise the living standard of the people quickly. That is the way to accelerate the reunification of the country.

Our increased economic strength and the improved living standard of the people would further inspire the people in the south and pose a great threat to the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique and bring heavy pressure to bear upon them. For this reason the enemies are making every desperate effort possible to throw mud at our cause and undermine our socialist construction.

We should exert all our efforts to defending the achievements of socialism firmly and accelerating the building of socialism.

You should correct deficiencies in production and the shortcomings in Party life as soon as possible and next year concentrate your efforts on effecting a great change in the development of the iron and steel industry.

You should let every Party member, worker, technician and office worker know the outcome of what we have discussed with you during the past several days, so that everyone would be able to strive to increase production.

As our Party emphasizes, iron is the king of industry. Developing the iron and steel industry at present is as important as defending Height 1211 during the war. If you hold out this important position firmly and exceed the targets of pig iron, steel and structural steel production, socialism would be built faster in our country.

I believe that all the workers, technicians and office workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works will carry out their important and honourable duties in good faith, united closely behind the Central Committee of our Party, and thus contribute greatly to accelerating socialist construction and the peaceful reunification of the country.

MILITANT FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE KOREAN AND CHINESE PEOPLES

**Article Carried in the *Renmin Ribao* on the Occasion
of the 10th Anniversary of the Founding
of the People's Republic of China**

September 26, 1959

The Korean people, together with the 650 million fraternal Chinese people and the progressive people around the world, take a great pleasure in welcoming the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The victory of the Chinese revolution and the birth of the People's Republic of China marked a radical change in the history of China. It was the greatest international event which demonstrated the unconquerable vitality of Marxism-Leninism since the Great October Socialist Revolution. Then, for the first time in their history, the Chinese people who for a long time had suffered exploitation and oppression by foreign imperialists and domestic reactionaries, firmly seized power in their hands under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China and embarked on the road to create a new life on socialist lines.

That the Chinese people, who account for nearly one fourth of the world population, freed themselves from the bondage of imperialism and took up the road to socialism, was a heavy blow to the world imperialist forces, and greatly increased the strength of the socialist camp.

The triumph of revolution in China cut off the biggest link in the chain of the imperialist colonial system, and had a great impact on the liberation struggle of the oppressed people of the world.

The defeat of the US imperialists and their stooges, the Jiang Jieshi clique in the Chinese mainland, turned the Asian situation radically in favour of peace and socialism. The People's Republic of China became a solid bulwark of the liberation struggle of the Eastern people. The victory of the Chinese revolution opened up a new wide road which the Asian peoples could use more effectively to emerge on the scene of world history.

The victory of the Chinese revolution and the establishment of the People's Republic of China inspired the Korean people with great strength and confidence in victory in their struggle for national freedom, independence and socialism.

The Korean people see a guarantee for their victory in the existence of their socialist neighbour, China, and also the Soviet Union.

Today, the Korean and Chinese peoples are united firmly as intimate brothers and are joining all their efforts in their common cause of peace and socialism.

The two peoples' friendship and solidarity has long-standing historical roots and has developed through harsh trials. Their close ties of friendship date back to a remote past. They have helped each other in the joint struggle against foreign aggressors. Their militant friendship was further strengthened, particularly, in the common struggle against aggression and plunder by the vicious Japanese imperialists.

The Japanese imperialists first occupied Korea, subjected her people to a most cruel oppression and plunder, changed the Korean peninsula into a bridgehead for continental aggression, and then launched a direct invasion of China.

At the beginning of the 1930's the Japanese imperialists stretched their claws of aggression deeper into continental China, and their plunder and oppression became more violent.

In this context, the joint struggle of the Korean and Chinese peoples

against Japanese imperialism was drawn closer and developed onto a higher plane.

The Korean communists organized an Anti-Japanese United Army with Chinese comrades and launched a widespread armed struggle against Japanese imperialism, centring around the northern border of our country and northeast China. In this struggle, the Korean guerrillas received ardent support and aid from the Chinese people and always shared their ups and downs.

In the struggle against the aggressors and their lackeys, the peoples of both countries keenly felt that they were sharing an inseparable destiny.

This struggle against Japanese imperialism was carried out by the oppressed masses headed by the working class of both countries under the red banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The patriots of our country derived great strength and courage from the prosperity and development of the Soviet Union, and despite the adverse conditions, were convinced of the defeat of imperialists and the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

The joint struggle had thus continued for a long time until Japanese imperialism was defeated in 1945, and the brilliant tradition of internationalist solidarity and cooperation between the Korean and Chinese peoples was established.

With the liberation of the Korean people from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, and the subsequent victory of the Chinese revolution, the friendship and solidarity of the two peoples advanced onto a new plane, and this traditional friendship fully blossomed.

The great vitality of their friendship and solidarity was marvellously displayed in the Fatherland Liberation War of the Korean people against the invasion by the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, their stooges.

The fraternal Chinese people, together with other peoples of the socialist camp, scathingly denounced the invasion of the US imperialists against the Korean people and expressed firm international solidarity in support of the struggle of the Korean people.

In particular, under the banner of resisting the US aggression and aiding Korea, the Chinese people sent the Volunteers from amongst their fine sons and daughters to the Korean front at a time when our people were undergoing the greatest difficulties.

In spite of numerous difficulties immediately after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people who had sealed with blood the ties of brotherhood with the Korean people, stood up in unison to annihilate the common enemy with a firm resolve to share the same destiny with them. The participation of the Chinese People's Volunteers in the war immensely inspired our people and the People's Army and turned the tide of war in Korea decisively in our favour.

In close cooperation, the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers dealt an annihilating blow to the enemies who had invaded deep into the northern half of Korea, and drove them out of the whole area of the north. Confronted with the united forces of the Korean and Chinese peoples, the US imperialists suffered one defeat after another and were finally brought to their knees and forced to sign the Armistice Agreement.

The three-year Korean war was one of the fiercest and grimmest wars in human history. The unrivalled heroism demonstrated by the Chinese People's Volunteers in this harsh war and the unbreakable solidarity between the Korean and Chinese peoples are a living example of proletarian internationalism.

The Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Zedong exhorted their Volunteers to love the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people as they do their own country, their own Party and their own people and to value highly every single mountain, river, tree and grass in Korea.

The valiant Volunteers, the excellent sons and daughters of the Chinese people, faithfully implemented the instructions of their Party and leader and upheld the honour of international fighters whatever the difficulties.

Hand in hand with the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's

Volunteers at the Korean front defended all Korean heights and villages at the risk of their lives as if they were defending their own country and demonstrated peerless bravery and collective heroism in the struggle against the enemy. The Hero Huang Jiguang contributed greatly to the victory in the Korean war by blocking an enemy pillbox with his body, saying at the last moment of his life, "Enemy bullets may kill me, but not the dear Korean brothers."

This patently proves that heroism demonstrated by the Chinese People's Volunteers was completely based on the spirit of proletarian internationalism. With such a spirit every one of the Volunteers devoted all he could to the battle for the victory of the Korean people.

Over a period lasting two years and nine months of their participation in the fierce Korean conflict, the Chinese People's Volunteers produced many war heroes and units which deserved merit. The DPRK awarded the title of Hero of the Republic to Huang Jiguang and Yang Gensi and many other comrades and decorations to a large number of the Volunteers for their distinguished service.

The officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers provided an excellent moral example. They helped our peasants in their ploughing, sowing and harvesting in difficult war conditions. Even under brutal bombing by US imperialists they saved many lives and a lot of property of our people in spite of danger and helped a large number of war victims by giving them what they saved from their provisions. A noble relationship of warm love, self-sacrifice and cooperation was established between the officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers and our people.

The Martyr Luo Shengjiao of the Chinese People's Volunteers sacrificed his precious youth by bravely jumping into a hole in the ice in cold winter to save a drowning Korean child. Pak Jae Gun, a Korean farmer, gave his life by covering a wounded volunteer with his body in order to save him from enemy fire. Such examples of fraternal gallantry were innumerable during the Korean war.

In a movement to resist US aggression and aid Korea, all the Chinese people zealously helped the embattled Korean people

materially and spiritually. They sent to the Korean people a huge amount of provisions and relief and brought up more than 20,000 of our war orphans as if they were their own sons and daughters.

The three years of heavy fighting in Korea ended in victory for the Korean and Chinese peoples.

By supporting with their own lives the just liberation struggle of the Korean people for freedom and independence, the Chinese people performed lasting exploits in guaranteeing the historic victory of the Korean people and contributed greatly to the cause of restoring peace in Korea and safeguarding peace in the East.

The Chinese People's Volunteers, in cooperation with the Korean People's Army and the Korean people, defeated the invasion of US imperialists, the ringleader of international reaction, and their satellites, thus smashing the myth about the "strength" of US imperialism. This was not only a great triumph for the Korean and Chinese peoples but also a historic victory for the oppressed and peace-loving people the world over.

By emerging victorious in the Korean war, the Korean and Chinese peoples thwarted the aggressive scheme of the US imperialists who were seeking to provoke a new world war and gave an irreparable blow to their "power politics". This immensely encouraged the national-liberation struggle of the people in the East and the peace movement of the people over the world.

The US imperialists suffered an ignominious military defeat as well as shameful political and moral setbacks in the Korean war. The inhuman barbarity they committed in Korea became a target of hatred and curse of people the world over. It was considered a concrete proof of the corruption and misanthropy of moribund imperialism.

The victory in the Korean war won by the peoples of Korea and China demonstrated to the whole world the superiority of the socialist system and invincible might of the socialist camp which is united under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Korean war witnessed an unyielding fighting spirit and boundless revolutionary energy of the awakened people of

the socialist new East and clearly showed that the aggressors who attack the peoples of the socialist camp would inevitably meet a miserable defeat by the collective counter-offensive of these peoples.

This hardened the faith in victory of the peoples of the socialist world and made a great contribution to strengthening the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp.

Brilliant exploits performed by the fraternal Chinese people in the Korean war against the invasion of the US imperialists will be remembered for ever in the history of progressive humanity.

Since the armistice, the Chinese People's Volunteers, together with our People's Army, guarded firmly the defence line for peace in our country and made every effort to convert the ceasefire into a durable peace. The US imperialists who are entrenched in south Korea and their lackeys frequently committed provocative acts in gross violation of the Armistice Agreement, and plotted in every way to undermine our people's peaceful efforts to build socialism. The Chinese People's Volunteers in cooperation with our People's Army firmly defended the peaceful labour of our people from the enemy's invasion and strenuously fought to crush the enemy's provocation and accelerate the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Besides, they actively helped the Korean people in the difficult struggle for postwar reconstruction. The valiant Volunteers did everything in their power, braving all hardships and sacrifices, in order to ease the sufferings and misfortune of the Korean people and to create a happy future for them. They regarded the building of Korean towns and villages as that of their native places and worked heart and soul to help in the building of a socialist new life in our country.

They built many houses and public buildings and reconstructed Taedong Bridge in Pyongyang and many other bridges.

They participated in the building of many irrigation works, reservoirs and river banks which are of great significance in the rapid development of agriculture, and performed great labour exploits.

The Chinese People's Volunteers, who had shared life and death with the Korean people for eight years and performed memorable

feats, withdrew from Korea in 1958 following an agreement to this effect by the Governments of Korea and China.

By October 1958 the Korean people, with the deep emotion and indelible memory, had given a hearty send-off to the heroic Chinese People's Volunteers, their closest friends.

All the Korean people—men and women, young and old—expressed their feelings of warm gratitude and respect for the brotherly Chinese people and their Volunteers. They inscribed in their hearts the brilliant services performed by the Volunteers and will remember them for ever.

The withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea on their own initiative had a great bearing on the promotion of the peaceful reunification of Korea and the relaxation of tension in the East.

It was an expression of the consistent sincere endeavours of the Chinese people towards the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

The militant friendship between the peoples of Korea and China, which was sealed with blood in the protracted struggle against their common enemy, is now being further developed in their struggle to build socialism. There is a great vitality in this friendship.

The brotherly Chinese people, as well as the peoples of the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries, are giving economic and technical aid to our people.

The Chinese people granted 800 million *won* (in present currency) to our people during the most difficult period of our postwar economic reconstruction, at a time when our national economy was devastated and our people were destitute because of the war. Our towns and villages which are springing up with a new look from the debris and the flourishing lives of our people are associated with this precious aid from the Chinese people.

The People's Republic of China is still aiding our country in its socialist construction. This constitutes a great contribution to speeding up socialist construction in our country and further improving our people's living standard.

Cooperation between the peoples of Korea and China in socialist construction is further expanding and developing.

Here the agreement on economic and cultural cooperation signed between Korea and China in November 1953 is playing a great part. In accordance with this agreement, our two countries are exchanging, on an extensive scale, the raw materials and other supplies essential for socialist construction in both countries, closely cooperating with each other in developing science and technology, continuously expanding cultural interchanges and sharing experiences in socialist construction.

The turnover of trade between Korea and China increased to some 17 times during the five postwar years (1954-58). A large-scale modern hydroelectric power station is being built on the Amnok River by the joint efforts of the two peoples. The Chinese people are also supplying the machines and equipment needed in the construction of the Sinuiju Textile Mill, the Hyesan Paper Mill and other factories as well as raw materials and other items for the development of our industry.

As the history of development of the world socialist system shows, it is of great significance that the brotherly countries share their experiences in the socialist revolution and construction. The Korean people are learning from the experiences of the Soviet Union, China and all other fraternal countries, in socialist construction, and this is a great encouragement to us.

Both Korea and China were colonized or semi-colonized countries in the past and their economy and culture inherited from the old society were undeveloped. Our two countries have many common things in their struggle to build socialism.

Through the mutual exchange of numerous economic missions and cultural delegations, and through the Party papers and various other publications and press media, we are widely disseminating information about all the successes made in socialist construction to our respective people and sharing each other's experiences.

The development of such economic and cultural cooperation further strengthens the friendship and solidarity between the two

peoples and accelerates the common prosperity of the two countries.

Understanding, trust and love between our two Parties, countries and peoples have deepened still more through the joint struggle against aggression, and close cooperation in socialist construction. Our two peoples are overjoyed over their successes which they consider as their common victories, and are encouraged by them.

The visit of a Government delegation from the People's Republic of China to our country and our Government delegation's visit to China in recent years are a vivid demonstration of unbreakable friendship and solidarity between the two peoples.

This friendship and solidarity represents a new kind of relationship between genuine peoples, which is particular to the socialist camp. It stems precisely from their common social systems and thoughts and the aims of their common struggle. It is the relationship of complete equality, mutual respect and fraternal cooperation based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

This friendship and solidarity is being consolidated with the development of the socialist camp and the successful building of socialism in our two countries. No force can ever break it.

The Korean people set great store by the friendship and solidarity with the brotherly Chinese people and are making every effort to develop them further.

Today the peoples of our two countries are strengthening cooperation with the peoples of all the socialist countries. They are bringing about an unprecedented upsurge in socialist construction, further strengthening mutual cooperation.

The brotherly Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Zedong are making a great success in building socialism. Socialist transformation has been carried out victoriously in towns and rural areas of China and a big leap forward is taking place in all fields of socialist construction. Industrial production in China last year increased by nearly 70 per cent, and her output of grain and other agricultural products was high.

The political and economic power of the People's Republic of

China has been strengthened as never before and the material and cultural standards of the Chinese people further improved.

All the Chinese people are showing a high degree of work enthusiasm and political zeal in carrying out the technical and cultural revolutions and in accelerating socialist construction, in accordance with the general policy of socialist construction proposed by the Communist Party of China. The People's Republic of China is rapidly developing into a powerful socialist state with modern industry and agriculture, and modern science and culture.

The Korean people, under the guidance of the Workers' Party of Korea, reconstructed the devastated national economy in a short postwar period and are advancing confidently towards the high pinnacle of socialism. In our country, the socialist relations of production have held undivided sway in all fields of the national economy, and exploitation of man by man has been eliminated. The productive forces are growing by leaps and bounds, and the people's living standard is improving further.

During the five years since the end of the war our industrial production increased by an annual average of 42 per cent and in the first half of this year it was 75 per cent greater than the figure in the corresponding period last year. We had already implemented the First Five-Year Plan in terms of total industrial output value by the end of June this year, two and a half years ahead of schedule.

By achieving new, greater success in socialist construction we would transform our country into a developed socialist industrial state within a short time.

A broad avenue has been opened up for the Korean and Chinese peoples to eliminate centuries-old backwardness, build socialism successfully and vigorously advance towards the creation of a communist society, an ideal of mankind, together with the peoples of all brotherly countries.

The great upsurge in socialist construction in Korea and China clearly shows that people who have been freed from exploitation and oppression and become masters of their destiny, can demonstrate

inexhaustible creative might in their struggle to build a new life. The peoples of our two countries who suffered indescribable hardships and poverty and who were subjected to harsh exploitation and oppression by foreign aggressors, landlords and capitalists for a long time, are now utilizing fully their energies and talents, in order to push the position of their backward countries up to the ranks of advanced countries and quickly improve their living standard which is worse than that of others. They are fully convinced of their just cause and its victory. No force can ever break this revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses or block their advance.

Successful socialist construction in our two countries and the strengthening of friendship and solidarity between the two peoples constitute a great force in driving out the imperialist aggressive forces from the East for good, maintaining an everlasting peace and ensuring the victory of socialism.

In spite of the unanimous protest and condemnation of all the Eastern people and the peace-loving people the world over, the US imperialists are still occupying the southern half of our country, cruelly plundering and oppressing the south Korean people and turning south Korea into a hell of hunger and poverty on earth. By shipping into south Korea nuclear weapons, guided missiles and various other new-type weapons, they are turning it into a military base with an aim to provoke a new war.

Having occupied Taiwan, the US imperialists are committing aggressive provocations against the Chinese people and keeping the Taiwan Straits in a state of tension.

Under the circumstances in which the Korean and Chinese peoples are standing in direct confrontation with their heinous common enemy, they are making strenuous efforts in all sectors.

We are resolutely continuing our fight against our common enemy in order to defeat it completely and win freedom and independence for the people and peace and final victory of socialism in the East.

Premier Zhou Enlai, head of the Government delegation of the People's Republic of China, who paid a friendly visit to our country in

early 1958, declared: “The Chinese people who are always loyal to their international duty would in the future, too, if necessary, fight alongside the Korean people to defend the common interests of the two peoples by all means, just as they did in the past.” Our people, too, are always determined firmly to fight bravely hand in hand with the Chinese people, in order to destroy our common enemy.

The brilliant success achieved by the Korean and Chinese peoples in the struggle for peace and socialism would be unthinkable without solidarity and close cooperation amongst the peoples of the socialist camp. The further strengthening of the militant ties of friendship between the Korean and Chinese peoples would be a great contribution to the unbreakable unity of the socialist camp and the strengthening of its power.

The unity of the socialist camp and its power gets stronger and becomes more developed with every passing day. Universal peace and the final victory of socialism are approaching.

The Korean people who are defending peace and socialism in the East will continue to fight for our common cause under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, with determination.

FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

Concluding Speech at the National Conference of Activists of Local Industry and Producers' Cooperatives

October 15, 1959

Comrades,

During the past four days we have reviewed the success achieved by local industry and the proud victory in the socialist transformation of private commerce and industry in our country, and discussed in earnest the tasks of further developing local industry in the future.

This conference is being attended by those who were formerly engaged in private commerce and industry, those technicians who worked in these sectors and other former professionals as well as handicraftsmen. They have got together like a family, with a sense of honour as builders of socialism, and have unanimously expressed their determination to intensify the struggle to accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country and the building of socialism in the northern half of Korea and to improve the material and cultural standards of the people.

Indeed, this meeting will be marked as one of historic importance in our socialist revolution and will be a significant milestone in the further development of local industry and promotion of socialist construction.

I would like to offer my warm congratulations to all the participants

in this conference and all workers of local industry for the great success achieved by this meeting.

Comrades,

As it has been already stated in detail in the report and unanimously emphasized by many comrades in their speeches, we have done a really great and amazing job in a short period of time.

During the period of slightly over a year since the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee in June 1958, local factories and enterprises have increased to over 2,000 in number. This year the output value of local industry is expected to account for 27.5 per cent of the total industrial output value of our country. It is also expected to reach 45.1 per cent of the gross national output value of consumer goods.

The local factories which have been built in this short period, have produced a huge volume of essential commodities and have thus played a considerable part in meeting the demand of the people for consumer goods. The rapidly developing local industry has added quite a considerable amount to the state revenue.

