# KIM IL SUNG WORKS

#### WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

## KIM IL SUNG works 12

January–December 1958

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE PYONGYANG, KOREA 1983

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#### **NEW YEAR ADDRESS**

January 1, 1958

Dear comrades and friends,

Having seen out the significant year of 1957 and on welcoming in the new year 1958, I would like to offer, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, my warm felicitations to you.

1957 was a year of brilliant victory for us. Today our people are looking back upon last year's grand success and achievements with great joy and pride.

Last year they reconstructed completely the severely devastated national economy, and entered a new stage of socialist economic development.

In carrying out the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, remarkable changes took place in our people's life.

All the people have rallied more closely around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and their political enthusiasm has reached an unprecedented level. Our working people in all fields of the national economy displayed unparalleled creativity and performed feats in their work. The struggle for increased production and economical management has evolved into a mass, nationwide movement in the true sense of the word.

The shining victory in the Second Supreme People's Assembly election showed how fervently the masses love and trust the Party and

the Government, and demonstrated their high degree of political enthusiasm.

We achieved a remarkable success in the fulfilment of the assignments for 1957, the first year of the First Five-Year Plan.

Industrial output last year increased by more than 40 per cent over the previous year, surpassing the prewar level by 180 per cent. All ministries and industries, without exception, exceeded their industrial production targets.

In 1957, the total grain output grew to 3.2 million tons which was an increase of nearly 400,000 tons compared with the preceding year. Every province exceeded its grain production target.

In town and country the economic foundations of socialism have been further consolidated. The socialist cooperativization of agriculture in our country is nearing victorious conclusion. Ninety-five per cent of all the peasant households have already been affiliated with agricultural cooperatives.

All this represents the great victory our people won last year.

Our country is now advancing vigorously along the road of socialism. Our people's life has become more happy and pleasant in all aspects.

Last year, we encountered many difficulties in economic construction. The US aggressors and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique resorted to all sorts of slander and abuse, and intensified their subversive and sabotaging activities in order to undermine socialist construction in the northern half of Korea.

No difficulty, no obstacle, however, could check our advance. Our people defeated the enemy's desperate offensive, and heroically overcame all difficulties arising in economic construction.

The big success and victories we achieved in 1957 demonstrate the great vitality of the policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and the inexhaustible creative ability of our people. They also encourage our people to confirm their conviction of a bright future and to stimulate their sense of national pride.

Today we have new possibilities of rapidly developing the national

economy and further improving the people's living standard.

On this basis, the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea decided on an average ten per cent increase in the basic wages of all factory and office workers from January 1958. This is another proof that our working people's life is improving steadily.

I send warm felicitations and thanks to our workers, peasants and the rest of the people who scored great achievements in their struggle for socialist construction.

Internationally, too, 1957 was a year replete with great victories for the forces of peace and socialism.

All the international events last year have shown that at present socialism is winning a decisive victory in the world arena.

The Soviet people registered history-making results in the building of communism, and the Soviet Union grew stronger. She completed the development of an intercontinental ballistic missile and launched two man-made earth satellites for the first time in the world.

In all the People's Democracies the national economy made rapid progress and the people's living conditions changed for the better.

The socialist camp including the Soviet Union and the world communist movement rebuffed the offensive of international reaction and united more firmly under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In 1957, progressive people throughout the world commemorated grandly the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The commemoration of this occasion and the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties both held in Moscow displayed the unbreakable unity of the socialist camp and the internationalist solidarity of the world communist movement.

On behalf of all the Korean people, I extend sincere felicitations to our friends of the Soviet Union and all other fraternal countries for their great victories. We wish them greater success in the new year. The Korean people will, in the future too, strive for closer friendship and solidarity with them.

Comrades,

1958 will be a year of greater victories for us. The Korean people have no doubts about this. We all greet the new year with clear prospects and firm confidence in victory.

Our national economy will develop to a higher level, and the people's living standard will be further improved.

The 1958 national economic plan envisages that the total industrial output value would grow by over 22 per cent and the total grain yield by some 2 per cent compared with 1957. This year, in urban and rural areas, we must build new houses with a total floor space of more than 4 million square metres, and many educational and cultural establishments as well.

Success in the 1958 assignments would bring us onto a height to realize the Five-Year Plan.

We should scale such a height without fail in the new year.

Of course, it is not an easy task. But the Korean people would undoubtedly exceed this year's targets as they did last year.

The policies of our Party and Government are correct and all the people support them unanimously. The Party, the Government and the people are united in an unbreakable manner. And this unity will become more solid in future. The patriotic enthusiasm of the masses is soaring, and their creative ability is being brought into play more fully. We went through the precious experience of reconstructing the seriously destroyed economy and of pushing it forward last year to a higher level of development. We now have our own foundations for socialist industry and cooperativized socialist agriculture.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries are also giving us support and encouragement.

We are confident that 1958 will bring about immense progress in the socialist construction of the Korean people.

The colonial, predatory policy of the US imperialists and the reactionary rule of the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique in south Korea are now collapsing, and their plight will become worse in future.

The south Korean people are ushering in the New Year amidst unbearable sufferings. Year after year, their misfortunes increase still further. The broad sections of the masses realize very well that they will not be able to live any longer under the domination of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.

In south Korea, the patriotic forces aspiring for the peaceful reunification of the country are growing in strength.

We firmly believe that encouraged by socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, the workers, peasants and all other patriotic forces in south Korea will participate more courageously in the struggle for peaceful national reunification.

We must unite all our forces and devote all our energies to the struggle for the country's peaceful reunification and socialist construction. In this way we will make the year 1958 a year of further prosperity for our country and a year of greater victories for our people.

#### THE CINEMA SHOULD HAVE GREAT APPEAL AND MOVE AHEAD OF THE REALITIES

#### **Speech to Cinema Artists**

January 17, 1958

In the past years you, the cinema artists, have produced many good films in response to the Party's policy on creating works of socialist realism.

The feature film "The Unfinished Battle" is a good production made at a time when the whole Party is engaged in a struggle against counter-revolutionary elements.

This film has many good points.

Firstly, it came out at an opportune time.

Secondly, it not only shows vividly the beautiful appearance of Pyongyang which is rising magnificently. Its content is also good in that the man who infiltrated from south Korea on an espionage mission is moved deeply and feels the joy of labour when he sees the throbbing realities of the northern half of Korea, thus becoming ready to start his life afresh. This stands out in contrast to the film "Brothers" in which the man is forced into a diving-bell against his will.

Thirdly, it is also of value in educating the intellectuals. It shows the devoted service of intellectuals to the Party and the people and, in particular, the high service of the medical workers.

Fourthly, another merit of the film is that it is so made as to play an instructive role in increasing the revolutionary vigilance of the people.

Fifthly, yet another merit of the film is that all its scenes are beautiful.

But this production has its shortcomings, too. The film has failed to represent skilfully the process of the hero's reformation in the circumstances where the two diametrically different social systems of the north and the south of Korea are shown in contrast. It also has not depicted truthfully the process of the hero's class awakening.

The recent film "The Orang River" is also well made. I think this film, which portrays the People's Army soldiers and people fighting courageously in defence of the country, would help educate the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism. But it also has a drawback in that it has failed to show clearly the struggle of the peasants who had received land after liberation and who risked their very lives to defend the democratic system in the northern half of Korea.

Although success has been achieved to some degree in the production of films in the past years, our cinematic art still falls short of the Party's demand. Today our country is in the upsurge of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, but our cinematic art fails to keep pace with the developments. So far our films have only depicted the historical facts of the people's struggle; they have failed to play properly the leading role in educating and mobilizing the people while moving ahead of the realities. Take an example. In our countryside agricultural cooperativization today is nearing completion, but the films play no part, worthy of merit, in promoting cooperativization. Films are not coming out at the opportune time, but rather are like a guest following at the heels of the realities. In short, films are failing to play a mobilizing and educating role as they should.

Like the leading article of the Party paper, the cinema should have great appeal and move ahead of the realities. Thus, it should play a mobilizing role in each stage of the revolutionary struggle.

The cinema is a powerful means of visual information and motivation in the hands of our Party. Films can be shown to large numbers of people at various places at a time, and they can show visually, in a vivid way, historical facts and events covering a long period in a comparatively short time. So, in educating the working people, films are more effective than novels or newspapers, and more advantageous than plays that have stage limitation. There is no further need to say that the cinema is the most important and powerful means of mass education of all the various forms of arts. The question is to make more films which have high appeal, which are ahead of the realities and which meet the requirements of our Party and people.

Cinema artists should produce a large number of films which would be of help in equipping the cooperative farmers with the revolutionary thinking of the working class.

Socialist reorganization of the economic forms has been nearly completed in our countryside, but the thinking of the farming population has not yet been remodelled along socialist lines. It is, therefore, very important today to reform their outdated thinking in a socialist way. Our films should make a positive contribution to the socialist remoulding of their thinking.

Furthermore, cinema artists should produce many films on the subject of education in socialist patriotism.

At the enlarged plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee in December 1957, we strongly emphasized the question of strengthening the education in socialist patriotism among the Party members and working people.

Our Party gives major emphasis to the question of education in socialist patriotism because a large part of our youth have grown up without going through hardships and have little knowledge about the landlords and capitalists. Without knowing what a hard life their parents lived in the past society of exploitation and how cruelly the landlords and capitalists sweated the working people, the young people cannot have a deep love and faith in their socialist homeland and the people's government. Only when they are clearly informed of the true nature and wickedness of the landlords and capitalists as exploiters can they struggle with devotion to safeguard the gains of the revolution and accelerate the building of socialism.

Our Party also considers education in socialist patriotism as an important question because we are now confronted with the task of accomplishing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in south Korea while accelerating socialist construction in the northern half of Korea. Giving the working people and, in particular, the youth in the north a clear idea of the reactionary essence of the system of exploitation and of the wickedness of the landlords and capitalists is indispensable for them to come out bravely in the struggle against the class enemy and for national reunification. And the people in the south should also be thoroughly enlightened on the exploiting nature and viciousness of the landlords and capitalists. This is essential to induce them to participate in a body in the struggle for national reunification.

The patriotism we advocate is socialist patriotism. It simply would not do to refer vaguely to patriotism. Today even the puppet clique in south Korea are raving about "patriotism". In the name of "patriotism" they preach implicit "allegiance" to the anti-popular "government" which defends the interests of the exploiting classes. Contrary to this, our patriotism is socialist patriotism which calls for defending and caring for the socialist system and the government of the workers and peasants and showing undivided loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people. Socialist patriotism alone is true patriotism, that is, genuine love for one's country and people.

Cinema artists should contribute to the education of the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism by making more productions which expose the exploiting nature and wickedness of the landlords and capitalists. Able artists should take an active part in the production of films dealing with socialist patriotism and acquit themselves well in directing, acting and shooting.

In order to make many films which have high appeal and which go ahead of the realities, cinema artists should have a high sense of Party spirit, working-class spirit and loyalty to the people.

Party spirit is nothing less than working-class spirit and loyalty to the people. Without Party spirit there can be no working-class spirit and loyalty to the people. Therefore, one who is lacking in Party spirit cannot fight devotedly for the working class and the people.

In the past we, the communists, were able to fight unyieldingly for a long time against Japanese imperialism without fear of prison and gallows because we had strong Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles and self-confidence. It is because all our activities are strictly based on Party principles that our Party has been doing its work well without committing errors ever since liberation. The same can be said of the creative activities of the artists. Only when cinema artists carry on their creative work with a high sense of Party spirit, working-class spirit and loyalty to the people and strictly on the revolutionary principles would they be able to produce good films conducive to our revolutionary cause.

To advocate pure art is an expression of art for art's sake. Artists should not create art for art's sake; they should create art for the Party and the revolution, for the working class and the people. To do so, they should eliminate all outdated thoughts from their minds. At present, all artists, without exception, are influenced more or less by remnants of outdated ideas. Cinema artists should strive to eliminate the remnants of old ideas as soon as possible and acquire a high sense of Party spirit, working-class spirit and loyalty to the people.

While strengthening the ideological struggle for rooting out the outdated ideas still surviving among the cinema artists, we should send them to Party schools to study and to factories and farms to learn and harden themselves in the realities of life. At present, writers are out on the actual scenes of action, and they have achieved considerable success in receiving revolutionary stimulation.

Though young, our working class has a very strong Party and revolutionary spirit. The workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works have reconstructed their war-demolished factory in a very short space of time. They have reconditioned the blast furnace and coke oven; we say "reconditioned", but in fact, it is little short of a new construction. When the resolution of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee in December 1956 was made public, too, our working class united themselves into one movement to implement it. At that time, we

went to the workers and had a talk with them about how to break through the difficulties lying ahead of us, and we called upon them to bring about a great upswing in socialist construction. Inspired by the appeal of the Party, the workers of Kangson came forward with a resolution to produce 90,000 tons of steel materials at the blooming mill, which had a rated capacity of 60,000 tons, by actively tapping latent potential. They worked wonders in producing 120,000 tons by means of a heroic struggle. Our working class would carry out any task if it is a demand of the Party and the revolution.

Cinema artists should go among the workers and learn from their high sense of Party spirit, working-class spirit and loyalty to the people. If you go among the workers you would also learn about organization and discipline from them.

Furthermore, cinema artists should strengthen their life in the organization.

Many of the artists who have been engaged in creative activities since before liberation are acting in an unorganized manner. They have retained the old habit of talking big about the past and the world while roaming about in groups of people who behave likewise. I have heard that some writers are pompously bragging about their past "history" of activities as members of the KAPF, but this is not good form. Yesterday's flower should also blossom today and tomorrow, too, and should continue to bloom. Or else, no one would love that flower. Whoever does not make an effort to remodel himself continuously would lag behind, and when he falls behind, he would eventually be thrown into the dustbin. Those who live in idle ease, leading a fast life and embezzling and wasting property, are, without exception, politically rotten. Such people would only become museum pieces which would not be worthy even of a glance.

Our Party expects a lot from the cinema artists. Those cinema artists who committed mistakes in the past seem to have realized their errors and made a firm resolution to rectify them. We believe they will undoubtedly mend their errors. Cinema artists should actively participate in organized activities and harden themselves continuously.

They should become united and rally around the Party.

At the same time, cinema artists should resolutely combat the anti-Party factionalists without the slightest compromise.

As we have said at every occasion, the failure of the working-class movement in south Korea after liberation is due to the sabotage of the anti-Party factionalism. After liberation, the situation in south Korea was very favourable for the working-class movement. The working class of south Korea were aware that the bourgeoisie could not lead them, and they believed in the Communist Party. Even the non-comprador capitalists of south Korea pinned their hopes on the Communist Party. But owing to the sectarian strife of the anti-Party factionalists, including Pak Hon Yong, who formed part of the leadership of the Communist Party, the patriotic and democratic forces of south Korea were torn apart. Thus the Communist Party lost the confidence of the masses. Taking advantage of this, the reactionaries launched an offensive and so the advance of the patriotic and democratic forces, including the working class, was subjected to merciless suppression.

As for those who turn against the Party and try to disrupt it, we must wage a bitter struggle against them without the slightest compromise.

In the past the personnel of the film studio acquitted themselves poorly in the struggle for detecting and exposing the anti-Party factionalists who had sneaked into the studio and perpetrated acts of sabotage. While acting in films, the artists have such keen and sharp eyes and senses, but they remained ignorant of the clandestine deeds done by scoundrels inside the studio over many years. This baffles our understanding.

On seeing a few feature films, we realized that things were going amiss in the studio. In those films the Party's policies were not well-reflected and the class line was also ambiguously treated. Later on, we examined the work of the studio and found that there were very grave shortcomings. Cinema artists should learn serious lessons from this and wage an intensive struggle against anti-Party factionalists.

In future, Party, state and economic organizations should give active help in the work of cinematography.

Since the resolution of the Cabinet on developing the cinematic art was issued, the work of film-making has improved to some degree. But as the Party has given insufficient guidance in the work of the film studio, the ideological education of cinema artists has been unsatisfactory and the supply of materials for the production of films has also been poor.

This time the Presidium of the Party Central Committee should hear the report on the work of the film studio and adopt and announce a resolution on improving the work of film-making. The direction which the studio should take should thus be clearly defined, and the cinema artists should be mobilized ideologically in that direction.

The appropriate department of the Party Central Committee, the State Planning Commission and the State Construction Commission should find out the actual conditions of the film studio in detail and take necessary measures.

I will see to it that the Presidium of the Party Central Committee holds a discussion and meets the requests made this time by the comrades from the studio.

By devoting all their energies and talents to the implementation of the Party's policy on literature and art, the cinema artists should ensure that this year, 1958, becomes a year of great new upswing in the development of the cinematic art.

#### FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF LIGHT INDUSTRY

## Speech at a Meeting of Activists of the Ministry of Light Industry

January 29, 1958

#### Comrades,

At this meeting of activists today, I would like to make some remarks on important questions that have arisen in the development of light industry in our country. This meeting has been called to assess the work carried out in 1957 and to discuss measures for carrying out the 1958 national economic plan with the participation of senior officials, model workers and technicians from factories and enterprises under the Ministry of Light Industry.

Light industry in our country was insignificant before liberation. Most of the industries built by the Japanese imperialists in our country were concerned with the production of raw materials and semi-finished goods since their aim was to plunder our resources and exploit our people. This was particularly true in the northern half of our country.

The Japanese imperialists plundered the greater part of ores, carbide and other industrial raw materials abundant in our country and the bulk of its farm produce. They processed these into finished goods in their country and brought them back to our country to sell at high prices. In this way, the Japanese imperialists stripped our people of all their property. Such was the colonial industrial policy pursued by the Japanese imperialists.

They built some light industry in our country, but that was only in the southern half. Even the textile industry in the southern half fell far short of meeting the demand.

This was our situation when we greeted liberation. As for the light industry the Japanese imperialists left behind them in the northern half immediately after liberation, there were only small textile mills in Sariwon and Sinuiju, as you all know, and nothing else worthy of mention.

One might ask then whether the Japanese imperialists developed handicrafts in our country. No, they did not. Why did they not develop them? Because in order to turn our country into a commodity market for their country, they even had to destroy our traditional handicrafts. They adopted a policy of forcing Japanese goods on us. For this reason, even handicrafts were in a miserable state in our northern half.

Even with handicrafts being in such a state, the production of clothes, footwear and other essential commodities and foodstuffs, which are most necessary for the people in their life, remained indescribably backward.

Under these conditions, our Party had to start from scratch to build the foundations of light industry in the northern half of Korea after liberation. Thus, we proceeded to build a textile mill in Pyongyang, reconstruct the Chongjin Spinning Mill and set up a number of other light industrial factories.

But the war interrupted all this and played havoc with the factories. Immediately after the armistice, the Party established its policy for the postwar reconstruction of the national economy and mobilized all the people for the implementation of the Three-Year National Economic Plan.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee adopted the policy of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, rapidly developing light industry and agriculture. It was not easy to give priority to the development of heavy industry and, simultaneously, create the foundations of light industry on heaps of ashes We were short of well-trained technical personnel and had no equipment, either. There is no instance in the history of other countries where light industry was developed simultaneously with the reconstruction of heavy industry under conditions of severe destruction of the national economy by war.

The history of industrial development in other countries shows that many of them develop heavy industry for a definite period of time before passing on to the development of light industry. On the other hand, capitalist countries first developed light industry to create funds for the subsequent development of heavy industry.

In the postwar period, however, our country had to give priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. Because it was impossible to develop light industry and agriculture without developing heavy industry. All the heavy industries we reconstructed and developed were closely related to the development of light industry and agriculture. Moreover, all the people were utterly impoverished and towns and villages were completely destroyed in the war. Therefore, we could not have created the conditions to provide food, clothing and housing to the people, had we just developed heavy industry without developing light industry and agriculture as well. Thus, our Party developed heavy industry simultaneously with light industry and agriculture.

Some people were doubtful how correct this economic policy of the Party was, and anti-Party elements even slandered the Party's policy. But we firmly maintained that it was possible to give priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and we have carried it through. This was the only way to consolidate the economic foundations of our country and, simultaneously, to solve the question of the devastated living conditions of our people.

It was difficult to solve these problems simultaneously, of course. But we should remember that the situation in our country is different from that of the Soviet Union when it started to build socialism for the first time. Our situation is also different from that in other countries.

Firstly, we do not live alone on an island; we are not alone in our fight. Socialism has now expanded beyond the boundaries of one country, the Soviet Union, and has grown and developed into a powerful worldwide system, which enjoys an advanced science and technology. Our country, therefore, could receive assistance from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries even though it lacked technical personnel and equipment of its own.

Secondly, the people of Korea, once a colonialized nation oppressed by Japanese imperialism, are a people who have taken power into their hands, and waged a bloody struggle for three years in order to safeguard and defend that power. They have become even stronger while overcoming many difficulties in this struggle. Moreover, the Central Committee of our Party and the Government of the Republic have become mature and seasoned in this struggle. The Party stuck to its policy in the firm belief that in view of the ideological preparedness of our people, who had never yielded any ground even in hard struggles, the most difficult goal could be achieved by properly organizing and guiding them.

If, as the anti-Party factionalists raved, we had only bought consumer goods, such as essential commodities, cloth and rice, with the aid given us by the fraternal countries, we might have enjoyed a good life at that time.

But if we had used up the aid at random in that way, we would be in a hopeless situation now and every year we would have to get rice and cloth from other countries. Nobody is willing to give aid for ever. And how could we have had the face to ask for aid year after year? So, the Party crushed all the slanders and calumnies of anti-Party elements and pursued a policy which gave priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture; and our Party members and working people, united like a rock around the Party Central Committee, have persisted in their struggle to implement the Party's economic policy.

We have thus reconditioned many factories and built many others including machine plants, iron works and chemical factories. In light industry, too, we have built, reconditioned or expanded the Chongjin Spinning Mill, the Pyongyang Textile Mill, the Kusong Textile Mill and the silk mills. The Pyongyang Textile Mill, in particular, is a large-scale, modern light industrial factory new in Korea's history. Besides, we have reconditioned or built many factories including those producing rubber products, essential commodities and processed meat.

In this way, we have reconditioned or constructed several hundred factories through an arduous struggle, overcoming all difficulties that were encountered. How gratifying this is! Today's situation once again proves that the policy of our Party has been correct; it clearly shows that the calumnies of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements against our Party's policy were entirely unfounded.

We have already created the foundations of light and heavy industries, and have mainly solved the agricultural problem. This is a great success of the policy of our Party.

Let me take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, my heartfelt thanks to all the workers, technicians and office employees in light industry and the leading officials of the ministry, who have, upholding the Party's policy, waged a determined struggle to build the foundations of light industry.

There is no doubt that we would score still greater success if we continue our unwavering struggle to implement the policy of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture.

Comrades, our task has been extremely difficult, but the worst is over now.

How can we, who are building a new society and, moreover, who survived a severe war, expect to emerge victorious without going through such hardships? It is not easy to rebuild a household that has suffered a great calamity. Therefore, how can we expect to succeed without going through difficulties when we are restoring the economy of a country that went through a severe war?

We can now do anything we want once we get together, talk about it

and then make up our minds. If we had not given priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture, we would not be in a position to do what we want even now. If we had only set up a few light industrial factories and had not developed heavy industry as well, we would have no other alternative but to rely on the textile mills as our sole asset.

But how do things stand at present? We say: Let us expand the textile mills because we do not have enough of them, let us make more looms, build more meat-processing factories and more flour mills. Thus, we are able to take decisions on our own. Pig iron, rolled steel, lathes and electricity are all produced in our country. And so, doesn't this mean that we can set up more factories if we have to?

The same is true of irrigation facilities. Previously we had to import pumps, transformers, generators and motors in order to expand irrigation facilities. So we could not make decisions on our own and had to consult with those who were going to supply us with the equipment. But now we have our own say, and have the right to decide.

This, we can say, is a great success of the policy of our Party. Particularly, as a result of the successful implementation of the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, enormous, new achievements were registered last year. This not only further consolidated our socialist economic foundations but once again vindicated our Party's economic policy.

Upholding the slogan for increased production and economization determined by the December Plenary Meeting, all workers, technicians and office employees in the field of light industry launched a creative labour campaign. As a result, last year alone, they generated a huge profit for the state by producing more goods worth 7,000 million *won*. This is quite a big success.

The money you have earned will be spent for two purposes: firstly, for extended reproduction aimed at further consolidating the socialist economic foundations, and secondly, for the improvement of our people's life.

Last year, all branches of our industry generated great profits for the

state. Accordingly, the state budgetary revenue is expected to increase by 23,000 million *won* more than planned. Thus, our budget is in the black, while in south Korea the deficit in the state budget is swelling beyond control. As a result, our currency has become very stable.

This significant increase in our revenue made it possible for us to be more relaxed in working out the 1958 budget, whereas we prepared an extremely cautious budget last year. Moreover, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party could decide to raise the basic wages of workers, technicians and office employees by an average of 10 per cent.

In 1957, as you see, all spheres of the national economy fared well. In my opinion, the performance in agriculture was the best, followed by light industry. Heavy industry and all other fields did well, too.

Thus, we produced 3.2 million tons of grain, which is unprecedented in the history of our country. The output of fabrics also showed substantial growth last year. Before the war, we barely produced 9 million metres of cotton fabrics, but last year we produced some 90 million metres, or nearly 10 times as much.

Do the anti-Party factionalists still dare to say that we are not concerned with the living standard of the people?

A tenfold increase in the output of fabrics in only three to four years in our country which suffered extensive war damage, is something, indeed, which can hardly be found in other countries. The output of all other products also showed rapid growth. Capital construction is the only field in which the plan was not realized, and that was because loafers were directing it.

If we earn much in this way, socialist accumulation would increase on the one hand and, on the other, the life of the people would improve.

Such are the results we have achieved in implementing the Three-Year National Economic Plan and the plan for 1957.

What have we learned from the results of the work undertaken in 1957 for the implementation of the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee?

We have learned that we still have a great potential to exploit. We have a great potential for economization and for increased production. "Let us all increase production through economization!" This is our Party's slogan.

We can increase the utilization of equipment still higher, and this is an important potential. The more our technology improves, the more the utilization of equipment would increase.

In many factories, a lot of space is wasted. Making proper use of this space also represents an important potential. When we first installed the machinery, we did not know how to space them, so we left considerable room between them. It is high time that we moved them closer together. Better utilization of factory space would help to exploit more potential to increase production.

To mechanize even minor jobs and to spare even a single thread is to create potential for saving manpower and materials and for weaving more fabrics.

Make closer examination of your work and you will find various potentials. Therefore, those who say that they have no potential are people who do not like to work. They are like those who waver and say they cannot implement the Party's policy.

People of this sort trembled when they learned about the targets of both the postwar Three-Year Plan and the plan for 1957. It seems that their shuddering did not start today, but that they have been suffering from this kind of disease from the beginning. To cure such people of this disease, it is necessary to give them medicine or to apply acupunctures once in a while. The very cures are criticism and patient ideological education.

In the first year of the First Five-Year Plan, we had to build many houses and factories and repair railway bridges, and this required large quantities of iron materials. And the State Planning Commission had worked out a plan to produce 190,000 tons of pig iron. Since the problem could not be solved with just 190,000 tons, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee suggested trying to produce approximately 230,000 tons by tapping more potentials. It was then

that certain people started to tremble, saying that it would be difficult not only because it went beyond the rated capacity, but because even the Japanese were unable to do so.

Why should we be inferior to the Japanese? The Japanese may be more developed than us technologically, but their way of life is based on capitalist, not on socialist thinking. We are people who live according to socialist ideology.

Those who take into consideration only the rated capacity set by the Japanese in the past must understand that this is precisely a product of capitalism. People who read a lot of Japanese books and those who have had a great deal of Japanese education should clearly understand this. Today even the Japanese themselves, when they visit Korea, say that they have much to learn from us and that our ideology has advanced. And why should we compare ourselves only with the Japanese?

The Party considered it to be possible to produce 230,000 tons of pig iron. When we discussed it with the workers, they resolved to turn out 250,000 tons, instead of 230,000 tons. They eventually exceeded their own target by producing 270,000 tons.

The blooming mill at the Kangson Steel Plant used to produce only 60,000 tons of rolled steel. But the workers displayed patriotism and used all their potentials, with the result that the same blooming mill produced more than 100,000 tons.

All the facts show that the rated capacity of equipment set by the Japanese is already outdated.

Nothing is impossible for us. What we can or cannot do depends entirely on our determination.

From the facts I have just mentioned, the important lesson we have learned from our work in 1957 is that our potentials are unlimited. So you should not think that you have already exploited all your potentials. There will be a potential to exploit not only in 1958 but also next year and in 1960. If you further improve your management and technical levels and continue to display enthusiasm and creative initiative, you would be able to exploit your potential continuously. It is wrong

therefore to think that your potential has been exploited to the full.

Another important lesson we have learned in reviewing the work of 1957 is the fact that many of our managers and administrative personnel in ministries (bureaus) and enterprises are lagging behind our workers.

Why is this so? This is because managers and other administrative personnel are less familiar than the workers are with the actual situation at workplaces. Experience shows that it is much better for us to go among the workers and talk with them than to listen to such inefficient people and that by doing so would we be able to exploit potentials.

A certain worker in the Hwanghae Iron Works who had scarcely uttered a word in several years began to speak out for the first time after the December Plenary Meeting. He made many valuable suggestions for increased production and economization. People said he was putting his finger on potentials which had been ignored before.

What is the meaning of such a fact revealed in the course of the implementation of the decision of the December Plenary Meeting? It means that when the Party faces a difficult task, the working masses would surely find ways to overcome difficulties, displaying their fullest patriotic enthusiasm and creative wisdom in active response to the intentions of the Party Central Committee, if we discuss the problem with them.

As I told comrade ministers at a Cabinet meeting which discussed the 1958 national economic plan, we achieved brilliant success in 1957, not because the decisions had been well prepared, but because the Presidium members and members of the Party Central Committee, comrade vice-premiers and ministers and other cadres had all held discussions directly with the workers engaged in production, and had accepted their creative opinions properly. Things were not like that before.

This is a very important lesson. You should remember it, and in 1958, too, discuss matters directly with the workers—the producers—and positively accept their creative suggestions.

If the workers' fresh and valuable suggestions are to be heard, the

ministers, directors of management bureaus and managers must not work at their desks, but must go among the workers on the job, and promptly take practical measures to solve new problems. Then, our work would bring about greater results in 1958.

If we talk and consult with the workers and accept and promote their collective wisdom, it would help us to identify new potential for increased production and economization. People who are ignorant of socialist ideology can never understand this. Last year, when the peasants of our country pledged to produce more than 3 million tons of grain, a Japanese economist questioned this possibility and said that it was "incredible" in view of the area of cultivated land in north Korea. The Japanese scholar might have been able to calculate Korea's cultivated area and the rate of per-hectare yield, but he could not in any way reckon with the socialist ideology of our people. The error this economist made is due precisely to the fact that he was unable to appreciate the ideology and failed to take it into account.

You, too, might make serious mistakes if you fail to correctly take into consideration the fact that our working class today is an advanced working class engaged in the building of socialism and that our Party members are people who are already building socialism, the first stage of communism. If you understand this well and continue to exploit all your potentials, you would achieve still greater success.

You have decided to manufacture over 10,000 million *won*'s worth of light industrial products in 1958 more than planned. I give my full support to your resolve and believe that you will succeed without fail. The sum of 10,000 million *won* is by no means small. The resultant net profit alone would be enough to pay one month's wages to our workers.

Now I would like to refer to some of the central tasks facing light industry.

First of all, the most important task confronting our light industry is to find a solution to the problem of raw materials for fibres.

Our Party aims to consolidate further the economic foundations of socialism and basically solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people in the northern half of Korea during the First Five-Year Plan. As far as the problems of food, clothing and housing are concerned, the most important is the clothing question.

The production of fabrics is considerably higher than during the prewar period, but it is still insufficient. We now have textile mills and silk mills. But we cannot say that those mills are working at full capacity because our country's fibre resources are inadequate.

As you know, we are now weaving cloth with cotton imported from foreign countries. In terms of industrial development, it is very precarious to depend on foreign countries for raw materials. Industry can only be stable when the bulk of raw materials is produced internally. Therefore, we should make every effort to solve for ourselves the problem of raw materials for the textile industry.

To this end, it is necessary in light industry, first of all, to speedily recondition and expand the Chongjin Spinning Mill and thus produce more staple fibres and rayon yarn. Moreover, the Ministry of Chemical Industry should accelerate the construction of a vinalon factory, now in the stage of preparation, to produce chemical fibres. And more cotton and flax should be planted, and sericulture should be developed.

In this way, our country should successfully solve the problem of producing artificial and chemical fibres—that is, staple fibre, rayon yarn, vinalon—and flax, cotton, cocoons, etc., on its own in the next few years. Unless we solve this problem, we would not be able to deal with the clothing problem which is the most important of the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

For this reason, at present the most important task our Party has set for workers in light industry is to increase the capacity of the Chongjin Spinning Mill to 15,000-20,000 tons of staple fibres and rayon yarn.

Moreover, we should create conditions for making rayon yarn and staple fibres from reed or maize stalks. If possible, it would be desirable to build a factory with a capacity of about 10,000 tons in Sinuiju.

Thus, during the First Five-Year Plan, 25,000 to 30,000 tons of staple fibres and rayon yarn should be produced. This depends on your efforts.