As many comrades said in their speeches, innumerable miraculous innovations and stimulating events, which are beyond oral or written expression, have been witnessed in the course of this successful struggle. Such a courageous, heroic struggle is possible only for our working people, our valiant people who are advancing under the correct leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, closely united behind the Party and the Government.

In the struggle to develop local industry, the ranks of builders of socialism have grown and our revolutionary forces have increased. With the establishment of many new local factories, the dependents of factory and office workers and many other people have joined the ranks of the working class. Former private merchants and industrialists, too, have now become socialist working people in the fold of the producers' cooperatives, a socialist economic form.

Through the struggle to develop local industry, we have set up many medium- and small-sized factories producing essential

commodities for the people, in addition to large factories and enterprises.

As you see, our success is tremendous.

Highly appraising the great success achieved by the workers and technicians of local industry and the members of the producers' cooperatives by following the Party's appeal and decision in this short period of time, I would like, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the Republic, to offer warm thanks to you comrades, and the rest of the local industry workers and producers' cooperative members.

Comrades,

We must not rest on our laurels, even though our success is very great. We have only laid the foundations of local industry. We will have to develop this industry further on this basis. We must not rein up, but put spurs to Chollima and make innovations continuously.

Our economy has not yet attained a high level, nor can our people be regarded as being well-off. We have only laid the foundations to eliminate the colonial lopsidedness of our economy and ensure its independent development; we have managed to create the conditions which will forcefully push forward the development of an independent national economy. With regard to the people's living standard, too, we have just recovered from the war wounds and prepared the conditions for a richer and happier life in the future. We must, therefore, strive more vigorously to develop the productive forces of our country ceaselessly, further strengthen the material and technical foundations of the national economy and reach the high pinnacle of socialism.

The recent enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee decided to establish the system of directing local industry and to assign many competent officials to this sector by drastically reducing the staffs of the central bodies, in order to develop quickly the medium- and small-sized local industries along with the large-scale centrally-run industries. At present, this decision is being implemented successfully. These measures taken by the Party will give a great impetus to the development of local industry. Local industry must

consolidate the success it has achieved and on this basis it must bring about a new radical progress.

To this end, the first thing to do is to make an extensive survey of the sources of raw materials for local industry and establish for it a long-lasting raw material base.

The workers in local industry should make an active investigation of the local sources of raw materials and set up its own raw material supply base, instead of depending exclusively on the waste materials from the state enterprises and the raw materials allotted by the State Planning Commission. Local factories and producers' cooperatives should make an active use of the rich natural products from our mountains and seas and, at the same time, secure their own stable raw material base so that they would always have an adequate supply of raw materials at their disposal without any hitch in production.

Secondly, local industry must strengthen its technical equipment and continue to innovate its technology.

Technical innovation is one of the most important tasks today in building socialism in our country. Our Party has now proposed the task of completing the technical reconstruction in all sectors of the national economy in the shortest period of time possible.

What does technical innovation mean for local industry? It means that the primitive manual equipment is replaced with modern one and that the industrial workers, technicians and office workers acquire new technical skills and apply modern methods of production and increase the output of products.

We cannot allow ourselves to go on with the outdated manual method of production. Local industry must introduce mechanization by making technical innovations. It should begin with semi-mechanization and go ahead gradually to higher stages of mechanization. It should innovate techniques in this orientation towards complete mechanization in step with the making of the necessary conditions rather than try to attain the goal at one go. Even semi-mechanization is good for a start.

You have just mentioned the technical innovations made in

different parts of the country, and this is excellent. Such innovations should be organized and effected without respite everywhere.

If they are to introduce a greater deal of new technology in production, the local industry workers, technicians and office employees must mount a more determined struggle to learn new technology.

Thirdly, the volume and variety of products must be increased and the quality must also be improved.

These are important tasks confronting local industry at present.

As yet, we do not have enough essential commodities for the people; many things are wanting. We are not satisfying the people's demand for these goods. That is why local industry must definitely increase its production and the variety of its products.

It must also improve the quality of products. There are still many difficulties such as low technical levels, inefficient production equipment and unsatisfactory raw material supply. Anyway, quite a few of the products from local industry are of low quality and not to the taste of the people. Local industry must vigorously struggle to improve the quality of products in line with the policy put forward by the February Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and manufacture durable, serviceable and attractive goods, liked by the people. Your products are for direct use by our people. So the local industry workers and technicians should make all their products more durable, more attractive and more useful just as if they were making them for their own use.

Fourthly, the local factories and producers' cooperatives must be managed more efficiently.

At present, there are a lot of inexperienced management workers in newly-established local factories and producers' cooperatives. This is the cause of much inefficiency in the management of these factories.

The most important thing for the efficient management of a factory is to introduce the business-accounting system correctly and strive to make both ends meet. Some of the management workers are even running their factories without knowing the position of the profit and

loss account. This shortcoming must be corrected as soon as possible. They should examine whether their businesses are in the red or not, whether their incomes and expenditures are balanced. On this basis, they should ensure that their businesses are financially solvent.

Besides, they should organize work efficiently, raise productivity and lower the costs systematically. In this way they will manufacture a lot of cheap and good-quality products.

There should be strict order and discipline in factories. Producers' cooperatives in particular should strictly observe the socialist principle of distribution, take good care of communal property and determinedly combat all practices which lead to wastage.

For this purpose, leading officials should steadily raise their practical ability.

Fifthly, you must carry out the tasks of cultural revolution.

A major task of the workers of local factories and producers' cooperative members in the cultural revolution at present is to improve their cultural standard and the level of their knowledge. Without raising the working people's general standard of culture and knowledge, it would be impossible to develop technology and, accordingly, to put socialist construction on a higher plane. We must create the atmosphere where studying would become habitual and see to it that all the workers of the local factories and producers' cooperative members acquire the knowledge of a primary or middle school graduate.

A cultured way of life and production must be established.

At present, some local factories and producers' cooperatives are neglecting the work of establishing a cultured way of production. They must not do so. They should keep their factories clean and tidy and transform them into modern production units so that all of working people would be provided with cultured working conditions.

Modern houses should be built gradually to provide the workers and cooperative members with cultured living conditions. In addition, clubhouses, theatres and cinema houses should be built by individual factories themselves or by the joint efforts of several factories. Now

that a large number of women have taken jobs in the local factories, it is necessary to gradually build nurseries, kindergartens, laundries, bathhouses, dining halls and other service and cultural establishments in accordance with the specific conditions of the factories.

The environment of factories and residential quarters should be kept clean and necessary sanitary conditions should be adequately provided.

Workers of local factories and producers' cooperative members should not only make innovations in production, but should strive to acquire the traits of the working class in everyday life.

Sixthly, you should vigorously struggle to eliminate the remnants of capitalist ideology.

One of the foremost tasks of our Party today is to intensify ideological education to eliminate capitalist ideas lingering in the minds of the socialist working people and equip them with the communist ideology. Our people have long been affected by feudalistic and corrupt capitalist ideas and customs. Although the social and economic systems in our country have been reformed on socialist lines, the ideological consciousness of people has not yet been completely remoulded accordingly. We should, therefore, strengthen ideological education and liquidate the remnants of capitalist ideas from the minds of the working people and inject them with communist ideology.

All working people should oppose the remnants of bourgeois ideas expressed in the habit of loafing about, living at the expense of others and deceiving others for one's own benefit. On the other hand they should acquire the excellent working-class ideas of regarding labour as honourable, taking the lead in all difficult undertakings, building a decent life independently and promoting cooperation amongst comrades. They should also combat the inclination to neglect communal property while only cherishing their own, and develop the spirit in which they value communal property, love their factories, their home places, and, furthermore, their country and the socialist camp. In this way people will be transformed into a new type of men,

suitable to the changed social and economic systems.

Ideological consciousness is not something that can be transformed easily in a short period of time. For this reason ideological education to remould the working people's thinking should be conducted tirelessly under the guidance of Party organizations.

By carrying out the previously-mentioned tasks we will further the development of local industry so that it will develop alongside the powerful centrally-run industry. We should thus accelerate the building of socialism in our country and improve the people's living standard.

Comrades,

Today the unity of the socialist camp is more solid than ever before, and the economy, culture and science are rapidly developing in all socialist countries. Socialism is winning, and capitalism is weakening with each passing day.

At present, in our country, too, the revolutionary forces are growing stronger quickly. Our people are living in a flourishing and prosperous era. Our socialist construction is going on very smoothly.

Let all of us march forward vigorously, without resting on our laurels, to accelerate socialist construction, united more closely behind the Central Committee of the Party.

**DISABLED SOLDIERS WHO SHED THEIR
BLOOD TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY
SHOULD ALSO BE EXEMPLARY
IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION**

**Speech to Disabled Soldiers Who Attended the National
Conference of Activists of Local Industry
and Producers' Cooperatives**

October 17, 1959

During the war you were not afraid to risk your lives to defend the country. In the postwar years, despite your infirmity, you successfully overcame all kinds of difficulties to build factories and organize producers' cooperatives, thus contributing to the prosperity of the country which you defended at the risk of your lives, and to the reconstruction and development of the national economy. This is a very commendable deed.

Disabled soldiers have a very strong sense of patriotism and are firmly determined to defend the Central Committee of our Party. During the war they shed their blood to defend the country and are now contributing to the prosperity of the country and the building of socialism with their valuable labour. This heroic struggle of yours is an act truly befitting the Red fighters trained by our Workers' Party.

On this occasion I would first like to ask you not to dampen this revolutionary spirit but to keep the flower of revolution in bloom.

You shed your blood to safeguard the interests of the country. So you should now love the homeland more than anybody else and firmly

defend the Central Committee of our Party and be always exemplary in implementing its line and policy. You should also be an example both in social life and in observing state system and discipline.

Socialist transformation has been completed in our towns and countryside and socialist construction is now progressing rapidly. You should be more active than anybody else in the endeavours to reach the high pinnacle of socialism and be exemplary also in defending the socialist achievement our people have registered under the guidance of our Party.

The socialist transformation of the private economic sector and the building of socialism require a sharp class struggle. Even amongst those who were brave in the struggle against Japanese or US imperialism, there may be people who falter in the course of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. You should always firmly adhere to the stand of the working class, defend and carry out the Party's policy and be ardent champions of the socialist revolution.

You should further stimulate your Party spirit. You fought through fire and water at the front for the Party and the country. In the same spirit you should now dedicate everything for the Party and the revolution and wage an uncompromising struggle against those who seek to do harm to the Party, whoever they may be.

Now, I would like to emphasize that you disabled soldiers should always play a primary role in the management of your factories and enterprises.

It is desirable that, along with disabled soldiers, many of their family members would be admitted into these factories. However, if too many other people are admitted into these factories and enterprises, they could not be called disabled soldiers' factories or cooperatives any more. For one thing, the Hamhung Disabled Soldiers' Essential Commodities Factory is said to have slightly over 90 disabled soldiers and 50 ordinary people. This is too much. A certain enterprise in Pyongyang, though it has officially registered as a disabled soldiers' cooperative, reportedly has only 15 disabled soldiers and nearly 80 ordinary people. Among the latter there are even some who have the

habit of impairing the honour of disabled soldiers. It is advisable that ordinary people admitted into disabled soldiers' factories and enterprises should not exceed more than 5 or 6 per cent of the entire working force. Even so, ordinary workers should be restricted to technicians' posts or to do some urgently-needed kind of work. In future, even these jobs should be gradually taken over by disabled soldiers and their wives.

Some comrades suggested that a large factory should be operated by bringing together disabled soldiers; this is unreasonable. It is convenient to have disabled soldiers' factories dispersed in different parts of the country. This makes it possible to manage factories efficiently by putting to good use local raw material resources. For example, Unggi abounds in shells. So, if women collect them, it would be possible to make various kinds of buttons or ornaments and such items to be supplied to the people. If such factories are concentrated in Pyongyang, the state would have to supply all their raw materials. As a result, work would become more difficult. If your factories are dispersed in different localities, you would find it more convenient not only in productive work but also for yourselves because you would receive more social assistance. It would also be good for you to have close ties with the masses. You can exert good influence upon the masses by talking to them about your war exploits. People would be greatly moved and educated when they see you—people who shed their blood for the country—devotedly taking part in productive work in spite of your infirmity. Since the state continually builds many large factories, you do not need to build your own. Of course, we may have to amalgamate factories in the same locality, which are involved in similar productive activities. However, it is advisable not to make the factory too large. The majority of your factories and enterprises have less than 100 employees. I think this size is very reasonable.

One other thing: you should make active endeavours to mechanize production processes. To this end, the state should continue to give assistance, but you yourselves should launch a widespread drive to make new inventions for mechanization. You should introduce both

mechanization and automation and in future gradually make sure that everything comes into operation once the switch is pushed. This would not only make the work easy but also contribute greatly to the development of the national economy.

In future you should strive to make yourselves more educated and cultured, while taking part in productive work as far as your health allows.

Though disabled soldiers may have difficulty in doing physical labour because they have lost their arms or legs in the battle, they can do mental labour as much as they want as long as they have sufficient knowledge. You should do everything possible to improve your qualifications so as to become an integral part of the domains of mental work, such as state administration and economic management. For this purpose, everyone should study hard while on the job, and when you reach a certain level, you should go either to the National Economy University or the Central Party School to obtain better qualifications.

As people who defended the country with their lives, you have no reason to fail in Party work or state administration. You should never be disappointed because of your disability. You should launch a determined struggle against becoming obsessed with the idea that now that you are disabled, you could not care about anything in this world. Needless to say, you do not harbour such thought. If you had been pessimistic, how could you have bravely built factories on the debris of the war? But I am mentioning this to warn you lest you should become obsessed with such thoughts.

You fought well to safeguard the freedom and honour of the country. Now you should make your contribution to transform the country into a socialist paradise. You should not even for one moment forget your great pride in serving the country. You should always be merry and cheerful in your life and work.

Every household should be provided with either a wireless or a cable radio set to listen to broadcasts, and amateur art circles should be formed at factories so that cultural activities and entertainment would start being organized as when you used to serve in the army. The state

should provide the necessary musical instruments, but you should also make instruments for yourselves. In this way, you would now also have a feeling of cheerfulness in your life, just as you enjoyed merry-making and happy music on the front during the hard-fought war, playing the musical instruments you yourselves made, such as flutes and *kayagums*.

Local Party and government officials should ensure every possible condition for disabled soldiers to enjoy a full cultural life in a happy and cheerful atmosphere. However, our provincial, city and county officials seem to show little interest in the disabled soldiers' life.

Our officials should be well aware of how today's happy life has been won. As I said when I went to Ryanggang Province, there are some amongst our cadres who have wrong ideas. Certain cadres of provincial, city and county Party organizations and government bodies are inclined to forget how the present situation has been brought about. If anyone thinks that he has been promoted to a cadre and is in a leading position because he was "born" to be such, he is grossly mistaken.

We should be fully aware that our Party could be founded and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our glorious homeland, born after liberation, because in the bygone days there were fighters who waged a protracted armed struggle against Japanese imperialism in the dense forests of Paekdu, braving all sorts of hardships, to free their country. At the same time, we must be fully aware that our people were in a position to defend our Party and country and to register victory because many comrades had shed their blood and sacrificed their lives in the Fatherland Liberation War. It is entirely thanks to them that our comrades are now able to work as county Party or people's committee chairmen. Had these comrades not shed their blood and fought bravely, the existence of our Party and our country and the happiness of our people would be inconceivable. How can those, who do not know this, work as cadres in Party and government organs? The officials of provincial, city and county Party and people's committees should know this clearly. They should know that today's happy life is

attributable entirely to the fact that our revolutionary predecessors shed their blood and numerous patriotic martyrs and revolutionary comrades fought valiantly, risking their lives, in the Fatherland Liberation War.

As a matter of fact, if those who waged a revolutionary struggle in the past and those who shed their blood in the war only try to live an idle life without working and by misusing their past record, it would be no good. We should always oppose such practices. Flowers should keep in bloom.

Whenever I meet those who waged a revolutionary struggle in the past, I advise them: If the flower was in bloom yesterday, it should remain so today, too. If you who fought well in the revolutionary struggle yesterday, do not do so today, it is the same as if yesterday's fresh and lovely flower has become dry today. The flower in the house is only liked and left untouched if it is in bloom all the time. If a flower in the vase does not come into bloom or if it dries, one would throw it out. Therefore, our disabled soldiers who shed their blood and kept the flower of revolution in bloom in the past to defend the country, should always fight and tirelessly strive with determination to keep this flower in bloom today and in future for the eternal prosperity of the country.

Meanwhile, those who could not fight like this in the past, should sincerely respect them and constantly take meticulous care of their well-being taking into consideration the fact that they are working in their present post because these people fought and the fact that we can enjoy today's happiness because they shed their blood.

Provincial, city and county Party organizations should also give profound attention to the question of educating disabled soldiers and the bereaved children of patriotic martyrs. It is difficult as yet to send all disabled soldiers to the institutes of higher education. But we should help them so that everyone would be able to study while engaged in productive work, and gradually send them to Party schools or universities. In my opinion, it would be a good idea to set up a class for disabled soldiers at Kim Chaek University of Technology where they would be given preliminary knowledge in preparation for university

lectures before being transferred to the faculties. We may set up similar classes at the Central Party School or provincial cadre-training schools, and disabled soldiers would be admitted either into Kim Il Sung University or the National Economy University. Every institute of higher education should set up a class for disabled soldiers, give them preference in admission and provide them with the necessary conditions to study science and technology according to their wishes. Disabled soldiers are now aged 30 or so, so, if they study hard for some three or four years, all of them would be able to work creditably at state bodies. We should boldly admit to school all those disabled soldiers who wish to learn.

In founding the National Economy University, the Party Central Committee originally intended to admit many disabled soldiers to give them education. However, things do not go according to plan.

Our Party has directed great attention to the education of the hardcore elements tested and hardened in the revolutionary struggle. We set up the National Economy University and military universities and have given education to many comrades. Those who had waged guerrilla struggle in the past were re-educated into excellent intellectuals who are now even able to tackle higher mathematics.

However, as yet, little attention has been given to educating disabled soldiers. The disabled soldiers shed their blood for the country as the fighters of our People's Army, which has the revolutionaries who waged the guerrilla struggle as its hard core, and inherited the tradition of this struggle. So, they are fully entitled to be educated at our universities and colleges. Before anyone else, the road to learning should be open to these comrades.

I already laid emphasis on this problem when I went to Kilju last year, but the intention of the Party Central Committee has not been put into effect yet. Upon their return, provincial Party committee chairmen should provide disabled soldiers with the necessary conditions to study and recommend many of them to be admitted into schools at various levels.

I would like to refer to one other question. You have asked for

dwelling houses to be built; the provinces would do well to build them. Disabled soldiers have not been provided yet with dwellings because the provincial, city and county officials have not given attention to this problem. We should solve this problem as soon as possible. To this end, many multi-storey blocks of flats should be built by using factory funds and also by increasing the state contribution a little. The question of the labour force needed for this work should be resolved by mobilizing the local population.

You have asked for lorries; I will see to it that a lorry is delivered to each disabled soldiers' factory and cooperative. It is advisable to give new lorries made at our factory. Good machines that are manufactured through the "let-each-machine-tool-make-more" movement, should also be supplied. They should be given first to Ryanggang Province which has few machine tools.

In addition, cultural facilities such as musical instruments, radios, loudspeakers, as well as coal should also be supplied.

All provincial, city and county leading officials should directly go out to disabled soldiers' factories and quickly solve the problems they encounter. They should also take meticulous care of dependents of People's Army servicemen, families whose members were murdered by the enemy and the children of the orphanages.

In consideration of the fact that disabled soldiers have their own specific conditions, it is advisable to set up a section at the Party Central Committee responsible for their guidance. Let us also set up a section responsible for the guidance of disabled soldiers' factories within the industrial department of the provincial Party committee. Good comrades from amongst disabled soldiers should be selected to be appointed section chiefs and instructors. They should be made to go directly to the disabled soldiers to explain the Party's intentions to them and work with them.

In the past, the factionalists did not take any care of the lives of disabled soldiers. Before liberation, they created havoc in our communist movement; after liberation, too, they plotted to undermine our revolution. They did not follow Party's instructions, because they

always practised duplicity. We can take as an example So Chun Sik, former chairman of the North Phyongan Provincial Party Committee. Last year when I met disabled soldiers in Yangsi, I emphatically told him to take good care of them. However, he did not do anything. We should continue to strengthen the struggle to do away with the evil aftereffects of factionalism.

Disabled soldiers should be exemplary in productive work. You should strive to carry out the tasks decided upon at the current conference of activists of local industry and producers' cooperatives and be exemplary in increasing the variety of products and improving their quality as well as in keeping the factories in a clean and cultured way.

You demonstrated unparalleled heroism in the life-and-death struggle against the enemy and shed your blood to defend the country's honour and our revolutionary achievements. Now you should become a model also in socialist construction and thus justify the Party's deep trust and the people's great expectations.

I wish that on your return to your workplace you will convey what I have said today and our Party Central Committee's greetings to all cooperative members.

ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION

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

October 22, 1959

Our national economy has developed in a remarkable way as a result of the revolutionary upsurge which has been effected and maintained through our hard-fought, belt-tightening struggle for increased production and economization in recent years.

Our industrial output in 1957 was 44 per cent more than in 1956, and in 1958 the output again increased by 40 per cent over the 1957 figure. Efforts to implement this year's national economic plan by the end of the third quarter have led to a 65 per cent growth in industrial output compared with the same period last year. The results so far show that there will be around 50 per cent growth in this year's industrial output over 1958.

We had carried out the First Five-Year Plan, in terms of total industrial output value, by the end of the first half of this year, that is, in only two and a half years. This means that we have achieved a tremendous success, indeed, the like of which has never been witnessed in any other countries in the whole world.

With the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan under the wise leadership of our Party, the economic foundations of socialism in our country have been established more solidly, and our people's

livelihood is improving with each passing day.

The people have placed their full trust in our Party as a result of the facts they themselves witness in their life. Strongly united behind the Party, they are struggling to carry out the Party's policy by all means. The unity within the Party ranks in ideology and purpose, and their solidarity, is stronger than ever before, and the militant power of Party organizations has increased considerably during their practical struggle.

As you see, in the revolutionary struggle and construction in recent years, we have made a remarkable advance which is unprecedented in our history. And in implementing this year's national economic plan, we have also achieved a brilliant success.

In economic construction, however, there have been many shortcomings which must be corrected in the shortest time possible. A number of serious shortcomings have been revealed particularly in the implementation of this year's national economic plan. Unless these shortcomings are corrected, it will be impossible to carry out the tasks of the adjustment period next year.

The main task for the adjustment period is to strengthen the economic foundations of socialism and rapidly improve the people's living standard by revitalizing those branches which are lagging behind, strengthening the weak sectors, and giving a boost to those sectors which should be given priority, while improving all other branches. This will pave the way for next year's important task, which is to improve the existing factories well, use them properly, and intensify operation of machinery and equipment and increase labour productivity, without undertaking new construction projects.

We should criticize shortcomings and correct them now rather than wait to do it in the year-end report on the implementation of this year's economic plan. Only then will we be able to perform successfully the task of the adjustment period next year.

Then, what shortcomings were revealed in the implementation of this year's national economic plan? In brief, the Party's policy on food grain has been followed in an irresponsible manner, and land

management and manpower administration have both been inefficient. Food, land management and manpower administration are important in building socialism. If we continue ignoring them, we will not be able to avoid failure in the management of the socialist economy. We must, therefore, learn a serious lesson from the shortcomings in the implementation of the Party's policy on food grain, land management and manpower administration.

The major weakness in the implementation of the Party's food policy is that state control over food grain and the efforts for its economic use were inefficient.

We must have more control on food grain, and continue to intensify efforts to use it more economically. We are not saying this because we are short of food, but because we must store food reserves. We must control food grain and economize on it until we have enough supplies to spare.

At present some people link the question of improving the people's living standard automatically with the abolition of the food-rationing system. But this will not be an essential measure. Rationed food is virtually given free to the workers and office employees in our country. Payment for rationed food amounts to no more than a service fee. It is better to maintain the rationing system in order to keep the people always sure of food supplies and to manage the nation's economic way of life properly rather than abolish it, which would result in the waste of food and disrupt efforts to create food reserves. The cadres of the central institutions and those at the provincial, municipal and county branches should understand this question properly.

Commercial and all other workers should clearly understand the Party's intentions and strive to carry out its food policy.

A shortcoming in land management is that a large area of land has been left useless or uncultivated.

Our Party has always emphasized the need to use every plot of land without giving up even an inch of land or leaving it uncultivated. In recent years, however, some leading officials in charge of agriculture have not thoroughly implemented the Party's land policy, with the

result that a large area of farmland has been left uncultivated or put out of use. Party and government bodies at all levels must seriously examine the shortcomings revealed in land management and take positive steps to correct them quickly.

We must first take measures to restore some 100,000 hectares of farmland which have been put out of cultivation. Each province, with the participation of the leading officials from the central authorities, should set up a committee to inspect the abandoned farmland and see to it that it conducts a good survey so that all such land is put under cultivation again, except totally unproductive fields.

In our country which has limited farmland, every inch of land must be utilized. We must strongly combat the tendency of allotting too much land for the construction of factories, building excessively wide roads, constructing houses in fields, leaving much space between houses and putting up telephone poles in a disorderly way in fields, only to waste land. I fully support the suggestion of the Minister of Communications to integrate the telephone poles of the Ministries of Communications, Transport, Interior, and of the People's Army into a single system. If we do this, we will not only be able to save a large number of telephone poles and wires, but also obtain more land and eliminate inconveniences when ploughing, by removing many of the poles from fields.

We must strive to use land more effectively. In some areas of South Phyongan Province they are planting a large amount of castor beans and sunflowers in good fields in the lowland. They should not do this. Such crops should be planted by the roadside or in uncultivated land at the foot of mountains, while fertile fields should be left for the cultivation of grain crops. Agricultural cooperatives should vigorously struggle to use land more effectively by adopting various methods. In addition, Party and government bodies should widely disseminate valuable experience in using land in a sensible way, such as that gained in Pukchong County, South Hamgyong Province.

Party and government bodies must also launch a campaign involving all the masses to preserve land so as to prevent it by all

means from being washed away. They must pay particular attention to the protection and management of the irrigation works which have been built with much manpower and money.

It would be advisable to set up a land administration bureau in the capital and enact a law on land management in order to tighten state control of land management.

We must quickly correct shortcomings in manpower administration.

A correct solution to the manpower problem is one of the important things in ensuring production growth. That is why our Party has always given deep attention to solving this question correctly. In recent years, however, state control of manpower administration has weakened, resulting in an uncontrolled increase in the work force everywhere. This led to a critical manpower situation in the countryside. We must improve manpower administration and divert the excessively large industrial work force to ease the strain on the rural manpower situation. This will bring about a fresh upswing in agricultural production next year.

The building and other industries should first adjust their work forces in such a way as to provide around 30,000 persons for the rural community. To this end, political work should be vigorously undertaken to explain the Party's agrarian policy to the workers so that they will themselves put up the slogan "To the countryside!" and volunteer to work in the countryside.

At the same time, an agricultural work force should be fixed. Ri Party committees should educate the members of the cooperatives to refrain from leaving the rural community.

Measures are needed to enlist such people in agricultural production as the dependents of the factory and office workers in urban areas and workers' districts and those of the government workers, teachers, doctors, internal security men and other people who receive rationed food from the state in rural areas. There is no reason why the dependents of the factory and office workers should receive food without working. Their participation in agricultural cooperatives will

not only help towards easing the strain on the rural manpower situation and increasing agricultural production, but help them to become socialist working people and improve their livelihood.

The dependents of the factory and office workers have a great deal of work to do in agricultural cooperatives. They can take care of the domestic animals, breed fish and bees and grow fruit trees. Party organizations at all levels should do organizational and political work well to enlist these dependents in agricultural work.

This kind of work can be organized in Pyongyang as well. A section of the workers and office employees now living in the city can be moved to rural villages together on the outskirts of the city, ensuring transport services to their workplaces and giving their dependents jobs in the agricultural cooperatives. This will also be helpful in resolving the housing problem within the city to a certain extent.

These dependents who take up jobs in the cooperatives should be given rationed food as before for a definite period.

We must push forward the mechanization of agriculture. Otherwise it would be impossible to meet the daily growing demand for manpower. Party organizations at all levels must thoroughly implement the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee on agricultural mechanization.

When part of the industrial work force is diverted to the countryside, the rural work force is fixed, the dependents of factory and office workers are enlisted in agricultural production, and agricultural mechanization is intensified in this manner, our agriculture will develop further and produce more grain, meat, eggs and vegetables.

Centrally-controlled industry must not increase its work force even by a single man, but reduce non-productive labour in factories and other enterprises to a minimum. At present, the management structure in factories and enterprises has become excessively large, drawing in it most of the competent technicians. The result is that these technicians are not involved in production, with less experienced workers taking their place. This should be promptly

eliminated by regulating the management structure in such a way as to reduce its staff and reinstate the experienced technicians and skilled workers in productive jobs.

Local industry, too, should not increase its work force. Its existing work force is by no means a small one. Judging from the equipment at its factories, the way how they are provided with raw materials and fuel, and their working conditions, there still exist excessive manpower reserves in this sector.

In the fields of education, literature and art, too, they should not increase the number of teachers and artists any further, but instead make them work more efficiently.

We must definitely tighten control on manpower administration. So far this work has not been under the control of anyone. People's government bodies have only provided manpower without making regular inspection to see how it was being utilized. This has resulted in the waste of much manpower. From now on, the factories and other enterprises should be put under strict control so that they will not capriciously increase the work force even by a single man. When a new institution is set up, there should be prudent consideration before its establishment. The management of work norms should also be improved.

It would be advisable to set up a labour administration bureau in the capital to improve manpower administration.

We must radically improve economic leadership in order to correct the shortcomings revealed in the implementation of this year's national economic plan and successfully carry out the tasks of the adjustment period next year.

Inefficient economic leadership is a major cause of the serious shortcomings in implementing this year's economic plan. In other words, these shortcomings are due to the fact that many leadership workers, so happy and satisfied with their past success, have not directed the struggle to execute the plan in a responsible way, that they have neglected the organizational and political work to lead the working people's magnificent campaign to attain the high stage of

socialism, and that the economic departments of Party committees at different levels have failed to improve their work method in keeping up with developments.

Then, what should be done to improve economic leadership?

The leadership workers should, first of all, have a greater sense of responsibility in their work.

It is true that we cannot say that they lack enthusiasm. But many of them still lack the sense of responsibility in their work.

All leadership officials must regard their jobs as important Party assignments, and have a strong determination to carry them out in good faith despite all difficulties and hardships, as well as a great sense of responsibility to fulfil them without making a single mistake which would result in a great loss to the Party and state. Many of them, however, lack such a sense of responsibility, so they are not prudent enough in work and are prone to become bombastic because they are happy with some success and get carried away with it. Notable shortcomings by leadership workers are that they are not firm in their work attitude, dance to the tune of others, do not study Party policy deeply, do not make a correct analysis of existing problems and settle them from a subjective viewpoint without penetrating into the realities of life. These shortcomings are greatly hampering our march forward.

It is important that they should stand firm in their work posts with their own conviction, instead of dancing to the tune of others. In making a decision, they should not rely only on the briefings of their subordinates, but go to lower units, get to know the actual situation clearly and handle the matter with prudence. If they are not prudent, they will end in creating obstacles to policy making by the Party Central Committee because the latter formulates its policies on the basis of the reports from the Party organizations at lower echelons and from the workers in each sector.

The senior officials themselves must always go to lower echelons to get to know the real situation correctly and also ensure that all their subordinate officials do the same. At present, some officials are reluctant to go to lower units, and even when they do this, they do not

go amongst the masses but hold brief talks with a few cadres and just take a look around the factory before returning back. It would be impossible for a man, no matter how clever he is, to get a clear picture of the situation at a factory by touring it for an hour or two. It is true that he would be able to spot a few shortcomings during his inspection. But these would be only a few of the shortcomings that exist at the factory. There is a difference in the method of going to get a general point of view of a lower unit and that of deeply studying the situation. If one is to get to the heart of the situation at a factory, one must talk not only with the director but also with the men, staying there at least for a week. One should also hear the opinions of Party members at Party meetings, and listen to suggestions from innovators at consultative meetings on production. Only then will one clearly understand the shortcomings at the factory and the issues on which the settlement of all problems depends.

The same can be said for leadership in the agricultural sector. If you drive about, looking at bunches of rice plants, you will be unable to get the real picture of the situation in the countryside and agricultural cooperatives. If you want to know the real situation in the countryside, you must hear the opinions of Party members at Party meetings of agricultural cooperatives and also the suggestions of cooperative members.

If you do not do this, it would be impossible to deeply understand all the complex realities. Officials must decisively correct their unsettled, slipshod work style that lacks any sense of responsibility and prudence.

They should also not be reluctant to read documents. Some of them not only neglect the duty to make a deep study and analysis of statistics, but do not even study Party literature. Still others do not read newspapers regularly. Through its paper, the Party informs its organizations and members at all levels of its policy in different periods. So the Party paper can be considered as the Party's written directives. Leadership officials should carefully read the Party paper every morning and know what slogans are chosen by the Party, and

which problems have been emphasized in relation to their work, and then organize their work accordingly.

Next, leadership officials must do organizational and political work well.

This is very important at present in leading economic work. The circumstances now are different from those in 1956 or 1957. In those years we had many reserves for a rapid development of the national economy. At that time, productive and technical assignments were low as factories had just started operating, and considerable amounts of materials were lying everywhere. So leading officials were able to obtain and use a relatively large amount of reserves easily just by making a speech to mobilize the audience ideologically. But we have no such reserves at present. Now the reserves for the growth of production depend on the ability of the leadership personnel in charge of production.

Workers are now ideologically ready to reach any production target at the call of Party, and their technical levels and skills are much higher. A competent commander can win a great victory by correctly organizing and leading this existing force, but an incompetent commander may fail to do this or waste time and retreat with the same force still at his disposal.

Leadership ability precisely means organizational ability. In other words, if applied to military operations, it means the commanders' ability to lead soldiers; in the context of Party, government and economic activities, it signifies the officials' ability to organize workers.

What is important in organizing work is, as we have emphasized more than once, to understand the main factors in all work and concentrate efforts on them.

The most important link in work can rarely be discovered through a subjective desire. In order to tackle this link one must mix with the masses, discuss the matter in hand in a serious manner with the masses, and make a deep study and analysis of the concrete aspects of the existing situation. This is a basic work method and leadership principle

followed by the communists.

But our officials are not working in this way. Many of them try to increase production by augmenting the work force and equipment rather than improve organizational work. This has led to many serious shortcomings in the implementation of the Party's food policy, in manpower administration, and in agricultural work in particular.

Today the rural community has no manpower to spare. Instead it needs more manpower from other places. Nevertheless, rural manpower has been diverted to factories. This has added more problems to the already difficult rural manpower situation, while, on the contrary, giving way to surplus industrial manpower, and incurring various losses, such as the wasting of labour, gradual decrease in labour productivity and critical housing conditions to the inconvenience of the workers. Had the leading officials gone to factories, as they should have done as communists, and had talks with the workers in earnest, listening to their suggestions, these shortcomings could have been prevented.

Leading workers should meticulously study and analyse the state of manpower, equipment, raw materials and other necessities at factories and other enterprises and, on this basis, decide which tasks should be carried out first, carefully organize forces and then try to attain set targets. The guarantee for victory in a battle lies in the commander's ability to make a correct estimate of the enemy movements, correctly judge the balance of forces and, on this basis, direct the main attack at the enemy's weakest point, organize his forces accordingly and command the battle in a skilful way. Had our leadership officials understood the main factors in their work after the enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee last May, and concentrated their efforts on them, they would not have committed such serious mistakes in so many sectors, as we see today. They should not forget this bitter lesson in their future work.

We must correct the shortcomings revealed in this year's work and improve organizational work in order to succeed in implementing the tasks of the adjustment period next year. Since the enlarged meeting of

the Hwanghae Iron Works Party Committee, organizational work at Party, government and economic bodies at different levels has been improving, and this should not be handled as a quick job but should be continued tirelessly.

There is no set formula for organizational work. The method of such work should also be replaced in keeping with changing times, new developments and changes in reality. So the leadership workers should not rest on their laurels with what they have organized once, but should go and see for themselves from time to time to acquaint themselves with the progress in work, search for new important factors there and solve all problems. In this way they will make continuous advance.

It is very important to give priority to political work in all activities.

Doing political work properly means strengthening Party work. Party work is a creative activity among people to heighten the Party spirit among its membership, awaken the masses to higher political awareness and mobilize them for the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks. No success can be expected in any work unless effective political work is carried out to give the Party members and the masses a full understanding of the aim and significance of the task, and the method and prospect of its performance, and to mobilize them in the fulfilment of the task in hand.

Producers are the cleverest people in the world. They, and no one else, are the manufacturers of machinery. So they should be urged to show enthusiasm and to make creative suggestions. Leading workers should intensify political work among the producers so that they can fully express their views, attain good results in their work by displaying all their creative talents in socialist construction and determinedly struggle against the tendency to distort or neglect Party policy in its implementation.

If we are to increase labour productivity in any sectors of the national economy, we must do political work before anything else and then organize work to establish working conditions. Suppose labour productivity has dropped in factories and other enterprises, and this

means that their efficiency in production has already weakened. Then there must certainly be many reasons for this; for instance, the low spirit of the workers, inadequate working conditions, or even equipment that is out of order. Anyway there must be a cause. In this case, ministers, vice-ministers, directors and chief engineers of factories and enterprises, who are the economic chiefs, must find the cause of low labour productivity and take effective measures to increase it.

Some officials, however, still neglect the organizational and political work which is very important in the revolution, and try to solve problems through administrative methods and orders. These people try to carry out their production plans by increasing the work force and equipment. After this meeting the wrong work method by which attempts are made to attain production plans by increasing the work force blindly rather than through organizational and political work, should be thoroughly corrected.

It is true that equipment and the work force will have to be increased at some time in future. But for the time being we cannot afford it.

Next year we must increase production with the existing equipment and work force, without undertaking new construction work. To this end, we must take radical measures to use equipment more effectively and increase labour productivity.

In addition, the economic departments of the Party Central Committee must improve their work method.

These departments assist the Presidium of the Party Central Committee. So they should lead and control administrative and economic organizations from a Party viewpoint, so that the latter will implement the Party's policy correctly. They should not, and cannot take over themselves the administrative and economic functions. Nevertheless, they are still taking the place of administrative bodies or tailing behind them. They are fiddling about together with the Cabinet or economic ministries rather than lead and control them in order to implement the Party's policy correctly, so they do not know what is

good and what is not.

The Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee was not aware that the area under cultivation this year had dwindled by more than 360,000 hectares; they discovered this to their embarrassment only at harvest time. This department should have guided the Ministry of Agriculture to plan production strictly in accordance with the Party's agrarian policy and should have regularly made inspections during the implementation of the plan.

The Heavy Industry Department, too, has not functioned properly. The shortcoming in manpower administration would have been overcome in time, had this department constantly acquainted itself with the implementation of the decision of the May Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, tightened its control over the tendency of dispersing efforts and excessively increasing the work force, and correctly reported on the situation to the Presidium of the Party Central Committee.

The Party's economic departments should not take over administrative and economic functions, but should carefully see whether the work of administrative and economic organizations is deviating or not, give a prompt warning against shortcomings, if there are any, and strive to correct them. From now on, all Party departments should cease to assume administrative authority, and completely resettle themselves to doing Party work, in other words to building up Party ranks solidly, uniting the broad masses closely behind the Party, and strengthening leadership and control over work for the implementation of the Party's policy.

All the workers of administrative and economic bodies should, without exception, keep close contact with Party departments and willingly accept Party leadership and control. They should not regard Party control as a nuisance or as interference in their work. Every Party member must live under Party control, regardless of his rank. But some officials are not in close contact with Party departments and do not prudently accept the opinions of these departments. This is a very wrong attitude. Party departments are working in accordance with the

Party's intentions, that is, the opinion of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee. An opinion of a Party department is not the personal opinion of the chief of that department, but precisely the opinion of the Party. Therefore, the leading officials of administrative and economic organizations must respect the opinions of Party departments and maintain close contact with them. There is the Korean saying, "You must ask your way even when you know it." There is no harm in asking questions and discussing things, no matter how clever one may be. Doing this is not an inconvenience, nor does it undermine one's dignity.