All branches of the national economy should contribute to this project. The salt fields, for instance, should produce more salt and supply ample raw materials for caustic soda; textile machine factories should produce more machine accessories of better quality. Pulp mills should also help it actively. There may be bumper or lean years in cotton cultivation, but that is not the case with the manufacture of artificial and chemical fibres. Accordingly, the solution of this problem is a very important task for us.

We also have to give close attention to the production of flax fabrics. We still have no experience in the production of flax fabrics. But Soviet people who have rich experiences in this field say that flax is the cotton of the northern countries. The quality of flax fibre is also as good as other fibres. We have planted flax in mountainous regions for several years, and the yield has not been bad. It seems that if we improve the seeds, apply a little more fertilizer and improve the methods of cultivation, 1.5-2 tons of flax could be harvested per hectare. This would provide us with a considerable amount of fibre.

Considering such prospects of flax fibre resources, it would be a good idea to build a flax mill. However, this mill must be constructed at a time when we are short of foreign currency. Therefore, in my opinion, it would be better to take steps to manufacture, on our own, 50,000 of the spindles of the cotton spinning machines we are now planning to import and, instead, to purchase flax spinning machines with more than 10,000 spindles. This would make it possible for us to build, as a first step, a flax mill with a capacity of approximately 10,000 spindles and start producing flax fabrics.

The Party is now asking the workers in agriculture to produce up to 10,000 tons of castor and tussah silkworm cocoons. I believe this is also possible. In this manner, silk textile mills will have more cocoons, and they can expand the production of silk fabrics.

In this way we should independently secure the bulk of fibre raw materials during the First Five-Year Plan. This is a historic task for our light industry. When this task is accomplished, we would be able to increase the per-capita output of fabrics up to 20 metres, against the 17

metres envisaged by the end of the Five-Year Plan.

If we are to catch up with the developed, prosperous countries, the minimum per-capita output of fabrics should be 20 metres. This is well within our power. The workers, technicians and office employees in light industry should carry out this task without fail.

Secondly, I would like to refer to the food-processing industry.

Our country's food-processing industry is in a very backward state. Unless it is developed, we cannot turn our country into an advanced industrial state.

As a matter of fact, there are many jobs adequate for women in our industry. But nearly all our women, who comprise half of the population, are tied to the kitchen. And to free women from the kitchen and draw them into production on a large scale, it is essential to develop the food-processing industry.

The growth of the output of agricultural produce and livestock products, too, is inconceivable apart from the development of the food-processing industry. As our present situation shows, the development of farming and livestock breeding has been greatly impeded because of the backward state of the processing industry. There is no doubt that if the food-processing industry had been developed, we would have been able to produce various processed goods from agricultural and livestock products. We would also have been able to further accelerate the development of our agriculture and livestock breeding.

Our food-processing industry, however, is in a very poor shape at present. Needless to say, the processing of meat, fish, vegetables, etc., is not satisfactory. Moreover, even the delicious fruits that grow so abundantly in our country are not processed and preserved well. As a result, once the season is over, they can hardly be found.

There are many other natural resources to process, but nobody ever gives them a thought as yet. We must straighten out this state of affairs in the food-processing industry immediately and make innovations in this field.

If we develop the food-processing industry and supply an

abundance of convenient, tasty and cheap delicatessens, we would be able to further improve the people's living standard and also to make a great contribution to the development of our industry and agriculture. In addition, this is of great importance with regard to the inflow of foreign currency. Thus, our Party is facing the important task of developing the food-processing industry in a short period of time.

Workers, technicians and office employees in light industry should understand correctly the intentions of the Party which has been greatly concerned with the development of the food-processing industry, and they should display patriotic devotion and creative initiative in translating the Party's intentions into a reality. The development of the food-processing industry should become an important task not only for the Ministry of Light Industry but also for all branches such as local industries, producers' cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives and fishing cooperatives. In other words, the work of developing the food-processing industry should be conducted in a movement involving all the people.

The Ministry of Machine Industry must produce the machines necessary for the food-processing industry and the Ministry of Chemical Industry must produce varied kinds of chemicals for chemical treatment in food processing.

Factories and enterprises must, on their part, take measures to process foods to suit present local conditions by reinforcing the waste material reclamation shops and rationalizing their operation.

Meat-processing factories of moderate size should be built in Hamhung, Chongjin, Kanggye, Sariwon, Sinuiju and other major industrial districts. This would make it possible to procure pigs in good time, so that the productive zeal of the peasants would not be dampened; and the peasants would also save fodder consumption because they would be able to sell the pigs at the proper time.

At present, we raise tens of thousands of ducks on our stock farms. Therefore, we should give close attention to the processing of duck.

Surrounded by the sea on three sides, our country abounds in fish. We could make many kinds of products by processing fish. But

because of the present primitive state of seafood processing, the population does not get an adequate supply of fish, even though we catch 400,000 to 500,000 tons of fish. Concrete measures should be taken to improve seafood processing.

When our Party encouraged the peasants to grow maize, it had already envisaged the construction of factories to process maize into cracked grain, but this problem has not yet been solved. O Ki Sop, who had been engrossed in anti-Party factional activities, did not carry out the Party's instructions to take measures for processing maize. To date only the cornstarch factory is involved in the processing of maize. Once it is made into cracked grain, maize provides an excellent food of high nutritive value. Measures should be taken without delay to develop maize processing.

A wide variety of tasty fruits such as apples, pears, grapes, peaches, strawberries, apricots and plums grow in abundance in our country. If these fruits are processed into jam, canned goods, wines, etc., and offered for sale, they would not only promote the interests of the people in their daily life, but would also bring in large amounts of foreign currency. Therefore, we should be concerned about fruit processing and, moreover, should give close attention to reducing production costs.

Vegetable processing should be undertaken starting with *kimchi* pickles. If *kimchi* pickles are made tasty and sold at a low price, who would take the trouble to lug around heavy earthenware jars to pickle vegetables? But so far, our factories have failed to satisfy the needs for *kimchi* pickles quantitatively and, what is more, they have made them so flavourless that every family makes its own *kimchi* pickles at home. Dried radish slices, red pepper leaves, sesame leaves and so forth should also be processed well; more tasty soy bean paste and hot soy bean paste should be made and sold in greater quantities. This would make our life much easier and facilitate apartment-style living.

Attention should also be given to the production of refreshing beverages. First of all, we should produce large quantities of aerated cider-like drink, beer, mineral water, distilled drinking water, and the like. In this connection, special efforts should be made to reduce the cost of glass bottles. There are many other things we should initiate in the food-processing industry. We should supply large quantities of processed foods in this way.

The introduction of innovations in the food-processing industry is a task of greater importance than ever before for the workers, technicians and office employees in the field of light industry today.

Thirdly, it is important to expand the variety of essential commodities.

Are we producing all the essential commodities we need at present? No, we are not. Even the fountain pens and durable sharp pencils you are using are not properly manufactured. There is little variety in the essential commodities produced in our country now and, moreover, their quality is low.

Some time ago the Cabinet adopted a resolution to expand the variety of essential commodities, but nothing at all seems to have been done. No one is implementing the resolution effectively, and I have not heard any Party organization discussing it at its meeting. I think it would be good for you to discuss how to implement this resolution.

At present, the children in our country have no toys. The few that have been produced are unshapely. They do not suit the taste of us Koreans. Our children like very delicate, exquisite toys. How can they have a liking for clumsy and heavy ones? There is no difficulty in solving this. The problem is not production difficulty but the lack of action. Toy factories or workshops could easily be built, and if you just try, you would be able to produce many nice and attractive toys.

You can also manufacture pottery, glassware, and various other kinds of plastic household utensils.

Some time ago, through a committee it had organized, the Cabinet checked the number of different essential commodities produced, and found that they amount to only a little more than 20,000. This is insufficient. We should manufacture more. You should devote much time to study how to increase the variety of essential commodities.

While increasing the variety of toys, stationery and sporting goods,

you must determine which products the workers and office employees would want to have for their homes, for holiday use and for all other purposes in life. You must find a solution to this problem.

We had a shortage of adequate clothing and food before, but today this problem has essentially been solved. However, not only clothing and food are needed to live better. We need a great number of items for daily use as well. So we should actively struggle to increase the variety of essential commodities we produce.

Another important question is the need to improve the quality of products. To guarantee a higher quality, a rigid system of standardization should be established and the checking system strengthened. Moreover, a struggle should be waged to eliminate substandard products.

We should also give attention to appearance when we improve the quality of products. Light industrial products should look attractive. Foods, especially, should look appealing. Only then would such products stimulate people's appetites. It is important, therefore, to make food appetizing and to make articles needed for daily use lovely and attractive. All this means improving the quality of products.

It is important in this connection to improve cultural and hygienic conditions in the production of foods. The workers themselves, as well as the factories producing foods, should always be clean, culturally furnished and hygienic. Only then would there be more hygienic and more appetizing foods. Hygienic conditions are essential for ensuring high quality in foods.

The next thing I want to talk about is the production of salt. There is no reason why its production should be poor when farming is prosperous. It is important that you struggle to increase the per-hectare output at salterns. A campaign should be launched to produce 150 tons per hectare of salt fields by making good use of intensive methods of production.

It is really a shame that our country, surrounded by the sea on three sides, has to ask foreign countries for salt. A country with such a huge coastline is supposed to export salt, but we even imported it. You

should explain to the workers the great importance of increasing the production of salt which is not only a necessity for the people's life but also an essential raw material for the development of the chemical industry. All workers should be urged to take an active part in the struggle to raise the per-hectare output.

*Insam*, a source of foreign currency, should also be cultivated more extensively. The technique of its processing should be improved as well.

And the purchasing work should be improved and strengthened. All purchasing of leaf tobacco, leather, cocoons, oil-bearing crops, cotton and other agricultural produce for light industry has now been placed under the control of the Ministry of Light Industry.

Two fundamental principles should be observed in purchasing. One is not to cause losses to the peasants but to be of benefit to them, stimulating their enthusiasm for production. The other is for the state to fix the purchasing prices so there would not be any losses when it buys and processes the products. It is not good to conduct purchasing work in such a way as to cause losses to the state in the long run by purchasing products unfit for use or at high prices which would make the costs of the processed goods rise.

This principle was previously ignored in purchasing meat, with the result that, for some time, the price was too high for it to be sold, and the state was compelled to sell it at a loss of nearly 200 million won. In purchasing work, proper arrangements should be made to buy things promptly from the peasants and transport them in good time; the sources of purchasable goods, which are in the hands of the peasants, should be actively tapped; and the storage and management of purchased goods should be improved.

Economization is an important slogan put forward by our Party in laying down the tasks for 1958 after assessing the results of the implementation of the plan for 1957. There should be a more determined struggle to put into practice the Party slogan, "Let us all increase production through economization!" Extensive efforts should be made to explore and use every available potential for economization

and increased production: economizing actively on raw and other materials and labour, eliminating rejects, improving the utilization of equipment and making an effective use of production space.

One of the most important questions facing the workers in light industry is to raise their technological level. We lack technical know-how rather than enthusiasm. Despite our enthusiasm, we fail to do many things because of technological weakness. So, it is very important that we raise our technological level. In every domain, technology is required to produce a greater variety of goods, which we have been unable to manufacture up till now, and to improve their quality. It is also required to increase productivity. Technology is essential everywhere.

Our technological standard is very low particularly because our country was, in the past, subjected to the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. Therefore, we must acquire technology. We should introduce all technology which is superior to ours, regardless of the country it comes from.

Putting up the improvement of our technological level as an important task, we should correctly organize and conduct short courses and practical training and improve the work of correspondence courses and technical schools.

Our Party has established as a major task the strengthening of socialist education among the working class. Socialist education assumes greater importance since our country still remains divided in two and we have long been confronted with the enemy. The greater our victory in socialist construction, the more maliciously the enemy perpetrates conspiracies to destroy it and to overthrow our system.

Another reason why socialist education presents itself as an important task is that, as a result of the rapid growth in the ranks of the working class since liberation, particularly during the period immediately after the armistice, their class consciousness is still underdeveloped. The number of workers and office employees has grown from 200,000 in pre-liberation days to some 600,000 in 1949 after liberation, and today it is more than one million. In the course of such rapid growth, a large

number of peasants, urban small traders and handicraftsmen, not yet free from the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology, have joined the ranks of the working class. It is, therefore, important to educate them so that they would be able to discard their outdated ideological consciousness and acquire the idea of the working class.

To correctly conduct socialist education among the workers, the factory Party organizations should work well, stimulate the Party spirit of Party members and raise their political and theoretical levels. Party members should also be convinced to abide strictly by Party Rules, never violating the standards of Party life. And a vigorous struggle should be waged against wrong tendencies such as liberalism, parochialism, nepotism and factionalism which split the Party. In particular, the struggle against the propensities of the small-propertied classes should be strengthened.

Furthermore, it is important to strengthen the guidance given by management personnel.

Many managers today have less enthusiasm for production than the workers. Needless to say, it is not that they are against the Party policy. The problem lies in the fact that many management personnel are ignorant of actual conditions at the lower units and lack technological know-how. Because of a narrow, subjective viewpoint, some of them think that they cannot meet their large production quotas. On the other hand, the workers are well aware of their own ability and successfully carry out their great production assignments. This alone is enough to show that management personnel are lagging behind the workers. Management personnel should not allow themselves to fall behind in technical know-how or in any other respect.

Factory managers are like commanders in the army. If a commander does not know how to fight well, he cannot assume the leadership of his men on the battlefield. A commander should know how to fire a gun, and shoot a rifle better than anyone else; he should be more proficient in tactics than anybody else; he should also be healthy and quick in action. Only then would he be able to play his part as a commander fully.

The same is true of a manager. The manager of a textile mill should be better acquainted with the machines in the mill and should know better how to handle them than anyone else. If he does not, he should learn with determination. If a machine is out of order, he should be able to find out why.

Managers should not be visitors just passing through. They should not just carry briefcases about. If they do things this way, they would lose ground while the workers, technicians and all others would become better from year to year. Our ranks are now making dynamic progress, and those who fail to keep up with the pace will limp along behind and become worthless in the end.

Therefore, managers should better their business qualifications, and thus make themselves versed in the efficiency of machines in their factories. They should also be able to inquire into book-keeping, production costs and all other affairs connected with the management of their factories. In our age, a manager without such knowledge is a useless laggard. To avoid lagging behind, he must learn quickly and become an able manager.

This is not difficult. Six months or so of hard work would do. How is it possible that workers can operate machines and managers cannot? I have heard that a certain worker can handle 57 looms simultaneously. The manager should be able to handle at least one, instead of 57. Even that would give him a rough idea of the technical process. Only when the manager knows all about this, would he be able to direct work correctly, not be upset even when some trouble arises, and be able to explain and solve any questions the workers may raise.

The same is true of the Party officials in factories. Chairmen of some factory Party committees think that because they conduct Party work, it makes no difference whether or not they know anything about factory management. But factory Party committee chairmen should be personally well acquainted with actual conditions in the factories and should understand the workers' life in order to know the headaches of the workers and solve their difficulties, and help them to heighten their productive zeal.

To do this, they should always be out in the workplaces and also know how to handle machines. The Party committee chairman's job is not only to attend meetings. Sometimes, he should work with the workers and find out where the workers' shoes pinch and what kind of problems need to be solved. Only then would his direction of Party work conform with the actual situation.

Leading factory personnel who simply hold meetings or sign documents in their office cannot direct our country's developing industry. Therefore, all cadres-managers or Party workers at factories-must study hard.

Comrades, this year we will discuss the First Five-Year Plan. The Five-Year Plan will be made public after it has been endorsed by the Supreme People's Assembly following discussion at a Party conference to be held shortly.

To implement the First Five-Year Plan, we should not be carried away by the successes already achieved, but should mount a more determined labour campaign.

The most dangerous thing for us is to be content with our 1957 achievements and think everything would go well without a great struggle. We must get rid of such self-conceit and work more diligently, exploit more potentials, economize more and raise production, and thus implement the 1958 plan and then the Five-Year Plan.

When we implement the Five-Year Plan, the forces of socialism in the northern half would be stronger, and these forces would constitute the most important guarantee for the reunification of our country.

The reunification of our country will certainly be achieved. Even though the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique are frantically making every possible effort to obstruct it, their attempt will surely fail.

Because of the colonial rule of US imperialism, south Korean industry is on the road to ruin, and in south Korea there is no way to revive the economy. There is no coal or cement. Iron is necessary for the construction of buildings, but it has neither iron works nor electricity. There are only a few textile mills, and even those mills are

now all practically destroyed. The economy in south Korea is bankrupt and the local capitalists are ruined.

Although south Korea has more farmland than the northern half and has more than twice as many paddy fields, agriculture has deteriorated to such an extent that the peasants are on the verge of starvation.

The corrupt regime of south Korea, where fraud, blackmail and robbery are rampant, will end up in ruin just as the similar regime of Jiang Jieshi did.

But the northern half of Korea has plenty of food and clothing, and prospects for a better life are unfolding before us.

We are now continuously creating paddy fields and expanding irrigation facilities. If the per-hectare yield reaches an average of five tons on our 600,000 hectares of paddy fields, about 3 million tons of rice would be produced. Then all the people in the northern half would be able to live on rice and use maize as fodder to get meat.

In the past, the peasants in the Korean countryside considered a man to be rich if he owned an orchard, lived in a house with a tiled roof and ate rice and meat soup every day. All this would be realized in our countryside in the not-too-distant future.

Our workers also have great prospects. If you work hard, there would be 20 metres of fabrics annually for everyone by the end of the First Five-Year Plan, and the housing problem would essentially be solved by the time as well.

Under these conditions, were the north and the south to exchange visit, it is obvious that the south Korean people, having acquainted themselves with the superiority of socialism, would offer a unanimous show of hands for us, not for Syngman Rhee.

Thus, the struggle to implement the Five-Year Plan is a struggle to promote the reunification of our country.

For the socialist construction in the northern half and for the peaceful reunification of the country, let us unite even more firmly around the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the Republic and join in the labour campaign for the victorious completion of the First Five-Year Plan.

## ON THE CURRENT TASKS OF THE WORKERS IN THE ELECTRICAL POWER INDUSTRY

## Concluding Speech at the Third Meeting of Activists under the Ministry of Electricity

February 4, 1958

Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I extend warm congratulations and thanks to all the workers, engineers, office employees and cadres in the electrical power industry who implemented the postwar Three-Year National Economic Plan with flying colours and also carried out the tasks of 1957 successfully.

Had I attended this meeting from the first day and heard all your speeches, I would have had a better understanding of the work of the Ministry of Electricity. But to my great regret, circumstances did not allow me to do so. I believe, however, that there would be other opportunities in the future to study the work of the electrical power industry. Today I would like to speak about some tasks confronting it.

Some time ago the Presidium of the Party Central Committee assessed the work of 1957 and discussed and decided on the guidelines on which the work of 1958 should be conducted. As was pointed out emphatically at that time, too, the central task of the power industry at present is to meet the fast-increasing demand of the national economy for electric power. To do so, it is necessary to raise the utilization of the generating facilities by reconditioning and putting in order the existing

facilities quickly and to minimize the transmission loss of electricity and to strengthen the struggle for electric power economization.

To produce more power with the existing facilities and to intensify the struggle for power economization is very urgent both in view of the actual situation of the power industry itself and in view of the development of the national economy in general.

As you all know, the capacities of our generating facilities are by no means small. If we completely recondition and put them in working order and operate them to full capacity, we can produce much more electricity than we are doing now. Therefore, reconditioning and putting in good shape the damaged and defective equipment is the most effective way in which to satisfy the country's demand for power.

At present, it is also a vital necessity for our economic development to increase the utilization of the existing equipment and strengthen the struggle for economization everywhere. We are now undertaking capital construction on a large scale in order to rebuild the war-ravaged national economy and improve the deteriorated people's livelihood quickly. In future, too, we should continue to rebuild and recondition the devastated factories and railways and build more factories and houses. When the size of its population is taken into consideration, our country can be regarded as one of those countries which lead the world in capital construction.

This huge capital construction programme is a great strain on the funds and manpower of the country and makes it imperative to undertake as few new construction projects as possible and actively exploit internal potentials in all fields of the national economy and thus increase production. Particularly in those fields where the greater part of equipment has not yet been reconditioned as in the power industry, every effort should first be concentrated on repairing and reconditioning the existing facilities.

In the past, however, some officials in the power industry showed the wrong tendency to build new power stations without control rather than reconditioning the ravaged generating facilities. At the opportune time, the Party Central Committee had criticized this bad tendency. Judging by the speeches of some comrades today, it is obvious that the officials of the Ministry of Electricity have accepted the criticism by the Party and are taking the necessary action to correct their mistakes. Nevertheless, there are still people who suggest building new power stations without control under the pretext that the power industry should keep ahead of other industries. So, it seems that the intentions of the Party Central Committee have not been brought home to all officials of the power industry.

There is now plenty of potentials in the power industry. Not all generating facilities have been reconditioned yet, and even those in operation do not work at full capacity because they are not in the best working order possible. Moreover, electricity cables and transformer substations which are the cause of so much loss of power have not yet been reconditioned. Therefore, what is important in the power industry today is not to build new power stations but to repair and recondition the damaged and defective generating facilities as early as possible to produce more electricity and to economize in utilization of power. It cannot be interpreted otherwise than as an act of seeking to cause difficulties in the economic development of the country that they only insist on constructing new power stations rather than tapping such potentials.

To undertake a new task before finishing an old one is not the work style worthy of a revolutionary. In that way work cannot be done well. In the power industry, too, new projects should be started only after the work of repairing and reconditioning now underway has been completed. If you undertake the construction of new power stations thoughtlessly before finishing repairing and reconditioning damaged generating facilities, neither the work of reconditioning nor the construction of power stations would be successful and, eventually, it would be impossible to meet the power needs of the national economy. Our officials should discard this harmful method of work as soon as possible and acquire the revolutionary work habit of finishing a piece of work before starting another.

It is beyond dispute that there is a lot of carelessness and

unplanning in the work of the officials of the Ministry of Electricity. At present, you are working even without a clear estimate as to how much power can be produced and supplied annually if you repair and put in working order all the generating facilities and reduce the rate of power loss in transmission. Some say 9,000 million kWh of power can be produced and supplied each year, while others say 9,500 million kWh. Everyone quotes a different figure. The estimate of the Industrial Department of the Party Central Committee differs from that of the State Planning Commission, and the Ministry of Electricity presents another different estimate. There is no knowing which is correct.

Only when there are exact estimates of the total capacity of the existing generating facilities and of how much power can be produced when all of them have been reconditioned and put in good working order, would it be possible to take correct measures for the development of the power industry and draft a long-term plan for the development of the national economy. With the incorrect estimates it is in fact impossible to draft a reliable national economic plan. I have heard that officials of the Ministry of Electricity are asking the State Planning Commission about the capacity of power that should be produced. This is however something which they should estimate themselves. We can hardly say this is an attitude worthy of the officials in charge of the country's power industry.

We should fully explain Party policy and the intentions of the Party Central Committee to all workers, engineers and office employees in the power industry including the officials of the Ministry of Electricity, so that they would unite in one movement to fulfil the immediate tasks assigned to this industry by the Party. All enterprises and Party organizations in the power industry should set correct targets as to when they would complete the reconditioning of the damaged generating facilities, and strive to reach them. They should thus ensure that all existing generating facilities operate at full capacity and that the rate of power loss in transmission is reduced as far as possible. At the same time, they should confirm the maximum annual capacity of power generation at an early date.

Another important task of the power industry is to implement the capital construction programme in the best possible manner.

At present, large-scale capital construction is under way in the field of the power industry to rebuild the war-ravaged power stations and power transmission and distribution facilities. The Ministry of Electricity is undertaking so many construction projects that it could be referred to as a ministry of capital construction. It is therefore a very urgent task for the power industry to promote the work of capital construction successfully. But the capital construction in this field has a series of shortcomings that must be rectified immediately.

First of all, the main drawback is the failure to implement the capital construction plan. According to the report of the Party Committee of Jagang Province, the construction of the Tongnogang Power Station is carried out far too slowly and in a disorderly manner. They say that the workers of this power station only carry out easy jobs first and have implemented their plan in terms of money. But, on closer examination, it can be established that they fall a long way short of their plans, on all indices of products, and the construction of the power station as a whole is progressing very slowly.

If the power industry fails to implement its plan for capital construction like this, it would not be able to meet the growing demand for electrical power and, accordingly, would greatly impede the development of the national economy as a whole and, in particular, the priority growth of heavy industry. The personnel of this industry should clearly grasp the importance of power production and correctly implement their plan for capital construction whatever the circumstances.

Another drawback in capital construction is that there is a great lot of wastage.

This phenomenon is not limited to the sphere of construction of power facilities; it is a shortcoming common to all branches of construction work today.

In October last year, the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held serious discussions on the problem of improving the

work of capital construction. The keynote in this meeting is that we should erect more inexpensive, functional and durable buildings faster. Authorized by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, I recently examined how well did Pyongyang building workers know the message of the October Plenary Meeting. With the builders I assessed the work performed in the past and also discussed whether we could economize more in designing and in building operations. At that time, a worker rose and said that if they installed the switch board in a recessed opening especially made for this purpose when starting to lay bricks for a building, rather than installing a large, wall switch board separately at the cost of a large sum of money as it is done at present, it would be easy to install and also very economical. Another worker said that it seemed to him that too many staircases were included in drafting designs for two- or three-storey buildings. Thus, were they to reduce their number a little and build more rooms instead, there would be more flats. All their suggestions were correct. As a result of serious consultations with the workers and engineers, a way was found to save 556 million won in the housing construction in Pyongyang alone. When the potential tapped in the construction of public buildings is added, the sum exceeds 1,000 million won. With this saved money we can build enough dwellings to house 17,600 families more. The Presidium of the Party Central Committee has decided to accept this excellent suggestion of the builders of Pyongyang.

This simple fact is enough to show clearly what enormous potential there is in the building industry. This alone tells us that in our country the sphere of capital construction is very similar to virgin soil. This sphere has the greatest potential and also the largest number of problems which call for early solutions.

Our country cannot afford to allocate a large area of land for housing construction because its territory is limited, and so as many multi-storey houses as possible should be built. Nevertheless, our officials are reluctant to build multi-storey houses on the pretext that they require a large amount of funds.

It is said that in other countries it is now much cheaper to build

multi-storey houses, and this should naturally be so. Contrary to this, the building of one-storey houses is considered to be cheaper in our country. On the basis of a detailed calculation this time, it has been confirmed that the construction of multi-storey houses is economically more advantageous, contrary to the advice of our officials. It took so much funds to build multi-storey houses in the past, entirely because of poor designs entailing a lot of wastage and of the failure to mechanize building operations.

Officials of the Ministry of Electricity also need to reexamine the construction of power stations in view of the message of the decision of the October Plenary Meeting. In the field of the construction of power stations, too, a good reassessment of the designs, building operations and management work would probably result in substantial economization. If you manage well, you might obtain enough funds to build the Pyongyang Thermal Power Station.

Many draftsmen are present here, so I would like to take this opportunity to stress once more the need to enhance their sense of responsibility. As I often say, if a draftsman makes a small mistake and draws a false line, he would cause a loss of hundreds of thousands or even millions of *won* to the state treasury. Deeply conscious of what great responsibility they bear to the Party, the state and the people, draftsmen should always work, thinking of how to be more beneficial to the Party and the state even when designing a blueprint or drawing a line.

Furthermore, the personnel in the field of the power industry as soon as possible should get rid of their wrong habit to consider with disdain small and medium-sized power plants.

At present they tend to belittle small power plants because there are many large power stations in our country. They refuse to recondition and put small plants into operation quickly. This is very wrong. During the Fatherland Liberation War we produced power by operating small and medium-sized power plants including the Ryonghunggang Power Plant. This is a good experience. Small and medium-sized power plants and thermal power generators in factories are very important

potential sources for power production. We should recondition and put them in good working order as soon as possible and make use of all big and small potential sources of power production.

Simultaneously with the reconditioning of ravaged small and medium-sized power plants we should build more of them.

Since our country has rivers everywhere and many reservoirs, we can build as many small and medium-sized power plants as we want if only we choose to do so. If we install generators on the irrigation canals now under construction on a large scale, we would be able to get electric power at the cost of a fairly small amount of funds. In such a way we would be able to push ahead with rural electrification. This scheme is good in many ways, for it enables us to make an effective use of water–irrigating the fields and producing electric power. Furthermore, the small generators needed for such power plants are not so difficult to manufacture. It is reported that at a certain cooperative in Jagang Province they have made a generator by themselves. So this would be quite possible at other places, too, if people get down to it in earnest.

Construction of small and medium-sized power plants is also of great significance in preparing our own forces to build large power stations. It is all very well that you want to build large power stations. But we lack experience. So it would not be right to try to construct only large ones from the beginning. And it takes huge amounts of funds to build large power stations. The financial situation of the country does not allow us to do so. In the course of building small and medium-sized power plants, our technical forces would expand and our experience would be enhanced. The technical forces I have mentioned mean the building forces, designing forces, and machine-building forces. By grooming such technical forces, we must gradually prepare for the building of large power stations in the future.

It is absolutely wrong to neglect the construction of large power stations just because I put emphasis on the problem of building small and medium-sized power plants. As you all know, without giving priority to the power industry we cannot develop the national economy and, accordingly, we cannot build socialism successfully. And with the construction of small and medium-sized power plants alone, we cannot keep power production ahead so as to meet the demand of the national economy and socialist construction, nor meet the growing power needs of the national economy. Therefore, we should also build large power stations along with small and medium-sized ones, and energetically make preparations for it. When I criticize you today, I only criticize your tendency to consider with disdain small and medium-sized power plants while constructing too many large power stations; I do not mean to say that you should neglect the construction of large power stations to take up just small and medium-sized ones.

Our country abounds in water-power resources and has lots of places suitable for building power stations. We are now pushing ahead with the construction of the Tongnogang Power Station in real earnest and have already started work on the Kanggye Power Station, too. In the future, we should harness all the water-power resources and expand and strengthen the power capacity of the country. To do so, we should build many power stations, big and small, at all suitable places including the Amnok, Tuman, Sodu and Taedong Rivers.

From now on, personnel in the power industry should closely investigate and register the water-power resources of our country and make scrupulous preparations for building power stations on a large scale. What must be seriously considered in particular in the building of hydroelectric power stations in the future is that in view of the economic situation of our country, such projects which can be quickly constructed with small investments and which can be useful in many ways, should be given priority. The orientation and order of priority in the survey of the water-power resources should also be decided from this point of view.

Since we are going to build many power stations in the future, we should be far-sighted enough to pay close attention to the training of technicians and skilled workers who would undertake their construction and manage them. The workers in the power industry should strive to raise their technical levels and skills and to master new

techniques. School is not the only place to learn technology. Not all university graduates are capable of performing such operations as assembling huge, precision power-generating equipment and welding iron pipes that withstand high water pressure. Such high-grade skills can only be acquired quickly through practical work. Construction and production sites seething with activity are as good places of learning as schools. For the first time we are building such a power giant as the Tongnogang Power Station by ourselves. We must train a large number of competent electrical technicians and skilled workers through this undertaking.

You should also learn modern techniques and experiences from foreigners who are helping us in the construction of power stations.

If the workers improve their techniques and skills and introduce new, technical know-how, they can prevent electrical accidents, produce more power with the same equipment, and give greater benefits to the state. All the workers, technicians and leading personnel in the power industry should not be at all conceited, but they should strive to continuously improve their technical levels and skills and learn new techniques in the practice of reconstructing and managing power stations, and to introduce modern techniques in production.

Another important task of the power industry is to establish a system of work and order and strengthen discipline in the operation of electrical equipment.

These days accidents involving electrical equipment including generators are frequent. Analysis shows that in many cases the principal cause is the failure to check and repair the equipment in good time and to observe the recommended directions and discipline in their operation.

To establish a good system of work and order and strengthen discipline is more vital in the power industry than in any other sectors. This is because electricity is the main kind of energy, the most important factor, needed to keep most industries in the country in operation. Just as a man dies when the heart stops beating, so all industries of the country would come to a standstill simultaneously when the generators stop working.

The workers in the power industry should establish a strict system of work and order in handling the equipment, lose no time in checking and repairing all electrical power facilities such as power stations and transformer substations, tighten discipline in their running and strictly observe the standard rules of operation, so that no accident happens.

At the same time, the struggle to take good care of power facilities should be intensified. The power stations and power facilities in our country belong neither to capitalists nor to any other individuals. Like all other industrial facilities in our country, the electrical power facilities, too, belong to our working class and people, and to you. It is the sacred duty of all citizens to value, love and protect the properties of the state and the people. You should always value and love as best as you can the precious equipment gained at the cost of the sweat and blood of our working class and people and fully utilize your wisdom and enthusiasm so as to make them last longer and use them more effectively.

Furthermore, the struggle to stimulate Party spirit amongst the workers of the power industry should be strengthened.

Many of them are old-time intellectuals. Indeed, through the Party's education and in the course of the struggle with the enemy for more than ten years since liberation, a great part of these people turned into working-class intellectuals who faithfully serve the working class and the people. But some of them still cling to ideological remnants of the past. Some comrades are unwilling to rely on their Party organizations, fail to implement Party decisions, and attend Party meetings with reluctance. Not only that, but I have heard that they even obstruct these meetings. This is outrageous. We should wage a resolute struggle against such liberal ideological tendencies which are unworthy of a Party member.