Not only economic ministries but also educational and cultural institutions, internal security organs, judicial and prosecutors offices, and the People's Army must be controlled by the Party. If they do this, the mistakes and shortcomings in this year's work can be corrected, and a remarkable change effected in next year's work.

In conclusion, I will briefly touch on one or two questions arising in the cultural revolution.

We must develop a vigorous mass campaign to build our life in a cultural and hygienic way. At one time in the past, newspapers gave prominence to this matter, and to this end, extensive political work was carried out to encourage the masses, but in recent years they have abandoned efforts. Of course, we made some success in this campaign. But that was only the beginning.

Our country must become one of the most developed industrial states and also one of the most civilized countries in Asia. So we must not rest on our laurels with some success, but should continue to build our life in a cultural and hygienic way.

Cadres must take the foremost place in the cultural revolution. They must not only educate their own families well to give an example how to develop cultural and hygienic practices, but also combat the habit of neglecting the education of their wives and children, and leaving their houses untidy.

Schools, railways, theatres, cinema houses and other public institutions must be taken care of properly, and such institutions should

participate actively in the cultural revolution.

Schools in particular must become the centre of the cultural revolution. They should intensify sanitary and hygienic inspection on schoolchildren and establish a strict system by which they observe sanitary and hygienic rules.

One can determine the cultural standard of a country by looking at the modern amenities and sanitary conditions of its railways. At present, one can hardly see whether they have started the cultural revolution or not in the field of railway service. Party organizations in this sector must explain to all their workers the important role of railways in the cultural revolution and encourage them to bring about a radical change in this revolution.

ON SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS IN SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

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

December 4, 1959

Comrades,

As a result of comparatively long preparations and efficient ideological mobilization, this plenary meeting has been very successful. I think the report and speeches have been well up to Party standards and correct decisions have been adopted.

I believe that if the Party members and the working people are inspired by what has been discussed and decided on at this meeting and if the whole Party gets down to work and thoroughly implements these decisions, the result would be tremendous.

We must keep up the spirit of continuous progress and ceaseless innovation and key up the movement for increased production and economization so that the decisions of this plenary meeting will prove their great vitality just as the December 1956 Plenary Meeting sparked off a great upswing in building socialism in our country.

Although everything has been provided for in the decisions, today I would like to emphasize once again some issues for you comrades.

1. ON THE SHORTCOMINGS IN IMPLEMENTING THIS YEAR'S PLAN

If we are to build our socialist economy well in the future, we must correctly assess the experience gained in 1959. This is very important.

As you all know, our success this year is great. The building of socialism in our country has been going through a period of great upsurge since the December 1956 Plenary Meeting. Our industrial production increased by 44 per cent in 1957 and by 40 per cent in 1958, and a 50 per cent growth over the 1958 figure is expected this year. Indeed, we are making progress by leaps and bounds. As you see, this is a year of great victory in the development of our national economy.

Three years of hard-fought struggle resulted in a smooth and rapid economic development in 1957 and 1958. This year has also been successful but quite a few shortcomings have appeared in our work.

An unprejudiced review of our experience this year would provide us with a valuable lesson in building socialism and communism in the coming years. For this reason a correct analysis of the economic work in 1959 will have tremendous significance. This work should be candidly assessed at all Party levels. Both our successful experience and the shortcomings in our work should be brought to light.

I will not refer to our victorious experience any further because it has been fully dealt with in the report and the speeches of many comrades and has also been our frequent topic by now.

My comments will be limited to our present shortcomings and to their solutions and to several other important economic questions.

Firstly, I would like to refer to planning defects.

It is common knowledge that the socialist economy would not move even one step forward without a plan. Planned and balanced development is a major law of the socialist economy. If this economy

is to be run properly, the planning organization above all else must work out a correct plan in accordance with this law.

A national economic plan must guarantee a balance between accumulation and consumption, between the manufacture of production means and that of consumer goods, between industry and agriculture, amongst the various industrial branches, and all the other economic sectors.

The plan must correctly take into consideration the nation's productive forces and other objective conditions. If, instead, it is simply based on an arbitrary desire, it would never work. Of course, one needs to be ambitious to push forward the economic development. But such a subjective instinct cannot be the sole basis of one's plan. In planning, one must correctly estimate all the objective realities.

As I have stressed more than once at Party and Cabinet meetings, it is most important to plan according to one's capability. If a plan is made to one's arbitrary desire, it would be as good as a gamble in which one would be happy to make a superficial success, but be helpless otherwise. One must plan according to one's resources by assessing manpower, materials and funds carefully. This is the way to work out a feasible plan and guarantee a balanced development of the national economy.

How, then, was this year's plan mapped out? It failed to take actual conditions into consideration properly. Carried away by the great successes achieved in 1957 and 1958, we set too high a target without making a meticulous calculation of the objective realities.

The result was that shortcomings began to surface before the plan had even been in operation for one month. The Party Central Committee discovered that ministries and management bureaus had intended to implement the plan by undertaking a great deal of capital construction and increasing the work force, not by raising the utilization rate of equipment and labour productivity.

Furthermore, the Party Central Committee made an inspection of the Chongjin Steel Plant, the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Chongjin Spinning Mill, the Aoji Coal Mine and other major industrial

enterprises in North Hamgyong Province in March this year, and found that this shortcoming was serious.

The Party Central Committee, therefore, convened an enlarged meeting of its Presidium last May, which, with the participation of factory managers and Party committee chairmen, provincial Party committee chairmen and other leading officials, adjusted the plan, criticized the seriousness of the mistake and took measures to rectify it.

The main thing the meeting emphasized was the need to introduce methods by which to normalize production, use equipment more effectively, launch the “let-each-machine-tool-make-more” movement to produce machines in large numbers, accelerate mechanization and finish capital construction projects one after another by concentrating on the main factor, rather than by spreading them out.

This was a correct and explicit policy capable of eliminating the shortcoming. I asked myself if it was too late to set it to right, but that was not the case. The discovery of the defect was timely and the measures were correct.

At the meeting ministers and many other comrades made fervent speeches, all expressing their resolution to correct this shortcoming and pursue the Party’s policy.

But the decision of the enlarged meeting of the Presidium has not been thoroughly implemented. The decision was left unheeded, and its execution was arbitrary. The Ministry of Metal Industry in particular went on with the gamble. This ministry persisted in its request for manpower, and the Cabinet went on complying with its request like a banker who finances a clumsy gambler.

The Cabinet ought to have made field inspections, examining closely whether efforts were being directed to the main targets of capital construction in the spirit of the decision of the enlarged meeting or were being spread out over many projects, whether they grasped the significance of the main factor or not, and whether the requested manpower was really necessary or not. But the Cabinet did not do this. The minister persisted in his request for manpower without checking

up his real needs, and the Cabinet gave him as much as he wanted, also, without examination.

I am taking the Minister of Metal Industry to task not because he is the only man who made this mistake. The same is true of all other ministers, though in varying degrees.

In consequence, there has been no change in spite of the enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee.

When did they begin feeling the acute pain caused by their mistake? It was only after the enlarged Party committee meeting of the Hwanghae Iron Works that they began to realize their mistake, though not many people become aware of their serious error. Those who have since then, though belatedly, set their work on the right course have committed less serious mistakes, but those who have tried to get more manpower and push on with their old methods, assuming that their die had been cast, have made much more serious mistakes.

In September we made the necessary changes and since then have held on to the main objective in our work and achieved a great deal. Had we not made these changes at that time, steel production, for instance, would have continued its downward trend till now. But the bold changes made in September brought production at the Hwanghae Iron Works back to its upward trend as its Party committee chairman said in his speech yesterday. The same could be said of the Kangson Steel Plant.

Had we effected the changes in May, I think we could have produced 50,000 to 70,000 tons more of steel. Such an additional volume of steel would have enabled us to undertake more construction, and the situation in every sector would have been much better.

But nearly all ministries and bureaus did not change their method of work in May as required by the Party; they carried on construction everywhere and increased their work force at random. By the end of September this year the state sector of industry alone had 120,000 workers more than planned.

Where did so many workers come from? From the countryside. There is no other source.

A great deal of large-scale construction including irrigation works has been carried out in the countryside over the past several years. Further diversion of a large portion of the farming population to industry, including the building industry, added more difficulties to the already tense rural manpower situation.

This exceptional swelling of industrial and construction manpower resulted in a sharp increase in the demand for food grain, secondary food items and houses, whereas agricultural production and housing construction became unable to meet the demand. The situation was serious particularly regarding the supply of meat, vegetables and other secondary food items for the working people.

We should not set the target of this year's plan too high, if we want it to be realistic. If we had planned for a 30 to 40 per cent growth in industrial production and some five to six per cent increase in agricultural production, our plan would have been realistic and our national economy this year would have been developed in a balanced way.

Next year's plan has been in the making since September, but another deviation has appeared. I mean Rightist conservatism. I am not saying this with the State Planning Commission in mind, but I am referring to the plans submitted by ministries and bureaus, including the agrarian and the industrial plan. Quite a few people have assumed that it would be safer to plan a low target than to set a high objective which would have been beyond their reach. So they wanted to base their plans simply on the levels of existing productive forces. Presumably, this is due also to a misunderstanding of what a planned economy means. These people are unaware of the basic principle that the productive forces develop continuously in a socialist society.

We must consider that people's consciousness develops, their skills improve, and machinery, too, becomes more efficient steadily. In other words, an economic plan must take into consideration an uninterrupted development of the productive forces.

Our plan must not be conservative and passive; it must be progressive and aggressive. It is not the communist attitude of

economic management to attempt to sit where you are in an easy-going manner rather than to try to raise the level of people's consciousness, improve their technical levels and skills and also produce more and better machines so as to develop production continuously.

The capitalist economy develops through recurrent forward and backward movements, tortuous ups and downs, but the socialist economy is characterized by its constant progress and unbroken ascending curve. This law must be the basis of planning.

Planning at random on the basis of one's subjective desire is not right, nor is conservative and passive planning.

I would like to emphasize once more that the lesson we have learned from this year's experience is that we must eliminate these two deviations and work out a realistic and aggressive plan by correctly calculating the objective conditions and our own strength.

Another serious shortcoming in our economic construction this year is that we have spread our energy on too many projects, instead of grasping the main objective and concentrating on it.

This is entirely because some of the comrades have not acquired the Marxist-Leninist method of work.

It is an invariable Marxist-Leninist method of struggle to make a correct estimate of the balance of forces, identify the main objective and concentrate one's energy on it both in the class struggle and in the effort to harness nature. This must be a fundamental principle for communists in formulating their strategy and tactics. Identifying the main objective and concentrating our efforts on it is the strategic and tactical principle we must adhere to in our political work, economic affairs, military operations and in all other activities.

Nevertheless, some of our comrades still do not understand this truth clearly.

This is not a principle we have only expounded recently. We emphasized it already when we were drawing up the Three-Year Plan in 1953. At that time our manpower, materials, funds and other resources were limited, and we often stressed the need to achieve maximum economic results from capital construction by carrying it out

on a priority basis, without undertaking too much at a time. If we do not destroy enemy forces one by one in battle, but disperse our forces over many targets, now attacking this and now attacking that, we would be unable to destroy any of them; rather we would be destroyed by a concentrated enemy attack.

We must not forget this principle in all work. The review of our economic construction this year shows that ministries were indulged in spreading out their work here and there despite such a serious Party warning.

At the Kim Chaek Iron Works, for instance, it was important to build a converter in order to produce steel more rapidly. So they put up the slogan for completion of the building of the converter by May Day. The slogan was excellent.

The Minister of Metal Industry ought to have provided necessary facilities for the workers to put the slogan into effect. But what did he do? He launched the building of another converter at the Hwanghae Iron Works even before the project at the Kim Chaek Iron Works was completed. Judging from the present state of affairs, this converter can hardly be put into operation even next year. So it means that the Hwanghae Iron Works has done an unnecessary project this year. What a great loss! And that was not all. Still another was started at the Kangson Steel Plant.

If these dispersed efforts had been concentrated on the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the resolution of the workers to finish the project by May Day could have become a reality. Due to such dispersion, however, none of them was successful. The efforts of the repair and maintenance shops, too, were all diverted. What is the duty of a repair and maintenance shop? It is to produce spare parts for the existing production equipment. That is why this shop is so named. Since too many capital construction projects were under way, the repair and maintenance shops were compelled to divert most of their efforts to producing equipment and machine parts necessary for the new construction projects rather than concentrate all their efforts on the performance of their basic duty. In the long run, even working furnaces

came to a standstill. Open-hearth furnaces stopped working, and gas generators ceased to run as they should.

The abnormal state of production could not but badly affect construction as well.

The Ministry of Metal Industry is not the only victim of this folly. This was a general phenomenon. The Ministry of Light Industry is no particular exception, nor are the Ministries of Machine and Coal-Mining Industries.

The Ministry of Machine Industry once spread its energy on more than 70 capital construction projects. But it brought about a change in its work right after September and started concentrating on major targets.

In contrast, the Ministry of Metal Industry did not apply remedies to its overspread projects situation even after September. So we were obliged to go out in person and decide which projects should be continued and which should be dropped.

The Ministry of Coal-Mining Industry organized heading excavation in many places and was also engrossed in the introduction of hydraulic mining. This method requires pipes and many other arrangements. Such materials and manpower should have been concentrated on the introduction of hydraulic mining at major coal mines, but instead were widely dispersed in an attempt to introduce it in all coal mines at one time. The result was that none of these mines was successful, materials and manpower were wasted and production was hampered.

They set up what they called enterprises, trusts, supply service departments and all sorts of institutions to handle the overspread capital construction projects. But the lack of necessary materials produced a large number of idlers. Production stopped and construction was suspended, and nothing came out of it but waste of manpower.

After this meeting, you must not repeat this error. From next year on, you must seize the key to the immediate tasks in all work, both in production and capital construction, and carry them out by

concentrating on them. Then you should find out the fundamental link in the whole chain of new tasks and get down to them. In this way you would be using the method of finishing tasks one by one.

Still another serious shortcoming in this year's work is that many of our comrades did not know clearly the great importance of increasing labour productivity and failed to take necessary steps to this end.

As everyone knows, manpower is the most important component of the productive forces. Economists say that the working tool, the object of work and the man make up the productive forces. In my opinion, the most essential of them are the tool and the man because these are the most active and positive factors in production.

With the development of machinery, the techniques and skills of man who handles it improve. In this way the productive forces, namely, man's ability to harness nature, increase. From this it is evident that man is the basic factor in the productive forces.

The productive forces could be likened to the power of the armed forces. Just as the object of man's productive work is nature, so the object of military conquest is the hostile forces. Thus, aircraft, guns, warships and other weapons and the man, who uses these weapons in fighting the enemy, in other words, the men and commanding officers, constitute the armed power. Here, too, it is beyond dispute that man is the essence of armed power.

The combat power of an army depends largely on the spiritual state of the men and commanders, that is, their morale and skill in handling their weapons. Weapons, however effective, would be useless if the soldiers are in low fighting spirit and unskilful in their use. If an army is to win a battle, it must have a high morale, or ideological consciousness, and a high level of technical skill as well as good weapons, of course. Ideological awareness, in particular, has decisive significance. Weapons and technical know-how of soldiers who lack confidence in victory and fighting spirit would be powerless.

The same applies to the question of labour productivity. Growth in labour productivity depends on technological progress, better work organization and many other factors, but in my opinion, the workers'

technical skills and ideological awareness, especially the latter, should be major considerations. Unaware of this, many of our officials consider that the number of men alone would suffice.

What has decisive importance in raising labour productivity is the noble idea of the workers who are willing to devote all their energies and talents to the struggle for the country and the people and for their own good. If they are politically awakened to a high degree, the workers would strive harder to improve their technical levels and skills and demonstrate more creativity, enthusiasm and talent to enlist all the reserves and possibilities for greater productivity.

The great upsurge in production effort brought about by our working people after the December 1956 Plenary Meeting manifestly proves that what they called the accepted capacity in the days of Japanese imperialism cannot stand as an immutable limit, but can be exceeded several times over as long as the workers strive with enthusiasm and creativity. It also proves that labour productivity, too, can be raised much higher. The great upswing in socialist construction or the Chollima march in our country would be inconceivable without the high revolutionary enthusiasm of our working people who are closely united around the Party, who have unlimited faith in the Party and who are determined to build a new life, following the Party through all difficulties.

One of the grave mistakes our comrades committed this year is that they have neglected political work aimed at increasing labour productivity. Ministers, management bureau chiefs and managers have not carried out the Party's policy on giving priority to political work in economic activity. Instead, they estimated the number of necessary men, for instance, by simply calculating how many cubic metres of earth one man could dig a day.

Besides, raising the workers' ideological level is not all that is needed in political work to increase labour productivity. Their material standard of living should be improved, their cultural activity organized properly, and they should be provided with adequate rest periods.

But quite a few of our officials neglected these duties. They did not

provide adequate rest periods for their men, but tried to ensure production simply by increasing the work force, without caring whether or not the men were properly housed and fed.

However high their communist awareness, you would be unable to increase their efficiency or labour productivity if their housing conditions are bad and if their rest periods are not adequate.

Of course, in the days of Japanese imperialism, the capitalists did not and would not take these things into consideration. They were totally indifferent to the living conditions of workers; they were just keen on bleeding them white.

We must not put men to work without building houses for them. We are not telling you to provide them with particularly good living conditions. What we want is for our officials to exert all their efforts to take care of the workers within the possibilities that the Party and the state can afford. This is important political work.

If you regard this as supply and service work or as a function exclusively reserved for supply and service workers, you would be making a great mistake. How could this be other than political work when the very aim of our struggle is to improve the workers' living conditions and bring happiness to them, and when the success in production depends on the effectiveness of this work?

Supply and service for the workers must come under the category of political work. These activities are part and parcel of political work. Whoever wants to be a good political worker must at the same time be good at supply and service work.

You must have a correct attitude towards man, the most important factor of the productive forces. I am not sure whether there might be some change in this concept in the future when everything is automated. But, even if automation were complete, machinery must be handled by man anyway. The only difference in that case would be that less manpower would be required, and work would be easier, than now; but machines would not be able to run without man. That is why you must have a correct attitude towards man. If you know this, you would not try to solve problems only by increasing manpower without prudence.

A large work force would not be necessary, if the workers' technical levels and skills are improved so that a man handling one machine would be able to operate two and then three, and if their consciousness is increased through efficient political work so that they would work with greater enthusiasm and creativity.

All these things depend on the ability of the people in command and on their organizing work. Who, then, are the commanders? They are such people as ministers, management bureau chiefs, managers and their deputies including those in charge of political affairs, and the Party committee chairmen of ministries and factories.

The foremost duty of commanders is to provide decent living conditions to their men so that they would be able to rest and eat their fill. Their next duty is to ensure that equipment, materials and all other working conditions for the men are the best in the circumstances. When a machine goes out of order, they must take steps to repair it immediately.

There is no reason why their work should get stuck, as long as our ministers, management bureau chiefs and managers guarantee good working conditions through an efficient organization of work. We have provided nothing to the open-hearth furnaces of the Hwanghae Iron Works. We only got the repair and maintenance shop to produce spare parts for them. Since then the steel output has risen, hasn't it?

Commanding officers must also keep their men informed about Party policy, and properly educate them to work enthusiastically in accordance with this policy.

As you see, normal production and the growth of labour productivity depend not only on the workers, but more importantly on the ability and work organization of the people in command who are duty bound to guarantee good working conditions and to direct their men. Why do we need managers? Because work has to be organized and directed by them. If they do not do this work, they would be useless.

The main thing is that the commanding personnel conduct political work well and increase the workers' political consciousness so that

they will work enthusiastically; and then they must guarantee sufficient equipment, spare parts, raw materials and other necessary working conditions, and also take care of the workers' living conditions all the time and get them to settle down. Then, there will be no reason why labour productivity would fail to rise.

Our failure to implement a part of this year's amended plan is not due, on any account, to the workers. It is entirely due to the fact that leading officials have not conducted political and organizing work as they should. So it boils down first to political work, and second to organizing work.

Another serious shortcoming revealed in implementing this year's plan is that officials lack the spirit of being obedient to the Party's decisions and directives without reservations.

Already in January this year when the plan was under discussion, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee emphasized more than once that the work force must never be allowed to swell over and above the planned figure, that the recruitment of even a single man must be preceded by a careful examination of the manpower situation, and that only he who organizes labour skilfully would be considered as a competent organizer. In spite of such a great emphasis made by the Party Central Committee, our officials did not implement the instruction of the Party because they lacked the spirit of unconditional obedience.