Needless to say, our personnel need to have technical know-how and ability. But the most important thing is their ideological maturity, a high degree of Party spirit, and willingness to work for our Party and people with devotion. For us, technology separated from the interests of the Party and the people is without value, and an engineer without Party spirit is not useful. We only need such technology and engineers serving the Party, the working class and the people.

The engineers and all other personnel of the power industry should always strive to become workers with high Party spirit, workers who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution and who put their technical know-how and knowledge to good use for the benefit of the working class and the people.

High Party spirit means boundless loyalty to the Party, devotion of one's wisdom and zeal to defending the Party and implementing Party policy, and unselfish struggle in the interests of the Party. Our Party is representative of the interests of the working class and the working people and the advanced group of people fighting for their happiness. Therefore, to be loyal to the Party and to implement Party policy is a struggle for one's class and all the people and, at the same time, a struggle for oneself.

A person with no Party spirit can have neither class spirit nor loyalty to the people. After all, Party spirit, class spirit and loyalty to the people are one and the same thing, and they are manifested in boundless loyalty to the Party and the revolution and in loyalty to the working class and the working people.

If a man, whether a Party member or not, is to be loyal to the Party and the revolution and be faithful to the people, he should have high Party spirit and class spirit and be humane. Party spirit should be expressed not only in one's ideological and political life but in the implementation of the Party's economic policies and in one's private life as well. Whoever is lacking in Party spirit, even to some degree, is apt to commit serious mistakes, regardless of his subjective intentions, and may slip into a quagmire before he knows it. The reason why the Ministry of Electricity misinterpreted Party policy and committed an error last year is also because its officials were lacking in Party spirit.

In the past, anti-Party factionalists like Kim Sung Hwa and Ri Phil Gyu ignored the Party, neglected to implement Party decisions and deliberately opposed Party policy. They challenged, "What on earth does the Party know?" The party is literally an organization in which

many people are gathered together. There is a saying, "Putting their heads together, three shoemakers are wiser than Master Zhuge Liang". Then, how can our Party, an organization with mass wisdom, be worse than Kim Sung Hwa or Ri Phil Gyu? Nevertheless, some believed in Kim Sung Hwa and his ilk and followed them as their disciples, instead of trusting our Party and fighting for its sake. This can be attributed to two causes. One is that on seeing Kim Sung Hwa swaggering about with an air of importance, they thought they could earn their bread only by currying favour with him. The other is that they were taken in by their false propaganda based on the "international current thought" or that "the Korean Party is going to be overthrown", and joined in the anti-Party factionalist activities of such fellows as Choe Chang Ik and Kim Sung Hwa. In the final analysis, both are anti-Party acts resulting from lack of Party spirit.

Many comrades who committed errors due to lack of Party spirit in the past have criticized themselves before the Party and are endeavouring to rectify their mistakes. It is a good thing that they should strive to do their work well, restarting with a clean slate after truly realizing their mistakes and criticizing themselves before the Party with an open mind. We know that these comrades have worked well for more than ten years since liberation, and we believe that this time they will correct their faults without fail.

In order not to commit such shameful errors again in the future, they should further strengthen the struggle to stimulate their Party spirit. In particular, the intellectuals should be active and energetic in stimulating their Party spirit more than anybody else.

Attending Party meetings with sincerity and enthusiasm is an important way of enhancing Party spirit. Everyone should acquire the habit of trusting and relying on the Party in their work and lives, and take an active part in organizational life including Party meetings. At the same time, Party members should always make a deep study of Party policy, arm themselves firmly with the Party ideology, defend the Party and strive to implement Party policy anywhere and at any time. If anyone should act against Party policy or try to infringe upon

the interests of the Party, they should fight mercilessly and resolutely against him, basing their struggle on strong Party principles.

Technicians should always be humble, learn with an open mind without becoming self-complacent and make strenuous efforts to improve their technical qualifications. At present, some technicians assume an air of wisdom just because they got a little education during Japanese imperialist rule, and they show the wrong tendency of sticking to the accepted capacities of those days. Probably, even to the Japanese themselves the standards set ten years ago have already become obsolete. Furthermore, the Japanese used outdated capitalist methods of work, whereas we are now employing progressive socialist methods. How, then, can we cling to the accepted capacities set in the days of Japanese imperialism?

We should stubbornly combat such conservatism and passivism and all other remnants of outdated ideas. We should move forward continuously and bring about radical changes uninterruptedly on the road indicated by the Party without any self-complacency.

Lastly, the leading officials should strive to shed the bureaucratic style of work, implement the mass line of our Party and acquire a popular work style.

Speeches at today's meeting have given me the impression that even now the directors of enterprises, chiefs of management bureaus and cadres of ministries are not willing to accept the creative ideas suggested by people at the lower levels and that they do not solve their problems in good time. I think it is necessary to warn them once more against this today.

This is not the first time that the question of doing away with bureaucracy has been brought up. Since the very first day we started to build our new country, we have stressed the need that cadres should acquire a popular style of work. Even after the plenary meeting of December 1956, at meetings of the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet, we told the leading officials many times to rectify their old style of work and enhance their role. But some directors of enterprises and cadres of ministries still lag behind their subordinates, picking on

petty mistakes and preventing them from moving forward, instead of giving them active support and assistance when they try to work better and make creative suggestions. As a matter of fact, these sorts of people are not made of leadership material. They trail behind, and they are not qualified for positions of leadership.

Leading officials must not trail behind others. In order to perform their role properly as leading workers, they should accept good suggestions from subordinates with an open mind and put them into practice without delay. And they should provide the necessary conditions for everyone to work well.

Leading officials should always go to the masses, take counsel from them, and mobilize their wisdom and strength for the settlement of difficult problems. They should give close attention to this.

The December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee displayed great vitality. On no account was this due to the fact that its decision was particularly better than others or due to the fact that it had some secret up its sleeve. The point is that the wisdom and strength of the masses were brought into action correctly for the implementation of the decision of the plenary meeting.

In former days all that there was to do for the Party Central Committee was to reach a decision and let it be known to lower Party organizations. But after the December Plenary Meeting the leading Party and Government officials went personally to production sites and explained its decision to the workers and discussed with them the ways to implement it. They went to the iron works, steel plants, power stations, construction sites, farming districts and fishing villages, where they lived with producers of iron, electricity, fabrics and rice and conducted political work and concrete organizational work to implement the decision of the plenary meeting.

I went to the Kangson Steel Plant and informed the workers of the message of the plenary meeting. I told them that we had many things to do such as building more houses, laying railways, reconditioning ports and producing machinery. I told them that we were short of steel, and so, I wanted to discuss with them ways of producing a little more steel.

To this they answered in unison that they could produce more if the Party demanded it. They made many good creative suggestions. We gave active support to their suggestions and they splendidly carried out their resolve. Thus, in 1957 the blooming workshop, for instance, turned out 120,000 tons of steel materials at its mill which had an accepted capacity of 60,000 tons. This was a great achievement.

Also, leading officials of the Party and Government went to the countryside and discussed with peasants how to develop agricultural production more quickly in view of the shortage of food grain and meat, and roused them to a new production upswing. In response to the Party's call, the peasants came out unanimously in the struggle for increased farm production, applying more manure to the fields and weeding them well. In spite of the long spell of severe drought last year, the peasants did not give up but overcame the dry weather by carrying water jars on their heads to water their maize plants one by one. In this way the peasants honoured the pledge they had given to the Party with credit and produced 3,200,000 tons of grain for the first time in the northern half of Korea. Before the war, we used to supply peasants with more chemical fertilizers than we did last year, but the peasants did not produce as much grain. In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, production of so much grain was beyond imagination.

The success achieved in the power industry in the past was possible only because the Party line and policy were fully understood by the masses and the masses struggled for their implementation.

To believe in the strength of the masses and work by relying on them, carry out the revolutionary tasks by mobilizing the wisdom and creativeness of the masses is our Party's traditional work method. Leading officials should always explain the Party line and policy correctly to the masses, accept their creative suggestions with an open mind and actively help them to implement their resolve. The time has gone when such a bureaucratic style of work as sitting in one's office issuing orders and ignoring the suggestions presented from the lower levels, prevailed. Already since the April 1955 Plenary Meeting we have waged a struggle at all Party levels against bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy has nothing to do with our Party's style of work and is utterly intolerable within our Party. Leading personnel of the power industry should also get rid of the bureaucratic style of work for good and employ the Party method of work which means carrying out the revolutionary tasks by believing in the strength of the masses and mobilizing them.

I have spoken so far about some immediate tasks the Party Central Committee has set before the power industry at present. I firmly believe that all workers in the power industry will vigorously fight for the implementation of the tasks assigned by the Party and thus accelerate the development of the industry by tapping all its latent reserves. I also believe that you will carry out your resolve to increase production by 700 million kWh of electric power without fail this year.

## THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY HAS INHERITED THE ANTI-JAPANESE ARMED STRUGGLE

## Speech to Officers and Men of Unit No. 324 of the Korean People's Army

February 8, 1958

I have been authorized by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea to visit you comrades serving in Unit No. 324, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I would like first to offer warm greetings to you, the soldiers of Unit No. 324, and through you, to all the officers and men of the heroic Korean People's Army which is made up of good sons and daughters of the Korean people and which defends our people's government, our people's democratic system and our socialist achievements.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to talk to you about a few questions.

1

Our People's Army has inherited the glorious anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The Korean People's Army was founded as a regular army on February 8, 1948. But this does not mean that our people had their own army for the first time after the August 15 liberation. The Korean People's Army was founded ten years ago, but the Korean people had a genuine armed force which fought imperialism and the feudal forces as far back as 1932.

In the darkest period of Japanese imperialist rule, the staunch communists of our country, guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, organized an Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, the first contingent of the revolutionary people's armed forces in our country, from the progressive workers and peasants and patriotic youths who were opposed to Japanese imperialism and wanted the national independence and social emancipation of the Korean people.

Our People's Army was founded with these patriotic fighters of the anti-Japanese armed struggle as the backbone and on the basis of its revolutionary patriotic traditions and valuable experience. For this reason, the Korean People's Army is the successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle.

It seems, however, that some people think that our People's Army is the successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle only because people who participated in that struggle now serve in it. The People's Army is the successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle regardless of whether people who participated in that struggle now serve in it or not.

Why do we call the People's Army the glorious successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle? It is because in the days of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle, the Korean people already had a people's army which championed the interests of the masses of the people, including the workers and peasants, instead of the interests of the landlords and capitalists, and opposed imperialism. In a word, our people have long had a real Marxist-Leninist army.

What does a Marxist-Leninist army fight for? It fights against imperialism, in the interests of the working people. Therefore, we call the People's Army the successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle

not merely because the people who participated in that struggle played a leading role at the time when the regular army was organized, but even more important, because the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army fought under the banner of Marxism-Leninism against Japanese imperialism, to defend the interests of the workers, peasants and other working people, and the People's Army has taken over such traditional feats.

It is true that the armies which fought against Japanese imperialism included the "Righteous Volunteers' Army", the "Korean Independence Army" and the "Patriotic Volunteers' Corps", but they were all nationalist armies that championed the interests of the propertied class.

Since the anti-Japanese armed struggle was launched the Korean people acquired an army which, different from those armies, was inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology, which defended the interests of the working people and battled resolutely against imperialism.

Our People's Army is not the successor to an army that fought in the interests of the landlords and capitalists. It is an army that has inherited the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army which, inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology, fought against imperialism in the interests of the working people, including workers and peasants. It is a great honour for us that our People's Army is the successor to the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

What do we mean by the inheritance of revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army? We mean that the People's Army has inherited the ideological system of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, its fine working methods and style.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas traditionally adopted a fighting spirit, by which they fought not for the landlords and capitalists but for the good of the working people, and always lived among the people and struggled hand in hand with the people. The ideology of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army was a Marxist-Leninist ideology and its aim was to strive for the establishment of a people's government which would fight imperialism and safeguard the interests of the working people.

In those days, the guerrillas, under the slogan that "As fish cannot live without water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people," always loved and respected the people and fought bravely for the liberation of the country.

The guerrillas were not merely soldiers fighting the enemy; they were also information workers who educated and inspired the people, and also organizers who mobilized them. Wherever they went, they formed various local organizations such as the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, Anti-Japanese Association, Anti-Japanese Union, Women's Union, Anti-Japanese Youth League and Liberation Struggle Union. These organizations were closely rallied around the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, and the guerrillas and the people were closely united.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas were able to wage a partisan struggle over a period of 15 years even though they did not have state power, as they fought for the people and had the full support and backing of the people.

There was a firm unity between superiors and subordinates in the anti-Japanese guerrilla units. This means that the guerrilla army was not an army based on the mercenary system, such as the army of the propertied class in which superiors oppressed and humiliated their subordinates.

The interests and purposes of the officers and men in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army were completely identical. In those days, all officers were promoted from soldiers, who were all the sons of the people. This was why there could not be any bitter feeling between the officers and men, and there was established a beautiful tradition of fighting together in close unity in the interests of the people, living together, and respecting and loving each other.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas did not join the guerrilla army at the request of others. They all came and joined voluntarily for the good of the people, for the people's government, to fight imperialism. Those amongst them who had distinguished themselves in battle were selected as commanders. Therefore, the guerrilla units were firmly

united and had a very strong spirit of mutual respect and comradeship.

There was a considerable number of other armies that fought against the Japanese army. There was the "Independence Army", that operated in south Manchuria. But this army collapsed. In the "Independence Army", the interests of officers and soldiers were not the same and those of the former conflicted with those of the people. Accordingly, they could not continue fighting for a long period.

But in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, the relationship between the officers and soldiers was more harmonious than that of blood brothers, and both superiors and their subordinates were closely united in mind and will.

Let me recall an incident which happened during the guerrilla struggle. Sometime round 1941, during the most difficult period in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we changed the line of our struggle. On the one hand, we trained many cadres in Soviet territory in anticipation of the future development of the revolution; while on the other, we switched over from large to small unit operations and intensified the underground struggle with the aim of preserving our forces. In those days the Japanese imperialists stepped up their "punitive operations" and, therefore, it was very difficult to carry out large unit operations and an open struggle.

One day a small group consisting of three men went to a locality on a mission to set up an underground organization. The group got into difficulties with regard to food and other matters. The leader of the group started to show signs of indecision, unable to overcome the difficulties. One morning he seized the pistols his comrades had left behind when they went out to wash and urged them to surrender with him to the Japanese enemy. He told them: "It is claimed in the guerrilla army that there are conflicts between the Soviet Union and imperialism, and between colonies and imperialism, which will lead to a great future, and that, therefore, it is necessary to make preparations to meet the forthcoming great revolution by preserving the anti-Japanese armed forces, training cadres and extensively carrying

out activities in local areas. But this is something which concerns the future, and that is hard to believe. The Soviet Union has concluded a neutrality pact with Japan. Who knows how many years have to pass until the victory of the revolution is achieved? I've been with the guerrillas for ten years now, but I do not see any hope. Only fools will remain with them, but I can't do so any longer." In those days, the Japanese imperialists distributed many reactionary leaflets urging the anti-Japanese guerrilla units to surrender. When he was in Changchun even Choe Nam Son once distributed the leaflets which called for "surrender" in various places.

Then, the two other members of the group told him: "If you want to go, go alone. Why do you want us to join you, and why are you going to take away even our pistols? No matter what the prospects of the revolution may be, how can we go away, leaving our comrades with whom we have fought shoulder to shoulder for over ten years, only to save our own skins? Our sense of justice does not permit us to do so. Go alone, if you want to. Give us our pistols back. We will fight to the last."

But the coward said: "I won't go back, because I would be executed when you get back and report everything. I can't return the pistols to you right now, because you would use them against me. I've decided to go, anyway, but I'll not take part in the punitive operation against the guerrillas after my surrender. I'll hang your pistols on the bridge. Go and get them." Then, he ran away.

The two resolved to report the incident without delay to the guerrilla headquarters, though the deserter had promised he would not join the "punitive operation". They went down the mountain after dark and found the two pistols hanging on the bridge. They picked them up and made their way to their headquarters, which had already been moved.

In those days it was a rule for the guerrillas to change the location of the headquarters after sending out a small detachment, and then to set up a liaison post there. So the two comrades waited for a contact. Their provisions having run out, they were almost starved. After they started to lose hope, they wrote a message on a tree trunk with a piece of charcoal saying that they had starved to death while the other one had surrendered. Then they lay down under the tree. Soon after, a liaison man arrived from the headquarters, and he carried them to the headquarters on his back.

These soldiers treasured comradeship and remained faithful to the revolution and their obligations.

In other armies there were cases of soldiers shooting their commanders to death and running away. But in our guerrilla army, this never happened.

As you see, the anti-Japanese guerrillas lived with the people and fought for the people and the commanders and soldiers were firmly united. This is a fine tradition which we must not fail to carry on.

Another fine tradition created by the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle is that of the fighting spirit in overcoming difficulties. The anti-Japanese guerrillas waged arduous struggles for the victory of the revolution and for the liberation of the country.

It is not an easy task to overthrow the old social system and build a new society that brings everyone a happy life. This can be achieved only through an arduous struggle. It is impossible to express verbally all the difficulties involved in the guerrilla struggle.

Today the People's Army, as a regular army, receives sufficient supplies from the Party and the Government. But the guerrillas fought arduously for 15 long years, and not just for a year or two, surmounting all hardships. The guerrillas armed themselves with the weapons captured from the enemy; they used the food and clothes seized from the enemy, or relied on the help of the people.

It is not always so easy to continue valiant struggle steadfastly in any situation whether it is favourable or not. In the closing days of their rule the Japanese imperialists distributed leaflets among the guerrillas which read: "Your strength is like millet floating in the sea. How can you fight against the Greater Empire of Japan?" Of course, it was very difficult for a small number of people to fight Japanese imperialism.

But the guerrillas, firmly enlightened with Marxist-Leninist ideology, were confident of the collapse of capitalism and certainty of a victory for socialism and communism. Therefore, they continued the arduous struggle in the face of all difficulties and at last achieved final victory.

Those who did not understand the Marxist-Leninist ideology could not foresee the downfall of Japanese imperialism. Such people lost confidence in the revolution and surrendered to the Japanese imperialists. There were even some who deserted a few days before the August 15 liberation. For this reason the problem of ideological consciousness is more important than anything else.

Our People's Army must adopt the revolutionary spirit of the anti-Japanese guerrillas who fought hard for the victory of the revolution with faith in Marxism-Leninism.

In its struggle, the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, as a revolutionary army of the working people and different from the nationalist army of the propertied class, strengthened international solidarity with the Soviet and Chinese people and maintained close ties particularly with the Soviet Union. The anti-Japanese guerrillas belonged from the beginning to one and the same family of communists. The guerrillas defended the idea of Marx: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" and firmly armed themselves with the idea of proletarian internationalism. This is another fine tradition of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army that the People's Army should inherit.

I stress this today because it is necessary for the People's Army, which emerged victorious in the war, to have a clear understanding of the great significance of inheriting the traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle in increasing its fighting efficiency to defend peace and safeguard socialist construction.

Anti-Party factionalists came out against our People's Army inheriting the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. Why do they oppose this? Their aim is to prevent the People's Army from becoming an army with a strong revolutionary spirit like the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

Should we become the successors of the "Independence Army" or "Patriotic Volunteers' Corps", which defended the interests of the propertied class, or the "Volunteers' Army" or Kim Tu Bong's "Independence Union" which never engaged in any battle with the Japanese enemy, and fled at the mere sight of them? No, we cannot be successors to such non-Marxist armies.

The only traditions we should carry forward are the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army which fought to defend the interests of the working people under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Recently, the anti-Party factionalist Kim Ul Gyu demanded that our People's Army be the successor to the peasant movement in Kilju and Myongchon. The peasant movement in Kilju and Myongchon, of course, was a worthy revolutionary struggle like those of other districts. However, in all respects, it was no more than a simple struggle waged for a few days by the peasants against the Japanese imperialists and landlords or a dispute involving tenants; it did not develop into an armed struggle. No one can say that the peasant movement in Kilju and Myongchon marked the beginning of the Korean people's armed forces, or that the Korean people had their armed forces after that. All the peasants' uprisings took place as a result of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

All the Korean people recognize the fact that our People's Army inherited the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. The heritage of such traditions is beneficial to us. There is nothing wrong about it.

Why do the anti-Party factionalists oppose this? Their purpose is to claim that no achievements were made by our country in the past and, if there already was, to divide the credit among all groups. Their false statements are utterly groundless.

The People's Army did not rise out of nothing; it was founded in 1948 to inherit the glorious revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army and has grown into a reliable armed force of the Korean revolution.

When we speak of inheriting traditions, we do not mean indiscriminately taking over everything.

In China there were also diverse independence movements and armed struggles, but it was not until the Nanchang Uprising (August 1, 1927) that the Chinese People's Liberation Army was founded. This happened because the Chinese communists, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, took up arms for the first time only at that time, rose in revolt against imperialist aggression and organized the people's revolutionary armed forces.

We must add more splendour to the history of the People's Army which has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle.

The People's Army was organized by the Workers' Party of Korea as the revolutionary armed forces of the Party to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and socialist revolution in Korea.

One of the former cadres of the General Political Bureau maintained that the People's Army was not the army of the Workers' Party but the "army of the united front". Then, can the People's Army be an army of the Chongu Party or the Democratic Party? No, absolutely not.

The Korean People's Army is the armed forces of our Party assigned to fulfil the revolutionary tasks set forth by our Party.

Some people get confused over the fact that there was no Party organizations in the People's Army when it was formed and that it was only during the war that Party organizations were set up in it. Can we call the People's Army the "army of the united front" because we did not have Party organizations in it when it was founded? No, we cannot.

There are only two kinds of armies in the present-day world. One is the army of the propertied class and the other, of the working class. These two classes, that is, the propertied class and the working class, are in conflict. Since the propertied class resorts to arms to maintain its grip to power, the working class needs armed forces in order to carry out a revolution to overthrow the propertied class and build a new society.

There can never be a neutral army that belongs neither to the propertied class nor to the working class.

Who is going to overthrow capitalism, build socialism and then communism in Korea? It is the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean working class. Therefore, the Korean People's Army, a Marxist-Leninist army, is the army of the Workers' Party of Korea.

In the People's Army there are only the Workers' Party organizations. Certainly, in the army, there is the Democratic Youth League, a mass organization which is guided by the Party. But under no circumstances do we allow organizations of other parties to exist in the army. There is nothing ambiguous about this. Those who talk ambiguously about this have ulterior motives. It is nothing but an attempt to divert the People's Army from Marxism-Leninism and change it into an army of the propertied class.

Our People's Army is led only by the Workers' Party of Korea. The Korean People's Army ensures with arms the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks set forth by the Party. Based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Party has organized the People's Army to bring about the democratic revolution and carry out the socialist revolution. Nothing more can be said or considered in regard to this problem.

The Korean People's Army is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist army which is loyal only to the Workers' Party of Korea and which marches forward along the path of revolution under the sole leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, guards the fruits of revolution gained by the Party, and builds a new society by overthrowing the old one in a revolutionary manner. We should remain steadfast at this point, and we will not deviate even a little from this path.

The Korean People's Army should, therefore, unite more firmly behind the Party and make better ideological, combat and technical preparations for the accomplishment of the revolutionary tasks entrusted to it by our Party.

I deem it necessary today to put greater emphasis on this point because there are certain wrong ideas among members of the army.

The Korean People's Army has a glorious decade-long history. It has inherited the revolutionary traditions of the past anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle and has a glorious record of defeating the US imperialist army which had boasted of being the "strongest" in the world.

The Korean People's Army has now become a powerful army in all respects. In the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle only small guerrilla units existed and in the early days following the founding of the regular army there were only a few combined units. But today the People's Army has grown into a reliable revolutionary force, a force of the Party and the Korean people that is powerful in all respects—be it numerical strength, technique or political preparedness.

The Syngman Rhee puppet army, of course, is larger than ours. But we can defeat it. In the days of the anti-Japanese struggle, the guerrillas were, as the Japanese themselves said, literally "a drop in the sea" compared with the Japanese imperialists.

Today, the balance of forces between us and the enemy is quite different. The People's Army is a powerful army which has a memorable history of battles and a wealth of combat experience. Our People's Army, though smaller than that of the enemy, has incomparable superiority over the latter. Our army is an army which is inspired by the progressive ideology of Marxism-Leninism, an invincible army which is provided with excellent technical equipment. The People's Army is an army led by the Workers' Party. The superiority of our army lies precisely in this fact.

It is not an exaggeration to say that practically none of our officers had experienced major battles, such as those fought by the regular army, before June 25, 1950. If there were any such experienced soldiers, they were only the cadres who fought battles against the Japanese army during the guerrilla struggle. The experience gained by the guerrillas in the battle against the Japanese army cannot be compared with the experience gained in large-scale modern warfare. In

the period of peaceful construction before the war, our army only underwent field training; it did not have actual combat experience. It can be said that at that time almost none of our soldiers had ever seen shells exploding and rifles being fired in actual battle.

But now the situation is quite different. Today our army is a powerful experienced army which has won battles against a strong enemy. Most of our officers and men have combat experience. Our army has many cadres who had gained experience in the long guerrilla struggle, and numerous cadres who were tested in the Fatherland Liberation War. I believe that all the comrades present here had advanced as far as the Raktong River. This is the most valuable asset of the People's Army.

Our drivers are also far better than those of the Syngman Rhee army or the US forces. If we and the enemy had been placed the other way round, as regards the air force, during the last war, the Syngman Rhee army would not have held out. If drivers of the Syngman Rhee puppet army are ordered to drive without headlights at night, with aircraft flying overhead, they would never do it. However this presents no problem to our drivers.

The ideological consciousness of our army drivers is different from that of the drivers of the Syngman Rhee puppet army. The soldiers of the puppet army do not know what they are fighting for because they are mercenaries. But our army is strong because it knows that it is fighting for the workers and peasants, for the country and the people. The Syngman Rhee army is a tool in the hands of the US enemy and is forced to fight in the forefront. But our People's Army is an army formed of soldiers who plan battles on their own and fight voluntarily.

Our army has grown strong, both politically and ideologically, and gained much combat experience. The situation was very difficult when the enemy landed in Inchon during the war. We did not have platoon leaders to organize units. Students who had never heard guns being fired were sent to the front after one month of training, and so, naturally, they could not fight well. Now the situation is different. If

any one of our noncommissioned officers is ordered to carry out a defence operation with 30 men right now, they will be able to fight well. Even in those days, the enemy managed to land in Inchon only on the third day. Now that we have much experienced cadres we are fully capable of foiling any invasion attempt by the enemy.

Why then do we continue to give importance to the cadre army? We do so with the aim of passing on the combat experience to recruits who have not participated in battle, and thus training them to become cadres capable of leading a battle.

The past ten-year history of the People's Army is a most glorious one. The People's Army has today grown into an army which is fully capable of defending the country's independence, peace and socialism. Our army has become incomparably strong in number, technique, consciousness and combat experience.

We are strong enough to successfully carry out the Korean revolution. In the northern half we have a powerful revolutionary democratic foundation, a population of 10 million, one million Party members and millions of Democratic Youth League members, apart from a strong combat-experienced army. Even in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle when the enemy called us "a drop in the sea" we managed to defeat the Japanese imperialists. How then can we fail to successfully carry out the revolution with such strength as we possess today? There can be no pessimism, but only optimism for us.

2

Under the leadership of our Party, our people made remarkable achievements in the rebuilding and development of the national economy in the years after the war.

Having successfully accomplished the Three-Year Plan, we have embarked on the task of fulfilling the First Five-Year Plan. Although the First Five-Year Plan has not yet been made public, we succeeded to reach targets for 1957 and are now carrying out the plan for 1958 in accordance with the decisions of the Third Party Congress.

We are making preparations to submit the Five-Year Plan for discussion at a Party conference this year and to endorse it at a session of the Supreme People's Assembly in the first half of the year.

Today industry and agriculture are developing at a much faster rate than was envisaged in the draft Five-Year Plan. In particular, as a result of the unparalleled enthusiasm displayed by our working people on their jobs, in accordance with the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, we exceeded the targets of the national economic plan for 1957.

In 1957, industrial output was 44 per cent higher than in 1956, and 2.8 times the prewar level. In the agricultural sector, 3,200,000 tons of grain were produced in 1957 as compared with 2,670,000 tons before the war. This is the biggest harvest in the history of our country. In agriculture we have basically solved the grain problem during the past years. In the northern half, the present average grain yield per person of the population amounts to more than 350 kilogrammes. Thus, industry and agriculture in our country are now developing at a fast rate, unprecedented in the whole world.

As regards the value of total output, industry accounts for approximately 63 per cent and agriculture 37 per cent, the proportion of industry being already far greater than that of agriculture. So, our country is changing rapidly from one with an outdated agriculture into an independent industrial-agrarian state.

Giving priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture has been the basis of our Party's economic policy in the postwar period. This line of postwar economic construction was decided upon at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee in 1953.

This economic policy is quite correct. If we had not done so, we would have failed to carry out the difficult tasks of rapidly improving the people's standard of living which had deteriorated as a result of the

war and, at the same time, of strengthening the economic foundations of our country.

Unless priority is given to heavy industry, it is impossible to develop light industry and agriculture. We cannot increase grain production and extensively develop agriculture unless we build many irrigation systems and supply large quantities of fertilizers and farm machines to the countryside. In order to increase grain production in our country, which has a limited area of arable land, it is necessary to raise the per-unit-area yields by supplying fertilizer in large quantities, building many irrigation systems and producing many farm machines.

Irrigation projects need transformers, motors, reinforcement rods, cement, electricity and so on, all of which must be produced by heavy industry. Without developing heavy industry, it is impossible to manufacture such things as cement, reinforcement rods, copper wire, transformers and motors. The great success in agriculture is attributed to the fact that we have given preference to the development of heavy industry which enabled us to rebuild or construct cement, fertilizer and machine-building factories and supply the countryside with large quantities of pumps, motors, transformers, electric wire, water-pumps, cement, fertilizers, farm machines, etc., and that, at the same time, we have boldly undertaken the Phyongnam irrigation project and many others in North and South Hwanghae Provinces and in various other districts.

In future we will undertake more work to irrigate fields other than paddy fields. The state continues to increase investment in this sector.

If we had to buy fertilizer from other countries instead of having reconstructed the fertilizer factory, it would cost us a lot of money and foreign suppliers would not readily comply with our order. We do not have the money to purchase large quantities of fertilizer, either. But, as we have rebuilt the fertilizer factory, we are now able to produce more than 400,000 tons of fertilizer a year and supply them to the countryside.

In this way, preferential reconstruction of heavy industry enabled us to develop agriculture and increase the per-unit-area yields. From this it follows that heavy industry is essential for the development of agriculture.

This is also the case with light industry. Light industry includes the food-processing and textile industries which solve the problems of food and clothing. These all depend on the development of heavy industry and agriculture. Light industry, too, has made great progress in the postwar period.

Before liberation, the Japanese imperialists pursued a colonial plunder policy in our country and, accordingly, they did not develop light industry. The Japanese imperialists robbed Korea of its raw materials while at the same time they sold the country their goods at high prices. A few textile mills in south Korea were the only light industry factories that existed in our country before liberation. As the country is divided, we are unable to make use of the light industry in the southern half. In the northern half there was practically no light industry. There were only two small textile mills, one in Sariwon and the other in Sinuiju.

But in the postwar period we built a big new textile mill in Pyongyang. Before the war north Korea produced 9 million metres of fabrics each year. The average output at that time was less than one metre per person. But now we produce over 100 million metres, that is, nine to ten metres per person. By the end of this year, the figure will go up to ten or eleven metres.

Unless we develop heavy industry on a priority basis, we cannot supply raw fibre materials to light industry. For the production of artificial and synthetic fibres, it is necessary to develop the chemical industry. The development of the chemical industry requires the development of the power and coal industries. Coal and electricity are indispensable for operating factories. It is clear from this that chemical fibre, a raw material for light industry, cannot be obtained either, without developing heavy industry. The textile industry needs a large quantity of caustic soda, which is also produced by the chemical industry.

Without heavy industry, it is impossible to develop the fishing industry, even though we are surrounded by resourceful seas. We have

to build fishing vessels, and we need shipyards in order to build them. Many ships were destroyed during the war. But we are now able to land hundreds of thousands of tons of fish. This, too, is attributed to the construction of many fishing vessels at our shipyards in Chongjin, Nampho and Rajin.

As for the building of houses we need cement, iron and lumber. These, too, cannot be produced without heavy industry. How can you expect to build good houses when you do not have cement, reinforcement rods, electrical equipment, sanitary installations and pipes?

But as we have reconstructed the Hwanghae Iron Works, Kim Chaek Iron Works, Chongjin Steel Plant, Kangson Steel Plant and Songjin Steel Plant by developing heavy industry on a priority basis, we are able to produce pig iron, reinforcement rods, pipes and other steel materials and thus build modern houses with them. We have built many modern houses in the past. Since we have already laid the foundations for the construction industry, we can build many more houses in future. Had we not done this during the Three-Year Plan, we would not have been able to build anything other than huts in our age when a new culture is being established.

It is beyond dispute that the economic policy of our Party has been correct.

Nevertheless, the anti-Party factional elements criticized and opposed the economic policy of our Party. Their declarations are utterly devoid of any theoretical justification. They did not study the economy of our country and, making unfounded criticism on the Party work, they claimed that priority should not be given to the development of heavy industry.

Originally our country had big power stations, chemical factories and iron and steel works. It is not permissible to abandon all these things without reconstructing and developing them. We have some foundations and conditions, so why cannot we ensure priority growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of agriculture and light industry?

The anti-Party factional elements said it was impossible. They proposed that instead of reconstructing and developing industry and agriculture, we should use foreign assistance, that is, 1,000 million rubles from the Soviet Union, 8,000,000 million *yuan* from China and aid from other socialist countries, to buy consumer goods such as rice and fabrics for a period of a few years.

The Party Central Committee rejected this. If we had used all the foreign aid for food and fabrics what on earth could we have done afterwards? It was a step in the right direction to build factories and find a way of increasing industrial and agricultural production in order to create conditions for a better life in future, although we had some difficulties at that time. Is it right to go begging after using all the aid for food? No one is likely to give more aid to such people.

The real intention of the anti-Party groups is to place our country in a difficult position and destroy the revolution. Their declarations are counter-revolutionary. It goes without saying that the anti-Party groups opposed the correct policy of the Party. And even some of the friendly parties had doubts about our Party's economic policy. When the Three-Year Plan was announced, some dubious people in the friendly parties accused us of indulging in day dreams. But it was not a dream; it was actually feasible.

We have consistently adhered to the policy of giving priority to heavy industry and, at the same time, rapidly developing light industry and agriculture. All our achievements are attributed to the fact that we have made economical use of our natural resources and of the aid from fraternal countries and devoted our principal efforts to building foundations for heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. Results have convincingly proved that the economic policy of the Party has been fully correct.

What then is the basis of the Party's economic policy in the First Five-Year Plan? The central task of this plan is to further reinforce the economic foundations of socialism and basically solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people in the northern half. For the accomplishment of this task, we must continue to put emphasis on

heavy industry, simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture.

In the sector of heavy industry, we must rapidly develop power, coal, metal and chemical industries, and in particular the machine-building industry

In the agricultural sector, the main stress must be put on grain production and, at the same time, stockbreeding, industrial-crop production, fruit growing, silk raising, etc., must be developed.

In order to enable all Koreans to have rice meals, it is necessary to produce at least 3 million tons of rice. We must strive to put 500,000 hectares of paddy fields under full irrigation, expand their area to about 600,000 hectares and increase the per-unit-area yields, thus producing far more rice than at present by the end of the First Five-Year Plan.

We have also laid foundations for developing stockbreeding. As a result, we recently substantially cut the price of meat. An annual production of 200,000-300,000 tons of meat in the years to come will make it possible to supply an average 20-30 kilogrammes per person. When we add 600,000 tons of fish to that, our living standard will improve considerably. This is only possible if the Party properly organizes work and gives good guidance.

Increased production of industrial crops is important in agriculture. In order to solve the clothing problem, it is first necessary to obtain raw fibre material by further developing cotton cultivation and sericulture. Along with this, oil-bearing crops such as castor bean, sunflower and sesame should be cultivated on a wider scale and thus production of oil, soap, etc., should be further increased.

Then there is the fruit growing sector which should be further developed. As a result of a campaign to increase orchards, we already obtained 30,000 hectares of land last year alone. It is quite possible to reclaim 100,000 hectares of land during the Five-Year Plan period.

In the villages throughout the country, a mass campaign is now under way to expand irrigation facilities, increase the production of compost, improve the quality of seeds and introduce advanced farming methods.

The most important factor for the major achievements we have made in agriculture is the great victory in the socialist transformation of this sector. We succeeded in accomplishing agricultural cooperativization within three to four years after the war without any problems. In the agricultural cooperative movement, we adopted the policy of positively developing cooperatives on a wide scale, while gradually gaining experience and training cadres through the experimental stage. As a result, at present 95.6 per cent of all peasant households are members of cooperatives. Socialist cooperativization in agriculture has thus been nearly completed.

Some peasants are still not members of cooperatives. They are the peasants who are scattered in mountain areas, or speculators living in cities or county seats, who are engaged partly in farming and partly in trade. There are others who are well-to-do peasants, or people who oppose cooperativization. The Party follows the policy of making these people change their mind not by force but by means of explanation and persuasion, by convincing them with facts of advantages of the cooperative economy.

We should see to it that the living standard of every cooperative member reaches that of the former well-to-do middle peasant. When each peasant household starts receiving, as its share, an average of 2.5 tons of rice and 25,000-30,000 *won* in cash we could say that its standard of living has reached the level of the former well-to-do middle peasant. It can be said that the standard of living of the middle peasant has now been generally reached. But this is not enough. Our immediate aim is to increase the income of cooperative members to the level of the former well-to-do middle peasant.

An important task confronting agricultural cooperatives is to continue to give a boost to agricultural production and thus increase the income of members and further accumulate their common property. Along with this, it is necessary to intensify efforts to educate the peasants in socialist ideology, with a view to consolidating the victory achieved in the socialist transformation of the countryside.

Under the conditions in which the form of agricultural economy has

been transformed the immediate, important tasks are to remould the consciousness of the peasants along socialist lines and gradually carry out the technological reconstruction of agriculture.

Light industry, too, has big prospects of development. It is important to produce a large quantity of synthetic and artificial fibres by continuously developing the chemical industry. In our country which has a small area of arable land, we cannot solve the question of fibres only by relying on cotton. Hence it is necessary to produce a large quantity of synthetic and artificial fibres to augment the production of fabrics. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan, per-capita production of fabrics will reach 18 metres. This is a high figure and represents a great leap forward.

Workers and technicians in light industry have pledged to the state to produce 10,000 million *won* of goods above the plan targets this year.

It is also necessary to develop the food-processing industry. This industry is the most outdated branch of our economy at present.

For the acceleration of socialist construction, it is necessary to improve the people's living standard and give jobs to more women. This requires enabling them to organize their life in a better way. To this end, the food-processing industry should be developed so that processed meat, vegetables, fruit and such things could be supplied to the population. When we plant fruit trees over 100,000 hectares of land, we cannot consume all the fruit in the harvesting season. We should dry or can fruit and vegetables in order to supply them to the population all year round.

It is also important to increase the production of essential commodities. We cannot yet produce all such commodities by ourselves. We should produce a wide range of daily essentials and improve their quality.

The housing problem is as important as those concerning food and clothing. We have built many houses in the postwar period, but we still need more houses.

Workers in the construction industry are now striving to implement

the Party's construction policy. It is important to quickly build many convenient and durable houses with less materials and at a low cost. This is the basic policy of the Party for the construction industry.

Some people say: "We are told to quickly build many convenient and durable houses at a low cost. But how can we manage this with all existing difficult conditions?" You can if you show enthusiasm and initiative. Tackle it, and you will succeed to do it.

In the past anti-Party factionalists in the construction and building-materials industries, criticized and strongly opposed the policy of our Party. The October 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee exposed and condemned the harmful deeds of anti-Party factionalists in the field of construction. The Party explained thoroughly to the builders its construction policy and conducted a political and ideological struggle to eliminate the harmful effects of actions by anti-Party factionalists in the field of construction.

The Presidium of the Party Central Committee inspected work in the field of construction and decided to cut down the cost of construction per square metre to 1,800 won. This was done because the Party properly organized and mobilized the workers, technicians and office employees and took advantage of their creative enthusiasm. Our builders eliminated the harmful effects of the behaviour by anti-Party factionalists and responded to the call of the Party, and as a result, they have managed to build a modern two-room family flat covering an area of 35 square metres at a cost of 50,000-60,000 won. In building army barracks, it is also necessary to use reserves in accordance with the decision of the Presidium.

The Third Party Congress decided to build houses over a 7,200,000 square-metre area during the Five-Year Plan. And the designers and workers have decided that it is possible to build 10,000,000 square metres of housing with the same funds in towns and workers' districts. In Pyongyang a campaign is being launched to build multi-storey apartments for 17,000 families this year.

We plan to build 200,000 houses in the countryside during the First Five-Year Plan. But this does not mean the final solution of the

housing problem in the countryside. Peasant households number one million, and 60 per cent of them need new houses. When we build 200,000 houses in a second five-year plan period and a similar number in a third five-year plan period, tile-roofed houses will replace nearly all of our farm houses.

These are the Party's policies with regard to the development of industry and agriculture, and the construction of houses.

Further details pertaining to the Five-Year Plan will be discussed at a Party conference. When we accomplish the First Five-Year Plan, socialist construction in our country will have made giant strides forward.

3

The building of socialism in the northern half of Korea provides a solid guarantee for the reunification of the country. For the attainment of the peaceful reunification of the country, it is important above all to show the advantages of the socialist system established in the northern half. All the people in the southern half must thus be fully convinced of the advantage of the system established in the northern half. This will promote the reunification of the country.

Everyone knows that Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik were die-hard nationalists who had been dead-set against communism in the past. But they finally arrived at a compromise with us in 1948. When Kim Ku came and saw things in north Korea, he said: "I now realize that genuine communists are here. Communists are genuine patriots, indeed. We oppose the United States. We fully support those of you who are patriots." And when leaving for south Korea, he had this to say: "I wish to be here in north Korea. But if I stay here, they will say I have been detained in north Korea. So I have no choice but to go back to south Korea. But I will never work for the Americans. I will tell the

people that north Korea pursues a correct policy and that the people are happy. I will come again when I find it impossible to continue living in south Korea. I hope you will give me an orchard then."

On his return to south Korea, Kim Ku, once a die-hard opponent of communism, took a stand against US imperialism and propagated the correctness of our policy among youths. As a result, even those who had had an erroneous idea of communism gradually came to understand it better, and this finally led the Americans to assassinate him. Kim Ku did wrong things in the past, but it is true that he was doing what was right in the last days of his life.

Even a man like Kim Ku supported us after he witnessed such construction work in the northern half. Needless to say, the masses of the people in south Korea will support us and rise against the Syngman Rhee regime when they become aware of the real state of affairs in the northern half. The overwhelming majority of workers and peasants in south Korea support us as we have common interests. Those who oppose us are only a handful of reactionaries and the victims of malicious propaganda and deception.

When the border between north and south is opened and the people of south Korea could freely travel to the northern half and see what we have done, they will find an independent economy here, an economy that does not depend on foreign countries.

We have now introduced compulsory primary education and by the end of the First Five-Year Plan all the children and youths of Korea will receive compulsory secondary education as well. This is the way to develop our national culture, the way to turn our country into a civilized one.

All the workers and peasants in the northern half live a decent life free from the problem of unemployment–doing their jobs well, having good meals, being well clothed and living in good houses. South Korea has 1,130,000 unemployed persons and when those who are employed on part-time basis are added, the figure reaches over 3,000,000.

Paddy fields in south Korea cover an area of 1,100,000 hectares of land which is twice as much as ours. But the rice harvest last year was

no more than 15 million *sok* although it is said to have increased by 10 per cent. If considered in terms of tonnage, this means 2,200,000 tons. Even when minor grain and summer crops are included, the harvest does not exceed 3,000,000 tons. South Korea has a population twice the size of ours, so how can they get along with this? We are self-sufficient in food, but south Korea is not. Consequently, south Korea turns to the Americans to obtain grain from them–rotten maize, barley and wheat. But even these are almost beyond the reach of the peasants. The number of peasant households which abandon farming and are without food is increasing year after year.

Which road will the peasants in the southern half choose when they compare our constantly developing socialist agricultural sector with agriculture in the southern half? There is not a shadow of doubt that they will follow the road we are taking.

The living conditions of the south Korean workers are just as miserable as those of the peasants. You can easily imagine the present plight of the south Korean workers when you recall the miserable life of the workers under Japanese imperialist rule. The south Korean workers are exploited and oppressed more cruelly than under Japanese rule. Far from enjoying freedom and rights, they even find it difficult to keep on living.

Under such conditions, which system and which policy will the south Korean workers choose when they join us after the barriers between north and south are torn down? They will never vote for the corrupt dictatorship of Syngman Rhee. They will all raise their hands in favour of the socialist system. So the greater our achievements in socialist construction, the faster the reunification of the country will be attained.

Last February 5, a Cabinet meeting again put forward a proposal for the peaceful reunification of the country. Some people would ask why we repeated the same thing, but our reunification proposal is only just and, therefore, we must be persistent in our efforts to propose it.

The Korean Armistice Agreement provides for the convening of a higher level political conference with the participation of representatives of north and south Korea, and representatives of the countries concerned, to discuss the question of peaceful reunification. This decision, however, has not been effected owing to the manoeuvring of the US imperialists. Later, our Government delegates took part in the 1954 Geneva Conference, and at that time they advanced a proposal similar to that put forward in the recent statement of the Government of the Republic. But the conference failed owing to the opposition of Dulles, the so-called "delegates of the member states of the UN Forces" which took part in the aggressive war in Korea and the Syngman Rhee clique.

In the years that followed, the situation in south Korea worsened. The US imperialists transferred the "UN Command" from Japan to south Korea, enlarged the south Korean puppet army and now they have brought in atomic weapons and are conducting offensive atomic exercises. The Americans shoot Koreans dead almost every day; they have ruined south Korea's economy and pushed the workers and peasants into extreme poverty.

We can no longer tolerate such a state of affairs. So we have issued another statement with a view to achieving the peaceful reunification of the country and relieving the south Korean people from such hardships.

We demand that a solution to the Korean question be found by the Koreans themselves following the withdrawal of all foreign troops. That is, our demand is to solve the question through negotiations between north and south Korea after the withdrawal of both the Chinese People's Volunteers and the US army. When the US army pulls out, the south Korean authorities, under the pressure of the people, will be compelled to enter into negotiations with us.

Our aim is to negotiate. We declare that the freedom of activities of political parties and social organizations should be guaranteed and that elections be held in north and south Korea. What we mean is that Syngman Rhee's Liberal Party will be free to carry out activities in north Korea and, in return, activities of the Workers' Party in south Korea should not be disrupted. Probably, even if Syngman Rhee were

to organize the Liberal Party in the northern half, only former landlords whose land was confiscated would become members. But no one in his right mind would join the Liberal Party. The number of members would perhaps be only a few thousands.

But our Workers' Party will certainly gain ground in south Korea. Our Party will advocate distribution of land to the peasants, construction of irrigation projects for them, introduction of an eight-hour workday and social insurance systems for the workers, and the building of many holiday homes. The people will actively support our stand. So, why should we be afraid of elections?

Syngman Rhee will, of course, ignore our proposal. He demands that "elections" be held only in the northern half under the "UN" supervision because he insists that the "elections" already held in south Korea are effective. How can we accept this?

We call for democratic elections, which means holding elections under conditions in which political parties and social organizations are guaranteed freedom of activities. We want that both sides be free to make speeches before the masses and have freedom of activities and that free elections be held. Syngman Rhee fears these things. He fears all words which the people like to hear, such as democracy, freedom, peace and reunification. The people will support us. Once the US army withdraws, Syngman Rhee will be forced to enter into negotiations with us under the pressure of the people.

We have reduced the People's Army by 80,000 men. Syngman Rhee must also do the same, instead of keeping an army of 700,000 men

The strength of Syngman Rhee's army is insignificant. It has many internal problems. The relationship between the superior and the subordinate in this army is not like ours, for the officers are the sons of the landlords and capitalists, while the soldiers are sons of the workers and peasants.

When the strength of the armies of north and south is reduced to the same level and the people, including the soldiers, are permitted to travel freely in peace, many people in south Korea will not support Syngman Rhee but will follow us.

Our stand is justified. Our proposals also have the approval of the south Korean people and the support of people throughout the world.

Following the publication of our Government statement, the Chinese Government yesterday issued a statement in which it expressed its readiness to hold negotiations with the Korean Government on the question of withdrawing the Chinese People's Volunteers, and also demanded the withdrawal of the US army from south Korea. A Government delegation from the People's Republic of China, led by Premier Zhou Enlai, will visit Korea soon. We will then discuss the question of the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers. The Chinese People's Volunteers are expected to return to their country even if the US army refuses to pull out.

There is no reason why we cannot continue to defend our socialist system on our own after the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers. We are fully able to guarantee national defence. Our People's Army is not technically inferior to the enemy; it is a revolutionary army which is ideologically strong. Our army, enlightened by Marxist-Leninist ideology, is fully capable of fighting against great odds with only a small force. Though numerically larger, the Syngman Rhee puppet army is disorderly and has no advantage, technically or in combat experience, at all over our army. The Syngman Rhee army is a mercenary army which is politically and ideologically weak.

We can do well even after the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers. We can successfully repel any enemy invasion on our own.

The withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers will be a heavy blow to the enemy at a time when we call for the peaceful solution to the Korean question.

There is no reason whatsoever for the US army to remain in south Korea. The US army must get out at once. After the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers, we will call even louder: "US army, get out of Korea!"

As the Chinese People's Volunteers may withdraw after the forthcoming talks between the Governments of Korea and China, we must make ideological preparations and organize all work in anticipation of their pullout.

In order to enable the People's Army, with its own strength, to protect the socialist achievements, safeguard the people's government and firmly secure our defence, repelling the intruding enemy, it is necessary, above all, to intensify the political and ideological education of our soldiers. Armaments like guns and aircraft are, of course, important too, but still more important is the strengthening of the political and ideological education of servicemen.

We must see, in the first place, that they have a correct understanding of the peaceful reunification of the country. Only when the People's Army is strengthened can we preserve peace and achieve peaceful reunification. It seems that some comrades believe that peaceful reunification will make members of the army redundant. This is a big mistake.

The more the Party and the Government call for peaceful reunification, the stronger should be our People's Army and the firmer its ideological preparedness. If the combat capabilities of the People's Army weaken, peaceful negotiations cannot be conceivable and the enemy will try to defeat us.

Only while we remain strong, will the enemy be deterred from attacking us and will peaceful reunification be achieved. Even if the enemy dares to attack us, we can strike back. So there is no reason why we should slacken our combat training only because we insist for peaceful reunification. You must not allow yourselves under any circumstances to become lazy and negligent. All officers and men in

the People's Army should keep this in mind.

The important thing in ideological work is to intensify education in socialist patriotism. I have stressed this point time and again. This is the slogan the Party put forward right after the armistice.

Each and every man, officer and general should clearly understand whom they serve and what they are fighting for. Syngman Rhee is also talking about "patriotism". But the patriotism we mean is not the patriotism of the capitalists and landlords, but socialist patriotism. We need patriotism to defend the interests of the workers, peasants and all other working people and to safeguard their socialist achievements.

While literally selling the country to the United States, Syngman Rhee urges the puppet armymen to become loyal subjects like Ulji Mun Dok. They call us "Reds" and are spreading false propaganda against us by saying that we are "stooges" of the Soviet Union.

We have the same ideology as the Soviet people and, like the Soviet Union, we are building a social system free from exploitation of man by man, in which the workers and peasants are their own masters. It follows from such ideas that we support and defend the Soviet Union.

For whom and for what are we fighting? We fight for the interests of the workers, peasants and other working people and we fight for socialism, and in defence of socialist gains. It is, therefore, necessary to convince the soldiers that ours is not a bourgeois patriotism, but a patriotism for the socialist country where power is in the hands of the workers and peasants.

Only when they are fully aware of socialist patriotism, will every officer and man understand for whom and for what they are shedding their blood, and fight courageously against the enemy.

The servicemen should be encouraged to show loyalty to the Party. The Korean People's Army is the army of the Workers' Party of Korea.

The Workers' Party of Korea leads the people in the struggle to carry out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution to liberate the people in the southern half from the oppression of US imperialism and feudal forces, and to fulfil the socialist revolution in the northern half. Therefore, the People's Army,

the army of the Workers' Party, should fully understand that it is a revolutionary armed force which must contribute to the fulfilment of the tasks of carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in Korea and achieving the reunification and independence of the country, while defending the socialist revolution and the socialist achievements.

It is necessary to strengthen Party work in the People's Army so that it will become more loyal to the Party. As we found out during the inspection conducted by the Party Central Committee, Party work in the army has many shortcomings.

First of all, Party members and servicemen in the army were not well educated to carry out the revolutionary tasks and policy of the Party. Anti-Party factionalists, particularly Kim Ul Gyu, Choe Wal Jong and others, plotted to destroy the Party ideas with parochialism and factionalism in the General Political Bureau and by propagating the wrong "theory" which could cause great confusion in political work.

The anti-Party factionalists ignored the revolutionary patriotic traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army and insisted that the People's Army was not the Party's army but an "army of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea". They attempted to destroy the loyalty to the Party of hard-core members, selected from each cell and sent by the Party to serve in the People's Army at a time when it was being set up and also destroy the loyalty of members with the strongest Party spirit who had advanced as far as the Raktong River and then returned fighting their way back across rugged mountain regions, suffering great hardship. They also attempted to separate the Party from the army.

The central figures leading the recently exposed anti-Party factionalists are former members of the New Democratic Party. Kim Tu Bong, Choe Chang Ik, among others, are all members of the New Democratic Party. The intention of the anti-Party factionalists was to eliminate hard-core members who originated in the Communist Party and to establish within our Party the influence of those who originated

from the New Democratic Party, that is, men of petty-bourgeois origin. It does not mean, of course, that all former members of the New Democratic Party have this tendency.

The anti-Party factional elements intended to turn our Party into a petty-bourgeois party and to pursue a neutral policy towards both the Soviet Union and the United States, and attempted to push our country along a lawless and dangerous path.

The former Director of the General Political Bureau Choe Jong Hak, took no definite actions to fully expose and condemn the criminal deeds of the anti-Party factional elements and to arouse hostility against such elements from Party members and soldiers.

Party work in the army has many shortcomings. But the People's Army is formed of reliable Party elements, so, most members, except a few who wavered, were not influenced.

Another serious matter was that the decisions of the Party Central Committee and its directives to the People's Army were not properly spread and explained within the army. The General Political Bureau submitted false reports to the Party Central Committee, claiming that everything was going well.

The Party organizational system in the army was also not correct: it enabled many officers to keep afar from Party life and to place themselves beyond the control of the Party. Consequently, some officers became arrogant and warlordism grew among them.

The one-man management system is enforced in the army, but no commanding officer should place himself beyond Party control. When they are not under the control of the Party, some people become negligent and corrupt; they make their men chop firewood, fail to keep discipline and commit various irregularities. There are cases of officers who are offended and make complaints even when they are slightly criticized.

There are cases where officers neglect the education of those who fought well against the enemy during the war and then punish them outright when they make mistakes. The Party Central Committee is very sad to see brave combatants, who had fought so courageously,

shed their blood and risked their lives, being treated like that.

Why are those people who fought so well treated in such a manner without day-to-day guidance or education simply because they made mistakes at some time? This is not the way to educate these fine people.

All this is due to the failure to strengthen Party life.

The Rules of our Party explicitly point out that every Party member should thoroughly follow Party life, and the documents of the Third Party Congress emphatically set forth the task of observing the Leninist standards of Party life. This task, however, is neglected in the army. There are Party members who have attended only one Party meeting in a year. Commanders, chiefs of staff and heads of political departments of army corps are criticized slightly only when they attend officers' training courses organized at the Ministry of Defence. Except for this, there is nothing that guides, educates and controls them.

We believe that the Party Central Committee has made a timely and proper inspection. It is necessary to initiate in future a system of Party committees in the People's Army–from the Ministry of Defence down to divisions and regiments.

All the Party members, without exception, should take part in Party life, receive education in the Party organizations, and regard it as the highest honour and duty to be loyal to the Party.

To implement the decision of the Party Central Committee in conformity with their actual conditions, the Party committees in the army should discuss it and take measures for its implementation. It is the most important task confronting the Party organizations in the army to normalize Party life and completely restore the standards of Party life. Only by carrying out this task, will it be possible to educate everybody in the Party, from the generals down to soldiers, through loyalty to the Party and to make even servicemen who are not Party members fight for the Workers' Party of Korea.

All military men, united behind the Party Central Committee, should determinedly fight against the anti-Party elements, including those who seek parochialism.

Parochialism is the hotbed of factionalism. In the General Political Bureau Kim U1 Gyu carried out factional activities with people from Kilju and Myongchon.

Those who claim that they were engaged in a revolutionary struggle at home must follow Party life more strictly. They were imprisoned for having organized tenant farmers' struggles and only shouted *manse*, but they had no experience in Party life. While in prison they might have been mentally tested, but they had no opportunity to receive political education. Nepotism and parochialism which lead to the practice of going about in a group of close people and seeking a high position while neglecting study despite having no education, provide a hotbed for factionalism. Parochialism and factionalism should not be tolerated.

Anything that goes against the Party policy must be thoroughly opposed. There should not be a single alien element in the People's Army since it protects the Party with arms. A vigorous ideological campaign should, therefore, continue within the army.

Education of soldiers in the Marxist-Leninist ideology should be intensified. It is important to arm the servicemen with the world outlook of dialectical materialism. Only with the world outlook of dialectical materialism that new things triumph and old things disappear, can everybody fight valiantly to the last, overcoming all difficulties, and clearly understand the trend of developments even in a confused situation.

As the declaration of the international Moscow conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out, socialism has now grown incomparably stronger and capitalism is declining further. The socialist camp prevails decisively over the forces of imperialism with regard to the number of people and scientific and technological progress. Every soldier and Party member should have faith in the final victory for socialism.

When you study the declaration of the Moscow conference, you will find that our Party policy has been correct on the questions of combatting dogmatism and revisionism or defending the Soviet Union

and appraising imperialism. Therefore, when you study the declaration of the Moscow conference and the documents of the Enlarged December 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, you should not fail to study them in conformity with the policy of our Party.

It is always necessary to look back on the path our Party has taken. Then your confidence in the Party Central Committee will become more stronger, your sense of pride in being members of the Workers' Party will grow even more and you will be more convinced that all the work carried out by our Party leads the people to victory.

Next, training should be stepped up in the army. Ours is an age when amazing technical progress is being made. Modern arms should be prepared to keep pace with the development of the times. The Party Central Committee gives much money to our army. We cannot fight the enemy well without modern technology, however high our consciousness. Therefore, the People's Army should be strengthened with the latest military technology. Along with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, modern military technology should be introduced.

The technological level of artillery and all other branches of the armed forces should be improved, and the military personnel should master their arms.

In order to fight back powerful enemy forces with a small army it is important to reinforce fortifications. Fortifications are important particularly in modern warfare.

Following their humiliating defeat in the past war the Americans said that "modern technology came off a loser to the technology of the feudal age." They said so because we fought from strong fortifications and defeated them.

When we build strong fortifications, we can defend ourselves against an enemy that can be not three times, but even five or six times stronger. It is necessary to build up solid fortifications properly.

In conclusion, you should keep stricter discipline in the army, struggle against corruption, fight against counter-revolutionary elements and intensify the counter-espionage struggle by maintaining the vigilance. The enemy is plotting to destroy our army from its

foundations. The Party calls for stricter revolutionary vigilance at all times. You should prevent malicious elements from infiltrating your ranks, instead of merely remaining on the alert for the sound of gunfiring in south Korea.

No spy can infiltrate when there is strict discipline, when things are in perfect order and armymen have a high degree of ideological consciousness. At a place where discipline is lax, where things are in disorder, and uncontrolled acts are tolerated, it is impossible to uncover spies even though they may be active. Therefore, it is necessary to establish discipline and order and thoroughly carry out guard and garrison duties. A spy never puts a label on his forehead to indicate he is a spy, nor does he answer even if you shout, "Who is the spy?"

When strict discipline and order are enforced and the ideological system is firmly established, all negative elements can quickly be detected and exposed. Hence, the need for tightening Party discipline, strengthening the unity of the Party and intensifying vigilance.

By reinforcing our revolutionary foundations and strengthening the People's Army we will provide a decisive guarantee for the peaceful reunification of the country. I am sure that you will do your utmost to strengthen combat capabilities of the People's Army in every possible way.

## FOR THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Concluding Speech at a Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea March 6, 1958

Comrades,

We have discussed very important issues at this conference. We have discussed how to promote socialist construction in the northern half of Korea and how to further consolidate our Party, the General Staff of our revolution. The discussion of these issues is of tremendous importance.

To further strengthen our Party and successfully promote socialism in the northern half, the source and main position of our revolution, means precisely to further increase the political and economic forces of our revolution.

In our country it is only our Party which fully devotes itself to the struggle, in whatever adversities, for the benefit of all the people, for the welfare and prosperity of our nation and for the reunification and independence of the country; it alone shows all the people the path of struggle. This proves that it is natural for all the Korean people to trust their destiny in the hands of our Party. Moreover, it proves that only our Party is capable of taking the responsibility for the destiny of the Korean people upon its shoulders.

You have unanimously supported the draft First Five-Year Plan for

Development of the National Economy submitted by the Party Central Committee and have firmly resolved to struggle for its implementation. You have also shown your strong determination to rally closely around the Party Central Committee and defend the unity of our Party as if you were defending the apple of your eye by completely smashing the anti-Party groups, in order to achieve the cohesion of Party ranks in thought, will and action; you have expressed a unanimous desire to remain faithful to the banner of Marxism-Leninism and thus to carry our revolution through to a victorious conclusion.

I am very much gratified by the profound trust expressed by you comrades in the Party Central Committee and by your firm resolution. When our Party marches forward in such firm unity, there will be no insurmountable difficulties in front of us; all shades of anti-Party groups and reactionary forces opposed to the revolution will have to give way before the united force of our Party and people, and we will achieve complete victory.

I would like to speak once again about the Five-Year Plan, although you have thrashed it out in your speeches.

The Five-Year Plan, as many comrades said, is the first of its kind in our country. There could be no planned economy in our country in the past—neither during feudal reigns nor under Japanese imperialist rule. Only when the people have taken power into their own hands, only under the socialist system, it becomes possible to develop the national economy in a planned way.

We have already experimented with a one-year plan, a two-year plan and a three-year plan, and today we are discussing our Five-Year Plan which is already being implemented.

The fact that we are carrying out a five-year plan is in itself striking evidence of the firmness of the economic basis of our country, its development as well as of the strength of the people's democratic system in our country. If our economic power had been weak and the people's democratic system not consolidated, it would have been impossible to draw up and implement such a

comparatively long-term perspective plan.

Today we are engaged in economic construction, looking ahead not for one or two years, but for five years. A one-year plan, as you know, envisages small-scale construction over a short period. But a five-year plan envisages magnificent, large-scale construction over a long period. If the economic basis of our country were unstable and all the necessary preparations had not been made in every sector of our national economy, we could neither envisage nor realize such a project. Therefore, the mere fact that today we are discussing the Five-Year Plan and have begun carrying it out is, in itself, something in which the Korean people should take great pride, and a historic event unprecedented in our country.

Another political significance of the Five-Year Plan is that it offers great prospects to all the people. In the past our people lived in destitution, not even knowing how they would get their daily bread the next day. As a worker said in his speech a little while ago, our people's conditions were so bad that they had to live from hand to mouth. But today our people can clearly foresee what they will have to do at least for five years, and how much our country will have developed and how much our life will have improved at the end of that time. This affords the prospects of socialist construction and a bright future for all the people, confirming their confidence in victory. Hence, our people can surmount any difficulty with still greater courage, realizing that it precedes fresh victories and advances. Thus, the very fact that for the first time we have drawn up and are carrying out a five-year plan is of tremendous significance.

What, then, are the main tasks of the Five-Year Plan which our Party is discussing at the present conference? These tasks which we have put forward are to lay the foundations of socialist industrialization in our country and basically solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

What does this mean? This means that our country will devote its attention to all aspects of the problems of economic construction and the people's standard of living and solve them in a proportionate

manner by rationally combining them. In other words, while stepping up all work of construction for the future development of our country and for the further consolidation of the nation's economic foundations, we plan to solve, at the same time, the problems of food, clothing and housing in order to improve the people's material and cultural life.

The basic tasks of the Five-Year Plan are based on the lawful requirements of our country's economic development and are in full accord with the interests of the whole nation for the reunification and independence of our country and its future prosperity.

The laying of the foundations of socialist industrialization in our country will convert it from a backward agrarian country into an independent industrial-agricultural state.

For a long time our country was an extremely backward agrarian country under the rule of the feudal dynasties. Then for nearly 40 years it was a dependent country under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, providing raw materials to Japan. The industry we inherited with the liberation was a colonial dependent one that had been providing the imperialists with raw materials. Agriculture was also extremely backward and utterly devastated.

Our aim now is to eliminate the colonial dependence of our industry and the backwardness of our agriculture. In other words, we intend to completely liquidate colonial lopsidedness in industry and build an independent, modern socialist industry. Constructing an independent, self-supporting economy means building a country in which we can earn our own living, that is, a self-sufficient country.

The setting up of such an economic foundation requires both heavy and light industries with modern technological equipment. As you all know, heavy industry in the northern half had, in the past, been geared to supplying raw materials, and there was practically no light industry. Now we are going to build an independent heavy industry and modern light industry.

As for agriculture, we are going to convert the backward rural economy of the past when we could never anticipate a stable harvest because of yearly disasters, into an advanced rural economy, which will enable the peasants to work easily, reap bumper harvests at all times free from disasters and guarantee sufficient food supplies and industrial raw materials.