Later in May, at the enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, we again stressed that rather than spreading our energy on extensive capital construction, we should tackle the main tasks ahead of us. But the Ministries of Metal and Chemical Industries remained lukewarm to the Party decision and did not show the correct attitudes to implement it, come what may.

The Party's directives must be obeyed without reservations, and its decisions should be observed as a matter of duty, under whatever circumstances.

One of the main reasons for the failure of the Ministry of Metal Industry to implement Party policy successfully is that they did not

inform the people at lower levels about the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, and the decisions of the Party Central Committee. This time, the Party Central Committee directly inspected this ministry and called a meeting of its Party committee, where we examined the matter. There, people in lower ranks said: “We did not know that the state is so hard pressed for manpower. Otherwise, why would we have requested additional workers?”

All this explains that the leading officials in this ministry lacked willingness to obey Party decisions and instructions, and consequently failed to explain them to their subordinates. Such officials will be unable to fight on the tense front of economic construction as it is today.

In a nutshell, these are the shortcomings that were revealed this year.

All these defects in economic construction are serious. But they are transitional and local weaknesses that appeared in the course of attaining a great victory, and they can be corrected without difficulty.

We must learn a serious lesson from our mistakes, correct them quickly and prevent the recurrence of similar shortcomings.

2. ON MAJOR ISSUES IN THE 1960 PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

As it is pointed out in the resolution, we set 1960 as a period of adjustment of our economic development and decided on embarking upon a one-year plan next year.

What is meant by a period of adjustment?

Similar to a war, it is something like a period of preparing for a new battle to capture another hill after the conquest of a height—a period when casualties are replaced; expended rations, clothes, weapons, ammunition, and similar things are resupplied; combat forces are

reinforced and regrouped; and the positions which have been seized are consolidated.

In socialist construction, too, the success which has been achieved must be consolidated, and preparations made for the successful implementation of a new task after the major task at a given stage of economic development has been fulfilled and when progress is made to the next stage. Such a period of preparation is indispensable for us particularly because, through a hard-fought struggle over the past several years, we have developed the economy by leaps and bounds and carried out the First Five-Year Plan more than two years ahead of schedule.

The industrial sector has already reached the objective of the Five-Year Plan by this year, in terms of its output value, though not on all indices.

As a result of the realization of the Five-Year Plan, our country has eliminated the colonial lopsidedness of our industry, laid the foundations for an independent national economy, and prepared a solid basis for socialist industrialization. The bases of light industry, non-existent in the past, have been established, and great progress, too, has been made in agriculture.

We have excellently carried out the groundwork for further progress. In other words, we have built the foundations on which to carry out an all-out technical revolution in our country.

All this is a great victory which our people have achieved under the guidance of our Party. This means the victory of our Party policy to give priority to the development of heavy industry while advancing light industry and agriculture simultaneously. It shows the correctness of our Party's leadership in the implementation of its economic policy.

In this way, we have attained the objective of laying the foundations for the building of socialism, that is, the target of the First Five-Year Plan.

Well, what is our next objective? It is to give greater momentum to socialist construction and develop our country into a socialist industrial state, which is a still higher objective. This new objective is indicated

precisely by the Second Five-Year Plan which is to start in 1961. This plan will mark the decisive period in building socialism, during which we must make history-making progress in our socialist industrialization and further raise the people's living standard.

Next year is a year when preparations are expected to be made to advance from the height of the First Five-Year Plan to a new higher pinnacle. That is why we have called it a period of adjustment.

What preparations, then, should we make next year?

Only recently opinions were divergent on this matter. Comrades from the electric industry argued that this industry must be given priority to reach the new target; those from the railways asserted that electric railways should be introduced to secure this objective; the Ministry of Metal Industry insisted on increasing steel production to attain this target with success; and the Minister of Agriculture claimed that more construction of irrigation works and increased grain production would resolve all problems. In this manner everyone wanted to use the adjustment period to their own advantage. Admittedly, we cannot say that this is a wrong tendency. This is all prompted by their desire to do a good job.

But, if everybody wants to be given priority, we would be unable to set the main direction of economic development next year. Preparations during the adjustment period should be made in all sectors, but the central tasks must be identified.

What, then, are the central tasks in this period? To ease the strain which was notable in some economic sectors in the past, particularly in the realization of this year's plan, to strengthen weak links, and to raise the people's living standard—these are the central tasks for next year.

This is the only way to eliminate local imbalance and shortcomings revealed in the very rapid development of the national economy, consolidate the success of the First Five-Year Plan, and bring about a fresh upswing in building socialism in the period covered by the next plan.

Within this basic orientation, we have defined the problems which

must be resolved on a priority basis in next year's economic construction.

I would like to refer to the most important of them.

Before everything else, we must direct efforts to the mechanization of agriculture next year.

This plenary meeting decided on pushing on with the mechanization of agriculture as the most pressing task in this sector. Needless to say, this is a correct decision.

This decision does not imply at all that there is any change in Party policy. Mechanizing agriculture conforms with the Party's basic policy which gives the preference to the growth of heavy industry and the simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture; it means pushing the existing Party policy forward.

We are not developing heavy industry with priority for its own sake.

The aim of developing heavy industry, after all, is to supply machinery and equipment, power and fuel to all branches of the national economy, thus developing the productive forces further.

If we want to develop our productive forces further, the agricultural productive forces in particular, we should mechanize agriculture.

The groundwork for agricultural mechanization has now been laid. Without this groundwork, without the foundations of heavy industry, the mechanization of agriculture would be a mere daydream and would remain an unattainable desire. But we have built the basis of heavy industry and expanded its heart, the machine-building industry, by implementing the Three-Year Plan and the First Five-Year Plan. In particular, the "let-each-machine-tool-make-more" movement we have launched this year has moved our machine industry one major step forward. This has created solid material foundation for equipping our national economy with modern machinery and technical means and developing the productive forces further. For this reason, rural mechanization is now fully possible and feasible.

Besides, agricultural mechanization is an objective demand of the law governing social and economic development in our country.

As you know, the transformation of production relations on socialist lines was already successfully completed by 1958. The National Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives which was held early this year, put forward the technical revolution as the foremost task of agriculture after the socialist economy becomes completely dominant in our countryside.

In fact, agriculture cannot be considered as a completely socialist economy simply because production relations have been reorganized on socialist lines. To be so, it must undergo the technical revolution. Only in that case would we be able to further develop the triumphant socialist relations of production and consolidate them in the countryside.

True, the cooperative economy, even without the introduction of mechanical operation, is superior to the unorganized individual economy, since in the former all the work is done collectively. But unless technical reconstruction is effected, it would be impossible to develop the agricultural productive forces and improve the living standard of the farmers. So the rural technical revolution is imperative in order to show the full advantages of the cooperative economy.

For the socialist transformation of agriculture, we also pushed ahead vigorously with the technical reconstruction of agriculture in step with the rapid development of the cooperativization movement. We took up irrigation as a primary task of the rural technical revolution. This was much easier and faster because, under the conditions of the cooperative economy, unlike at the time of private farming, we could draw on collective efforts.

If I remember correctly, it was in 1955 that we got down to irrigation construction in real earnest. At that time our machine-building industry was still young and underdeveloped. Nevertheless, we made pumps and electric motors by utilizing all our efforts, and also imported some equipment and materials from other countries. In this way we built irrigation works zealously.

As you see, we have registered a great and difficult achievement in this field. We have built irrigation works wherever possible. Of course,

there is still the need for more such projects. But we can go on building them gradually.

We have thus introduced irrigation, changed our countryside into one which is free from drought and flood damages and assured of rich crops at all times, and increased crop yields. We have also made a great success in extending electricity to the rural communities. But this alone is not enough to convince us that the agricultural productive forces are fully developed.

If we are to increase these forces radically, we must introduce mechanization. This would enable our agricultural cooperatives to become a truly powerful socialist economy, increase production further, and help the farmers to become better off.

Mechanization is also necessary to keep our agriculture abreast with the fast developing industry, that is, to ensure a balanced development of the two. We can say that our industrial productive forces have attained a very high level. Should agriculture go on using primitive backward techniques when industry is quickly advancing on the basis of modern technology, the former would be unable to meet the demands of the latter, however hard it may try.

Should agriculture fail to meet the demands of industry, it would be impossible for us to carry out the Party's policy of giving priority to the development of heavy industry and advancing light industry at the same time. If our stock farming fails to supply enough meat, furs, wool and other raw materials, light industry would be unable to process meat, make leather shoes and weave woolen fabrics. The same is true of the raw materials and grain which are obtained from crop cultivation. If grain supply is short, many factory and office workers and their dependents would starve.

Industry, agriculture, and all other branches of the national economy are thus closely related to one another.

If our industry is to move another step forward, agriculture must catch up with industry and meet the industrial demands for raw materials and grain. With the present backward techniques, however, agriculture would be absolutely incapable of these tasks. This problem

can be resolved only when agriculture is mechanized and its productive forces reach a higher stage of development.

We must, therefore, mechanize agriculture in order to keep it abreast with the rapidly developing industry, and ensure a balanced development of both branches.

Another thing you, comrades, must understand is that mechanization is necessary also for the remoulding of the consciousness of the farmers.

The completion of cooperativization does not mean that farmers have completely become socialist farmers. True, it is a great revolution that, as a result of the cooperativization of private farming, the rich farmers have disappeared and exploitation has been eliminated.

But the remnants of outdated ideas still linger in the minds of the people. To eliminate the remaining influence of feudal and capitalist ideas from the minds of farmers and to implant progressive socialism into their consciousness is of great significance in the development of agricultural productive forces and the consolidation of the cooperative economy. As I have already mentioned, the productive forces consist of machinery and men, of which the latter is the most important. Transforming farmers' ideological consciousness, therefore, has a great effect on the development of agricultural productive forces.

What, then, is necessary for a rapid remoulding of their consciousness? Here, too, machines are needed. It would be unreasonable to try to reform their consciousness on socialist lines while leaving them to work with obsolete tools from the feudal age. Development of production begins with the change of tools, and the working people's consciousness is determined, in the final analysis, on how they engage themselves in production. So, if we are to reshape their consciousness quickly and transform them completely into socialist farmers, we must mechanize agriculture and develop its productive forces further.

Comrades, today no one has any doubts about the need to mechanize agriculture; everyone thinks it is necessary. Nonetheless, I emphasize this matter again because I deem it necessary for all

comrades to understand clearly that the mechanization of the rural economy is an urgent requisite of socialist construction in our country.

You must not regard this task we are now going to undertake, as a mere project aimed at easing the present strain on the rural manpower situation. This is an inevitable task in the development of our agriculture on socialist lines; it is a historic challenge that we must meet in order to attain a higher level of socialist construction.

As for the specific policy on mechanization, we must reckon with the fact that our machine industry is not yet too highly developed; so we are going to tackle it step by step. As the resolution says, we should perform this task through combined use of power- and animal-driven machines, through simultaneous introduction of modern- and semi-mechanization, and by starting it in the lowlands and extending it gradually to the highlands. This is an absolutely correct policy. Why are we going to begin with the plain areas? That is because in such areas mechanization is relatively easier and faster. Flat areas generally can cope with mechanized operations without the need for a lot of land rezoning. There we can use plenty of machines similar to those now in use in developed countries. In contrast, mechanization in mountainous areas would require extensive rezoning and the manufacture of new machines suitable to our topographical conditions. Meeting such requirements would need a certain period of time.

So we are going to begin with the plains, amongst them, South Phyongan Province and South Hwanghae Province where irrigation is most widespread and crop yields are highest, and then extend the project by degrees.

Recently I inspected some areas in South Hwanghae Province, and found that not many machines are needed there. Some 2,500 tractors would probably be enough to introduce mechanized farming in the main in this province. Mechanized operations in some 80 per cent of the farmland would virtually complete the task in the province. The remaining area will also have to undergo mechanization at some time in the future when smaller power-driven machines are manufactured

and supplied, but for the time being semi-mechanization should be introduced, priority given to mechanizing 80 to 85 per cent of farmland, and that will do.

The situation in South Phyongan Province is similar. Here, too, 2,500 to 2,600 tractors would likely be enough to do the job. So we estimate that the needs of the two provinces add up to 5,000-odd tractors.

Our slogan is to finish mechanization in South Hwanghae and South Phyongan Provinces in two years, which is somewhat a liberal estimate. If we get down to it and work efficiently, we shall be able to do quite a lot of it next year.

We will produce 3,000 tractors by ourselves and import some 1,000 others from fraternal countries. In this way we would be able to supply nearly 4,000. Approximately, there are already 900 tractors in South Hwanghae Province, and 700 in South Phyongan Province. That will add up to between 5,500 and 5,600 in all. Such an amount will enable us to mechanize farming in South Hwanghae and South Phyongan Provinces and even in Pyongyang next year.

And then, in 1961 we will be able to proceed to Kaesong, North Hwanghae, North Phyongan, Kangwon, and South Hamgyong Provinces almost at the same time. Other districts such as the mountainous Jagang, Ryanggang, and North Hamgyong Provinces will be probably tackled a few years later.

If we properly mobilize the creativity and talents of the broad sections of the masses, with the effective use of the machine tools produced through the "let-each-machine-tool-make-more" movement, we shall be able to manufacture a lot of different farming machines everywhere and produce excellent new machines suitable to our specific conditions. Such a vigorous, popular movement for rural mechanization will complete the task earlier.

The manufacture of farming machinery does not require a lot of steel and we would be able to meet the demand for this raw material adequately.

That is why we must get down to rural mechanization next year,

convinced that we would generally be able to do it within a period of several years.

Concentrating on mechanization in South Hwanghae and South Phyongan Provinces first does not mean that the other provinces would have to sit and wait for their turn; semi-mechanization should be introduced in all parts of the country. Cattle should be equipped with carts to ensure hauling, and animal-drawn farming machinery should be widely used to save as much manpower as possible.

What is most important in rural mechanization is to enhance the role of farm machine hire stations.

Originally, hired ploughing meant ploughing for payment. I am not sure whether the name is the cause of it, but anyhow the workers of hire stations have a very low sense of responsibility. Regarding ploughing as a job for someone else, not for themselves, tractor drivers do not bother to till the edges of fields well, and often leave unbroken patches behind them. This is seriously wrong. If they work like this, how can farm machine hire stations perform their leading role as centres of rural technical revolution?

It is very important that every worker of these stations should clearly understand that farming is not a job for farmers alone, but for himself, too, and that not only agricultural cooperatives but also hire stations are responsible for the performance of agriculture.

But this is not really the case at present. Station workers are not at all interested in the performance of agriculture. They do not care about whether the crops grow well or not; they seem to think they have nothing to worry about so long as they are paid every month. This is why station managers are doing their jobs without going out to see the fields even once.

I think farm machine hire stations, in fact, should become more responsible for the performance of agriculture when mechanization is introduced from now on. To this end, the system of work at these stations should be overhauled, beginning with their wage system. The wage system should be changed immediately, if possible by next year, in such a way that the station workers would start to take an interest in

raising crop yields in the area under their responsibility.

The name of these establishments which implies ploughing for hire, should also be changed. This plenary meeting, therefore, has decided to rename them farm machine stations.

In the future, we must see to it that the workers of farm machine stations, too, share the benefit of good crops and suffer, on the contrary, from bad crops to a certain degree. And the production of rich crops or poor crops is a matter of tremendous importance to the state as well. So farm machine station workers should plough more fields faster, deeper and more carefully, haul fertilizer in time, bring in harvests without wasting a single grain, and also ensure threshing. All these workers should thus be brought to acquire the trait of being completely responsible for farming through their work with farming machines. Making sure that this work is done properly is also the main purpose of the conference of vanguard workers in rural mechanization which will be held soon.

Moreover, to ensure that rural mechanization is carried out successfully, it is important to enhance the roles of farm machine repair stations, small farm machine factories run by provinces, cities, and counties as well as state farm machine factories. The Kiyang Machine Factory, the Tokchon Automobile Plant and all other factories which cooperate in production should all be responsible for the production of farming machinery.

Sowing, weeding and harvesting machines and farming trailers should be manufactured in accordance with technical conditions and capabilities: those which can be produced by counties should be produced there in large quantities; those whose manufacture is possible in provincially-run factories, should be made in provinces; and those somewhat difficult to manufacture should be made at centrally-controlled factories and distributed properly.

Besides, a movement should be launched vigorously to make new farming machines designed to suit our particular conditions. The easygoing attitude to use only foreign designs should be dropped. Of course, it would be a good idea to learn from the valuable experiences of

foreign countries. But our country has narrow fields, steep slopes, heaps of stones in the fields, watery plots and marshes. It is urgent to manufacture farming machinery designed to suit these specific features. We must develop a mass movement to make such machines and enlist in this programme the talents and creativity of a large number of workers and technicians. This is the way to accelerate agricultural mechanization, one of the most important tasks facing our country.

Next, we should take good care of land, which is essential to agriculture.

This year land management was not efficient.

As all of you know, our country has little arable land, all the more so on account of territorial division. Most of the good plains and fertile land are situated in south Korea, and they are being spoiled year in, year out. The south Korean countryside is now a zone of chronic hunger, though it was a granary in former days.

The total area of farmland in both parts of the country amounts to only four million hectares, of which the north scarcely accounts for less than two million hectares even including orchards and mulberry fields, for the ten million people. So land is very precious for us. You must not forget these circumstances even for a single moment.

That is why we must reclaim as much new land as possible, and most importantly make an effective use of the existing land, and transform nonproductive fields into fertile ones.

It would be absurd to complain of bad land. There is a saying that no land is bad to a good farmer, is there not? This is true, indeed! An incompetent painter will complain of his brush; and an ignorant farmer, his land.

It cannot be denied that our land is not so fertile as others'. That is a natural gift, and it cannot be helped, can it? If we give it all up because it is barren, where can we go and what can we do? Comrades, we must transform it into good land, instead of throwing it away. Let us not put up the slogan to discard land; we must improve it.

Land, however bad, can become fairly good, if it is manured zealously, cleared of stones, and drained.

After yesterday's session, the members of the Presidium sat up late into the night, hearing how land was used this year by the Sangphyong Agricultural Cooperative in Kim Chaek County, North Hamgyong Province. This cooperative made a good job of it.

Last spring we made an inspection of the area. The land was barren. Heaps of stone were all over the place, and the soil was infertile, indeed. So I asked the chairman of the management board of the cooperative for his opinion of the land situation. He answered that he intended to abandon 102 hectares of his land this year. His words sounded disastrous. So I called together all the farmers, including the elderly, and talked the matter over with them. I asked many of them if there was any other way to use the land.

It was settled first that mulberry trees which were said to grow well there should be planted in some 60 hectares. Some fruit trees should also be planted in adequate areas. It was also decided to plant girasols for swine feed in some six hectares of sandy land and brackens and mushrooms in the remainder of the land.

We advised them that after the fulfilment of these tasks they should raise cattle, pigs, goats and rabbits, set up beehives, and also breed chickens. We told them that if they did all these jobs they would probably be sitting on a heap of money by next year. The farmers kept their promise in good faith. They planted mulberries, girasols, brackens, mushrooms, and fruit trees. Their milch cows increased in number from three to 65, pigs from 54 to 206, goats from 45 to 107, rabbits from three to 601, and beehives from 21 to 126. They say that the share of every household in cash alone will be at least 70,000 *won* in old currency.

Comrades, this is the direction in which North Hamgyong Province must advance, the road which all the rural communities with limited and infertile land must take. The struggle of these farmers who are developing their cooperative economy into a solid, multifarious economy by utilizing their barren land in every possible way, instead of discarding it, is an example for all our agricultural cooperatives and farmers to follow.

We must not give up an inch of land or leave it idle, but reclaim as much new land as possible, and also zealously protect and improve the existing land with utmost care so as to increase production. Our Party has emphasized this more than once, but I must stress it once more today.

From now on there should be no encroachment on farmland—such as building houses on flatland when they can be located at the foot of a mountain or building factories in rice paddies. In a small land like ours, it is undesirable to allocate an unreasonably large site, for instance, for the building of a factory.

Moreover, the rate of land utilization should be raised considerably. Intercropping and mixed cropping should be widely introduced, and wherever possible the two-crop system should be adopted, and advanced intensive farming developed, so as to increase crop yields even in small plots.