That is why all the people, in response to our Party's call, are mobilizing to promote this kind of hopeful, joyful and prosperous socialism.

Some people might ask: Can we reach this goal? Is it possible to build such a country? Is it not a dream? Of course, it is attainable; it is not a dream at all.

Some people scoffed at us even when we were working out the Three-Year Plan. What did they say when they derided us? Certain officials of the Democratic Party said: "The communists talk sheer nonsense." They vacillated. Within our ranks, there were also waverers. It is clear now that anti-Party elements were busy backbiting.

As you know, we set out on the Three-Year Plan empty-handed under extremely difficult circumstances: we literally had nothing-neither bricks, cement nor reinforcement rods. Factories had been virtually reduced to ashes. We started rehabilitation under such conditions that it was impossible to determine the extent of destruction.

However, we surmounted all the difficulties and achieved a great victory. Today all the factories and enterprises are turning out more and better products than before the war. Many new factories have been built. A machine-building industry, non-existent in our country before, has been set up, and the colonial lopsidedness in industry has been considerably eliminated. This means that we undertook the construction of heavy industry after determining our priorities according to our needs; in reconstructing factories we rebuilt them into modern ones. Those which were formerly engaged in the production of semi-finished goods were built anew to turn out finished goods, and those which previously manufactured raw materials were rebuilt to produce semi-finished goods. Thus, every factory has been developed onto a higher level. We have created the bases of light industry although we started practically from scratch.

Then, will we be able to implement our plans in the future? I think we are fully capable of doing this in view of what we have already accomplished.

If we are to carry out our present plan, it is necessary to continue adhering to the line our Party has followed until now, that is, the line of laying the main emphasis on heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. This line is the one most suited to our country. The correctness of this line has been verified through practice in our country.

Our country has favourable conditions for the development of heavy industry. Though ours was a colonial industry, there was some foundation in heavy industry. Besides, our country is rich in mineral resources. If we make efforts to exploit our mineral resources and utilize them properly, we will be able to further develop heavy industry. Therefore, the development of our country's heavy industry must be given priority. Without heavy industry, it is hardly possible to develop light industry and agriculture. It goes without saying that the heavy industry we are going to build up is one which will be able to serve the development of light industry and agriculture, which will lay the foundations for our future socialist industrialization and which is essential today for the solution of the problems of the food, clothing and housing for the people.

Thus, the line of laying the main emphasis on heavy industry and developing light industry and agriculture at the same time, is entirely correct. Therefore, during the Five-Year Plan, too, we must adhere to this line of laying the main emphasis on heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture.

At the same time, it is important to find rational solutions to the issues of economic construction and the people's standard of living both in financial policy and in investment. In other words, the balance between accumulation and consumption should be properly fixed and maintained.

We cannot follow a policy of eating up and consuming all we earn without accumulation. We must constantly increase accumulation for

the future, for our country's prosperity, for its industrialization and for the sake of further consolidating the basis of socialism. Accumulation is, of course, in the interests of the people. It is different from consumption only in terms of time. In other words, consumption meets immediate needs, whereas accumulation is geared to the systematic improvement of the people's livelihood. We must increase accumulation for the future.

Yet, we should not put too much stress only on accumulation and on the future, neglecting the present living conditions of the people. Therefore, it is of great importance to solve the problems of economic construction and the people's standard of living rationally by keeping a proper balance between accumulation and consumption as we have done up to now.

We can never accept the views of those stupid people who disregard production and construction, shouting only about the people's standard of living. It is also inadmissible to emphasize accumulation alone, while paying little attention to the people's living conditions.

We must fully convince all the people of the fact that for their future well-being a high level of accumulation is necessary and that the country will become rich and strong, and the people's living conditions will improve only when economic construction goes well and production steadily develops through accumulation. This is the law of economic development, and all the people, especially our Party members, should have a clear understanding of this law.

Insistence upon eating up as much as we obtain without constructing and accumulating, without doing anything, is nothing short of the assertion of the anti-Party groups. This we cannot do. We must continue to observe the principle of regulating accumulation and consumption in a rational way.

Another important problem is to eliminate the distinctions between town and country in improving the people's standard of living.

Under capitalism, towns thrive excessively with everything converged upon them, whereas the countryside becomes more and more

desolate and the standard of living there falls far below that in the towns.

We communists aim to eliminate this gap between town and country. Since we have so far made proper adjustments in the relations between town and country, the gap has now been considerably reduced. This means that the standard of living of the peasants and the workers is being proportionately adjusted in our country.

We must see that no large disparity is allowed to exist between urban and rural construction or between the standard of living of the workers and the peasants since we develop the economy according to plan.

It is necessary to develop our national economy along this line.

Then, which branch should we emphasize in industrial development, especially in giving priority to the development of heavy industry?

Firstly, the ferrous metal industry should be developed, so that pig iron and steel are produced in quantities to meet our country's needs. We are fully able to do this. We have the Musan, Chondong and Hasong Mines. We have huge deposits of iron ore. Besides, we have the previously existing blast furnaces, electric furnaces and revolving furnaces for granulated iron. If all of them are rehabilitated, some newly built and expanded, that will do.

At present, owing to the shortage of steel, we are unable to build many houses and undertake many projects, such as the building of bridges, harbours, railways, etc. Large quantities of steel are needed to set up factories, dwellings and many other facilities, to develop numerous mines and to manufacture large quantities of machines. We have to make good for the shortage of steel. Last year 80,000 tons of steel were imported. There is nothing wrong in importing steel, but why should we when we are fully capable of producing it for ourselves? We must take advantage of our capabilities. We must develop the ferrous metal industry and meet our country's needs as far as steel is concerned. To reach our aims Party members, workers, engineers, assistant engineers, managers and other management personnel in this branch should make greater efforts.

Secondly, coal and power production should be developed. Without coal and electricity, factories, mines, railways and all other sectors would not be able to operate. Therefore, the power and coal industries should be continuously developed.

The development of the power industry is very important, for it strengthens the power bases. In order to develop industry, it is necessary to keep the power industry ahead of other branches. The important thing in solving the problem of electric power, as the Minister of Electricity said in his speech, is to mobilize to the maximum the latent reserves for the increased production of electric power through complete rehabilitation and readjustment of the existing power stations, and, at the same time, prevent loss of electricity by perfecting the power-transmission networks and establish a strict system of economization in the consumption of electricity. We must take these initial measures, and then begin new construction. It is wrong to take up many new projects without fulfilling the tasks you have already been given. The first task in this sphere, therefore, is to produce more electricity by perfecting the existing equipment and to make the most of the electricity produced. To make good for the electricity shortage, we must then speed up the construction of the Tongnogang and Kanggye Power Stations. We must also embark on building new small hydroelectric and thermal power plants and making use of all the existing ones.

It is also of great importance to develop the coal industry. At the Third Party Congress we pointed out, "You are crying for coal while sitting on a pile of coal." Now, I find the draft resolution using mild terms: "Coal resources are not properly exploited." In fact, we are crying for coal while sitting on a mountain of coal. There is no place in our country where there is no coal. As the manager of the Aoji Coal Mine said in his speech yesterday, the Aoji region alone has a deposit of at least 100 million tons of coal. If it is mined at a rate of one million tons a year, we can go on mining for 100 years. One hundred years is a century! Then what do we have to be afraid of? However, malicious elements entrenched in this sector have continued their malevolent

actions and, therefore, the Party's policy has failed to reach the lower levels smoothly. Now the coal problem must be solved. The draft plan envisages 9.5 million tons, but we should surpass 10 million tons at least.

Furthermore, one of the important problems in solving the questions of food, clothing and housing is that of fibre. We are facing great difficulties owing to the lack of fibre. The Party, therefore, has set the production of chemical fibre as an important task of the chemical industry.

The problems of food, clothing and housing are vital to man, but we are now unable to manufacture more knitted goods, fabrics and fish nets because of lack of fibre. When we visit factories, we hear the workers say that they have no knitted goods. The reason why the Koreans cannot manufacture knitted goods is not the lack of know-how, but rather the shortage of yarn.

The vinalon that the chemical research institute has been studying must be put into production. It is advisable for the Party to direct great attention to this. In my opinion, the comrades working in the chemical industry should find bold and prompt solutions to the problems presented by Comrade Ri Sung Gi. Thus, while perfecting vinalon, it is important to see that the Chongjin Spinning Mill produces more rayon yarn and staple fibre.

We will have to completely solve the fibre problem in our country by means of chemical fibre. All the technically advanced countries are nowadays opting to solve the fibre problem with chemical fibre. Chemical fibre has special significance in our country where cotton does not grow well, and even if it did, it cannot be extensively planted because of the limited amount of arable land.

Next, we come to the problem of fertilizer. As was emphasized in the report, chemical fertilizer is very important for the solution of the food problem. The plan envisages the production of 630,000 tons, and this is no small figure. One comrade said it would be possible to produce up to 700,000 tons, and it would be even more gratifying if you were to carry out your work so well that you would be able to

exceed the expected results.

Besides fertilizers, medicines for both men and domestic animals, agricultural chemicals and various other chemical products should also be produced in large quantities. Our supply of medicines and chemicals is now greatly deficient. We are short of agricultural chemicals, reagents, and medicines for men. We must meet the need for all kinds of medicines and chemicals.

As far as heavy industry is concerned, emphasis should be put on the mining and nonferrous metal industries. These constitute important sources of foreign currency for our country. As I have often mentioned, hoarding gold is useless. It is now necessary to mine large quantities of gold and rare metals and sell them to other countries, so that we build up industrial bases and carry out effective industrial construction in our country. Therefore, those branches of the mining industry which would bring us foreign currency should be further developed.

Another important issue is to expand the building-materials industry, especially the production of cement. Cement is required both for the solution of the housing problem and for the productive construction aimed at expanded reproduction. The more cement we are able to produce, the better. With large quantities of cement we can undertake various projects. Farming, too, can be done quite easily if we have cement. There are many large mountains and ravines in our country. If we build reservoirs by damming up all these ravines, we can produce electric power, stave off flood damage, and supply water to rice paddies and dry fields in dry weather. In this way we will create the most important conditions for developing agriculture.

It is desirable to undertake such projects during the Five-Year Plan. South Hamgyong Province now suffers from floods every year. Therefore, water conservation work should first be undertaken on the Ryonghung and Namdae Rivers in that province. In these places, when the stream is dammed up in the lower reaches, the embankment will often give way, so the stream should be stemmed in the upper reaches where it rises, instead of taking pains to build embankments in the lower reaches. Then, we can generate electricity, irrigate dry and

paddy fields with that water, and prevent flood damage. Ultimately, this conservation work is good in all its aspects, because it will enable us to irrigate fields, produce electricity and, moreover, breed fish in well-maintained reservoirs and also provide an area for boating. Why then should we not carry out the conservation work? It will be even better if vacation hostels are built there.

There is no end to our needs for cement. Some comrades doubt whether we are producing too much cement, but that is a wrong idea. If we had plenty of cement, we could now make concrete blocks and wall off the sea in the tidelands on the west coast. Then we would obtain hundreds of thousands of hectares of new land. We have to build roads and harbour facilities. Therefore, tremendous quantities of cement are required in our country.

Emphasis should be put on those branches of heavy industry I have already mentioned.

As the Minister of Metal Industry said in his speech, iron and other industries should develop those branches which can secure raw materials in our country. This is important. Industries which depend upon foreign countries for raw materials are not stable. Of course, fraternal countries can fill mutual needs and cooperate with one another; but there is a limit to this; it is impossible to rely entirely upon others. Therefore, this factor must be taken into account in developing heavy industry.

Of paramount importance in solving all these problems is the development of the machine-building industry. Without developing this industry it is impossible to carry out the technological reorganization of all branches of the national economy. The same applies, without exception, to agriculture, fishing, chemical, power and coal industries.

To mine coal, rock drills must be produced; to undertake high-speed tunnelling, debris-loading machines must be manufactured. Thus, the question of mining plenty of coal hinges upon the machine-building industry.

In order to speed up construction, we are going to introduce the

assembly-line method, which requires cranes. Machines are also needed in building new factories and developing mines in the future. All these should be manufactured in the machine-building industry.

In order to catch more fish, it is necessary to build boats, and, in the future, we have to build iron boats rather than wooden ones. In addition, the development of agriculture calls for the production of more farm machinery. The same can be said as far as the development of light industry is concerned. Everything depends on the machine-building industry.

For the development of all sectors of the national economy, the machine-building industry is of the greatest importance. Although I have already mentioned this at the recent Meeting of Activists in the Machine Industry, I would like to emphasize it again here: workers in the machine-building industry must be once more profoundly conscious of their great responsibility in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan and in the acceleration of the general development of our country's national economy. If they do their work well, everything will go well, but if not, everything will go badly.

We must continue to expand and develop the machine-building industry. And it is important to make proper use of its existing facilities. Those who are working in the machine-building industry should also muster up their courage to surmount difficulties and carry out their tasks.

As for the tasks of light industry, I mentioned them at the recent Meeting of Activists in the Ministry of Light Industry and they have been clearly pointed out in the report this time. It is important for light industry to solve the problem of fibre and expand the production of cotton and silk fabrics. In the report our target is 18 metres per head of the population, but it is necessary, in my opinion, to do our best to boost the figure to 20 metres.

Next in importance is the food-processing industry. It is the most underdeveloped sector in our country. Among the socialist countries we are the worst in regard to the food-processing industry.

We must develop it through a nationwide movement. The food

industry should be developed so that we will be able to produce good qualities of processed fruit, vegetables, meat, fish, etc., at low cost and supply them to the people.

It is also important to widen the variety of daily commodities. Daily commodities are currently in very short supply. Why are they scarce? It is because in the past the Japanese did not produce any daily commodities in Korea; they only brought Japanese goods and sold them in our country. Even paper came from Japan. Nothing was produced in Korea.

We must do every possible effort to produce daily commodities in larger quantities. Their production must be expanded in the producers' cooperatives, local industrial and light industrial enterprises and in the by-product shops of heavy industrial enterprises.

It is advisable for all the heavy industrial factories to set up shops on a small scale to produce articles for everyday use. When I went to the Soviet Union, I visited an aircraft factory. It was so big and impressive. Yet, on one side they were making aeroplanes and, on the other, milk cans out of the waste materials.

Our managers are so pompous that when instructed to make things of this sort, they say they cannot make such trivial things. Why are such things trivial? What is loftier than serving the people? In our heavy industry, too, we should use the waste materials of its factories to produce daily commodities.

We should produce a great deal of daily commodities in all sectors such as producers' cooperatives and local and light industries. While increasing the variety of goods, quality should be improved through the introduction of a strict checking system.

Now, I would like to touch upon construction. An important thing here is to lay the main emphasis on the construction of productive facilities while, at the same time, initiating a movement to build more dwellings that are most vital to the people's life. Construction work should be undertaken in a nationwide movement in towns and in the countryside. As we see by the figures stipulated in the Five-Year Plan, housing with a total floor space of 10 million square metres will be

built in towns. This is an enormous figure. It is equivalent to almost 300,000 flats. And if the 200,000 houses in rural areas are added, it amounts to building some 500,000 houses. This is not an easy task. If we exert every effort to speed up construction, use the prefab method in construction in accordance with the policy adopted by the Party, and widely utilize materials locally available in the areas where the prefab method is not feasible, this huge task can be carried out successfully.

The houses we build must be national in form and socialist in content. What do we mean by socialist in content? It means building convenient and useful houses for the people. We must build modern houses which are attractive, neat, useful and convenient for the people.

In agriculture we must struggle to lay the main stress on grain production while simultaneously developing industrial crops, animal husbandry and fruit growing. In increasing grain production it is important to raise the utilization of land and boost per-unit-area yields. What are the most important needs to increase the per-unit-area yields?

First of all, irrigation, that is, the problem of controlling water. We should undertake irrigation projects on a large scale so that dry fields, to say nothing of rice paddies, can be irrigated to prevent drought damage; river improvements should be carried out and many reservoirs built to avoid floods. This is one of our main tasks in agriculture today.

Secondly, we have the problem of fertilizer. The chemical industry has to produce a lot of chemical fertilizer and the peasants must make large quantities of compost.

Furthermore, to ease the work of the peasants and increase the harvest yields, we must provide them with farm machinery and means of transport. We must increase the number of machine-hire stations, tractors and lorries and give priority to the production and supply of many animal-drawn farm machines, thereby making work easier for the peasants and increasing the harvest yields.

Socialist cooperativization is now nearing completion in our countryside. Therefore, the strengthening of the cooperative economy is becoming more important. In order to economically consolidate the cooperatives, it is necessary to further increase

agricultural production and raise the standard of living of the cooperative members to the level of well-to-do middle peasants.

Another important issue in the rural areas is to remould the outdated ideological consciousness of the peasants into a socialist one. With the change in the form of the economy alone, we cannot say that the socialist revolution has been completed. For the consummation of the socialist revolution it is essential to transform the people's consciousness by strengthening the work of socialist education in the countryside. We should see to it that the peasants become staunch socialist fighters who hate the system of exploitation, combat all shades of reactionary ideology that seek to restore that system, and defend the socialist system and socialist gains even at the expense of their lives.

Besides, the cultural revolution should be carried out in the countryside, or else the continuous development of our countryside would be impossible. An important aspect of the cultural revolution is the introduction of compulsory education, and particularly providing at least middle school education to all the people. What should be done for those who are old now? We must provide primary education to all those who are now between 30 to 40, and at least middle school education to the rising generation. Only when these levels are attained will we be able to say that the cultural revolution has been completed in the countryside.

Attention should also be given to sanitary work in rural areas. When man's consciousness is developed, needless to say, sanitary work will be improved. Owing to negligence in sanitation, our country still has cases of distomiasis, typhoid fever, measles and other epidemics and endemics. These various diseases must be completely wiped out and the people's health promoted.

All the people want to live prosperous and long lives because they are in a good era, and why should it be impossible for our Party to solve this problem when it is doing everything else? In order to solve it, hygienic and epidemic-prevention work should be undertaken in a movement involving all the people.

In rural construction, we should give priority to productive construction. At the same time, we should initiate a mass movement to build modern houses, nurseries, clinics, schools, and so forth, in a cultured way.

Thus the appearance of the countryside should be radically changed during the Five-Year Plan period.

Next, I would like to refer to the trade issue. Our comrades are currently taking a very passive attitude towards trade. In particular, the local Party organizations and people's government organs give very little attention to this matter. Such attitude is wrong. It should be clearly borne in mind that the development of state trade and consumers' cooperative trade constitutes one of the tasks of the socialist revolution, a task of combatting intermediary exploitation.

Everyone participated enthusiastically in the organization of the agricultural cooperatives, even spending sleepless nights, but no one pays attention to trade. This is quite incorrect. The chief aim of the socialist revolution is to abolish the system of exploitation once and for all. But nobody thinks of fighting intermediary exploitation by tradesmen.

What kind of exploitation is still existing in our countryside and towns? It is only intermediary exploitation. Merchants practise usury individually, buy farm produce cheaply from peasants and sell it at high prices to workers and office employees. This is how they are engaged in intermediary exploitation. This is the only kind of exploitation which still exists.

How are we to combat the existing exploitation? We must abolish the exploitative system by the method of emulation, that is, emulation which shows who is the better hand in trade, by strengthening the trade of the state and cooperative organizations. However, quite a few comrades, forgetting that this is a socialist revolution, regard trade with contempt, attach little importance to it, and do not even try to learn it. No cadre, when asked about trade, shows that he is aware of statistics on commodity circulation. The same can be said for the chairmen of the provincial people's committees, to say nothing of the chairmen of

the county or ri people's committees.

Without strengthening state and cooperative trade, we cannot combat private trade. If we do not strengthen our trade and set up trading cooperatives but only verbally urge the private merchants to desist from exploitation, they will not listen to us. It is no use begging them. That would be as effective as praying to deaf ears.

Then, what should be done? The only way is to strengthen the trade of state and cooperative organizations and transform the private tradesmen along socialist lines by displaying the same great zeal and energy as when we organized cooperatives in the countryside.

How did we organize the agricultural cooperatives? We should learn from the experience of the struggle for the cooperative economy, shouldn't we? As a woman from Yonan County said in her speech, we have waged a really difficult struggle for the victory of socialism in the countryside. As a result of this struggle, the socialist transformation of agriculture has been completed up to 95 per cent, and 97 to 98 per cent in certain provinces!

The same is the case with trade. Here, too, a hard struggle is required. We must improve our purchasing of agricultural products, and lay out commodities more neatly for sale.

As I have always said, the seaweed undaria pinnatifida, for example, is piled up in one place at our state stores, all crumpled and covered with dust, until it is sold. But how do the private merchants handle it? Having purchased it at the same price, they spread it out with care and pile it up in such a way that it looks clean and appetizing. Then they sell it at a price only slightly higher than at state stores, about two *won* more per *kun*. In this way they are in an advantage. Customers go to the private merchants rather than to state stores. What does this mean? It means that our state trade has been outdone by private trade. In spite of this, the workers in state trade are not ashamed of having been beaten out by the private merchants. They mumble: "It can't be helped, can it?" Such an attitude is not worthy of a communist. This means that socialism has lost the battle in trade, yet the cadres do not feel responsible for it.

Some time ago we started an inquiring on the trading networks in the Central District of Pyongyang. The inquiring is not yet over. I myself inspected some stores. If our trade workers run stores as they are doing in the Central District of Pyongyang, they can neither compete with private trade nor properly carry on their duty of supplying consumer goods to the people.

All the products manufactured by hundreds and thousands of our factories are channelled through the trading organizations. Funds amounting to tens of thousands of million *won* are placed in the hands of the trade workers. Nevertheless, how are the trading organizations carrying on their business? They have no sense of responsibility whatsoever. And no one is concerned with the education of the trade workers. One day I had a talk with Party members of a primary Party organization in a trading establishment. There were nine Party members and none of them had ever taken even a week's training course. That is why our Party's policy has not been carried out in the trade sector.

The proper distribution and supply of commodities to the people are important in socialist trade. Distribution and consumption should be effected in a planned way, just as our production proceeds according to a plan.

Is our trade coping with this task? No, it is not. Selling is conducted haphazardly anywhere. So people living in remote places are not supplied with the quota of commodities to which they are entitled. This means that the trade workers have failed to carry out their duties. Where the socialist economic system reigns supreme, trade should play the role of distributing commodities evenly, stimulating production and satisfying the needs of the population. But it fails to fully perform this role. This fact offers a big obstacle to the struggle against capitalism and to the socialist remoulding of the private merchants in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Therefore, the entire Party should now direct its attention to trade.

We must bring about a great change in trade. This alone will make it possible to completely destroy the system of exploitation in town and

country. I do not mean that we should depend on the interior service organs to settle the problem. Private trade should be abolished through competition by improving everything—our purchasing work, our organization of sales, quality of commodities, etc. Only by so doing will we be able to transform private trade along socialist lines. It is necessary, therefore, to develop the trade of state and cooperative organizations in order to wipe out the system of exploitation which still exists in counties and ri.

Now, the increase of transport capacity is also important in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan. Transport is one of the serious problems in the Five-Year Plan.

The Minister of Transport spoke about the transport service yesterday, and I support his speech. The problem of transport should be solved in such a way as to reduce the time of return trips of goods wagons and, in addition, to further strengthen highway, river and maritime transport.

One of the most important problems in the Five-Year Plan is the development of science.

As the President of the Academy of Sciences pointed out in his speech, scientists should not waste their energy and time doing research on useless, fantastic subjects. It would be better for them to concentrate on problems which are today vital to our national economy and require an immediate solution. This must be their primary task. Our country does not have many scientists. It is important to solve current burning issues, instead of going in for "far-reaching projects".

It is very important for our country to find an early solution to problems such as the problem of fibre. It is necessary to solve a number of problems: how to develop the nation's iron industry, using less coke or none at all; how to obtain substitutes for fuel oil in view of the absence of an oil base in our country; and an assortment of other problems which confront us.

Another important matter is first to introduce and popularize the scientific and technological achievements of foreign countries to suit our conditions, rather than producing inventions and making new things in our country now. In view of the fact that we Koreans are not yet well informed about achievements made by the advanced countries in the development of science and technology, it is important first to study and popularize those achievements.

Also, it is desirable that scientists, instead of just staying in their laboratories, go to the factories and production sites, give practical help in the solution of urgent problems and do their research work there. Since we do not now have enough laboratory equipment and research instruments and materials, satisfactory research cannot be expected in laboratories alone.

For a successful implementation of the Five-Year Plan the leading officials should be skilful in guidance.

As shown by the experience acquired after the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, it is important to further develop such leadership methods as keeping closer contact with the lower units, listening to the creative opinions of subordinates, discussing matters with them, giving correct solutions to the questions raised by them, and popularizing the knowledge of useful experience. This, in my opinion, is the most important factor in carrying out the Five-Year Plan.

Now, I would like to talk about Party work. As was emphasized in the report and unanimously expressed in your speeches, we must continue to fight resolutely against factionalism, parochialism and nepotism in defence of the unity of the Party.

Factionalism, parochialism and nepotism are entirely alien to communism. We must oppose them more staunchly. In essence, parochialism and nepotism are both factionalism, the only difference being that one is larger than the other, but they are, in fact, all factionalism.

Factionalism derives its origin from the capitalist ideology. It comes from nowhere else. Therefore, it is in no way compatible with communism which is opposed to capitalism. It is hostile to our ideology and has nothing in common with it.

The factional elements, however, contend that progress can be

made only when factions exist. They think that factions such as the M-L group, the Tuesday group and the like, contributed in some important way to our country's revolutionary work in the past. In actual fact, far from carrying on the revolutionary cause, they wrought havoc with the revolution. If they ever waged a revolutionary struggle, why was the Communist Party destroyed in the 1920s? Who delights in seeing the Party's ruin? Who gloats over it if not the capitalists?

If the M-L group and Tuesday group had not indulged in factional feuds and had they not destroyed the party, the Korean people would have had their own revolutionary party by the time the liberation came. Our Party would have been stronger today, and our country would have not been split as it is now.

The factionalists have done very great harm. All those who go around preaching the "theory" that factions benefited the communist movement and the revolution, are opposed to our Party and to communism.

Certain factional elements speak out, "Say what you will, our M-L group is superior." And others prattle, "Why, after all, our Tuesday group is better." In my opinion, there is nothing to choose between them. No faction is better or worse than any other. All come from the same mould; they are all products of capitalist influence in the working-class movement. And all are a poison that destroys our Party and the working-class movement in Korea.

Factionalism, parochialism, and nepotism all stem from selfishness. In other words, they are the products of personal lust for fame, high position and power, individual political ambition; they are not in the interests of our Party or the state. This is why the factionalists are never satisfied, no matter how high their promotions. We thought they would be content with a high position. But give them an inch and they take a mile.

Our Party's experience in its struggle for over ten years shows that the factionalists, regardless of their promotions, distrust the Party and do not open their hearts to it. Ryu Chuk Un, for example, was even suspicious of his appointment as minister. Once I asked Choe Chang Ik and Kim Ung, "Why are you so suspicious?" I said to the latter, "You are Chief of Staff and were Frontline Commander. Why do you always doubt whether our Party trusts you?"

The Party trusted him, but he suspected the Party. What was the reason? He was not candid with the Party because he was egoistically obsessed with a greed for power and position. Outwardly he supported the Party but at the same time he played treacherous tricks behind the scenes. This is why he always tried to read the Party's mind. He was anxious to know if we were at all offended, whether a Party meeting was tense, or how his case was discussed. A faint rustle nearby was enough to make his eyes go round with suspicion as to whether anything about him was being called for discussion. Criticism of someone else even startled him, giving him a guilty conscience. Such is the case with all factionalists. They behave like this, because they, prompted by self-interest, always distrust the Party and suspect that it distrusts them.

Although the Party promotes and trusts them, their personal ambition continues to grow. We may take the example of Choe Chang Ik. We trusted this man and promoted him, but his ambition grew even larger. Just as these factionalists are never satisfied and their ambition is insatiable, their suspicion also inevitably grows.

The case of Kim Tu Bong is similar. We worked with him for ten years. But during those years he was dreaming of other things. While uncommunicative with us, he opened his heart only to Han Bin and Choe Chang Ik.

Despite the fact that Han Bin is a man hated by our Party for his subversive activities against it, Kim Tu Bong considered him his closest friend. If Kim Tu Bong had ever been a communist, if he had ever been devoted to the Party, why had he been on the most intimate terms with a man hated by the Party? This is how things were. Kim Tu Bong always valued Han Bin's words more than the resolutions of our Party.

The same applies to O Ki Sop. As a member of the Party Central

Committee, O Ki Sop worked with us for ten years. But his mind was always preoccupied with other things, and he was not going in the same direction that we were.

Why do the factionalists and parochialists behave like this? Because they think they are the smartest men, the cocks of the walk. Kim Tu Bong, too, thought he was the wisest man. Thus, he was entirely discontented with the Party, was finding fault with what had been proposed by the Party and tried to put forward something original himself. O Ki Sop also considered himself the cleverest of men. For some time he was a minister, and his subordinates would say: "Our Minister O Ki Sop doesn't do his job, but is absorbed in a study of policies day and night." And it was by no means in the Party's interest that he studied the policies. He did so because he distrusted the Party's lines and policies and wanted to propose something in opposition to the Party.

All this stems from individualist heroism which is characterized by disloyalty to the Party, careerism and a thirst for fame.

The factionalists always draw people around them to advance their own careers. Instead of trying to build up prestige by the quality of their work, they attract people by throwing drinking parties and making a show of their generosity at the expense of the state; when they get together, they talk secretly about all the things that are not discussed in the Party. At such gatherings they talk about all sorts of things, prefaced by, "This is strictly between us." In this way, they place personal friendship above the Party organization, putting greater faith in the personal friendship.

Kim Tu Bong used to suggest something new whenever he had stayed overnight at Han Bin's house. This was always aimed at undermining our Party.

Perpetrators of factionalism, parochialism and nepotism all place the interests of their own group and of themselves above those of the Party.

Our Party members must value the interests of the Party more than their own lives and make it an iron rule to sacrifice themselves for the good of the Party. We must have the lofty characteristic of giving all we can for the unity and cohesion of the Party. Otherwise there can be no Party unity.

Next, we must criticize the attitude of self-importance that causes someone to keep the activity of his branch of work from everyone else and to boast that his branch is doing the best work. No one should consider that the branch, locality or ministry (bureau) in his charge is the first rung of the ladder of a brilliant career.

We must resolutely combat the tendency to factionalism, parochialism, nepotism and departmentalism, and further intensify the struggle for the whole Party to obey the leadership of the Party Central Committee.

What should we do, then, to oppose factionalism? We should not just talk about the M-L group, the Tuesday group and the crimes of Pak Hon Yong and Choe Chang Ik. We must give our Party members a clear idea of the harm of factionalism, nepotism and parochialism, which brought ruin on our Party in the past and which today may again tear it into shreds and revive capitalism.

We should not educate Party members in such ways as simply criticizing Pak Hon Yong for having done wrong in the past and Choe Chang Ik for being wrong this time. We should give Party members a clear understanding of the true nature of factionalism, nepotism and parochialism, of how the factionalists behave and wherein lie the roots of their ideology. In this way we must make sure that there is no room left for the factional elements to gain a foothold. We will thus prevent people from being inveigled into factional actions and help them to recognize anyone who might try to do so and oppose him in advance. This is of great importance.

The crime of Kim Tu Bong is really serious. He spoiled many young people. The Party and the state gave Party assignments to simple and honest people to work at the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly. However, many of them were ruined there.

In order to prevent the recurrence of similar crimes in the future, it is very important to make the whole Party aware of the evil effects of

factionalism. This requires strengthening the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members. We have to raise their ideological and theoretical levels of Marxism-Leninism, thus helping them to acquire foresight, learn to analyse every problem, completely do away with bourgeois ideological viewpoint and form the working-class world outlook. Only by doing so, will we be able to completely destroy factionalism, parochialism and nepotism.

Now, I will make a few remarks about revisionism. Though revisionism in our country has not appeared in a systematic way, those who stood against our Party, carried away by the so-called "international trend", spread revisionism. Thus, in our country, too, there has appeared the revisionist trend which disrupts the communist movement, opposes Marxist-Leninist principles and capitulates to capitalism.

The imperialists and their servants, the revisionists, are now spreading revisionism in opposition to Marxism-Leninism and the communist movement. It would be silly to declare that revisionism will not find its way into our country. It has found and is still finding a place in our country, too, and the anti-Party groups have already exploited it to their own advantage. In his speech yesterday a comrade said that the anti-Party groups had smuggled in revisionism, and, indeed, that is what they have done.

In our country revisionism found expression in the rejection of the Party's leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Kim Tu Bong said that the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly stood above the Party. What does that mean? It means that the Presidium rejects the Party's leadership. So Hwi said: "The Party is not entitled to lead the trade unions. The membership of the trade unions is greater than that of the Party; they are a larger organization than the Party. Those who are working in Party organizations should obey the leadership of the trade unions because they are all trade union members. The trade unions should get rid of the tutelage of the Party." Kim Ul Gyu said that the People's Army was not the army of the Party, but rather "the army of the united front". All these are

ideological viewpoints which reject the Party's leadership.

In some ministries and people's committees today there is a tendency of disagreement with the administration of the Party's leadership with regards to their work. This attitude is also a rejection of the Party's leadership. It is true that the Party should refrain from improperly taking the place of the administrative bodies. But the Party should lead all the work of the power organs.

We are also witnessing the wrong tendency among some people to believe in the omnipotence of technique, thinking that they are the greatest authorities in technical matters and refuse to readily accept the Party's leadership. This, too, is a very harmful propensity. What is the use of technology if it is separated from the will and leadership of the Party? The Party needs only the kind of technology which serves socialist construction and helps in the implementation of the revolutionary tasks of the Party. It does not need any other technology.

Our Party is a militant organization which promotes socialism and communism, leading all the working people including the working class. And ours is the only party that leads the class struggle and the revolution in Korea. To reject our Party's leadership means precisely to deny the revolution and capitulate to capitalism. Therefore, it is necessary not only to fight against the revisionists who reject the Party's leadership, but also to relentlessly combat all the unhealthy elements that provide good soil for revisionism.

Some people say that our people's power is not one that exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat because it is based on a united front. This is a completely erroneous view. Today, our people's power is a state power that belongs to the category of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the northern half of Korea, now that we are in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the functions of the proletarian dictatorship of our people's power must be strengthened even more.

Others have a wrong idea of the character of our state power and revolutionary tasks and so hold that it is unnecessary to promote the socialist transformation of private merchants and industrialists, because there are not many capitalist elements in towns and the countryside. This is also incorrect.

Although great achievements have been obtained in our socialist construction, we cannot say that the exploiting classes have now been completely destroyed in the northern half. And even if they have been, ideologies antagonistic to socialism will survive for a long time.

As long as small commodity producers, private merchants and manufacturers, even in limited numbers, remain in urban and rural areas, as long as the tasks of the socialist revolution have not yet been accomplished and as long as there exists a "regime" of landlords and capitalists in the southern half, how can we neglect to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat? For the triumphant accomplishment of the socialist revolution in the northern half, we must further strengthen our proletarian dictatorship.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a powerful weapon of the working class in thoroughly crushing all the counter-revolutionary elements hostile to the socialist revolution and in defending the interests of the working people and the revolution.

Our judicial organs, however, under the pretext of "protecting human rights", disturbed social order by freeing hostile elements such as Ri Man Hwa, a Christian, who had turned against our Party and the revolution, and by releasing many prisoners who had perpetrated hostile acts. Our state power is a weapon for protecting the interests of the working people and the revolution; it cannot be a weapon which protects the interests of the hostile classes that oppose us. This tendency in the judiciary is a revisionist one which is against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Revisionism which has found expression in our country is entirely aimed at undermining our revolution by making our Party and revolutionary forces impotent to fight the enemy. Therefore, a resolute struggle must be waged against it.

I will not bring up other subjects because they have already been discussed by and large.

I would like to mention only one more thing, the issue of

strengthening the Party life of our Party members. Whoever is disloyal in Party life may commit errors of one sort or the other at any time. It is, therefore, necessary to vigorously combat the tendency to evade Party life. At the same time, Marxist-Leninist ideological education should be further intensified. Especially, it is very important to study dialectical materialism. In this way, every Party member should be helped to have the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and become a member with a strong Party spirit.

I would like to conclude with a few remarks about the questions and suggestions that have been raised.

How should we deal with Kim Tu Bong, Pak Ui Wan, O Ki Sop and similar people? So far there is no evidence that Kim Tu Bong, Pak Ui Wan and O Ki Sop took part in the counter-revolutionary conspiracy for a revolt. Kim Tu Bong and Pak Ui Wan tried to overthrow the Party and oust the Party leadership. In other words, they were both involved in factional activities. O Ki Sop did not openly carry out factional activity, but was caught doing it sneakily like some stray cat.

Our Party has done much to educate these people; it has educated them perseveringly for a year and a half. Nevertheless, they still do not show sincerity to make a clean breast of their misdeeds honestly before the Party and make amends for them. It is true that they now admit all our discoveries and promise not to repeat them, but they have made no voluntary and candid confessions. Only when confronted with evidence, do they acknowledge them. In short, they are still double-faced, and do not open their hearts to the Party.

The struggle with these people should be guided by the following principles: those who have committed serious crimes should be strictly punished, and those who have not committed serious crimes should be examined ideologically. Their ideological examination should be conducted strictly and they should be punished leniently. In other words, what should be brought to full light is how they got involved in factional activities and what is the ideological basis. Then punishment should be leniently applied. Thus, they should be given the opportunity to make amends for their mistakes. In our struggle against the

factionalists half measures will not do; facts and root causes must be unearthed and assurances given. All of their factional crimes should be laid bare for everyone to see, and then the factionalists should be completely disarmed. Yet it will be good to punish them leniently. It is advisable to deal with them on these principles.

As for Kim Tu Bong, Pak Ui Wan and O Ki Sop, our opinion is that, according to the "socialist principle of distribution", they should be given as much as they have "earned". It is advisable to deal with them on this principle. What have they earned and what do they fairly deserve? This you comrades should decide here.

The most important thing in the struggle against factionalism is to defend the Party Central Committee in order to safeguard Party unity. Without the Central Committee there can be no Party. Therefore, the principle of democratic centralism, a principle which calls on the individual to obey the Party organization and on all Party organizations to obey the Central Committee, should be observed. This is the Leninist organizational principle. Only by observing it can we increase our Party's fighting capacity. Our Party cannot become a strong party without observing this principle.

## ON IMPROVING PARTY WORK

Speech to the Chairmen of Provincial, City, County Party and People's Committees March 7, 1958

Today I would like to speak about Party work.

Some time ago the Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee suggested setting up of agricultural, industrial and many other departments within the county Party committee. We opposed this. Later on, another suggestion was made to slightly increase the number of the staff of the county Party committee. The Presidium of the Party Central Committee discussed the suggestions and reached the conclusion that these were unjustified.

It appears that the county Party committee still lacks the right system of work. I think it is probably necessary to seek shortcomings from this angle.

The occasions when Party departments reveal shortcomings in their work are not confined to local Party organizations alone. While keeping the full Party work in hand for two years, I made an analysis of the activities of the various departments of the Party Central Committee, which showed that some of them were going round doing nothing. After we learned this, we saw to it that none of the departments remained idle but that all of them worked to keep their feet firmly on the ground.

How did the departments of the Party Central Committee do their work in the past? Many of the officials had no clear objectives; they

merely sat in the offices and behaved arbitrarily, only summoning people and meddling in other people's affairs. In consequence, they failed to perform a single job properly.

In the past the Party instructors worked for some time even without a clear idea of the Party policies. Moving about without knowing the intentions of the Party Central Committee and its Presidium, they used to single out shortcomings instead of giving correct guidance when they inspected the work of lower units. They went out there only to return with an unending list of shortcomings and mistakes. Then they would stay in the offices for days preparing reports on how to rectify this or that, on how to increase production, what to do and how to do it, and all sorts of "directives" and "decisions", while even interfering in the housekeeping affairs of others, which they sent out in succession.

Thus, the instructors had no time to study the Party policy, simply because they went about doing nothing, and because they were too busy making various unnecessary decisions. As a result, they could not understand the Party's intentions and policies clearly.

This is why after the Third Party Congress and particularly after the August Plenary Meeting, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee boldly revised the system of Party work.

The important tasks that resulted after the Party work system was revised were, first, to clearly explain the intentions of the Presidium to all personnel of the Party Central Committee. Unless they are aware of the Party's intentions, the instructors cannot give correct guidance when they tour the provinces.

The things said by both the Chairman of the Party Central Committee and the instructors should be identical. If they say different things as they please, no one would be able to judge which are the Party policies. The Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and the instructors should all say the same things. This is not limited only to the personnel of the Party Central Committee, but applies also to all Party workers, including the officials of provincial, county and primary Party organizations.

Only when Party officials at all levels correctly understand the

intentions of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee and the policies of the Party, can they implement them in the right manner. So, to begin with, the Party Central Committee has established a system under which the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen call together department directors, section chiefs and instructors and personally explain to them the Party's lines and policies, including its policies organizational line. and on the struggle against counter-revolutionaries. on industry, agriculture capital construction so that each of them understands them better. After that, the same things were dealt with in newspapers and at lectures, and all activities were based firmly on the intentions and policies of the Party.

Secondly, we set the important task of changing the method of guidance. It was seen to it that guidance was given to eliminate any shortcomings on the spot and thus they gained good experience instead of ending up with a list of shortcomings as in the past.

We changed the word inspection that was used by the Party in the past and started calling such work intensive guidance by the Party because the word inspection frightened people. When officials went out to give guidance to the lower levels in the past, they conducted their inspection entirely in an interrogatory and detective manner without giving lectures and explanations in order to help them. This style of work was also found in the Secretariat of the Cabinet, and even Pak Yong Bin conducted Party inspection work in this manner in the past. He even sent people like Kwon Thae Dong to tailor shops to investigate who had ordered suits and how many. After making such investigations, he would reach the conclusion that this or that person must have committed a dishonest act because he had ordered so many suits. Then he would summon such a person and, giving him a hostile stare, would howl in interrogation, "Hey, you have committed such an act, haven't you? Out with it." This was how he worked. As he conducted Party work in this manner, he became isolated from the masses, and people trembled with fear at the word Party inspection. Furthermore, they thought they would survive only by cowering behind such persons and thus flatterers appeared, and these became

still more proud and would abuse Party authority.

This was why our Party proposed at the plenary meeting in April 1955 that a resolute struggle be launched against bureaucracy and abuse of Party authority. The struggle was continued after that and, as a result, the method of Party work has now been almost corrected.

How, then, should we conduct intensive guidance?

Let us suppose, for instance, that a guidance group has been dispatched to a factory. They should begin their work by giving a lecture on the industrial policy of the Party explaining what the Party Central Committee wants and what it is going to do, and what should be done to put Party plans into effect.

The Party members who understand the purpose of the Party Central Committee will voluntarily review their own work. They will frankly say where they have failed in their work in order to meet the wish of the Party and will tell who is to blame for it. Thus, everyone will make serious criticism and self-criticism, pointing out all their shortcomings and their causes.

Comrades dispatched on guidance work should help all members of the Party to eliminate any shortcomings by themselves, and should also seek ways to correct them with the Party members on the spot. Only then will it be possible to say that the Party is conducting proper guidance work. This method of work is far better than that of bygone days when they used to return to their offices after pointing out shortcomings and then work out and issue numerous decisions. This kind of guidance alone can be very effective in the work of the lower Party organizations.

Our Party workers should not move about with a briefcase under their arm only to throw their weight about but should give lectures to the masses, sweep the yards of their lodgings when they get up in the morning, and have meals in the company of all other people. Living with them in this way, they should know the people's opinion and kindly advise them to correct their mistakes in good time if there are any.

The work of the Party committees in ministries has also improved

considerably. Some ministers have told me this these days and I think they are right.

In the past the ministerial Party committees ignored important things and only wasted time arguing about incidental shortcomings, blaming each other. So, although they performed much work, one could not say what they really did. But as they are now working intensively with clear objectives on the basis of the Party's policies, many good suggestions are being made and all Party members are willingly implementing Party decisions.

It is a fact that our Party work has undergone great changes over the past two years. But the personnel administration of our Party still has serious shortcomings. We have failed to carry out a good, systematic job in training, dispatching and understanding cadres.

Therefore, the Presidium and Organizational Committee of the Party Central Committee early this year had serious discussions about this problem. Then we again took up the matter at a meeting of the department directors. After repeated discussions, we came to the conclusion that there were certainly major shortcomings in the administration of the Party personnel.

Success in all our work depends on the cadres. Whether personnel administration work is conducted well in a planned way or not is the fundamental question that will decide the future of our revolution.

Nevertheless, how have we carried out the administration of Party personnel so far? In many cases we did not understand the cadres well but handled them in a superficial manner. And we did not give attention to all cadres working in different fields of activity but turned our attention only to the cadres at the level of the county Party chairman and upwards. Little attention was paid to the large numbers of cadres in the economic and administrative sectors at factories. Generally, we would appoint or promote them after checking their personal record to see if there was anything particularly doubtful. Moreover, we fully trusted those who had had a little role in the revolution or spent some time in prison in the past. But as we have found out, some people had participated in the revolution ages ago and,

staying away from the revolution for a long time, either went into business or kept public houses. Even while they were engaged in the revolution, they had received no correct Party guidance and so had no clear idea what sectarianism, parochialism or nepotism meant. Even now there are people who do evil things, associating themselves only with those who had worked with them decades ago. As a result of appointing or promoting such persons without having sufficient information about them, much harm was done to the Party.

For example, we were certainly wrong in appointing such people as Pak Yong Suk, the former Vice-Minister of Justice, and Jo Song Mo, the former Prosecutor-General. As for Hwang Se Hwan, President of the Supreme Court, we had appointed such a man because he was said to have worked in the Yonghung peasants' association in the past, but he did a great deal of harm to our judicial system.

Of course, when we appointed those people, we did not do so deliberately to disrupt the revolution. We meant well for the sake of our work, but the result was not so good. Why? This happened because there was still no proper system for the administration of the Party personnel.

We are still not properly informed about cadres. Frankly speaking, the directors of departments of the Party Central Committee do not know the people under them well. They only know how they look like and if their noses are big or small. For us it is more important to know what they have in their minds, what they are thinking and who they want to work for.

To tell you the truth, if we ask the Director of the Industrial Department to tell us how many factory directors he could vouch for as having a Party spirit so strong as to work for the Party at all times, he will probably find it hard to name a single person. This is not the only such case. The Director of the Department of Cooperative Organizations will find it even more difficult. Why is this happening? It is happening because they do not have contact or mingle with their subordinates and do not understand them. If you only see personal records or written reports, you cannot understand the cadres with

whom you have not worked or lived.

Tackling the work of personnel administration in this way, we could not detect evil doers infiltrating our ranks, nor could we find out what harmful things they were up to.

Therefore, evaluating the work performed in 1957 by the departments of the Party Central Committee, we set the first and foremost task of making a good job of personnel administration.

The Party Central Committee revised the system of personnel administration. Its Personnel Department was abolished and a new system established under which each department took care directly of the administration of personnel within its jurisdiction.

We emphasized that personnel administration was the primary task of every department of the Party Central Committee. Cadres decide everything. If all cadres are faithful, are well-prepared ideologically, have a strong Party spirit and together uphold Party policy, our socialist revolution, socialist construction and also the peaceful reunification of the country will be achieved with success. If we fail in personnel administration, nothing can go well. Therefore, as in the past, we must today continue to attach great importance to personnel administration.

All departments of the Party Central Committee should from now on set about to learn more about the people under their authority.

The Industrial Department should understand all cadres working at metallurgical, chemical and other factories. It should have information about the degree of Party spirit and ideological level of the director of a particular factory, what working and intellectual abilities he has, how he is implementing the Party's decisions and instructions, what kind of relationship he has with the masses, and if he carries out his duties properly or not.

Then the Industrial Department should correct the work style of a particular person if it is wrong and should give comradely help to improve his knowledge and techniques if they are below level. Above all, the department should properly perform this kind of work. Of course, it will be difficult for the department to deal with all cadres

under its authority by itself. So, it will be a good thing to share responsibilities and place some of the cadres under the care of the provincial Party committees.

The Industrial Department should not only handle the cadres in factories but also learn more about the cadres in ministries. It should be well aware how the ministers are working, what the vice-ministers have in their minds, what their merits and shortcomings are, how strong their Party spirit is, how they are guiding their subordinates, and what kind of help they need.

Other departments, too, should learn more about the personnel under them by this manner.

If all departments of the Party Central Committee had worked in this manner in the past, such serious shortcomings as those revealed in the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly would have been corrected beforehand. Formerly, no one was responsible for giving Party guidance to the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly. Being out of reach of Party control, Kim Tu Bong used to say that he was President or King, called the technical secretaries working there court maids, claimed that the Presidium was superior to the Party and uttered all sorts of nonsense. In the end, he turned the Presidium into a disorderly place.

Had there been an Administration Department in the Party Central Committee in the past to understand the cadres in the Presidium, courts, public prosecutors offices, the Ministry of the Interior and the army, the situation would today be different.

Good personnel administration is essential to further consolidate our Party, prevent the birth of factions, quickly detect any factions that may appear, and clearly know who are Party hard-core members.

In order to improve personnel administration we abolished the Personnel Department of the Party Central Committee.

Since there was an independent Personnel Department in the Party Central Committee before, the other departments did not show interest in this work. Instead, they used to ask that department for the cadres they needed and only waited for them to be appointed. What cadre centre does the Personnel Department have, to be able to readily provide any number of cadres whenever they are wanted? This is impossible. Each department should itself train and select the necessary cadres instead of waiting for someone else to provide them. In future each department should directly undertake personnel administration. And the Organizational Leadership Department should assume general control of the personnel administration of all other departments and take responsibility for personnel administration of Party organs and working people's organizations.

Provincial, city and county Party committees should also carry out personnel administration according to this system.

Now I will refer to the work of the county Party committee.

A study of this committee's work without doubt shows that it is unsatisfactory. As the county Party committee is trying to take over all work, the question of personnel shortage crops up. We demand that the work of the county Party committee should be fully converted into Party work.

What is Party work? One aspect of it is inner-Party duties and the other aspect is guidance of the administrative and economic affairs.

Instead of directing the work of the unit concerned according to the Party method, the county Party committee tries to perform all work, but as it has insufficient staff, and is pressed with work, it makes a poor showing despite its hard efforts. It is therefore necessary to determine correctly what the work of the county Party committee involves.

While planning inner-Party work and life, this committee should guide all administrative and economic affairs. What, then, should the county people's committee do? This committee is an administrative organ which conducts economic and cultural work. Like this, the county Party committee and the county people's committee should be clearly distinguished from each other as far as their work is concerned.

As I have already said, it is wrong to say that the county Party committee should also have as many departments as the Party Central Committee or that its staff should be increased. This committee need not have any departments other than the organizational and information departments.

In counties where there are many factories and enterprises, county Party committees now have an industrial department. But this matter should be reconsidered some day. What are these departments doing? They are doing nothing, simply interfering in matters which could be settled by the factory Party organizations.

The same can be said for the agricultural department. If an agricultural department is set up within the county Party committee as you have suggested, its members will stay at the offices of the management boards of cooperatives, aimlessly meddling in farm work all the time, instead of doing Party work.

The factory or rural Party organization has no work which is not connected with production. In the building of socialism there can be no revolutionary task independent of production. Thus it is advisable to ensure that the primary Party organizations in factories or in rural areas directly take the matter of production in hand and give active guidance in it.

What, then, should the county Party committee do? It should properly operate the organizational and information departments to help the primary Party organizations under it effectively. It should thus ensure that both industry and agriculture make progress. It is the Party organ directly entrusted with the task of giving guidance to primary Party organizations. Therefore, its work should be focussed on the guidance of these organizations.

What should officials of the county Party committee do when they inspect a primary Party organization?

Suppose they go to the primary Party organization of an internal security organ. Does the county Party committee need a legally-qualified person to lead the Party organization of such an organ? No, not necessarily. What is important in guiding the internal security organs is to ensure that the legality required by our Party and the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat are fully guaranteed and that our Party's policy and principles related to them are explained

to all internal security personnel. The question is how to lead these security personnel in the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries in the right manner. The Party organizations of the internal security organs should assess how well members lead a Party life, according to how they carry out this struggle. In guiding internal security personnel in this way, you will be able to have hard-core members, and you will also be able to find out who works actively and who fails in his duties, who is clever and who is not. So, the county Party committee need not have an independent department to guide the work of the internal security organs.

Now, suppose the county Party committee leads the work of primary schools. The important thing in primary schools is to ensure proper public education and give good education in socialist patriotism to the children as required by our Party. All they have to do is to see if this is being done well or not and give guidance in this respect along Party lines. It is therefore not necessary to have an independent department in charge of public education in the county Party committee.

The same principle applies to the guidance of the primary Party organizations in factories and rural areas. The county Party committee should properly guide and help these organizations to implement our Party's industrial and agricultural policies correctly.

When guiding the primary Party organizations in the spheres of production you naturally estimate the work performed by the people on the merit of production. In determining who is good and who is bad, the primary Party organization also judges them mainly on their production level. Therefore, officials of the county Party committee should become closely acquainted with cadres and mobilize Party members for the implementation of the Party's economic policy by finding out on the spot what attitude the people are adopting in production activities.

This is the Party work and political work the county Party committee should carry out in the guidance of the economy. All that this committee needs to do is to put more than 100 administrative and

economic workers of the county people's committee into effective action and guide all Party organizations and members in the county properly. So there is no need for this committee to have many economic departments such as an industrial department or an agricultural department and so on.

How is it, then, that there are many departments within the Party Central Committee? The Party Central Committee has various departments which formulate and study policies, give political guidance to different ministries and other central organs, supervise the implementation of the Party policy, and deal with cadres who are not cared for by the provinces or counties. Is it a good thing for the county Party committee and primary Party organization and all to work out policies like the Party Central Committee? This is not right. If each and every Party committee submits its own policy, it will be impossible to tell which is really the Party policy and no one would implement it.

The county Party committee should not adopt all the methods that the provincial Party committee is applying at present in its work. Since the latter has much more work it cannot give on-the-spot guidance to all organs. So, it issues decisions to the units under its guidance.

When the county Party committee receives a decision from the provincial Party committee, it automatically formulates a decision of its own. Because of such paperwork, officials of the county Party committee are always sitting at their desk. Instead of making one decision after another in imitation of the decisions of the provincial Party committee, the county Party committee should send its people to guide the primary Party organizations in a direct manner in accordance with the decision of the higher Party body.

For instance, suppose the county Party committee receives a decision from the provincial Party committee to intensify the work of internal security organs. As the provincial Party committee is in charge of scores of internal security organs, it cannot guide them one by one, but the county Party committee is fully able to do so. The county Party committee is in charge of a county internal security station, which also has several substations. So there is no need to make another decision

just for a small number of internal security organs. Instead of doing so, the county Party committee should send its officials directly to the internal security station and substations, to hold talks with Party members there, organize work and give guidance in accordance with the decision of the provincial Party committee. This will be more effective.

Let us suppose, as another example, that a provincial Party committee decision to carry out spring ploughing and planting in time has been sent. Since this is an important matter, the county Party committee can now call a plenary meeting or a meeting of its activists. But even in this case they need not bother to make another lengthy decision but should instead make brief minutes of their meetings, explain the decision of the provincial Party committee to the lower bodies, and give concrete assignments to the Party members while urging them to implement the Party decision.

The county Party committee should not insist on setting up more departments but should give a bigger role to the existing organizational and information departments. Officials of these departments should frequently meet the chairmen of primary Party organizations and cooperatives and all other Party members, enhance their Party spirit, know them better, and give consideration to fostering Party hard-core members and strengthening primary Party organizations. The county Party committee should control all activities by means of Party organizations. If it fails to control such institutions as the people's committee, internal security organ, public prosecutors office and court, these could not function properly.

How, then, should it exercise control? It is not enough to sit down and only issue orders on the pretext of placing administrative work under the control of the Party. Instructors and heads of the organizational and information departments and vice-chairmen and the chairman of the county Party committee should frequently go and check whether the people's committee, internal security organ and court are properly implementing the Party decisions or not and, if not, they should call Party meetings to discuss the matter, sum up the will

and wishes of the Party members and take appropriate measures for the future. This is how to exercise control.

The first and most important task of the county Party committee is to know cadres better, foster Party hard-core members and strengthen primary Party organizations. This task is of great importance in the work of the committee. If this task is fulfilled, all other work will be carried out with success. The crux of Party work lies here. If you only perform your part well in this work, farming, industrial production and the struggle against counter-revolutionaries will all succeed.

The second important thing in the work of the county Party committee is to fully implement Party policy. In order to follow this policy correctly, you should first understand its purpose clearly. It is essential to study the Party policy deeply and make the masses more aware of it by explaining it to them.

Furthermore, it should carry out supervision to see how the Party policy is being implemented. If the Party policy is explained to the masses and supervision is carried out properly, it will be fully implemented.

The third important thing in the work of the county Party committee is to intensify ideological education. Unless Party members are educated well in the Marxist-Leninist ideology and in socialist patriotism, it will be impossible to strengthen Party organizations. Success in increasing the Party's efficiency and in defending the socialist gains depends entirely on how we conduct the ideological education of Party members. This is why our Party calls for intensified ideological education for Party members in the People's Army, internal security organs, towns, farm villages and elsewhere.

It is important to carry out these three tasks efficiently in the work of both the county Party committee and other Party organs. If these tasks are carried out properly, all other things will succeed.

Let me emphasize the points once more. What is important in the work of the county Party committee is, first, to know cadres better, foster hard-core Party members and strengthen Party organizations; secondly, to conduct the work of organization and leadership for the

correct implementation of Party policy; and thirdly, to give good ideological education.

Is it possible for the county Party committee to carry out its work on such lines with the organizational and information departments? Yes, certainly. It should leave a few people at the Party membership card section, the archives and documents section to keep official records in order and should send all the rest to the lower echelons for guidance.

It seems that bureaucracy which is an evil left behind by Ho Ka I has still not disappeared. This time you should thoroughly revise the system of Party work. The county Party committee should not keep redundant people; it should be staffed by qualified persons numbering around 30. If these people go and guide two or three primary Party organizations under a plan and exchange their experience, they will be well aware of the situation in the primary Party organizations within the county, and will even know the temperament and mentality of every person.

Our Party workers should all be organizers, information and motivation workers. Officials from the organizational department should also be able to conduct the work related to motivation and education, whereas those from the information department should also be capable of organizing work and of learning more about cadres. It is not right to draw a strict line and say, "I don't have to do with anything but information work" or "I only have to do with organizational work". What sort of revolutionary is the person who speaks in this way? When we were engaged in underground activities in the past, we performed Party organizational and information work and everything else. Party workers should be revolutionaries of this sort.

Since the county Party committee gives guidance to rural work, all its personnel, whether working in the information department or in the organizational department, should know everything about farming. They should know how to grow cold-bed seedlings, how much fertilizer should be applied and how to use animal-drawn weeders. Without knowing everything about farming they cannot conduct information work. Yet, information workers know less than others

about farming. If these workers, who are in charge of rural affairs, go round even without knowing what cold-bed seedlings are, what will they answer when someone asks them how these seedlings are cultivated? They should learn the economy and technology rather than adopting unnecessary decisions.

At present the provincial Party committee, too, functions in a bureaucratic manner, issuing many unimportant decisions. There are already various decisions by the Party Central Committee, so the provincial Party committee will do well to issue as few decisions as possible. Its officials should personally go out and give guidance to the people instead of making more decisions.

For example, suppose you guide planting operations. As this is a seasonal task, it should be carried out rapidly while Party organizations should be mobilized. The county Party committee should not miss the planting season while sitting and making decisions and appeals but should send its officials directly to farm villages, where they should call meetings of primary Party committees or general membership meetings of primary Party organizations and inform them about the requests by the Party Central Committee and the provincial Party committee, organize work giving an indication what should be done, when and how, and intensify guidance on the spot.

Now I would like to refer to the working relationship between the county Party and people's committees.

The county people's committee falls under the provincial people's committee's administration, but is subject to the leadership of the county Party committee as far as Party guidance is concerned.

The county people's committee is an administrative body responsible for its activities before the county Party committee. Thus, it must not fail to consult the county Party committee on all matters. When it receives instructions from the provincial people's committee, its chairman must consult the chairman of the county Party committee before obeying them.

If the county Party committee chairman finds it difficult to decide on the matter, he should refer it to the executive committee of the county Party committee for consideration. This executive committee should discuss how to solve the problem before giving work assignments to the officials concerned.

The county people's committee chairman should carry out work in accordance with the decision of the executive committee of the county Party committee, and the county Party committee chairman should mobilize the primary Party organizations and Party members for the work and carry out supervision to see how the decision of the Party is being implemented. If the county Party and people's committees maintain their working relationship along these lines, the work of both committees will go on smoothly.

At present local people's committees are not working properly. I instructed the provincial and county people's committees to give serious attention to trade, education and public health, but they are failing to do so with any of them. As for the city people's committee, for example, its most important task is city management and trade, but it neglects both of them. People's committees should not concentrate on farming alone, but should also give serious attention to trade, education and public health, which occupy an important place in economic and cultural construction.

Our Party organs should not take upon themselves the work of administrative bodies, but should get acquainted with their functions, hear the reports on how the people's committees are working and exercise day-to-day leadership and control over them. At present the county Party committee is said to be busy investigating even such things as how many eggs the hens lay, but this kind of work should be carried out by the county and ri people's committees.

Party work should be based on knowing cadres better, training Party hard-core members, strengthening Party organizations, propagating Party policy and controlling its implementation. If a Party organ does not make these tasks the basis of its activities and acts like an administrative body, it cannot achieve good results. The Party Central Committee has clearly defined the direction of activities and responsibilities of its departments, and so they no longer act as

administrative departments. Party and administrative work should not be mixed up.

If a Party organ is not clear about the direction of its work, it will meddle in all affairs and will get nowhere in the end. The departments of the Party Central Committee are not independent organs which should be responsible for their work directly to the state, as in the case of the ministries. The ministries which fall under the Cabinet can adopt decisions and issue orders and directives through their own independent functions. But the departments of the Party Central Committee are not independent organs. They assist in the work of the Party Central Committee. Therefore, these departments have no authority to adopt a decision or issue an order; they organize work to implement Party policy and decisions of the Presidium of the Party and supervise their implementation from the Party standpoint. The only document issued on behalf of a department at present is the bulletin published by the information section of the Organizational Department, and this is aimed at revealing the good things and shortcomings in the work of Party organs and at disseminating their experience.

What, then, should be done by the economic departments including the Industrial and Agricultural Departments? Before anything else, these departments should study Party policy and decisions of the Presidium of the Party and explain them to the relevant branches. Officials of these departments should prepare texts for lectures on Party policy and go out and give lectures personally or instruct the ministries concerned to explain Party policy themselves.

And it is important to exercise Party control and supervision effectively to ensure the correct implementation of Party policy. The economic departments should supervise the implementation of Party policy in the spheres under their authority and make proposals for further development of their work to the Presidium of the Party.

The county Party committee should also organize work in this direction and keep in constant touch with the county people's committee. It should not mix up its Party work with the latter's

administrative duties, but should conduct its own work well.

Now I would like to speak about the tasks of the rural primary Party organizations.

As in the case of the Party organizations in other fields of activity, the tasks of the rural primary Party organizations are, first, to build up the Party ranks by constantly enhancing the Party spirit of their members and strongly unite the masses behind the Party. As I have already spoken at length about this question on many occasions, I will not make further remarks.

The second important task of the rural Party organizations at the present stage is to continuously increase agricultural production by putting emphasis on increased output of grain and simultaneously developing the cultivation of industrial crops and livestock farming, and to intensify the socialist education of the farming population. Only when the rural Party organizations themselves carry out this work properly, will it be possible to further strengthen the foundation of agriculture, sharply improve the farmers' living standard, put their thinking on socialist lines and thus accelerate the building of socialism in the rural areas.

The third important task is to step up the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries. This struggle is precisely one to defend the gains of socialism. It is an important political task which should not be completed at one stage but carried on regularly.

The fourth task is to efficiently organize distribution of goods and financial and money-lending business in the countryside. Without organizing this work well it will be impossible to combat and wipe out exploitation practices that still remain in rural areas. Consumers' cooperatives, credit cooperatives and peasant banks play an important role in eliminating such practices. Therefore, Party organizations should direct their attention to the work of these establishments and also mobilize the social organizations such as the Democratic Youth League and Women's Union for the struggle against practices of exploitation.

The fifth important task is to continue the cultural revolution

successfully in the countryside. This involves various questions, such as introducing compulsory education, improving the cultural level and technical skills of the peasants, conducting sanitary work well and particularly building houses, bathhouses, clubhouses, nurseries and clinics. We should improve the education of the peasants to the level of that of the primary school graduate. This is not a simple job. But if the rural Party organizations take it in hand and intensify efforts, they will be fully able to cope with it.

In my opinion, if primary Party organizations manage these tasks well, they will achieve good results.

Rural Party organizations should carry out the matters decided on at the recent Party conference and, in particular, the work of strengthening inner-Party unity not at one stage but regularly. Especially our cadres and Party members should be fully aware of the harm resulting from factionalism, localism and nepotism. Everyone should start hating those addicted to such practices and wage a merciless struggle against those who invent evil schemes that harm the Party. This is very important.

And it is important to make the masses more aware of the significance of the Five-Year Plan adopted at the recent Party conference and the prospects for future development charted by our Party. If our Party members and people have a correct idea of these things, they will make further steps forward towards the bright future, with firm confidence and optimism.

Party organizations at all levels should make every effort to fully understand the document of the Party conference and explain it to one and all.

I wish you success in your work.

## TASKS FOR IMPROVING PARTY POLITICAL WORK IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

# Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea

March 8, 1958

This plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Party has considered the issue of strengthening Party political work in the People's Army. This is not because Party political work in the People's Army has departed from the policy of the Party or because it has any serious problems.

How is it then that the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee has taken up the issue of strengthening Party political work in the People's Army?

Since the formation of Party organizations in the People's Army, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee has clearly pointed out the direction in which Party political work should proceed in the People's Army in each period. But never has the Party Central Committee dealt with the political work in the People's Army as a whole at its plenary meeting. This plenary meeting has been called with the aim of improving Party political work in the People's Army and further strengthening the army on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of its foundation.