It is important that the people develop the habit of valuing land, taking good care of it, and cultivating it with dedication. At present, people do not care about whether or not edges of fields are washed away by floods during a rainy season, or lost in landslides. They even dig up fertile fields to get earth for road repair, instead of bringing it in from mountains. This attitude towards land cannot be tolerated any longer.

We must not forget that every single patch of land has been handed down to us from one generation to the other by our forefathers. The whole Party must uncompromisingly combat careless handling and wastage of land.

As far as irrigation is concerned, rather than starting large new construction projects next year, it would be advisable to go on with those now under way. Of course, we will have to build some additional, large irrigation works, but it would be better to construct them later.

From now on, we are going to take up mechanization as our central task. So farmers will have much work to do, such as land rezoning and road repairing. That is why it would be difficult to undertake other

large-scale construction works at the same time.

Nevertheless, in the districts where mechanization is not yet being undertaken on a wide scale, the farmers should carry on with the irrigation projects in hand, and, in the east coast areas in particular, they should push ahead with the projects for forest conservation and flood control.

In the west coast areas, it is important to make an effective use of the irrigation works which have been built. This is as important as raising the utilization rate of equipment in industry. Both industrial workers and farmers should strive to utilize existing facilities effectively.

We must develop livestock farming in order to ensure an adequate supply of secondary food items to the factory and office workers.

We still have much work to do about this matter, if we are to provide enough meat and cooking oil for our workers who are doing difficult yet honourable work in factories, mines, iron works and in all other parts of the country. Since we are not experienced in animal husbandry, we might, of course, expect more conservatism and mysticism and greater difficulties than in any other spheres. But we must overcome them all and succeed.

We must exploit all our potential to produce feed in every possible way so that we would be able to raise plenty of domestic animals.

Let us begin with a movement whereby every family grows two pigs annually. In this way, they will produce meat and also manure, which is very beneficial to farming. A pig discharges three tons of excrements a year; two pigs mean six tons. According to foreign data I received recently, one ton of excrements, if mixed with 70 kilogrammes of powdered mineral phosphate, 100 kilogrammes of powdered lime stone, and earth, would make four tons of good manure. In other words, a pig means 12 tons of fertilizer a year; and two, 24 tons.

In our country it would be advisable to develop two methods of stock farming at the same time—the first collectively by the agricultural cooperatives, the other separately by every individual farming family.

The cooperatives must develop their own joint stock farming on a big scale and distribute plenty of piglets among the farmers for a vigorous movement whereby every household raises pigs and rabbits. Only then will we be able to raise the living standard of our people, and also obtain plenty of manure to increase grain production and make the land fertile.

A very important measure to strengthen the cooperative economy and stimulate farmers' enthusiasm for production is to get the agricultural cooperatives to implement fully the socialist principle of distribution.

But in this work there have been serious shortcomings on your part. So far grain and cash have not been distributed well by agricultural cooperatives.

Some comrades seem to think that the members of the cooperatives who until quite recently were private farmers, have now all become communists overnight. That is why they do not even distribute the grain, but keep it in granaries and virtually ration it out little by little.

Comrades, do you think that such a way of doing things will ever enhance farmers' productive zeal? Farmers still retain a great deal of petty-bourgeois consciousness and habits, and these cannot be eliminated in a day or two. We must bear this in mind in our work among the farmers. It would be impossible to stimulate their desire to increase production unless they receive their due shares correctly and opportunely according to work done. We must educate them in communist ideology and, at the same time, ensure appropriate distribution so as to stimulate their productive zeal.

In 1960, we must also develop the fishing industry and the production of consumer goods, and build a large number of houses to raise the living standard of the people.

Developing the fishing industry, along with vegetable production and stock farming, is of tremendous importance in solving the problem of secondary food items for the working people.

Fish landings should be increased through diversification, and fish processing further improved, as it has been emphasized by our Party.

Efficient processing should be organized well to prevent fish from going bad and be agreeable to the tastes of the people.

In addition, aquaculture should be undertaken efficiently. This would help to produce a great amount of non-staple foodstuffs within a year or two.

I have talked with farmers, and they say that there are hundreds of thousands of hectares of area suitable for shellfish breeding on the western coast. If we use this area for this objective and gather three to four tons of shellfish per hectare at a conservative estimate, the amount would be enormous. And you can also grow lobsters by walling off the tidal water. Supply the farmers with the necessary materials, and they would produce plenty of laver, *miyok* seaweed, tangle and the like. Tangle is said to grow to a length of four-and-a-half metres in five months. If these things are produced, they can be either eaten at home or exported abroad to exchange for meat.

This is an excellent way to produce secondary foodstuffs without having to provide feed. However, till now everyone has been shouting slogans, but no one has organized the work in real earnest. The State Planning Commission, too, has done nothing to this end except having several vessels built. From now on, we should make some investments in this field and develop aquaculture extensively.

In the sector of light industry, special attention should be given to creating raw material sources. In order to completely solve the problem of fibre in particular, the Chongjin Spinning Mill and similar factories should continue to produce staple fibre and rayon yarn in large quantities. Moreover, the construction of the vinal factory should be accelerated. As cotton does not grow well in our country, it is very important to build the bases of chemical fibre production quickly.

The question of the quality of consumer goods must also be solved. There is a wide gap between quality and quantity. This year nearly 160 million metres of fabrics are expected to be produced and next year 170 million, or 17 metres for every person. This is not a small amount. But now, the people require a variety of high-quality fabrics. The shortcoming is that the quality is not catching up with the quantity.

Cloth for suits, gabardine, and more knitwear and socks should be produced. This year 15 million pairs of socks are expected to be produced, and this will fall far short of the demand. At least 30 to 35 million pairs should be produced.

In the building industry we are going to give priority to housing construction next year. This is a major factor in improving the working people's living conditions. This year, the work force in the state sector of industry alone has increased by 280,000 workers, and so we cannot ignore the need to build houses.

The plan envisages building houses for some 80,000 families in cities and workers' districts next year. But if we exploit all our potential, we would be able to build many more houses. Cosy, durable and serviceable houses should be built in large numbers so as to resolve the workers' housing question definitely.

In addition, it is necessary to set up various service facilities and cultural and welfare establishments in a balanced way. Next year, along with large-scale housing construction, we must build many nurseries, bathhouses, laundries, and restaurants and improve the living conditions of the factory and office workers.

In this way we would be carrying out the task of basically resolving the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people, put forward by the First Five-Year Plan.

Next year, we must also give great attention to increasing labour productivity and the rate of equipment utilization.

In industry, work on construction projects now in hand should be continued. Moreover, they need not finish them ahead of schedule; they should carry them out in the planned order for each year, undertaking new projects as few as possible.

What matters in industry today is to utilize equipment and production space more effectively.

The rate of equipment utilization is still low; it is not operated on a normal basis. We must enhance the role of the repair and maintenance shops markedly and get them to manufacture spare parts in time, and reduce the time needed for the repair of machines and prevent all

accidents, thus raising the rate of equipment utilization in every way.

In our country, the rate of the utilization of production space in all machine-building plants and other factories is lower than in other countries. We should take measures to utilize factories more effectively and increase production by utilizing existing space more efficiently.

On the other hand, next year we must not increase the number of workers beyond the present level in the fields of industry and construction. Our circumstances are such that they make it necessary to shift some 30,000 men from the industrial work force to agriculture. Therefore, only if labour productivity is raised markedly, would we be able to increase production and build more next year.

At present, there is a latent potentiality for a rapid growth of labour productivity in the spheres of industry and construction. Next year's plan envisages a 12.5 per cent growth in industrial production, but we shall be able to exceed this target by far through an all-out mobilization of the potentialities for higher rates of labour productivity and utilization of equipment.

Next year conditions are expected to be similar to those in 1957, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan.

Many factories had been built during the Three-Year Plan, but they were not being used properly; the number of workers had swollen greatly, but their technical level had remained very low. So, work was organized with great care, and the result was a rapid increase in production.

During the First Five-Year Plan, too, a large number of factories have been built, with a lot of equipment becoming available and the work force growing larger. But both the workers' technical level and the rate of equipment utilization are low. In this situation, we must organize work more efficiently and increase labour productivity and the rate of equipment utilization. Then production will rise as it did in 1957.

I think we will be able to raise industrial output by 20 per cent to 25 per cent—though it would be difficult to increase output by 40 per cent

to 50 per cent as we did at that time—in spite of the fact that our industry is now better organized and that the workers' technical level is higher than in those days.

For this reason, next year's target is set low, but you, comrades, should achieve a great success by organizing and directing work proficiently.

The next thing to do is to adjust properly the balance between socialist accumulation and consumption.

This question I have already emphasized many times, but I can hardly say that it has been adequately taken care of in all sectors.

Why is accumulation necessary under our system? Because it is necessary just for extended reproduction, the construction of more factories, the production of more machines, the establishment of more cultural and welfare facilities, and, after all, for the betterment of the working people's living conditions. Accumulation, though not intended for immediate consumption, is in fact for the people's own good, for their future happiness.

In contrast, consumption means meeting immediate needs.

Why, then, is it so important in our economic life to adjust the balance between the two properly?

If we were to keep the hard-working people hungry, ill-clothed and unrefreshed, saving only for their future happiness, no one would believe it, and economic construction, as a whole, would become difficult.

On the contrary, if we were to consume all our earnings without saving and giving any thought to the future, we would be unable to make any more progress; we would have to mark time.

In order to make the factory and office workers a little more better off, and raise the living standard of the farmers on the whole to that of the well-to-do middle farmers, we must save a portion of the earnings; this would be used for extended reproduction. Only then would we be able to produce more foodstuffs and fabrics, build more houses and provide the people with far better livelihood than we are doing now.

Keeping accumulation and consumption well balanced, therefore,

is very important for those who direct socialist economic construction, for those who run a planned economy. If you do not keep the two in a proper balance, you would be risking driving into bankruptcy not only the economy of a factory or a cooperative, but that of the whole country. But we are biased towards too much saving, and also have a tendency towards uncontrolled consumption.

Why am I re-emphasizing this question today? Because it is probable that in some areas they might be neglecting accumulation totally and consuming everything in the belief that next year would be a period of adjustment when stress would be made on improving the living standard of the people.

And savings should not be wasted on unnecessary construction, instead of being used effectively for extended reproduction. Increasing cultural and welfare facilities and furnishing them well is, of course, a good thing. But there should be no tendency to discard still serviceable clubhouses, nursery buildings, bathhouses, and shops only to build new ones on the presupposition of a period of adjustment. Frankly speaking, the problem does not lie in shop building, but in commodity production. If we have plenty of goods, we would be able to supply the working people smoothly with any amount of goods even through the existing shops.

We must steadily raise the living standard of the working people step by step, and also ceaselessly increase socialist accumulation.

Our country is not yet industrialized. To bring about complete industrialization, we need to go on saving a great deal.

Comrades, what a great amount of work we have to do from now on! We have to produce plenty of tractors and automobiles, and also build many electric power stations and electrify railways. These tasks need a tremendous amount of iron. If we are to mass-produce iron, we must develop many mines, build blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces. In order to meet all these challenges, we must continue to increase accumulations.

And the demand for mechanization alone is not small. Agriculture is still in the process of mechanization, and local industry which

accounts for 30 per cent of industrial production in our country must now also start to introduce mechanization. If we are to do all these things, we must continue to save and accumulate.

As you know, we have received considerable amounts of aid from fraternal countries in the postwar years. But from now on we must develop the economy independently. Moreover, we have to pay our debts to fraternal countries.

So we must continue to increase production and practise economy, while properly combining socialist accumulation and consumption for the benefit of the people. The slogan of “increased production and economization” put up by our Party at the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of its Central Committee must continue to be a militant slogan for our people next year as well, and the whole Party must launch a popular movement to put it into effect.

In addition, we must uncompromisingly combat poor management in enterprises, both industrial and agricultural, which are incurring losses to the state, rather than generating revenue.

At present, nearly all of state farms are being run at a loss. A radical change in their management must be effected so that all of them would start making a profit.

All Party members and officials must clearly know what a great loss the state incurs every time a worker or office employee is unnecessarily recruited by enterprises and institutions. The waste of one man’s labour for a year means the loss of 100,000 *won* in the old currency and 1,000 *won* in the new. You would easily understand what a tremendous loss results from the idle life of a man, if the loss of what he could have produced is added up. So how seriously wrong is your unjustified expansion of organizational structure to produce so many idlers! The reported practice of keeping 24 to 27 idlers in a farm machine hire station which has 40 tractors should be eliminated immediately.

We must continuously strive to ensure that all economic sectors and enterprises strengthen the cost-accounting system, determinedly combat all practices which result in wastage, and be beneficial to the

state all the time, instead of inflicting losses upon it.

We should make a concerted effort to practise economy and increase accumulations, with a clear understanding that managing the socialist economy efficiently and making profit for the state today precisely means contributing to the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country.

Finally, I would like to refer to the question of building up state reserves.

For a long time our country was in a state of poverty, indeed, being unable to afford to put any things worth mentioning in reserve. But much has changed since. It seems that the time has come for us to manage our economic life properly. Our country, too, needs to have reserves, and it is fully possible to have them.

Our country has not been reunified yet. It could be reunified peacefully, if the international situation develops more to our favour, the Yankees are compelled to go home, and the south Korean people rise up. If we find ourselves without any reserves when such a great event occurs, we would be unable to do anything. A large number of people are out of work in south Korea, and the working people, without exception, are badly dressed and going hungry. So plenty of reserves would be necessary to save these people and cope with the situation.

The same can be said of the northern half. So far we have been doing well, free from any particular crisis. But we must think of preparing ourselves against any contingency. A typhoon may hit our country and have disastrous effects on the crops. We cannot predict a calamity. Under such a situation we would be helpless unless we have something to fall back on.

Plenty of food in particular must be kept in reserve. But this year when the food situation is fairly good, our comrades slackened control over distribution and a lot of food was wasted. The Ministry of Commerce issued an order to ration out food even to those who do not come to work. How unreasonable!

Comrades, communism is yet to come. Even when it is here, every able-bodied man must work to live; no law will ever permit idlers to

eat. Under communism, too, work, after all, will remain basic.

But our Commercial Ministry officials rationed food to people who do not work, and wasted a great deal of food one way or another. How unreasonable such economic management is! This must not be allowed to happen again in the future.

It is necessary to give the people a good explanation about the question of storing up reserves.

Our insistence on the need for food economization, in fact, is aimed to build up reserves. Such reserves, too, would belong to the people and, in the long run, they will be used for the people when they are in need.

Reserves are essential, if we want to build a socialist paradise in the northern half of Korea, reunify the partitioned country, and carry out our revolution to the end. This must be explained clearly to all the working people.

Only when they know this clearly will they participate zealously in a popular movement for increased production and economization to create reserves.

Let us build up reserves of food, reserves of different kinds of commodities and reserves of gold. Such reserves will also facilitate foreign trade. Though we have set next year as a period of adjustment, we must launch a vigorous movement to build up reserves.

3. ON IMPROVING THE WORK OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES

This plenary meeting discussed ways to improve the work of the people's committee and adopted a related decision.

The major shortcoming in the work of our people's committee is that it has failed to reorganize its work in conformity with the new circumstances.

There are two new major factors which call for a change in the work of the people's committee.

One is that the socialist form of the economy has established its complete rule in the urban and rural communities.

Formerly, there were private merchants and manufacturers in towns, and a large number of private farmers in the countryside. The people's committee in those years guided the private sectors. But these sectors have now been transformed on socialist lines. The work of the people's committee, therefore, should change over from the system of giving guidance to private economic activities to that of directing the socialist economy.

In giving guidance to the rural community in the past, all that the people's committee had to do was to make information to the effect that they should work well or lead them, for instance, by encouraging them to plant more of certain crops. And the main duty of the people's committee in relation to the private merchants and industrialists was to collect taxes from them.

At present, all the countryside has been embraced by cooperativization, and all the factories and goods distribution network are now under socialist ownership. They are free from exploitation, and everything in them is serving the interests of the people. The socialist economy cannot be run spontaneously; it can only be developed in a planned way. Precisely for this reason, the economy under socialist system expands continuously at a high rate, and the people's living standard rises without respite.

This superiority of the socialist economy, however, will not find its expression unless it is managed carefully according to a plan. If our people's committees do not organize the socialist economy directly, but leave it to drift on its own as they used to in the days of the private economy, vegetable supplies will run short at once; meat, too, would run out of supply, and factories and enterprises will come to a standstill.

That is why it is now very important that the people's committees change their work in such a way as to organize and run the socialist economy properly.

Another new factor that makes things different from what they used to be is that the scope of economic work under the guidance of the provincial and county people's committees has expanded greatly in terms of quantity.

In former days, many of the factories and enterprises were under the supervision of the central authority, and few were under the guidance of the provincial and county people's committees.

But at present, provincial authority has been extended, and local people's committees have acquired wide-ranging powers to direct economic organization and management. There is a lot of work which must be undertaken directly by local government bodies such as the work of goods distribution, agricultural cooperatives, provincial and county stock farms, local industry, irrigation, construction, town management and so on. At present, the output value of industries under the supervision of a province is equivalent to that produced in the past under the jurisdiction of the People's Committee of North Korea. Similar is the situation in education and culture; all these functions have become the responsibility of local people's committees, with the exception of a number of universities which remain under the direct control of the Ministry of Education and a few other institutions under the central authority.

When the economy was small you might have been able to run it even without a definite plan; but today you will hardly be able to run our huge economy by a rule of thumb.

These new circumstances have come into being in the course of economic development and progress in socialist construction in our country; but our people's committees have not yet reorganized their work in keeping with the new situation. This is our major weakness.

The considerable decrease in the sown areas this year is also due to this weakness. In the former days when the land was under the direct control of the central authority, there was nothing extraordinary; but with the responsibility to supervise the land transferred to their hands, the provincial authorities indiscriminately allowed much of it to lie idle and failed to ensure that all the area was sown with crops as planned.

The practical economic guidance qualifications of the officials of people's committees are at a very low level. In spite of their responsibility to direct factories, they even do not know what the term cost of production means and what goods distribution implies. This explains why they are even unable to work out a plan properly.

Recently, when inspecting Onchon County, I found that they had been planning goods distribution without taking into consideration the purchasing power of the farmers, their demands and living standard.

When the county people's committees draw up an agricultural plan, none of their officials go down to the ri to learn about the actual situation there, how many cattle and carts are available, how many men and women make up the work force, or how much good and bad land they have. They just calculate the tonnage of crops to be produced in accordance with available data on the area of cultivated land and the total strength of the work force and set it down as their planned target. What sort of guidance or organizing work is this?

It might be somewhat too much to say that the county people's committees do not have any plans. They do have, but their plans are nothing but mechanical allotments for the ri from the quotas sent down from the province, quotas which have also been mechanically based on the target determined by the central authority.

If they can get along in this way, planning would be very simple, and the county people's committee could dispense with the planning commission.

Some counties are doing without the chairmen of the planning commissions. Quite a few provincial people's committees, too, are working without them. In consequence, county and provincial people's committees are working without any clear-cut plans; I would say they are just drifting about.

Leading officials of provincial people's committees are busy driving around, just urging people to do one thing after another, but they do not try to examine or think about why things are not going smoothly. Guidance would only be rewarding when it is used to

pinpoint shortcomings and correct them, and to identify good things and help to develop them further. Otherwise you would only be wasting gasoline by driving about aimlessly.

All this is due to lack of planning. Even where there are plans, these are irrational. Plans are drafted carelessly at counties and then forwarded to provinces which in turn endorse them without analysing them seriously and then submit them to the central leadership. Based on such careless work, the central leadership drafts its plan. How can such a plan be reliable?

The State Planning Commission has never worked out a correct plan for the rural economy. The blame for this must be laid at the door of the county people's committees and the provincial people's committees, as well as the State Planning Commission. You must understand this.

What is most important today is to enhance the functions of local government bodies in economic organization, and raise their level of planning in particular.

There are differences between the laws governing the development of socialist and capitalist economies. Now that the socialist form of the economy is completely dominant, the economy in our country can only be developed by means of planned production, planned accumulation, and planned consumption. In short, the socialist economy can only be managed and developed in a planned way.

Then, who is to make the plans and organize the work to implement them? It must be the people's committees. In building socialism, planning and organizing the economy is one of the essential duties of the people's committees.

But provincial and county people's committees are not clearly aware of their functions as economic organizers.