In recent years, following the counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary, the imperialists stepped up anti-communist campaigns, and launched a malicious political offensive against our country, too. The enemy spread counter-revolutionary ideas within our Party through the medium of anti-Party elements and politically unsteady fellows.

As was indicated in criticism at the Party conference, the anti-Party elements smuggled in revisionism and considerably spread its virus in our country. Revisionism affected the minds of some working people and intellectuals, and it could not but exercise ideological influence on the army. This is why the Presidium of the Party Central Committee lately inspected Party political work in the People's Army. The inspection proved that the anti-Party elements had also spread no small amount of ideological poison of revisionism in the People's Army.

In view of the fact that we have been, and may also be in the future, in direct confrontation with the enemy for a long time, it is of great importance to wipe out the poison of revisionism spread by the anti-Party elements.

In order to check any surprise attack by the enemy, firmly defend the gains of socialism and peacefully reunify the country, we should further strengthen our People's Army. To strengthen the People's Army it is indeed important to equip it with advanced military techniques, but it is still more important to imbue all the armymen deeply with Marxism-Leninism and socialist patriotism. Of course, it is beyond any doubt that the People's Army is the faithful armed forces of the Workers' Party of Korea and that in the future, too, it will creditably carry out its revolutionary tasks under the leadership of the Party. Nevertheless, we should continue to strive to strengthen it and to improve Party political work in it.

The recent inspection clearly revealed that although in the past this political work was, in general, carried out correctly in accordance with the lines pointed out by the Party, it still fell short of the level required by the Party and had many serious shortcomings.

The main failure of the Party work in the People's Army is that the organizational life of the Party members is not healthy.

The organizational life in the Party is a school for its members. If Party life is healthy, everything will go off well; if not, the members will commit errors and everything will go amiss. Therefore, every Party member should take an active part in Party life and thus constantly harden himself.

But in the past many cadres of the army did not participate in Party life regularly and stayed outside the control of the Party, neglecting to promote their Party spirit. In particular, the cadres including regimental commanders and higher ranks did not even readily attend meetings of the primary Party organizations. And at these meetings criticism against cadres would be dull. At meetings of the military commissions, the shortcomings of cadres were also not criticized in good time because their daily life was not well known. The long and short of it is that the cadres received neither criticism, nor education, nor control.

In the past many officers fought battles well and faithfully struggled in defence of our Party and our social system, but later on, they did not willingly participate in the Party organizational life and neglected to harden themselves in Marxist-Leninist ideology, so that they gradually developed liberalistic tendencies and violated the organizational discipline of the Party and military discipline, neglected their proper duties and military training and, in the long run, came to commit grave mistakes.

The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee already discussed the issue of strengthening the guidance for the People's Army in 1954. At that time, on the ground that armistice had been attained, some military men did not observe discipline well and caused accidents, and wrong practices appeared among the officers, and so we strongly demanded that discipline should be tightened and Party life strengthened. These steps resulted in great improvements in the work of the People's Army, but similar shortcomings have not yet been completely eliminated. Though partly, bureaucratism and warlordism still remain among officers; instead of educating their men by explanation and persuasion, they often punish them at random; and they mislead their subordinates to cause many accidents.

Since the armymen receive education while living together, they should be at a higher level than the local Party organizations in discipline, in Party organizational life and in everything. But they are not so at present. The ideological struggle against the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements has not been satisfactory in the army, and the level of the commanding officers is also low.

In short, because Party life was not healthy nor Juche was firmly established in the People's Army, some commanders and political workers stayed out of Party life, became politically beclouded and violated discipline.

One of the major failures in the Party work of the People's Army in the past was that education in Marxism-Leninism and socialist patriotism was weak.

Since ideological education was neglected in the army, revisionists and factionalists took the opportunity to sneak in and diffuse malignant virus. If education in socialist patriotism and Marxism-Leninism had been strengthened in the People's Army as demanded by the Party, that kind of poison would have never been able to infiltrate into it. Today when socialist construction is making rapid strides, the People's Army cannot faithfully carry out its duty of defending the socialist system without imbuing the soldiers thoroughly with socialist patriotism.

What, then, was the reason behind the failure of the General Political Bureau in properly conducting its work to meet the demand of the Party in the past?

It was because Choe Jong Hak and some other workers in the bureau wavered ideologically. Seeing their ideological vacillation, the anti-Party elements lurking in the People's Army took the opportunity to disperse the ideological virus of revisionism in the army. Instead of dauntlessly fighting back the virus, the Chief of the General Political Bureau trembled with fear, and some people under him remained indifferent even when they saw this virus running riot. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, the anti-Party elements and factionalists actively diffused anti-Party and revisionist ideological virus.

With such a situation, Party work in the People's Army failed in recent time to keep abreast of the ideological struggle of the entire

Party against the revisionists and anti-Party elements. The Party organizations in the People's Army made just a little passive defence, but failed to actively keep step with the entire Party in the struggle to hit out at the anti-Party elements, to oppose revisionism, to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and ensure Party leadership over all revolutionary activities. This is a great pity.

Of course, we cannot say that all officers and political organs in the People's Army vacillated. We believe that the people at lower levels failed to take an active part in the struggle because the General Political Bureau gave them insufficient guidance. Some of the military men may have kept quiet probably because they did not know whether they should fight or not, others may have failed to put up an active fight because they did not know how to fight, and yet others may have lunged at the scoundrels because they thought they should fight at any rate.

It is perfectly right that this time the Party Central Committee has held an inquiry into Party political work in the People's Army.

Is it then possible for the political organs and Party organizations in the People's Army to rectify these shortcomings revealed in Party political work? We deem it quite possible.

The orientation we set today for Party political work in the People's Army has two aspects. One is to further strengthen political life and life in the Party organization and the other is to further intensify ideological education. This is precisely the basic message of the present plenary meeting. In future Party political work in the People's Army should be improved according to this orientation.

Above all, the organizational system of the Party in the People's Army should be revised and Party life further strengthened.

The present system of Party work in the People's Army unit is arranged in such a way that this work is subject to the exclusive leadership of its political department, and so the guidance of Party life has a series of shortcomings.

The first failure is that the political department is only subordinated to its upper organ and is not subject to collective leadership and control.

If all political department chiefs were competent and had high political level, they would have been able to actively direct Party and political work in their units. But they are not so at present. Only ten years have passed since the People's Army was founded, and, moreover, the Party members in the army had had no Party organizational life before the war; their Party organizational life started only during the war. So, the political department chiefs have very little experience in Party organizational life. Nowadays, many of them mechanically convey the directives from the superior bodies to their subordinates without even having a clear idea of what they are about. The General Political Bureau, too, is making a poor job of it. When it receives the copy of a resolution of the Party Central Committee, it should take concrete measures for its implementation and give the lower Party organizations instructions to carry them out. But it fails to do so.

Besides their existing low level, the political department chiefs plan and conduct Party political work by themselves. So, things are in poor shape.

The second failure is that the organizational system of the Party is not made in such a way as to give day-to-day education and training to officer Party members through Party organizational life.

So far there have only been primary Party organizations in the People's Army. In the present conditions of the People's Army, primary Party organizations are not enough to sufficiently promote the Party spirit of all members.

Of course, the primary Party body is the basic organization in our Party's structure and every Party member is supposed to participate in organizational life in his primary Party body. Therefore, officers, too, should naturally be subject to education and control by the primary Party organization. But at present many officer Party members do not even attend meetings of the primary Party organization willingly on this or that pretext, and rank-and-file members do not criticize officers scathingly. Thus, many officers have parted from political life and get along free from criticism. Then, only after things have gone wrong, they go to the Party committee to be criticized.

The primary Party organizations in the People's Army have not been strengthened enough to control the Party life of their members and the standard of the political organs is not so high as to independently organize and guide work in the direction indicated by the Party. In this light the present organizational system of the Party is inconsistent with the actual conditions. Herein lies one of the main causes of the poor showing of Party political work in the People's Army.

In order to strengthen this work, the system of Party committee should be introduced throughout the People's Army.

The Party Committee of the People's Army should be instituted for the whole army, which should work under the direction of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, and Party committees should be set up respectively in corps, divisions and regiments. And it will be a good decision to institute primary Party committees in battalions and primary Party organizations in companies.

Party committees should be properly composed with Party activists. They should not be formed with a small number of persons but comprise many people so as to ensure collective leadership.

It is advisable that the Party Committee of the People's Army includes people from armies, corps and the General Political Bureau, political workers and military cadres. The Party committee of the regiment should unfailingly have its commander and political deputy commander among its members.

In the past they were not included. This was wrong. How could they work without knowing the activities of the Party committee? If the commander is not on the regimental Party committee, he may organize work without considering the plan of the committee. Then the plan will become futile. Therefore, the Party committee should include the senior cadres of the unit in its membership in all events.

The Party committee can be headed by the political department chief or the commander of the unit according to their Party standing and level.

Party committees in the People's Army should perform two kinds of functions.

First, they should direct the activities of the political organs.

To take an example, if the Party Central Committee has issued a decision on stepping up the struggle against counter-revolutionaries, the Chief of the General Political Bureau should not arbitrarily give instructions as he used to do before, but, to begin with, the Party Committee of the People's Army should collectively discuss measures to carry it out. After a decision is reached on what measures should be taken, the Chief of the General Political Bureau should act according to this decision. His one and only duty is to carry out the decisions of the Party committee.

The General Political Bureau is a department of the Party Committee of the People's Army. This Party committee is not a permanent body but an elected body of leadership, and so it is the General Political Bureau that should carry out its decisions. To sum up, from now on, the Party committee will collectively discuss and take measures for anything, whereas formerly the Chief of the General Political Bureau bossed the show acting on his own discretion. The Party committee will also collectively supervise and control the activities of the lower units. Besides, criticism will be made on the work of the General Political Bureau at meetings of the Party Committee of the People's Army, so that this will serve as another organ to supervise the General Political Bureau.

The Party committees of corps, divisions and regiments should also work in the same way.

Secondly, the Party committees in the People's Army should strengthen guidance and control over the Party life of the cadres.

The Party committee includes military and political cadres and it holds collective discussions on all issues such as matters concerning cadres, their Party life and combat and political training. This means that in the future military cadres will also take part in Party work and that all of them will be subject to the control of the Party. If the Party committees are properly formed with cadres as members and as such they are regularly educated and criticized, their Party life will be improved.

In the past the chiefs of political departments of corps were under

the control of the armies' political departments. But they went to the armies' headquarters once or twice at most a month, and so the army headquarters could not be much aware of their work and life. But if there is the Party committee in the corps, the situation will be different. Since the Party committee of the corps will have a good knowledge of the Party life of the political department chief and the corps commander, it can tighten control over them. Now the cadres will be controlled by both the primary Party organization and the Party committee. Then it will be possible to opportunely prevent cadres from becoming easy-going and ideologically backward and to lead them all to work well.

The system of Party committee in the People's Army is a good system to care for and protect cadres. At present the greater part of the Party members in the People's Army is officers. All of them joined up when they were young and took part in many battles during the Fatherland Liberation War going down to the Raktong River before they retreated and came back to us enduring bitter trials. They are precious assets of our Party; they defended the hills of our country with their own blood. It is an important duty of Party organizations to take a loving care of such people and educate them properly. If we leave them alone without giving them timely education only to call them rogues and expel them after they have committed mistakes, the People's Army's precious assets of cadres will be drained. One of the main objectives of revising the Party organizational system in the army this time is precisely to educate the officers properly by ensuring the participation of every one of them in Party organizational life.

Furthermore, the work of ideological education should be strengthened among the armymen.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like first to mention a few points which the Party political workers in the army and military men should correctly understand as far as the question of strengthening the ideological education in the People's Army is concerned.

Before anything else, they should have a correct idea of the revisionist sophistry which says that the People's Army is not an army of our Party but an "army of the united front".

As I told the Party conference and as I also said when I visited Unit No. 324, the People's Army has been the army of our Party ever since its foundation. It is an army organized by our Party and striving to carry out the revolutionary duties and tasks put forward by our Party.

Within the People's Army there can be only Workers' Party organizations but no organizations of other parties. There can be no united front in the army. The People's Army is only subject to the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea. The Workers' Party of Korea led the people's democratic revolution in our country and is leading the socialist revolution. The People's Army is an armed force to guarantee the achievement of the revolutionary cause led by the Workers' Party of Korea. This cannot be changed at any time.

Indeed, the concrete fighting tasks of the People's Army can change according to the Party's policy of struggle in every period. But the fact that the People's Army belongs to our Party is unchangeable. We can never stand back from the principle that the People's Army can only act under the leadership of our Party at all times.

It is an insult to our Party to say that the People's Army is an "army of the united front". This is intended to make our People's Army fall back from the class struggle, turn it into an impotent one torn away from the leadership of the Party and disarm our Party.

Today our people's government is staunch and our revolution is vigorously forging ahead because our Party, which leads the Korean revolution, has its own army, the People's Army.

Those who try to separate the People's Army from the Party's leadership are all anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements. Their aim is to prevent our Party from carrying out its revolutionary tasks and spoil our revolution. We should resolutely combat all manner of ideological tendencies and manoeuvres to sever the People's Army from our Party.

Let's proceed. You should have a correct understanding of the issue of inheriting the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The anti-Party factionalists denied these traditions, but what is wrong if our Party inherits them? If there are no traditions of struggle worthy of inheriting in the history of our people, who were subjected to the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism for a long time, it would be a great shame. We will profit nothing by saying that the Korean people remained quiet to see their country robbed by the Japanese imperialist aggressors when all the other peoples who fell prey to imperialist aggression waged a struggle for liberation. We, however, have the glorious traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. If we boast of traditions of struggle when we have none, one might say we are unjust. But there will be nothing wrong if we give prominence to our actual traditions.

In other countries they made the bourgeois revolution long ago and followed the path of capitalist development. But in our country things did not go that way. I always feel chagrined at this. In China people like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao conducted the bourgeois reformation movement. In our country we could say that Kim Ok Gyun started a similar movement. But some scholars labelled him as a pro-Japanese element without making a deep study. It is a common knowledge that Japan was the first to embark on the road of capitalist development in the East. So, Kim Ok Gyun thought to enlighten our country by availing himself of capitalist Japan. In the meantime our country was invaded by Japan, so he was eventually stigmatized as a pro-Japanese element. I think the question whether he was a pro-Japanese or not needs further study.

Our country had no capitalist reform to speak of. But under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution the communist movement developed as fast as it did in other countries. In its early stage the communist movement in our country undoubtedly had a basic drawback, which was the appearance of factions in its ranks. Owing to the manoeuvres of the factionalists, the Communist Party was disrupted and the revolutionary movement was seriously impeded.

But when with the turn of the 1930s the Japanese imperialists intensified suppression by arms, the true communists of Korea never

yielded but took up arms and launched a guerrilla struggle against Japanese imperialism. This is a very glorious fact for our people.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle was waged under the leadership of the Korean communists and the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army was a revolutionary armed force of the Korean people formed of workers and peasants. The Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army fought for the purpose of defeating Japanese imperialism, of achieving national independence, establishing a people's government in the liberated country, confiscating the estates of the landlords and dividing them among the peasants, and introducing an eight-hour day for the workers. From the start of its struggle the guerrilla army strengthened internationalist ties with the Soviet and Chinese peoples and defended the Soviet Union with arms. The Chinese highly appreciate the fact that the Korean communists gave help in the Chinese revolution by waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle waged by the Korean communists for the liberation of the homeland and the development of the international communist movement has earned high praises even internationally. Then why should the Koreans negate this struggle rather than be proud of it? If one has no ulterior motive, no one will be able to deny the traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. A Marxist-Leninist revolutionary army, the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, is beyond comparison with the "Independence Army", the "Righteous Volunteers Corps" or the "Volunteers Army".

Our People's Army is an army which has inherited the revolutionary traditions of the glorious Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army that had waged an unyielding struggle for 15 long years. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we already had the intention to set up a truly people's army with anti-Japanese guerrillas as its backbone after liberating the homeland. Founding the People's Army after liberation, we proclaimed that it was to continue the brilliant traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

In the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army the commanders and men starved together and slept together by the campfire, and when a man was wounded, the commander would carry him on his back while fighting. The guerrillas always loved the people and fought the battles by relying on them. Like this, the superiors and the subordinates loved each other as flesh and blood and they fought in firm unity with the people. What is wrong if our People's Army takes over such fine traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army?

By inheriting the traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army we never mean that only those who participated in the anti-Japanese armed struggle should become cadres in the People's Army. Of course they formed the backbone of the People's Army when it was organized. But no matter whether there are many of them in it or not, it should continue the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Of paramount importance in inheriting these traditions is to take over the inflexible fighting spirit of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

During the Fatherland Liberation War when they waged a hard struggle against the US imperialists, our People's Army men fought valiantly with strong confidence, saying: In the past, the anti-Japanese guerrillas fought and defeated the formidable enemy Japanese imperialism in spite of having no rear to fall back on and getting no supply of munitions, and so how cannot we, the People's Army men, beat US imperialism today when we have modern weapons such as guns and machine guns and large troops? Where did they get this revolutionary spirit from? It was precisely the fighting spirit of the anti-Japanese guerrillas that they had inherited.

Because the People's Army had taken over the traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, they were able to win the three-year war against the US imperialist aggressors, and it was possible that large numbers of fine cadres were fostered in the course of the Fatherland Liberation War. Thus, the People's Army that came up from the roots of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army has grown into a huge force hundreds of thousands strong. Furthermore, it has become a powerful army with the fine experience of winning the battle against US imperialism.

The People's Army should thoroughly inherit the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army and make good use of the precious experiences gained in the Fatherland Liberation War against US imperialism.

An important issue in Party political work in the People's Army is to clear away dogmatism in the education of the armymen.

Dogmatism should be rejected in military education.

This never means that you should ignore such things as military symbols commonly used in socialist countries or that you should not accept the advanced military science and technology of other countries. Since US-led imperialism is a common enemy of the socialist countries, the latter's armies may one day have to fight together against imperialism in time of emergency. It is therefore necessary to ensure unity of military efforts among them. For example, it will be good to unify the military symbols, so that our maps can be immediately understood by people of other countries and vice versa. There is no need to make our military symbols different from those of the Soviet Union or China. It will also be convenient to make weapons in such a way that the socialist countries can use the same ammunition. It is not dogmatism to unify military symbols or the specifications of weapons with other countries.

We should also learn the advanced military science and technology of other countries.

What we object to is to accept the tactics, military manuals and the like of other countries as they are. If you fully imitate others in military training without taking our country's specific features into consideration, then this becomes dogmatism. In a country which is not hilly, shooting regulations applicable to flatland will answer the purpose. But in our mountainous country these will not be sufficient. We should also have regulations of shooting downward from mountaintops and shooting upward from the foot of mountains. Moreover, we should not mechanically copy the organizational schemes of units from other countries. The composition of the artillery of some country includes a large number of direct-firing guns because

flatland gunnery is predominant there, but we should have many high-angle guns in our country because our country is mountainous.

The actual conditions of one's own country should naturally be taken into account in matters concerning the organizational schemes of units, training and military tactics. In military education we should properly ensure unity of military efforts between the socialist countries and, at the same time, should be thoroughly awake to the specific features of our country.

In the political education of the armymen, too, dogmatism should be entirely rejected.

Needless to say, we should teach them the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, all of them should be equipped closely with the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the world. But as far as the application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to the Korean revolution is concerned, you should learn it from our Party's history and from its line and policy. It is good to learn those principles and refer to the experiences of other countries, but it won't do to wholly swallow them.

I have heard that once our armymen had lectures and took part in a debate on some question of economic theory fussed about in other countries. What is the need of such a theory to our army? Instead of giving lectures on that kind of thing to the People's Army men, you should better tell them on the development of our agriculture and how our people are carrying on the economic construction.

As for the orientation of political education in the People's Army, the Party had already clarified it long ago. Political organs and workers in the People's Army should further strengthen the ideological education of the armymen in line with that orientation.

An important thing in political education in the army is to imbue all the men and officers deeply with the idea of socialist patriotism.

Today the bitterest enemy of our people is the US imperialists who are occupying south Korea and their accomplices—landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. Accordingly, an important present task of the Korean revolution is to push out the US

imperialists from south Korea and destroy the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats and their "government". The greatest motive power of the Korean revolution is the socialist force in north Korea. Without accomplishing the socialist revolution as soon as possible and building up and firmly defending the socialist force in every way in the northern half of Korea, it is impossible to obtain nationwide victory for the Korean revolution. Therefore, education in socialist patriotism should be strengthened in the People's Army, so that all its men and officers grow up to be ardent revolutionaries who dedicate their lives to the struggle against US imperialism, the sworn enemy of the Korean people, and its lackeys, in defence of our socialist system.

In order to deeply instill the spirit of socialist patriotism in the armymen, they should be immediately informed about the Party's line and policy put forward in each period.

Unless they are aware of the Party's line and policy, the armymen cannot implement them fully, nor can they resolutely struggle to defend them. Nowadays, however, even when the Party Central Committee has adopted a resolution, it is not studied and no correct measures are taken to implement it in the People's Army. In many cases the resolution is substituted by a directive of the Chief of the General Political Bureau. As a result, the armymen do not have a clear idea of the resolution. This is a serious mistake. In the People's Army, the same as in other sectors, resolutions of the Party Central Committee should be deeply studied and appropriate measures should be taken to carry them out.

True, some of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee may not directly concern the People's Army. But in the army all resolutions of the Party should be studied without exception and measures should be taken to carry them out.

The resolution regarding the ensurance of spring sowing in season, for instance, has little to do with military affairs. But since the People's Army is responsible for the protection of the people's labour against the enemy's encroachment, the armymen should be informed of the

Party's wishes at the moment.

Let me take the resolution of the Plenary Meeting of December 1956 for another instance. The gist of this resolution is to increase production and to practise economy. Therefore, the armymen should be encouraged to economize more and live simply in material terms in support of the resolution.

The policy of the Party on agricultural cooperativization should also be made known to the armymen. Only then can they understand how our Party is carrying on socialist transformation in the countryside and what changes are taking place in the rural class relations and in agriculture. At present some armymen are not fully aware of the advantages of the cooperative farming system because the policy of the Party has not been correctly explained to them.

The socialist cooperative movement now under way in the countryside is a bitter class struggle. With the progress of agricultural cooperativization the class struggle is getting more fierce. There is no telling if the class struggle going on in the countryside will not exert influence on the army. The People's Army is not isolated from society, and so it may undergo the influence of the class struggle. The influence of some quarters inimical to agricultural cooperativization may infiltrate the units and also the influence of some shady merchants in urban communities may find its way into them to do harm. It is therefore necessary to guard against this and to educate the armymen properly on our Party's cooperativization policy. Thus, all armymen should be induced to make a firm resolve to defend the socialist system to the end with their lives.

Furthermore, a positive struggle should be waged to strengthen the comradely unity of the army cadres and to firmly unite all armymen around the Party Central Committee.

Mutual love and unity of cadres as comrades are of great importance. The cadres of the People's Army are all comrades-in-arms, they have been partners in battle. There is nothing that prevents them from uniting.

Our unity should be a principled unity and a unity of thought. When

we say that comrades-in-arms should love and help each other, we never mean that they should not criticize but connive at or temporize with faults. If one truly loves a comrade, one should sternly criticize and reason with him on his mistake. Only then can true unity be forged. Some people take criticism for reproof and are afraid of it. This is because their daily education and training are insufficient.

A certain comrade who fought together with me in the past would feel rather sorry if he was not criticized at a meeting. One who is accustomed to criticism will not fear being criticized nor will be scared at it. All cadres should be like this. True, when criticized, one may feel uncomfortable. But justified criticism is essential for saving a faulty person.

The Party members in the People's Army and officers are mostly people who fought courageously in the Fatherland Liberation War. If we lose even a single one of them, it will be a great pity. Therefore, the habit of admonishing and criticizing comrades for their faults on every occasion should be established in the army. Only then can there be principled unity between revolutionary comrades.

Our unity centres around the Party Central Committee and it is aimed at defending the Party. If anyone should try to rally people around himself, it is a very dangerous act. Party committees should educate all cadres and armymen to be boundlessly loyal to the Party, so that they are always closely united around the Party Central Committee.

Without the Party we cannot perform any revolutionary task, and without its centre, the mastermind of the revolution, the Party cannot exist. We should intensify Party political work in the People's Army and thus firmly unite all its men and cadres around the Party Central Committee and induce them to show the greatest loyalty to the Party Central Committee.

## SPEECH AT THE FAREWELL MEETING IN HONOUR OF THE HOME-GOING CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS

#### March 11, 1958

Dear Comrade Commander,

Dear Comrade Political Commissar,

Comrade officers and men of the heroic Chinese People's Volunteers.

Today the Korean people are bidding farewell to the fraternal Chinese People's Volunteers who were their partners through thick and thin in the hard struggle against the US imperialist aggressor, the common enemy of the Korean and Chinese peoples. On behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of our Republic and all the Korean people, I offer my heartfelt thanks and the greatest honour to you who have rendered immortal services in the struggle for the freedom and independence of the Korean people and for peace in the East.

The Chinese People's Volunteers came to our country to help the Korean people in the most difficult period of our Fatherland Liberation War against the invasion of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. When our People's Army was fighting a hard battle against a numerically superior enemy, the great Chinese people raised high the banner of "Resist US aggression and aid Korea, protect our homes and defend our motherland" and formed a volunteers corps with their best sons and daughters and sent it to the

Korean front. The entry of the Chinese People's Volunteers into the war served as boundless encouragement to the Korean people who were fighting a hard battle and as a heavy blow to the enemy. Your entry into the war decisively turned the scale of the Korean war in our favour.

In close cooperation with the Korean People's Army and in spite of all difficulties, the Chinese People's Volunteers succeeded to repulse the enemy's invasion and smash up its aggressive scheme. By showing peerless heroism and courage, the People's Army and people of Korea and the Chinese People's Volunteers blew up the myth of "mightiness" of the United States and mercilessly exposed to all the people of the world that the US imperialist is a paper tiger.

In the Korean war, waged against the invasion of US imperialism and its stooges, the Chinese People's Volunteers turned out a large number of Hero Companies and Hero Sub-Units and produced many Hero Martyrs like Hero Yang Gensi, who showed matchless valour, and hundreds of thousands of meritorious soldiers and model combatants. You defended the hills of Korea with your own blood. The mountains and rivers, grass and trees of Korea bear the marks of your precious blood and heroic struggle. The feats performed by the Chinese People's Volunteers in the Korean war will glitter for ever together with the beautiful rivers and mountains of Korea.

When not fighting, the Chinese People's Volunteers helped our peasants in ploughing, sowing and harvesting. They also repaired the damaged reservoirs and embankments and rehabilitated roads and bridges for us. Even in the fierce flames of the war, the Chinese People's Volunteers always tried their best to reduce the sufferings of the Korean people and to make the future Korea more beautiful.

When, after the ceasefire, the Korean people took up the difficult struggle to rehabilitate the cities which had been reduced to ashes, as well as the severely destroyed farms, the Chinese People's Volunteers actively helped our people in the reconstruction work. Just in the few postwar years, its soldiers dug over 806,000 metres of waterways in aid of the irrigation projects in the countryside. Many

fine schools, magnificent urban buildings and bridges have been constructed by them. They have saved thousands of tons of army provisions and given them to our peasants who are short of food owing to the war damage.

Dear comrades.

You have scrupulously followed the instructions of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong to take good care of Korea's every hill and river, every tree and grass. You have taken care of the Korean people as if they were your real brothers. You have regarded the sufferings of the Korean people as your own sufferings, and you have rejoiced in their happy events as if these events happened to you. The noble moral quality of the Chinese People's Volunteers has served as a model for our People's Army and people, and your warm love for the Korean people as well as your self-sacrificing aid moved them boundlessly.

A relationship of warm love and mutual help has been formed between our People's Army and the Volunteers and between our people on the home front and the soldiers of the Volunteers. Hero Luo Shengjiao laid down his precious life to save a Korean child and the peasant Pak Jae Gun stopped an enemy bullet with his own body to save a wounded man of the Volunteers. These facts are an example of the profound love which has grown between the Chinese People's Volunteers and our people. You have all taken care of our aged and children in the same spirit as shown by Hero Luo Shengjiao and all the Korean people have trusted and loved you as did the peasant Pak Jae Gun.

The mountains and rivers of Korea will become more beautiful and our people's life will become better every day. Your warm friendship which impressed the Korean people will be remembered for a long time in their happy life.

Comrades, today after fulfilling your sublime duties you are returning to your home carrying with you the love, respect and honour accorded to you by the Korean people. Our people are very sad to see you leaving.

The Chinese People's Volunteers is withdrawing from Korea in accordance with the joint statement of the Korean and Chinese Governments signed on February 19. The People's Republic of China has consistently made sincere efforts to peacefully solve the Korean issue and preserve a lasting peace in the East. The withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers is yet another proof of such efforts and it is an important step for further promoting the peaceful reunification of our country.

The US imperialist is the criminal who is obstructing the peaceful reunification of the Korean people and disturbing peace in the East. As long as the US imperialist stays on in Korea, the peaceful reunification of Korea cannot be achieved and a lasting peace in the Far East cannot be expected. Today it is introducing atomic weapons and rockets into south Korea, turning it into an atomic base of the United States. This act of the US imperialist further aggravates the tensions in Korea and threatens peace in Asia.

US imperialism is extremely devastating the economy of south Korea and it is driving the south Korean people into a morass of hunger and poverty. The US imperialist and the traitorous clique of Syngman Rhee have established a fascist ruling system of terror in south Korea and are cruelly suppressing the struggle of the south Korean people for freedom and independence. US imperialism's occupation of south Korea is the main cause of all sufferings and misery of the Korean people.

All the Korean people repudiate the occupation of south Korea by US imperialism and strongly demand the withdrawal of the US troops. US imperialists have no justification for their occupation of south Korea. The troops of US imperialism and its vassal states must withdraw from Korea.

The Korean people are consistently striving to peacefully reunify the country by themselves, on a democratic basis and without any foreign interference. For the independent and peaceful reunification of the country the most important things are the withdrawal of US troops of aggression from south Korea, the reduction of the armed forces of north and south Korea to the minimum and the preserving of a lasting peace in Korea.

We invariably maintain that the barriers between north and south should be removed to allow people in both parts to visit each other, that we should cooperate with all political parties, social organizations and individuals who long for the peaceful reunification of the country on a democratic basis and that we should meet and hold consultations with them. Only this will make possible the peaceful reunification of our country. No aggressive move on the part of the US imperialist will be able to check the advance of the Korean people towards the reunification and independence of their country.

Today the whole situation is turning in our favour.

The united forces of the peoples of the socialist camp are incomparably superior to the imperialist forces. In the short period after the ceasefire, the Korean people have achieved great success in the promotion of socialism. Last year, our total industrial output value was 2.8 times higher than the prewar level and the grain production also considerably surpassed the prewar level.

Our people are firmly united around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and their political and labour enthusiasm is running very high. Our people will reliably defend the achievements of socialism in the northern half of Korea and stand firm at the Eastern outpost of peace and socialism. The Korean people will strengthen the internationalist friendship and solidarity with the peoples of the socialist camp and finally achieve the peaceful reunification of the country by firmly relying on the ever-strengthening revolutionary democratic foundation of the northern half.

Dear comrades,

The friendship and mutual cooperation of the Korean and Chinese peoples have a long history. The unity of our two peoples has been particularly strengthened as never before in the struggle against US imperialism. In future, the Korean people will also strive to further consolidate the friendship and solidarity with the fraternal people of China and march forward hand in hand with the Chinese people for ever in the struggle for peace and socialism.

When you return back home, I would like you to convey the Korean people's warm feelings of gratitude and respect and love for the Chinese people and for the Chinese People's Volunteers.

We are convinced that as you have shown peerless heroism and valour in Korea, you will also make every effort and achieve brilliant success in the labour struggle for socialist construction in your country.

Long live the eternal friendship and solidarity of the Korean and Chinese peoples!

## ON THE TASKS OF THE YOUTH IN THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

### Speech Delivered at the National Meeting of Young Builders of Socialism March 19, 1958

Dear young builders of socialism,

Today our young men and women are taking part in the building of socialism with a lofty feeling of pride and great hope.

Reared and trained by the Workers' Party of Korea our youth always struggled courageously, in hearty response to the Party's call, for our people's welfare and national prosperity both during the war and in the postwar years.

Our splendid young people displayed unparalleled heroism and bravery in the hard-fought Fatherland Liberation War against the invasion of the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique; they fought at the cost of their precious lives to defend every inch of their land, every height and accomplished feats which will go down in the history of the country.

In order to make a beautiful and blissful land of the country they had defended with their life's blood, our youth displayed great labour enthusiasm and every creative initiative in the struggle for the postwar reconstruction of the national economy.

All the successes in the construction of our country which is rising again from the frightful ruins of war are to be attributed to the precious creative labour of our working youth who recognize neither hardship nor fatigue.

With the aim of turning our country into an advanced socialist state with an independent industry and a developed agriculture, building beautiful towns and villages and making our people's life happier still, our young men and women have made a supreme effort in the factories and mines, in farming and fishing villages.

Our country has now laid the foundation of a splendid socialist industry and has nearly completed socialist transformation in the rural areas, thereby creating conditions for the building of a more beautiful, free and happy socialist society. All this is because the youth, dependable helpmates of our Party, stand firmly in the factories and farm villages and on the defence line.