The provincial people's committees must perform the functions related to guidance on the one hand, and, on the other, those related to organization and operation. They should directly organize the work of the provincial stock farms and factories and operate them, and in relation to the counties they should give guidance.

In contrast, the county people's committees must perform the functions related to organization and operation because they are the units responsible for the implementation of Party policy.

Suppose that in a county there are 20 agricultural cooperatives, a stock farm, an iron works, a textile mill, schools and hospitals. Then, all these must be organized and operated directly by the county people's committee.

Since the functions related to guidance and organization are not identical, the two concepts must have different applications. It must be clearly understood that the county, unlike the province, is a directly organizing unit.

If they are to enhance their organizing and guidance functions, the provincial and county people's committees must improve the work of their planning commissions. The planning commission must assume the role of the staff of a people's committee.

However energetic he may be, the chairman of the county people's committee alone would be unable to cope with the planning and all other work. It is imperative that the specialists who are assigned to the planning commission should work out effective plans and keep the chairman of the county people's committee informed about their implementation so that he would be in a position to take the necessary measures.

Wherever there is a planned economy, things will not run smoothly without a planning commission. In provinces and counties, too, they would be unable to strengthen their organizing and guidance functions in economic construction unless they improve the work of their planning commissions.

What kind of people should the planning commission be staffed with? The workers of this commission must have knowledge about agriculture and must know how to organize and run local industry, in other words, the work we are doing. First of all, they must know well the actual conditions of our country.

Planning commissions, however, are staffed with middle school graduates who know nothing about production and technology. They

do not know how to raise cattle or pigs, how to take care of fruit trees, or how to distinguish between rice and barnyard grass. Since the planning work is left in the care of such comrades, it is obvious that the work will go wrong.

Worse still, people's committee chairmen regard the work of planning commissions as something of a secondary nature; they always send the chairmen of these commissions on official trips away from their own jobs. This has, in fact, reduced the planning commissions to a nominal existence as far as the county people's committees are concerned.

In Onchon County, the chairman of the planning commission has been allowed to do his own job only for a month out of the ten months since January; for the rest of the time, he was ordered to do what they called rush work or to go away on official trips. So he knows nothing about planning.

The primary task before us today is to strengthen the planning commissions of the county and provincial people's committees. The counties should thus work out feasible plans on the basis of meticulous calculation of the work force and the means of production.

A plan mapped out by the rule of thumb within the confines of an office would not conform with reality. This explains why the rural economy statistics swell at one time and shrink at another. The spoken words of the provincial Party committee chairman are taken as planned figures. So after a night's sleep the figures rise, and when another night passes they drop. This, after all, means that there is no planning in agriculture. There is a lot of talk about planning, but the rural economy is still allowed to drift aimlessly; it is managed carelessly.

Agriculture, construction, and goods distribution should all be planned correctly.

In a nutshell, the foremost task in improving the work of the people's committee today is to convince the county people's committee of its functions as economic organizer and to strengthen the work of the planning commission.

4. ON CREATING FORESTS OF ECONOMIC VALUE

This plenary meeting discussed the question of planting forests of economic value, the third item on the agenda.

Why is this question so important at present?

As I explained previously, our country has a very small area of cultivated land. Bulgaria, for instance, has five million hectares for its population of some eight million, and Hungary 5.5 million for its 10 million population. Czechoslovakia, too, has more than five million for its population of approximately 13 million. We are the smallest of the socialist countries in terms of cultivated land.

We must, therefore, not try to obtain raw materials for oil and fibre from farmland only.

So there is a saying dating back to the time of our forefathers that mountains should be exploited. We, too, put up a similar slogan a long time ago. Effective use of mountains is very important for us. Only if we make a good use of mountains which account for most of the land area of our country, would we be able to derive a great deal of wealth from them.

We started a movement to plant 100,000 hectares of apple orchards and have already planted some 70,000 hectares. If we harvest 10 tons of apples per hectares, five to six years after reaching the target of 100,000 hectares, we would be able to produce one million tons of apple per year. This is a great amount. We would be able to exchange them for grain or meat or eggs.

Recently, together with foreign guests, we inspected Pukchong and found the apple crops there excellent. An apple tree bore 14,000 fruits, and this means more than one ton of harvest from a single tree. Moreover, all those apple trees had been planted on very steep hills.

And the people over there were continuing to reclaim mountains. So I pointed out that the Pukchong people were the first to start exploiting mountains. They are leading the others, so to speak. Apart from such mountains, we have plenty of land suitable for apple orchards on the western coast.

In some countries they are working hard to reclaim virgin land, but we must reclaim mountains. We are going to reach the target of 100,000 hectares within the near future and then expand the area further.

But if we plant too many apple orchards, we will find it difficult to take good care of them. So we are now planning to try planting other kinds of fruit trees. Chestnut, walnut, paulownia, pine-nut, and apricot trees, if planted in large quantities, will give us both fruit and a lot of oil. Since their cultivation does not require so much labour as apple orchards, they will become a very valuable property with a few years after being planted.

This plenary meeting decided to plant such trees in some 200,000 hectares. Then, in approximately ten years they will yield an enormous amount of fruits which will be used to mass-produce good oil.

Furthermore, effective use of mountains is also important in obtaining fibre. Poplars grow very rapidly. Plant them in 300,000 hectares, and in several years they will give us raw material to produce staple fibre, rayon yarn and paper. In this way, we would be able to resolve the problem of fibre, even if we do not cultivate cotton. And this is not too a difficult work. This can be done by sharing the work between factories and other enterprises, state institutions, and agricultural cooperatives.

We must vigorously launch the movement to plant some 500,000 hectares of productive forests, of which approximately 200,000 hectares should be devoted to oil-producing fruit trees, and some 300,000 to poplars and other trees from which fibre could be derived.

At present a widespread campaign is going on to conserve forests and prevent floods, but no measures are being taken to cushion the effects of typhoons. Trees, if planted carefully along the coast, would serve as a shelter belt. If they are planted now, they will prove to be

very useful in some ten years' time.

Since our forefathers have not done such things, we ought to do so much the more, ought we not? We must do these things for our future good and for the good of future generations.

The Democratic Youth League in particular should actively mobilize young people in this work. If it is left to agricultural cooperatives alone, it would not be successful. All factories and other workplaces, and schools should be assigned to plant a specific number of hectares with chestnut trees, a number of hectares with poplars, so on and so forth.

The planting of the forests of economic value is, of course, a project to be undertaken separately from the task of afforestation which is carried on every year. This should be continued.

It is already 15 years since our liberation. A decade is not too long a time. Had we started this project in 1946, we would by now have been harvesting the fruit. Needless to say, we could not afford to do it at that time, but now we must get down to it with determination.

In addition, I deem it necessary to re-emphasize the need to make good use of wild fruit which is abundant in our country. Local industry factories should strengthen the work of processing such fruit.

One thing you must be careful about in connection with the planting of productive forests is that you should refrain from allotting too much land to nurseries for saplings lest they should hamper the production of grain and vegetables. You must not encroach upon farmland in carrying out this task.

5. ON PARTY WORK

Finally, I would like to speak about Party work.

The key to the implementation of all the tasks we have discussed lies in our Party members doing a good job. If they work well, all the

tasks decided on at this plenary meeting would be carried out satisfactorily, and a new change would take place in our work in the period ahead.

If we are to work efficiently, we must first of all enhance our own understanding of Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Why did our officials fail to grasp the main objective in their work, why did they use more manpower against established policy, while paying little attention to increasing labour productivity, and why did they fail to make a correct estimate of the agricultural productive forces and manage the rural economy haphazardly? That is entirely because they lack the economic knowledge involved in building socialism.

All our Party members are fine people; they are enthusiastic about their work. Nevertheless, they frequently make mistakes because they do not know how to analyse their work scientifically.

Our acquiring the ability to analyse work and getting ourselves versed in it means, after all, enhancing our understanding of Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Our Party is young, and its members have not gone through a very long period of education; consequently many of them still lack the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.

That is why they do not know what is contrary to Marxist-Leninist principles, and are incapable of making a correct analysis of their work on the basis of these principles

All our Party policies are creative applications of these principles in a way which is suitable to our specific conditions. Precisely for this reason our Party's policies are correct and have a great vitality. The problem is that our officials are not able to accept Party policies correctly and understand them on account of their inadequate understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

We have already established a good social system, and our society is developing very quickly. But those who have to run this society have a low level of technical qualifications. In other words, the operators are not well-informed of the machines which they are operating. If he is to

drive his car skilfully, an automobile driver must have full knowledge about the structure of his machine and the method of its operation. Not well acquainted with the society which they are to run, however, our comrades would not know what is wrong when their work is not going successfully. For example, they are ignorant of the essentials of a planned economy. As a result, they consider that it would suffice just to make a plan and to set a target, by compiling figures that come into their mind.

In order to become excellent drivers capable of developing our society rapidly, they must know the laws which regulate our social progress. The Party formulates all its policies and gives its members concrete fighting tasks, in accordance with the laws of social progress. This is the very source of the unconquerable power of a Marxist-Leninist party. But how could Party members responsible for the implementation of its policies struggle successfully without having a good knowledge of the laws of social progress?

Studying, therefore, is most important for us at present. The whole Party must study Marxism-Leninism. In order to judge all things and phenomena from the dialectical viewpoint of materialism and in order to understand the laws of social progress correctly, they must study Marxist philosophy. And in order to understand the laws governing the development of socialist economy, they must study political economy.

Our national economic plan is based on the laws of socialist economy. So it would be impossible to run the national economy in a planned way without having a good understanding of the economic laws and categories such as the basic law of socialist economy, the law of planned and balanced development of the national economy, socialist production of commodities, the question of cost-accounting system and profits, the question of production costs and prices, and the theory of extended reproduction under socialism.

In view of this, there are shortcomings in our education, that is, our education is divorced from reality. Our education has not yet got rid completely of the outdated rut of dogmatism which fills Party members with knowledge far divorced from reality, instead of

imparting to them knowledge badly needed to solve practical problems. Many comrades are afraid of studying because they are always told stories which are difficult or impossible to understand.

A lecture which is divorced from reality is not only difficult to digest, but uninteresting. If every question is well explained in the context of our situation, nothing would be difficult to understand. At present, we ourselves are all participating in the revolution and building socialism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The problem is that our workers are not well acquainted with the principles on which they are working, though they are making a revolution and building socialism in practice. Therefore, Marxist-Leninist principles should be well explained to the working people in relation to their lives. In this way they would be understood clearly.

It is wrong to present theories as something mysterious. Originally, a theory was evolved from practice. No theory would be incomprehensible to us who are engaged in the revolution in practice.

The aim of our theoretical study is to get a more accurate and profound idea of the questions confronting us in our practice. Only when we have theoretical knowledge would we be able to understand Party policy more profoundly and develop work creatively beyond the narrow limitations of our own experience.

Our revolutionary tasks are very complex and difficult. We must not only build socialism in the northern half but reunify the country peacefully. If we are to carry out these complicated and difficult tasks successfully, we must study more.

Every one without exception must study to become an expert in running this new society we have established and to advance more quickly.

One other thing. If they are to become competent masters of the new society, our officials must acquire a revolutionary thought and a work method worthy of a communist.

Because of inexperience in revolutionary struggle and insufficient Marxist-Leninist education, many of our cadres have not thoroughly acquired a revolutionary viewpoint and work method whereby they

consider and deal with all questions in a revolutionary way.

What is meant by the revolutionary work method? It means the method of relying on the strength of the masses. We must learn from the masses and derive our strength from the masses.

Recently we visited the Sangyang Agricultural Cooperative with provincial Party committee chairmen to discuss the question of rabbit breeding with the active Party members there. At that time all the comrades who were out there were moved by the words of an old woman who was present.

She was from the family of a man killed by the enemy. Her son was teaching at the Kang Kon Military Academy, and her daughter, nephew and grandsons were now living with her, making up a family of four or five. She was working hard and also doing a good part-time job, and her livelihood was very good. This year she has already fattened a pig to the weight of 80 kilogrammes for the market, and she is growing another which is now some 70 kilogrammes in weight. She is also breeding seven or eight rabbits and scores of chickens. She said that the families of martyrs like herself should do more work than anyone else. Our Party is inspired and strengthened by such people.

Let me give you another example. It happened in 1956 when the Party was in a great difficulty because of the attack by the anti-Party factionalists. Accompanied by several comrades, I dropped in on an agricultural cooperative on our way to Nampho for the election to the Supreme People's Assembly. All the members of the cooperative were hilarious, singing and dancing. At that time an old woman with a baby on her back came close to me and said, "General, please don't worry too much. Now we're pretty well-off." In this way the masses trusted our Party and encouraged us even when the anti-Party factionalists were attacking our Party saying that it was indifferent to the livelihood of the people. We are deriving great strength from such trust the masses place in us and from their encouragement.

In the period of 1956-57 we were in a great difficulty. In those years materials, funds and many other things were in short supply, and quite a few people said it would be impossible to carry out the First

Five-Year Plan. To make the matter worse, Syngman Rhee was bent on clamouring for a “march north” and fanned a revolt in north Korea over the radio almost every day. And taking advantage of the Hungarian incident, the international reactionaries were making much ado about the collapse of communism.

In this situation we had to combat the anti-Party counterrevolutionaries on the one hand, and, on the other, push forward with economic construction more vigorously to improve the living standard of the people rapidly. At this moment the Party Central Committee resolved to discuss the matter directly with the workers in order to find a way out of the difficulties. So each of our leadership cadres took charge of one or two provinces and went out to factories. Then, I went to the Kangson Steel Plant.

We frankly told the workers that our situation was difficult. We said: “Syngman Rhee is now threatening to launch a ‘march north’ campaign, and the anti-Party factionalists are trying to overthrow the Party Central Committee; we cannot just sit doing nothing when Syngman Rhee is going to attack us and when the anti-Party elements are scheming to upset the Party Central Committee; we must fight them and defend the achievements of the revolution; and in order to fight we must strengthen the material foundations and build more houses and more factories; this requires a great deal of steel, but we are very short of steel, and you must produce more steel.”

Then, the workers said that if that was the situation and if that was the Party’s requirement, they would do it, come what may, and resolved to produce more steel than anticipated in the state plan. The workers at the blooming shop, which had been said to be capable of producing no more than 60,000 tons of steel, decided that they would produce 90,000 tons. In fact, they produced 120,000 tons that year. This precisely is where our strength lies.

In over 15 years during which we were fighting the Japanese in the mountains, the situation was very difficult. With a small revolutionary armed force we fought the formidable Japanese imperialist army. Although our strength was not great, we never lost our confidence in

victory. In those years, too, we always derived our strength from the masses. They actively supported us, saying that the Japanese would inevitably fail.

Why am I telling this? Because I want to stress the need for us to go among the masses and learn from their revolutionary thought and their way of thinking.

We are also studying the revolutionary traditions in order to learn from the revolutionary spirit demonstrated by the anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners. In those days we struggled for national liberation against Japanese imperialism, and now we are building socialism. So the situation now is somewhat different. But we must learn to acquire Marxist-Leninist thought and the way of thinking from the revolutionaries of those days. Only then would we be confident of victory and able to judge all problems correctly. Only then would we be able to firmly unite with the revolutionary masses and advance steadily whatever the difficulties.

Depending on the masses does not mean on any account relying on some sort of public opinion. There are people who disparage our cause. Particularly in a difficult period, many will waver and many will try to find fault with us. Since a revolution is a venture to overthrow the outdated and create the new, the resistance from the old force is inevitable.

When we were fighting the Japanese, they and the landlords called us “bandits”, whereas the people hailed us as a revolutionary army. We have nothing to fear from the wicked who abuse us. That is why we must prudently analyse the class basis of a public opinion.

In mounting a revolution, we must never rely on the opinion of people who falter; we must listen to the voice of the former poor peasants and hired farm hands in the countryside, and to the voice of the working class in the urban community. They always support us. Those who are now grumbling and trying to spread misleading complaints that they are badly off and what not, are people who are steeped in outdated petty-bourgeois ideas. In the final analysis, they are people who were well-to-do in former days. These people grumble

at every possible opportunity, and vacillate no sooner than they are confronted with a little difficulty. But the workers and peasants who formerly lived in poverty, are now better off and satisfied; they have nothing to complain about. They know how to overcome hardship and are unyieldingly struggling to carry out the revolution. We must depend on these masses.

Furthermore, what is important in Party work is to unite the revolutionary masses and educate them at all times.

The circumstances in our country are much more complicated than in other countries. Many complications arise, first of all, from the fact that our country is divided into north and south. We are one nation, but the south is under the occupation of the US imperialists and governed by a puppet regime of capitalists and landlords, whereas in the north there is the government of workers and farmers. A sharp class struggle is going on between the two.

During the three years of the Fatherland Liberation War we waged an armed struggle against the enemy. They are still trying to destroy our government; we are struggling to liberate the people from the rule of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. There are no direct conflicts, but in fact a class struggle to decide who will conquer whom is still going on.

We must know that the enemy is ceaselessly manoeuvring to undermine us politically. They are rabid in their subversive and disruptive moves. They are continuously infiltrating spies into our ranks, breeding them in large numbers. The Yankees do not care at all about their spies' lives even if we arrest and execute them. They have no reason why they should feel sorry for the death of Koreans. So the enemy continues to send in subverters and saboteurs.

They dispatch spies on missions to spread misleading information to make people suspicious of one another. Though they can anticipate that their spies would be captured by our internal security men, they send them on missions to the northern half to get in touch with this or that man. Their attempt is to make us suspect people, fooled by the fact that the Yankees and Syngman Rhee send spies to make contact with

these people. The enemy is trying to cause distrust among ourselves in this way so that we would turn on each other. All this is a wicked plot by the enemy to undermine us by taking advantage of the partition of our country.

Though the country is partitioned, many people in the north have relatives in the south. In this context, if the relatives in south Korea are not involved in wicked doings, there would not be any problem. But some might become officials in the service of Syngman Rhee's ruling machinery or do wicked things in the puppet army. This sort of thing might also cause mistrust and rumours that someone's relative is doing something for Syngman Rhee "regime". But how can a man in the north be responsible for the acts of his relative in the south?

Intricate problems also arise with the families of those who have gone over to the south. One might assume that those who have deserted their families to flee to the south after committing crimes in the north would do the same in south Korea, too. But this is not the only possibility; there is a room to assume otherwise. Although a man was bad before he fled to the south, he might have regretted it if he had to beg around, and might have joined the struggle against the landlords and capitalists.

There are other complexities left over from the past. Our country was long under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. At that time Koreans were compelled to serve the Japanese in order to earn a living. Some of them, therefore, served in educational institutions and some worked as sub-county clerks.

In view of the fact that the enemy organized the "peace maintenance corps" and a host of other things in the north during their 40 days of occupation in the course of the war, it is obvious that in the 36 long years of Japanese imperialist rule there must have been much more complicated happenings. Many Korean youths were forced by the Japanese into what they called the "civilian guards" and they stood sentry under the threat that if they disobey they would be charged as "Reds" and executed. These things were not done willingly, but mostly to avoid persecution by the wicked Japanese.

The same can be said of the happenings during the time of retreat. At that time, staunch comrades fought heroically, overcoming all sorts of hardships. True, those who participated in the “peace maintenance corps” or vacillated one way or another were not stalwart people. But under the circumstances it was possible that they behaved like that in order to survive. Had we educated people well before the war, more people would have fought staunchly during the retreat. Needless to say, it would have been difficult to educate all the masses like that only in the four to five years after liberation. But, anyhow, it is a fact that education was inadequate.

Nevertheless, some comrades are too particular about those who stayed behind during the retreat. They need not be so. If those who did not retreat had committed crimes against us, their case would be different. But, considering that many of the north Korean people were unable to retreat, we should not take issue with them.

In our country we have many extremely complicated questions such as those caused by the division of the country into north and south, or originating from the years of Japanese imperialist rule and the time of temporary retreat. Almost none of us is completely free from involvement in such complications.

If we find fault with all these and other factors, very few people would find themselves faultless. As I always say, the aim of the communist movement is to lead the masses to prosperity. To this end, we must unite them and mobilize their efforts in the fulfillment of the revolutionary tasks. If we dismiss the masses for one reason or another, few would remain to embrace communism.

This is no way to build communism. Nor would we be able to build communism on an island just by taking a few pure people with us. We must build a new life on this land, without fail, together with the masses and relying on their strength.

If we are to do this, we must transform the people who are considered questionable for this or that reason, and advance hand in hand with them. They are the people who can stand on our side.

Our enemies are the Japanese and US imperialists and the traitorous

Syngman Rhee clique who have driven these people into such a position. Fundamentally speaking, the partition of our country was caused by the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. All our efforts, therefore, should be concentrated on the struggle against them.

We cannot compromise with those who undermine our cause of building socialism and work against our policy. But we cannot allow ourselves to forsake a man who says, "I was wrong both in the years of Japanese imperialism and during the temporary enemy occupation, but now I support socialism and support communism. Whether or not I have my relatives in south Korea, I will follow you."

We are striving to persuade, re-educate and win over even those people in south Korea who are opposed to us at present. Why should we reject the people in north Korea who want to follow us?

We must win over many people and educate them to support communism.

Some of them may not support communism on any account. We need not oppose even such people so long as they refrain from opposing what we are doing. If anyone says: "I do not support communism, but I will join you in the struggle until the north and the south are reunified," we should join hands with him, too.

As the chairman of the Yonan County Party Committee said in his speech yesterday, South Hwanghae Province now seems to have been moving on the right track. The major shortcoming in the work of Yonan County in the past was the failure to win over the masses.

The chairmen of the county Party committees or county people's committees will be unable to do their jobs properly unless they trust the masses. They should believe in the masses, constantly educate them and rally them around the Party. Of course, there may be a few undesirable elements lurking among the masses. But their number would not be more than one in several thousands.

In order to combat a handful of counter-revolutionaries, we must trust the masses and win them over. If we win them over, undesirable elements would find it impossible to hide among them.

Without placing our confidence in the masses, we would be unable to educate and reform them. We must begin with the people of complicated origin within our Party and patiently educate and transform them. Even immediately after liberation when the number of communists was very small, we tried to admit many people into the Party and educate them. Now that our Party has been strengthened by war and the ranks of the communist hard core have grown a lot stronger, why cannot we transform all its members in a communist way? We can do it.

Today, our capacity is incomparably larger than it was immediately after liberation. We can accommodate all of its one million members and imbue them with a communist ideology.

Some of them, of course, would become communist relatively more quickly, and for others it would take a very long time to get imbued with communist ideology. Still others would not get imbued however hard we might try. Those who, despite our efforts, refuse to be educated must be people who just happen to be among us by chance—undesirable elements. These elements must be singled out.

At present, in the struggle against counter-revolution some of our workers tend to be too suspicious of people. I say those who do not trust the masses are people who are fit only to live in isolation. We must first trust people and unite with them.

There is only one principle. A person coming from complex environments should be judged on his own merits. If his idea is good, then he is acceptable, whatever his background. We must verify whether he himself is loyal to the Party or not. And even people who lag behind a little ideologically, should be educated, reformed and given work.

At present, some comrades say that there are many people of complicated origin in the county people's committees and that they should be replaced. But even if they are replaced with new people, as these comrades suggest, the problem would not be resolved. If they investigate the backgrounds of the new people, new doubts related to their relatives and friends would be raised. This would not resolve

anything. Chairmen of county Party committees in particular should be careful about this matter.

What we need at present is education and unity. All the revolutionary masses must be united closely around our Party.

Our Party reforms both the masses and its members mainly by educating them. What should we do with those who make mistakes? We should criticize them. Closing our eyes to, or compromising with, mistakes are alien to education. Criticism is a method of education. Thinking that criticism is something bad, some comrades do not criticize their fellow workers, even when they are aware of their mistakes. After failing to criticize them, talk to them and educate them, it would be useless to feel sorry for them only when they have really slipped into an abyss.

It is probable that people make mistakes. No man is infallible. Our cadres are liable to make many mistakes of one sort or another particularly because of their low level of political consciousness and lack of revolutionary training. Of course, the most important thing is to take measures to prevent people from committing errors. But once a mistake is made, it should be corrected immediately through uncompromising criticism. The point is that a mistake must be corrected promptly and prevented from occurring again. Failing to criticize is bad and so is firing people immediately after criticizing them. Mistakes should be criticized and made known to people clearly, but discipline should be lenient.

In conclusion, I would like to speak about the need to strengthen Party leadership in all spheres.

This year we have inspected many areas of work and strongly felt the need to strengthen Party guidance in all sectors of the national economy.

Both in the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Kangson Steel Plant we did find that Party guidance was weak throughout. Probably the one-man management system had given rise to bureaucracy which the men in charge of administration were using to override even Party organizations.

The former manager of the Kangson Steel Plant, too, committed this kind of error.

As they are out of Party control, managers indulge in bureaucracy, failing to hear carefully the opinions of their subordinates, and no one can criticize them even if they do not implement Party policy correctly, and lead dissipated lives.

This tendency is manifest also in local government bodies. Chairmen of provincial and county people's committees who are dissipated and negligent of their jobs, are not controlled by Party committees. As a result, many people become involved in mistakes, and precious people often become useless.

The term "control" is not much to the liking of some comrades. There is no great difference in the meaning of "guidance" and "control". Why should Party control, not individual control, sound offensive to them? Party control means precisely the control of the masses of Party members. I think there is no reason why they should dislike the term "Party control" if they have a revolutionary viewpoint with regard to the masses.

Party guidance does not imply guidance given by any individual chairman of a county Party committee. It means the collective guidance of the organization which is called the Party. In other words, it means that all Party members obey the Party organization.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of our Party has adopted a policy for further strengthening Party guidance. The people's committees should operate under the control of the corresponding executive committees of the provincial, municipal and county Party committees, and the factories should do all their work under the guidance of the factory Party committees.

The highest leadership of a factory is not the manager, but the factory Party committee. The manager and the Party committee chairman are to work under the guidance of the factory Party committee. The factory Party committee should discuss economic affairs, too, the manager should do administrative work and the factory Party committee chairman Party work in accordance with Party

committee decisions. This does not mean on any account that the one-man management system has been abolished. But the manager should work under the guidance of the factory Party committee, and this would do.

The factory Party committee should discuss the Cabinet decisions and ministerial orders, but it has no authority to reject them; it has only the duty to implement them. When it has a different opinion, it should submit it to the Party Central Committee for an answer.

The Party committee chairman who is to organize and run a factory Party committee, has a very heavy responsibility. Therefore, the level of factory Party committee chairmen should be enhanced, and those who have a good knowledge of industrial affairs should be assigned to work as chairmen.

Besides, the provincial and county Party committees must comprise members who are well-versed in production matters. At present, since the executive committee of a county Party committee consists only of Party workers such as the county Party committee chairman, vice-chairmen, the chiefs of organizational and information departments, the activity of the executive committee is limited to internal-Party work, and the committee is inefficient in giving guidance in economic work.

Today, our important revolutionary task is to build the economy successfully. The Party committee must give guidance in economic construction, and accordingly competent technicians and workers who are well informed about economic construction, must be on the Party committee. Only then would the Party committee be in a position to discuss all affairs and lead work efficiently.

This seems the best solution under our present circumstances. This has been introduced first in the People's Army on an experimental basis, and the result has been rewarding. I think it is advisable that other institutions, too, should strengthen Party guidance and control in this way.

This plenary meeting has a historic significance. Just as we did at the time of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting, we must meticulously

organize the implementation of the decisions of this plenary meeting and actively mobilize the conscious efforts and enthusiasm of the Party members and ensure that the whole Party carry out successfully the tasks of the adjustment period of 1960 in a high spirit.

This is the only way we can make full preparations for the successful realization of the Second Five-Year Plan which is of decisive significance in building socialism in our country.

THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA IS THE TRUE HOMETLAND OF KOREAN COMPATRIOTS IN JAPAN

Talk to the Compatriots Who Returned by the First Batch of Repatriation Ships

December 21, 1959

You had to go to a lot of trouble to come to the homeland. I am very happy that you have returned home and warmly welcome you back.

Having received the compatriots repatriated from Japan, today the whole country is in a festive mood. It is very delightful that our compatriots have met again and have come to live together after a long separation. I was told that you and those people who turned out to welcome you all wept. These were tears of joy and emotion.

In former days, our compatriots in Japan were a people dispossessed and they were a miserable lot. In the past, no one would come to their aid even though they were maltreated and starved. But today things are different. They now have a genuine homeland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The homeland fights in defence of their national rights and shows deep concern for their life. Our compatriots in Japan today have their own homeland and are the legitimate overseas citizens of the DPRK.

It is natural for our overseas compatriots to come home to their homeland. So it is also natural for the homeland to accept them. The people at home are duty bound to accept the compatriots in Japan warmly and the latter have the right to return home. When there was

not a country of their own, it was inevitable for our compatriots to live scattered in this or that country. Now that they have their own country, their own government and their own Party, those Koreans who were scattered overseas are justified in returning home and living together with the people in the homeland.

In the past, you had been subjected to racial discrimination and humiliation in an alien land. So I am sure you have come to realize clearly how precious the homeland is. We, too, lived in a foreign land when we had been deprived of our country by the Japanese imperialists. What was uppermost in our minds at that time was the yearning of the homeland.

We would like to welcome warmly those compatriots who return home from foreign countries and are making earnest efforts for their repatriation.

You have fought valiantly to return home and finally won. The repatriation of Koreans from Japan was realized thanks to the valiant struggle waged by Chongryon (The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) and the Koreans there and with the active support of the Japanese people.

Their repatriation represents a great victory on the part of our Party and people. It is also a victory for all socialist countries. World history knows no instance of such an exodus of overseas citizens from the so-called “free world” to a socialist country. Under the conditions existing in our country, partitioned into north and south, the mass repatriation of Korean nationals from Japan to the northern half of Korea, the socialist homeland, signifies not only a victory for our Party and people but also a victory for all socialist countries.

The repatriation of our compatriots from Japan to the north showed that only the DPRK defends the national rights of overseas compatriots and shows deep concern for their life, out of the genuine brotherly love. On the other hand, it fully exposed the Syngman Rhee puppet regime’s acts of selling the country in the eyes of the people all over the world.

The repatriation of Koreans from Japan exerted a great political

influence on the south Korean people and all the overseas compatriots. It gave our overseas compatriots great hopes and confidence and made them proud of being the legitimate citizens of their own country not as in the past when they had no place to go and no one to rely on. The repatriation of Koreans from Japan also raised the international prestige of our country and united overseas compatriots behind our Party and the Government of our Republic.

In the past, you had a hard time in Japan and fought in defence of the national rights. But from now on, you, together with the people at home, must work hard for the cause of socialist construction in the homeland. I think all of you are eager to devote yourselves to the country and to make it more splendid.

Our country is now under construction. Due to the war started by the US imperialists, everything in our country was destroyed and reduced to ashes. During the war, the US imperialists showered 18 bombs per square kilometre in the northern half of Korea. Having reduced our country to heaps of ashes, they said that Korea would not be able to raise her head above water again in a hundred years' time. However, we realized the Three-Year Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy after the war and rapidly rebuilt all its branches to the prewar level. The First Five-Year Plan whose main task was to lay the foundations for socialist industrialization was also realized in two and a half years in total industrial output value.

In this way, we rapidly reconstructed and developed the national economy which had remained backward in the past and which had been destroyed by the war, and raised the people's living standard significantly. But you would be wrong if you think construction in the homeland has been completed. Our life is not prosperous yet. We just attained a position whereby we are able to feed, clothe and house ourselves. Our people's living standard at the time of Japanese imperialist rule was likened to that of hired hands. After liberation, it reached the level of poor peasants. Now, we can say that it has reached that of middle peasants. Our people's living standard has not yet

attained the level of well-to-do middle peasants; we are striving to bring it up to that level.

Our socialist system is the most superior in the world. In our country, everyone has the right to work and guaranteed employment. On reaching the working age, everyone is provided with a job by the state, according to his ability and physical constitution. Besides providing jobs for those who can work, the state is also responsible for looking after disabled persons, old people who have no other means of support, and orphans. Therefore, in our country no one roams about hunting for a job and resorts to begging as in Japan and south Korea.

In our country, the state provides all the working people with conditions to obtain food, clothing and shelter. It is said that a few days ago, a 38-year-old woman with no shelter suffered from exposure and froze to death in Taegu, south Korea. But nothing like that happens in the north.

Everyone in this country is provided with opportunities for education. All our students, from primary school children to university students, now receive free education. In particular, with the introduction of compulsory secondary education, all children are studying, at the state's expenses, up to the middle-school level. The students of colleges and universities are also benefiting, with uniforms and scholarships being provided by the state. In the past, education was accessible only to the rich. But today everyone is given opportunities to learn. Therefore, you do not need to worry about the education of your sons and daughters.

As our population ratio indicates, our country ranks first in the world in the number of students. They account for one-fourth of the population. It is not because our country is wealthy that we give free education to this huge number of students. The state's burden of providing free education to the students is very heavy. However, in spite of this, we give education to the students, since we can only develop our once-backward country rapidly by educating all members of the new generation.

In our country the workers, farmers and other working people are

granted political freedom and rights. All the working people are entitled by right to participate directly in the elections to the organs of power and to be elected deputies to these organs at all levels.

Today in our country there are neither people who are well-off particularly nor people who are poor. Our people are equally well-off, free from worries about jobs, food, clothing or shelter.

Our Party's policy aims at making all people well-to-do equally.

Therefore, in developing the economy, too, we are to ensure that all people are equally fed, clad and housed. At present the capitalist countries are producing luxurious goods in large quantities. But we intend to make such goods a little later.

We are not yet in a position to lead a life of luxury and sumptuousness. It is only fifteen years since our country was freed from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and it is also not long since the war ended. Instead of leading a luxurious life, we must now make our country rich, strong and developed and strive to lay its economic foundations firmly in order to provide our people with a better life in the future. We are educating the people in this spirit.

I was told that after their return to the homeland, some of them said that there was no need to go on with construction work since everything had been built. But we are still a long way away from transforming our country into a developed, rich and strong nation. Factories and houses alone would not suffice.

We must transform our country, which had remained backward for thousands of years, into a socialist state, rich, strong and prosperous. And we must reunify our divided country, so that the people in the southern half, too, would be able to live all together as we are now with you. Therefore, we have a lot of work to do. You, too, must make a positive contribution to the nation-building: you who have knowledge, give your knowledge to it and you who have strength, give it strength.

We believe that you have returned home from Japan with such a resolution. The Party and Government will fully create the necessary conditions for you to put your determination into effect.

You can get jobs according to your wishes and abilities. Some

people seem to be worrying about jobs because they had no secure jobs and no particular skill while in Japan. But there is no reason for them to think so. Those with no skill may choose jobs which are suitable to their physical constitution and inclination. They would be able to learn while on the job.

Those who were engaged in the educational field in Japan may work in this field according to their wishes. Today in our country, preparations are under way to introduce universal nine-year compulsory technical education. The schools of all levels—from primary schools to universities—are steadily increasing. Therefore, many more teachers are needed.

The literary and art workers may engage themselves in literary and art activities in accordance with their wishes. The composers may compose music and poets write poems. In our country there are no such cases as literary and art workers losing their employment and begging for their food because their work is in little demand as in capitalist society. Our literary and art workers are adequately provided with every condition needed to give the fullest scope to their talents.

The students repatriated from Japan will be able to study at schools, with scholarships, school things and uniforms supplied by the state.

Traders and manufacturers will also be granted all necessary living conditions. Their properties will be placed under the legal protection of the state and no damage would be done to them. They may deposit their money in the bank or leave it at their disposal. They may sell their equipment to the state or work with it as members of producers' cooperatives and get profit shares according to the pooled equipment size. The state will provide the repatriated traders and manufacturers with houses. They may build houses independently if they wish to, and, in that case, the state will supply them with the necessary materials.

Today, no private traders and manufacturers exist in our country. All those people who had once been engaged in private trade and manufacture have freely joined the producers' cooperatives or

state-run factories and enterprises and are working there. Thus they now work and live a fruitful life as honourable socialist working people. If entrepreneurs or merchants engage themselves in physical labour, their social status would be changed and transformed.

The repatriated traders and manufacturers may choose jobs according to their wishes and abilities. Those people who were engaged in trade may work in the trading establishments and those people who managed enterprises may work at factories and enterprises or producers' cooperatives.

Those comrades who carried on political activity in Japan may continue with political work. They may work in the working people's organizations such as the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union, and economic establishments and government bodies. Since those comrades who engaged in political activity in Japan have rendered a good service to the Korean revolution, they justly deserve to be given preferential treatment. They may study at the Central Party School or the National Economy University.

In our country factory and office workers work eight hours a day and in the remaining hours they study and rest. Our Party considers studying to be a most important revolutionary task. In the homeland the entire Party, all the people and the entire army are now at their books. Full conditions are provided for studying while at work. So you must study hard while at work whether you work in factories or rural areas.

We will consider the families of those comrades who died while fighting for the homeland in Japan as the bereaved families of revolutionaries and take good care of them. We will offer them preferential learning opportunities and bring them up as fine people. In our country the sons and daughters of revolutionaries are studying at the schools for the bereaved children of revolutionaries under the special care of the state. The bereaved children of revolutionaries who have returned from Japan can also study at these schools.

If the Korean orphans and the old people who have no other means

of support return home, we would see to it that the former study at proper schools and the latter live in comfort for the rest of their days at homes for the aged. Our Party regards it as its national duty to look after the compatriots.

Our Party has proposed to the south Korean authorities that it was ready to have orphans and jobless people in south Korea transferred to the northern half and to guarantee them adequate living conditions and jobs. But the Syngman Rhee clique refuse to accept our Party's proposal, saying that it had only been made for "propaganda" purposes. But this was not true. Our proposal was sincere and it had emanated from our love and concern for our compatriots. The very fact that you returned home today, I think, is a good proof to show that our compatriotic proposal was not made for "information" purposes.

If the jobless people who are suffering in the south come over to the north, we would accept them with open arms and provide all of them with jobs. There are abundant natural resources to be developed and there is a lot of work to be done in socialist construction of the northern half of Korea. So, even if hundreds of thousands of jobless people were to come over to the north, we would provide all of them with jobs.

The Japanese reactionaries are said to have some doubts about how many compatriots in Japan we are able to absorb. We are in a position to accept all the 600,000 Korean nationals in Japan. We can accept them all, and give all of them jobs and guarantee them a secured life. Accepting the overseas compatriots to ensure them a secured life is possible only under our socialist system.

Some of the compatriots repatriated from Japan will be working in the capital and some others in local areas. But wherever you work in our country, it will be all right.

Everywhere there are factories, enterprises and cultural facilities. There are also nice houses and the electricity supply has been extended to all regions. Therefore, localities are as convenient as the capital. The repatriated compatriots can display their skills and abilities to the full and lead a secure life, even though they might be

posted to work in local districts.

We will never be indifferent to those compatriots who remain in Japan, unable to return home due to uncontrollable circumstances. Our Party and the Government of the Republic will continue to make efforts to protect the democratic, national rights of the Korean citizens in Japan and guarantee them good living conditions. And we will continue to forward educational aid funds and scholarships for the education of the sons and daughters of compatriots in Japan. We are in duty bound to educate the Korean students in Japan.

Today the repatriation of the compatriots from Japan to their homeland is open. But the enemies are making a desperate effort to block it. Of late, they have resorted to all sorts of manoeuvres, including setting of terrorists on the loose, to prevent our compatriots in Japan from returning home. And they even attempted to explode the repatriation ships. We must keep a strict vigilance against hostile activities and protect the repatriation ships. If our vigilance were to be relaxed, accidents might take place.

The reunification of the country is the greatest task confronting our people at present.

In order to accomplish this task, we must accelerate socialist construction in the northern half of Korea. Only then would we be able to consolidate the revolutionary base in the north and make full preparations to cope with the great revolutionary event—national reunification.

The question of reunifying our country is related to that of driving the US imperialists out of south Korea. When the world revolutionary forces are further strengthened and the US imperialists driven into a blind alley everywhere in the world, their foothold in south Korea will be weakened still further and our country's reunification achieved more quickly. Therefore, we should strive to strengthen the international revolutionary forces and consolidate our solidarity with them, while also consolidating the revolutionary forces in the north.

Our country will certainly be reunified. It is a law of historic development that imperialism is to collapse. The Japanese imperialists

seemed strong in the past but they were defeated after all. The US imperialists, too, will go under before long.

We must be fully prepared to mark the great revolutionary event of national reunification victoriously.

Let us all join our strength together and build a splendid socialist fatherland.