All the great successes achieved by our people in the postwar years emanate from the indomitable fighting spirit of our young people. Under our Party's leadership, you have played the role of shock force in the labour endeavours to create what is new.

The Central Committee of the Party highly appreciates the fact that as true sons and daughters of our people and dependable helpmates of our Party, our young men and women have overcome all difficulties and trials with honour and fulfilled their assignments with credit.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee I extend my warm thanks to all the young men and women who have always responded faithfully to our Party's call and are fighting heroically to carry out its policies, and heartily congratulate the young builders of socialism.

Comrades,

In order to reunify our country peacefully, the Third Congress of our Party put forward the revolutionary task of successfully building socialism in the northern half of Korea, thus further developing the politics, economy and culture of Korea and turning the democratic base of the northern half into a decisive force to achieve national reunification and independence.

The recent conference of the Party discussed the First Five-Year Plan drafted in accordance with this revolutionary task.

The basic objectives of the First Five-Year Plan are to further

strengthen the economic foundation of socialism in the northern half of Korea and solve in the main the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

During the plan we should lay the foundation for socialist industrialization, complete the formation of agricultural cooperatives, further strengthen the cooperative economy organizationally and economically, and at the same time, fortify the socialist economic sector in all fields. This is required by the law governing the economic development in our country.

This is the only way we can further develop the productive forces, uproot all sources of exploitation and poverty and raise the material and cultural standards of all the people.

This is essential to eliminate the colonial backwardness of our economy, strengthen the foundation of an independent national economy and transform our backward agrarian country into an advanced industrial-agricultural state.

This is also essential to hasten the peaceful reunification of our country and lay the material basis for our people's prosperity and welfare in the future.

In order to carry out these historic tasks, we should continue to adhere to the line of ensuring the priority growth of heavy industry while at the same time developing light industry and agriculture as outlined by our Party immediately after the ceasefire, and pay close attention to the proper adjustment of economic construction and the improvement of the people's living conditions.

In the industrial sphere, we should continuously strengthen the fuel-power bases, meet the home demands for ferrous metals, improve the technical equipment of all branches of the national economy by further developing the engineering industry, steadily expand the building-materials industry to cater to the vast construction work under way, keep developing the chemical industry concentrating on the production of chemical fertilizers and chemical fibres, and continue to develop heavy industry branches directly related to the people's livelihood. At the same time, in light industry we should steadily

increase the production of fabrics, develop the food industry in a big way and mount a campaign to expand the variety of daily necessities and raise their quality.

If we reach the targets in industry, the per-capita output of major industrial products in 1961, the last year of the Five-Year Plan, will be: 975 kWh of power; 963 kilogrammes of coal; 70.4 kilogrammes of pig iron; 64.1 kilogrammes of chemical fertilizer; 176 kilogrammes of cement; 18 metres of fabrics; and 62.3 kilogrammes of fish.

In agriculture the main emphasis should be on increased production of grain while, at the same time, developing the cultivation of industrial crops, stockbreeding, fruit growing and silkworm breeding. For this purpose we should carry out irrigation projects and river improvements on a wide scale to avert natural calamities, increase the supply of fertilizer, gradually mechanize farm work, and strive to raise the utilization of land and the per-unit-area yields by introducing advanced methods of farming.

In this way we will endeavour to hit the target of producing 3.7-4 million tons of grain.

During the Five-Year Plan we will increase the area under irrigation by over 190,000 hectares and protect more than 100,000 hectares of arable land against flood damage through river improvements. Besides, in order to consolidate the victory of socialism in the countryside, we should transform the peasants' consciousness along socialist lines and push ahead vigorously with the rural cultural revolution.

As for capital construction we have decided to make priority investments in productive construction, while building more than 200,000 dwellings in the countryside and over 300,000 in towns. This will be the first step towards solving the housing problem.

In the sphere of trade we will improve the supply of commodities to the people through an uninterrupted growth of state and cooperative trade and ensure the complete triumph of socialist trade through an intensified competitive struggle against individual profiteers, thus eliminating the practice of middleman exploitation. In the educational and cultural spheres we will further strengthen the training of technical cadres, so that the initial demand for technicians will be met, and introduce compulsory junior secondary school education.

Such are the basic objectives of national economic development decided upon at the Party conference held a few days ago.

If we successfully carry out the huge tasks set by the Five-Year Plan, our country will acquire the basis of an independent industry with its heavy and light industries and a developed agriculture capable of basically averting the damage of natural calamities.

We must, and can, accomplish these great objectives.

We have a beautiful country and a wealth of resources in the bowels of the earth. Our people hold the reins of power and have an advanced socialist industry and a cooperative socialist agriculture. We have a Marxist-Leninist party seasoned in arduous struggle and a brave, industrious and talented people led by the Party and rallied closely around it. The peoples of the socialist camp give us positive support and assistance in our just struggle, and peoples throughout the world are standing by us.

We have every condition and possibility for building up our country into a beautiful, rich and blissful land.

Our youth should devote all their energies and talents to carrying out their assignments inspired with a great hope for the future and a firm confidence in victory.

Comrades,

Our youth are entrusted with great responsibilities in achieving this magnificent goal set by our Party.

I am going to dwell on some of the tasks confronting you.

First, in order to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan all our young men and women should work more actively to carry out their assignments in all spheres of the national economy. What we are now creating and building by the sweat of our brows is all intended for the youth's future happiness and the prosperity of the generations to come.

The young people should be fearless in any work at any time, take

the lead in the struggle to overcome hardships, and be brave in creating the new and discarding the old as befitting future masters.

They should become the most dependable workers of our Party in the revolutionary struggle and staunch builders of socialism.

Today no honour is greater than that of being a socialist builder, and nothing is more worthwhile than dedicating all youthful enthusiasm, wisdom and ability to the socialist construction of the country.

In our country the working people's labour is not geared to the exploiting classes' acquisition of wealth but to their own well-being and the prosperity of their country.

Long past is the dark age when our toiling youth were oppressed and exploited. Today broad vistas are opened up before our young men and women.

We should usher in a bright new age for ourselves. We have already embarked on the road of opening up a new age. We have achieved considerable successes so far in working out a new, socialist era. A blissful socialist society can be built only by the creative labour of the toiling millions.

Our youth are no longer the youth of olden times. They are all advancing towards socialism and communism and strive to be men of a new type with noble characters, fine builders of socialism.

The ranks of fine socialist builders have no room for old-type, degenerate people who hate to work, live fast and do harm to the state and society like parasites.

In order to be youth of a new type with noble socialist characters the young people should acquire a new moral code whereby they enjoy work and participate actively in socialist construction, carrying out their assignments with credit. Labour tempers people, cultivates noble moral qualities in them and remoulds their consciousness.

All our young men and women without exception should further develop a love for labour and play an exemplary role on the labour front of industry, agriculture and elsewhere in the national economy.

The youth represent a really great force on the labour front. Our young people hardened in the flames of the grim war demonstrated a

great force in the labour efforts for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

Many Labour Heroes and labour innovators have emerged from among the ranks of our youth. The young people have always taken the bull by the horns in all fields of the national economy.

As in the past, so on the labour front to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan, too, our young men and women should be in the van and display the full force of their enthusiasm.

When strong, vigorous and valiant youth turn out as one in the labour effort, there is not the slightest doubt that our economic construction of socialism will advance ever faster.

Second, the young people should master new techniques and act as pioneers in disseminating advanced technology.

Socialist economic construction requires new techniques. The socialist production relations have already won a decisive victory in the urban and rural areas of our country. This fundamental change in the economic relations demands corresponding technical innovation.

Unless the technical revolution is carried out in all fields of the national economy, it is impossible to ensure the complete triumph of socialism. Without abolishing the technical backwardness of our national economy, we cannot consolidate the foundation of an independent national economy nor convert our country into an advanced industrial-agricultural state.

When others were carrying out the technical revolution and building a modern industry, our forefathers indulged in telling old tales and reciting poems, not knowing how the times were changing. That was why our country fell behind the civilized world and, in the long run, perished.

We should catch up as soon as possible with the technologically advanced countries. At present the further development of industry, agriculture and all other branches of our national economy depends decisively on technological progress.

Without steadily improving technology through the introduction of new techniques, we cannot guarantee a high rate of production growth in industry, nor solve the questions of further developing the processing industries and increasing the variety of products and radically improving the quality of manufactured goods.

Needless to say, in agriculture, too, we cannot gather good harvests and further develop agriculture with backward farm machines and by outdated methods of farming.

Technology is required everywhere. It is impossible now to take our national economy even one step forward without new techniques. Only when we master new techniques and introduce them extensively, can we create new standards and develop our national economy steadily and rapidly.

Who should take the lead in bringing about technological progress? The youth should who are sensitive to the new and have a strong enterprising spirit.

They should fight conservatism that hampers technological progress in all fields of the national economy, and endeavour to actively introduce and disseminate new techniques.

It is the sacred duty of young people to learn new techniques. Our youth should all acquire more than one technique and master the techniques and know-hows indispensable for carrying out their assigned tasks.

Under Japanese imperialist rule Koreans had neither the conditions nor the opportunity to learn techniques even if they had wanted to. Today, however, our young men and women have every condition and possibility for learning advanced technology just as they please if only they themselves make the effort.

Thanks to the correct educational policy of the Party and the Government most of our young people have the intellectual level of the primary or junior-secondary school graduate or even higher. This means that all of them possess the basic knowledge for learning advanced technology.

Today large numbers of specialists, engineers and assistant engineers educated at universities and colleges at home and abroad are working in our factories, enterprises and rural areas. They constitute the main force for promoting technological progress in our national economy and propagating advanced technical knowledge among all the working people.

And the Party and the Government provide the working youth with all conditions for learning techniques by widely organizing factory technical schools, evening technical schools, correspondence-course education, short courses and the like and strengthening the pass-on-technique system.

The task is for our youth to learn advanced technology strenuously by taking full advantage of all conditions and possibilities provided by the Party and the Government.

If all the young people numbering millions acquire advanced technology and become well versed in their jobs, they will constitute a great force. Then, we will be able to solve all problems of socialist economic construction more successfully, and our national economy will progress more rapidly.

Our youth should perform this honourable task most definitely.

Third, our young people should have a strong spirit of socialist patriotism.

Through our people's heroic struggle under the leadership of our Party, the building of socialism is progressing successfully in the northern half of Korea.

The socialist economic sector has now won a decisive victory in all fields of the national economy. The socialist system established in the northern half of Korea provides the basis for our people's welfare and prosperity.

Our young men and women should hold dear the socialist gains won by our people at the cost of sweat and blood and firmly defend them against the enemy's encroachment.

In particular, we are standing face to face with the enemy. The more successfully our socialist construction progresses, the more viciously the US imperialists occupying south Korea and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, their stooge, manoeuvre to undermine the building of socialism in the northern half.

Our people and all the youth must always be sharply on the alert against this manoeuvring of the enemy, combat all saboteurs and subversive elements and give them no chance to gain a foothold.

In order to arm themselves firmly with socialist patriotism, our young men and women should have a clear understanding of the true nature of the exploiting system and the superiority of the socialist system above all else.

Our youth who have grown up since liberation have no first-hand knowledge of the cruel exploitation by the landlords and capitalists. They must know how the landlords and capitalists exploited our workers and peasants in the past and how cruelly US imperialist monopoly capital and the landlords and capitalists are now exploiting the working people in south Korea.

Socialist society is a society which does away with all forms of exploitation for good. Herein lies the essential characteristic of the socialist system totally different from all societies of the exploiting classes.

In our country power is in the hands of the people and the basic means of production, which have been socialized, are used in the interests of all the people, while the exploiting system has been abolished on the whole in town and countryside. We are struggling to get rid of all exploitation for good.

The youth should understand all this clearly. Only then can they hate the exploiting classes and exploiting system, fight bravely against the enemies who try to restore them in our country, firmly safeguard the socialist gains, and vigorously advance towards the complete triumph of socialism.

Our socialist patriotism categorically negates national nihilism.

Our people and all the youth should love their country's beautiful rivers and mountains and their native places and strive to build them into more beautiful and blissful places.

The young people should take over the fine cultural heritage left by our ancestors and see that it flourishes and develops further still. They should study our people's long history and inherit their priceless revolutionary traditions. They should treasure and love everything that is progressive in our country and enhance their sense of national pride.

Socialist patriotism has nothing in common with nationalism or national chauvinism. Socialism is internationalistic in essence. One cannot love one's country unless one becomes a genuine internationalist, and one cannot be true to proletarian internationalism if one fails to be a staunch patriot.

The youth should endeavour to further cement friendship and unity with the peoples of socialist states and strengthen solidarity with progressive peoples throughout the world. Our young people should have a stronger spirit of proletarian internationalism.

They should make a deeper study of Marxism-Leninism. No matter where they may work or what they may specialize in, every youth should make it their duty to study Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is the compass for the revolutionary struggle. It teaches us the law of social progress and serves as an indicator to judge everything correctly.

We study Marxism-Leninism to grasp its truths and apply it creatively to the specific conditions of our country. It is therefore necessary to study, along with the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, the concrete realities of our country and make a deep study of the Party's policy, the application of Marxism-Leninism to our realities. In this way all youths will form a steadfast Marxist-Leninist world outlook and further confirm their confidence in the victory of our revolution.

It is an important characteristic of the youth to have high hopes for the future and lofty ideas. Our young people should endeavour to acquire a sound mentality and character and should not tolerate but combat outdated customs.

All our youth should be optimistic about victory, take a bright view of the future, and possess a noble moral quality as men of a new type.

Fourth, the youth should play the vanguard role in the struggle to remould the thinking of all the working people along socialist lines and to push ahead with the cultural revolution in town and country.

At present the thinking, customs and cultural standard of our working people lag way behind their social and economic conditions. The mental remoulding of the working people and the cultural revolution are major components of the socialist revolution.

The socialist economic sector has already achieved victory in our urban and rural areas. Our working people have shaken off poverty and their material standard is rising day by day.

Further development of our national economy demands that all the working people raise their cultural and technical levels rapidly. Therefore, the mental remoulding of the working people and the cultural revolution are presented as pressing tasks before us.

In our country compulsory primary education is already in force and compulsory junior-secondary school education is expected to be introduced during the Five-Year Plan. Our youth should take an active part in the preparatory work for the introduction of compulsory junior-secondary school education.

The young men and women should endeavour to positively spread the knowledge of advanced science and technology among broad sections of the working people and raise their general intellectual level. Our youth should not only make efforts to acquire the knowledge of the secondary-school level or above in the near future, but also actively participate in adult education so that all the working people may obtain the knowledge of the primary- or junior-secondary-school level or higher.

Meanwhile, the youth should lead the struggle to eradicate everything backward remaining in the minds of the working people and correct their old customs in town and countryside. They should intensify socialist education among the working people, thus eliminating the remnants of feudal and capitalist ideologies and equipping them with the collectivist spirit of helping one another and the spirit of valuing and taking good care of common property.

Success in doing away with all that is backward in our working people's way of life and customs and building up life as a whole in a scrupulous and cultured way in towns and villages, depends chiefly on the zeal and efforts of the young people.

Our youth should not only be fine socialist workers but also pacemakers in carrying out the cultural revolution in our country.

In order to carry out their honourable tasks with credit, our young people should be physically fit.

The youth should set about improving hygienic work and public health services in their workplaces, farm villages and at home. At the same time, our youth should harden their bodies by actively developing physical culture and, through this, cultivate a strong fighting spirit. In this respect, too, we must catch up with the advanced countries.

Comrades,

The Democratic Youth League and the young people affiliated with it are the honourable reserves and helpmates of our Party.

As in the past, so in the future, too, all young men and women should safeguard our Party's unity and cohesion and resolutely struggle against all anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists.

DYL organizations should close their ranks further still, mobilize young people to fulfil Party policy and train them to be staunch builders of socialism. They should promote large numbers of progressive elements in their ranks so as to constantly replenish our Party force.

I hope that all our youth, rallied more closely around the Central Committee of our Party, will bravely overcome all difficulties and carry out their tasks with credit.

I am firmly convinced that our young people will uphold their high honour as dependable helpmates of our Party and always faithfully respond to its call.

## SPEECH OF ENCOURAGEMENT DELIVERED AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE HUNGNAM AMMONIUM NITRATE PLANT

#### April 20, 1958

Comrades.

On the occasion today of the inauguration of the Hungnam Ammonium Nitrate Plant, which has great significance for the development of agriculture in our country, I offer warm congratulations and thanks, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, to all the workers, technicians and office employees who have participated and worked brilliantly in its construction and in the reconditioning of the ammonia systems of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and the Pongung Chemical Factory.

In view of the importance assumed by the production of chemical fertilizers in the solution of the food problem, which became urgent after the war, the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic decided to build a new ammonium nitrate plant here simultaneously with the immediate reconditioning of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory.

When we set about the reconstruction of the fertilizer plants after the war, we had to face a host of difficulties in our path. During the war the enemy carried out unprecedented, brutal bombings in order to destroy our heavy industrial centres. As a result, the heavy industrial enterprises in the Hungnam area, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory in particular, suffered indescribably cruel destruction.

But our workers, technicians and office employees worked generously in active support of the decision of the Party and the Government and thus not only reconditioned the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory which had been reduced to ashes but today have built the new Hungnam Ammonium Nitrate Plant with an annual production capacity of 136,000 tons. As fertilizer, ammonium nitrate is 70 per cent more effective than ammonium sulfate, and so the capacity of this plant amounts to 230,000 tons in terms of ammonium sulfate.

This new plant is equipped with up-to-date automated production lines and perfect labour protection arrangements. Moreover, its labour productivity is twice as large as that of the old ammonium sulfate shop or the nitrolime fertilizer shop.

Workers, technicians and office employees in the Hungnam area acted as one movement with the same spirit that they had displayed in fighting the enemy during the war and performed memorable feats in rebuilding the chemical factories. By waging a heroic struggle in response to the appeal of the Party Central Committee to shorten the time of construction, the builders of the Hungnam Ammonium Nitrate Plant have completed its construction in only two years—one year less than originally planned.

Our working class has shown examples of mass heroism in the reconditioning and construction of factories, and a great many labour innovators have come forth from amongst them. The multi-skilled worker Choe Yong Duk, the metal plate processing worker Jon Ja Ryon and other labour innovators displayed a high degree of creative initiative in completing the building of the granulation tower, which was technically very difficult, two-and-a-half months ahead of time. They also worked wonders in welding one round of steel girth in the assembly of the absorption tower in only four days, instead of the usual rate of 15 days. Thus, they greatly contributed to accelerating the date of commissioning the plant, saving large amounts of labour and materials.

This time, through the reconditioning and building of the chemical works, the workers in the Hungnam area have exhibited unlimited

loyalty to the Party and the revolution and decisively demonstrated the indomitable fighting spirit and inexhaustible creative talent of the Korean working class.

Not only the builders but all their families and the youth and students in the city participated actively in the reconditioning and construction of the chemical works in the Hungnam area. Indeed, the reconditioning of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and the building of the new ammonium nitrate plant have been carried out successfully by the concerted labour of all the population of Hungnam, including the heroic workers.

The Party Committee of South Hamgyong Province and the Party organizations in Hungnam successfully ensured the reconditioning and construction of the chemical works by actively mobilizing the workers and citizens, thus playing a great role in the implementation of our Party's economic policy.

Today all the Korean people have a high esteem for the great exploits performed by the workers and people of the Hungnam area in the reconstruction of the fertilizer plant. Their brilliant achievements are the pride of our working class and of all the Korean people.

After the war our Party put forward, and has been pursuing, a policy which gives priority to the growth of heavy industry, simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture. Thus, we improved the very hard life of the people in a short space of time and laid the foundations for the future development of the national economy in the period of postwar reconstruction.

On the basis of the results registered in the implementation of the Three-Year Plan, we are now undertaking the huge tasks of the First Five-Year Plan which will open up wider horizons for the building of socialism. By laying the basis of industrialization during the Five-Year Plan, we would further consolidate the foundations of our socialist economy and basically solve the problems of food, clothing and housing. With the realization of the First Five-Year Plan, the foundation of our independent industry would be further strengthened and our agricultural country would turn into an

industrial-agricultural state.

In order to execute the First Five-Year Plan successfully we should continue to give priority to heavy industry, while at the same time developing light industry and agriculture. We should, in particular, concentrate our efforts on the development of those sectors of heavy industry which are directly connected with the people's livelihood.

The Hungnam Ammonium Nitrate Plant we are putting into operation today is of great importance in implementing this Party policy. With its construction, our chemical industry finds itself in a position to supply more fertilizer to the countryside and to render great help to the farming population who are striving to increase food production. This year we plan to produce 450,000 tons of chemical fertilizer. This would exceed the prewar level of production by a big margin.

While building the Hungnam Ammonium Nitrate Plant which is equipped along up-to-date lines, the workers and technicians gained experiences and techniques. These will serve as a precious asset for ensuring success in the large-scale, complex construction work to be undertaken for the further development of the chemical industry in the future.

Realization of the tasks envisaged in the First Five-Year Plan for agriculture depends largely on the development of the chemical industry. Really important are the duties assigned to the chemical industrial enterprises in the Hungnam area, the large chemical industrial centre, in settling the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people. Success in the realization of the important tasks set before these enterprises depends on how the workers of this area strive for it.

The achievements already registered by the workers of this area are tremendous. But they represent no more than the initial step in the light of the heavy duties they have to perform in the future. The workers, technicians and office employees in this area should continue to maintain their high revolutionary spirit and make good use of their

techniques and experiences gained in the construction of the ammonium nitrate plant. This is important in order to complete the building of the superphosphate of lime plant by the first half of next year, which should produce more than 100,000 tons of phosphatic fertilizer annually by the end of the Five-Year Plan. When our country starts to produce phosphatic fertilizer on its own, the qualitative composition of our chemical fertilizers will be fundamentally improved.

The Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and the Pongung Chemical Factory should sharply increase their capacities for the production of ammonium sulfate, nitrolime and ammonium chloride fertilizers by carrying out the technical reconstruction of the pyrites boiling roaster, the nitrolime shop and the ammonium chloride shop.

Builders in the Hungnam area should use fully all their creative abilities in the construction of the chemical works to save materials and manpower, to overcome technical difficulties, to accelerate their commissioning and to start at least partial production at an early date.

Workers, technicians and office employees of the chemical works in the Hungnam area should strive to manage their factories well, learn new techniques quickly and raise the utilization of the equipment. Thus, they should carry out the commendable task of producing more than 630,000 tons of chemical fertilizer annually by the end of the Five-Year Plan.

All the working people, including our heroic working class, successfully carried out the assignments of the first year of the Five-Year Plan by overcoming all difficulties and trials through an unyielding struggle. They thus laid a solid foundation for greater development in the future.

All our working people, who are boundlessly inspired by the decision of the First Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea, are now striving to reach the magnificent goals of the Five-Year Plan full of enthusiasm and with high political zeal. Many enterprises in the Hungnam area exceeded their targets of increased production from the first months of the year.

If we exceed this year's targets, the hardest part of the Five-Year Plan would be over.

I firmly believe that all workers, technicians and office employees in the Hungnam area will display high revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activity in socialist construction and brilliantly reach or exceed the magnificent targets of the First Five-Year Plan.

Let all of us march forward vigorously towards a new victory in active response to the Party's call and in firm unity around the Party Central Committee.

#### FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE JUDICIAL POLICY OF OUR PARTY

## Speech Delivered at a National Conference of Judicial Workers and Public Prosecutors

April 29, 1958

The present conference of judicial workers is, in my opinion, of great significance. For the past few days, you have examined your work and exchanged useful experience in order to improve it in future. We are very grateful that this conference has served as an occasion for you to further improve your work in the judicial field by rectifying what is wrong and by continuing to do what is right.

I believe you have correctly understood, after hearing the report of the Minister of Justice, the speech by the Procurator-General and many other speeches at this conference, and also through a short course, what the Party Central Committee requires of judicial workers today.

I once made a speech to the interior servicemen on this subject and I hear you have studied it during the short course, so I will briefly refer to only those questions which I would like to emphasize again, avoiding repetition.

The anti-Party factional elements, who had infiltrated into our judicial system, spread revisionist ideas by availing themselves of the anti-Soviet, anti-communist campaign—the so-called international trend. They did great harm to our work by exerting negative influences upon ideologically unsteady persons. Using slogans such as "The law

must be impartial to everyone" or "Human rights must be protected," the anti-Party factionalists launched an attack on the Party's judicial policy.

Veteran Party members, loyal to our Party, can clearly see that these slogans contain nothing new. Our Party has always stressed that the law must be impartial to every citizen and that it must protect human rights. Is there anything new about this?

Why, then, did the anti-Party elements deliberately raise those slogans in 1956 when the anti-Soviet, anti-communist campaign was launched?

In conformity with its Rules, our Party has fought to defend the interests of all the working masses since the first day of its founding. Why do the masses of the people rally around our Party? Because it struggles for their interests. The Party cannot defend the interests of the masses alone. We must fight together with the masses of the people. Our Party always organizes and mobilizes the masses of the people and fights together with them for their freedom and happiness. The very fact that our Party enjoys the support of all the people and unites with them in the struggle shows that it is fighting in the interests of the people.

It is the first and foremost duty of revolutionaries to protect the people's interests and rights. It is an elementary and fundamental duty of communists who are engaged in revolution to defend the rights of the people.

Has our Party ever infringed on the rights of the people or failed to uphold them? Has our Party ever been unfair to the working masses? Our Party can never do such things.

Originally, the slogan "The law must be impartial to everyone" was nothing but hypocritical bourgeois propaganda, aimed at subjecting the working people to a bourgeois law by camouflaging its class character and deceiving them. The anti-Party factionalists came out with this deceptive bourgeois slogan not for the good of the working masses, but for the purpose of utilizing our law to shield those who encroach upon the interests of the working masses. This assertion of the anti-Party

factionalists is totally alien to the class position of our law, and is designed to protect the landlords and capitalists by disregarding the functions of the proletarian dictatorship of our people's government. This is quite contrary to what our Party wants.

We regret that some of our judicial workers did not stay on the alert against such an assertion by the anti-Party factionalists, but blindly followed them.

We must absolutely reject such a reactionary argument which protects the interests of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

As you well know, our Party advocates and demands the exercise of control over the landlords and capitalists, and the positive protection of the rights of the workers, peasants and other working people.

Immediately after liberation, we took away the right to vote or to be elected from pro-Japanese elements and confiscated the land of landlords and distributed it to the peasants. We deprived those vicious reactionaries, who negated and opposed our state power, of all rights. Did we do the right thing? Of course, we did. Why, then, did the anti-Party factionalists insist on restoring the rights to such counter-revolutionaries? In the final analysis, we can only conclude that they intended to restore the system of the landlords and capitalists. We can regard this as an expression of revisionism in our country. It can also be regarded as the argument of spokesmen for the landlords and capitalists who seek to restore the capitalist system in our country. How, then, can our Party members accept such an argument?

Taking advantage of this opportunity today, I must emphasize once again that our judicial organs are a weapon for carrying out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today, there are two kinds of dictatorship in our era. One is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the other is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie performs the functions of stifling the interests of the workers, peasants and other working people and of depriving them of their freedom in order to safeguard the interests of the landlord and capitalist classes. Thus, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is one exercised over the workers and peasants, and it guarantees democracy to the landlords and capitalists. Directly opposed to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat, established in the Soviet Union and other countries after the October Revolution, protects the interests of the workers and peasants and negates the interests of the landlords and capitalists. The dictatorship of the proletariat is one exercised over the landlords and capitalists, and it guarantees democracy to the working masses, including the workers and peasants. The bourgeois dictatorship is necessary for the capitalist system, and the proletarian dictatorship, for the socialist system.

Some people seem to think that the people's democratic dictatorship in our country is not a dictatorship of the proletariat but some sort of intermediate dictatorship between that of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie, and they wrongly believe that since our government is based on a united front, our people's power does not belong to the category of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is wrong. The present people's democratic government in our country does belong to the category of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are now building socialism. The power that builds socialism must be, in essence, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our people's power champions the interests of the working masses with the working class of our country as their core, and serves them as a powerful weapon in socialist construction. Among those who participate in our people's government are men of capitalist origin, and there are cases in which some of them even hold important authoritative positions. However, all of them accept the socialist revolution and are working for socialist construction together with the working class. Of the people who served the bourgeoisie in the past, only those who wish to serve the working class and fight for the working people today are allowed to participate in our people's government.

It is true that our state power is based on a united front of the broad sectors of the people, including the workers and peasants. However, it

is in essence a united front of the masses of the people who support socialism. Today, we maintain a united front with friendly parties, such as the Chongu Party and the Democratic Party. This is because all these friendly parties want socialism. As we are now building socialism in the northern half, we cannot, under any circumstances, form a united front with those who oppose and obstruct socialism.

In the southern half today, the task of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution is still under way and, therefore, the task of socialist revolution has not yet been posed. For the peaceful reunification of the country, we must form a united front not only with those people in the southern half who support socialism, but also with all patriotic forces and social organizations that oppose US imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique and support the country's independence and democratic reforms. But this by no means implies that to form a united front we should give up the socialism which we are building in the northern half. If the national bourgeoisie in south Korea were to declare their willingness to join us in a united front on condition that we give up socialist construction, we could not form a united front with them. Forming a united front with the people of different classes and sectors in the southern half does not mean that we would abandon the socialist revolution; on the contrary, it aims at paving the way for carrying out our objective of building socialism throughout the nation by achieving the reunification of the country.

It is US imperialism and its lackeys—the landlords and comprador capitalists—who oppose the reunification of our country. That is why in order to reunify the country we maintain, above all, the formation of a popular united front rallying around it all the forces which oppose US imperialism and its lackeys, the traitorous clique, and which want reunification.

We consistently maintain that the reunification of the country should be accomplished through peaceful means and on a democratic basis. By a democratic basis we mean that communists should also have a free hand to vindicate their claims. When conditions are created for us to freely address the people in south Korea, we should, first of all, propose the introduction of an eight-hour working day and the distribution of land among the peasants. We should demand the withdrawal of the foreign imperialists from Korea and call for the abolition of the arbitrary domination of aggressors' capital, the landlords and the comprador capitalists, the protection of national industry, and the guarantee of full democratic rights for the masses of the people, including the workers and peasants. In short, we must fully convince the people in the southern half that reunification can be realized peacefully in their own interest, only when the forces of foreign imperialism are driven out of the southern half, when the working people are freed from exploitation and oppression by the landlords and comprador capitalists and when they are guaranteed all democratic rights.

After all, peaceful reunification is possible only when based on principles conforming with the interests of the workers, the peasants and the rest of the working masses. Therefore, peaceful reunification does not mean that we will abandon the socialism we have already built or renounce our objective of building socialism in the southern half after reunification.

In future, the southern half, like the northern half, will also follow the path of socialism. This is the inevitable process of social development. However, the question that we must immediately solve is the question of the country's reunification. Therefore, it is important to form a united front with broad democratic forces including even the non-comprador capitalists in the southern half.

In the northern half, we have already carried out the task of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and are now building socialism. We formed a united front when we were carrying out the task of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in the northern half, and it still exists today when we are building socialism. It is a united front which always safeguards the interests of the people.

The united front for the socialist revolution in the northern half embraces not only the workers and peasants, but the masses of the people. This is because socialism represents the greatest patriotism and corresponds to the interests of the majority of people. This is because only under the socialist system can all the people lead a better life and enjoy freedom and happiness.

We maintain a united front with all the political parties and social organizations which want to cooperate with us in socialist construction. Therefore, it can be said that our government is based on a united front. However, the question is which class leads the united front. If the united front is led by the bourgeoisie, then a government based on that united front is one of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It is wrong to think that our people's government cannot be one of the dictatorship of the proletariat because it is now based on a united front. Essentially, our government can only be one of the proletarian dictatorship, because it is based on the united front of different classes and sectors that support socialism under the leadership of the working class.

I say this because you have a tendency, for reasons related to the united front, to acquit even criminals deserving punishment, for fear that the united front would be disrupted. We need the united front to build socialism. How, then, can you say you have done the right thing if, fearing the disruption of the united front, you failed to punish those who oppose socialism? We should neither form a united front with those who oppose socialism, nor give these people impartial treatment. This does not mean that you should indiscriminately oppose the landlords and capitalists merely for what they are. We suppress them only because they oppose socialism.

We deprived the landlords of their land through an agrarian reform, but we moved them to other districts and gave them some land. When the landlords cease to collect farm rent as they did in the past and instead earn their living by their own efforts, they will be entitled to live as citizens. If the landlords who gave up their land continue to support the laws of our country and do not oppose our revolution, we must treat them fairly. But if they plan to revive the landlord-capitalist system, saying, "You took my land. You'll pay for that! I'll overthrow

your system!" then we are obliged to suppress them. Our society has nothing to share with such counter-revolutionary elements.

The same can be said for merchants. We do not forbid them to take part in trade activities, nor do we reject them outrightly. But we demand that, in doing business, they should not become rapacious profiteers, violating the country's laws and cheating the people. They must not deal in such things as rice, which is prohibited by the state, and must not violate state price regulations. Violators should be punished according to the law, and dictatorship should be exercised against them. However, if they reform along socialist lines by joining cooperatives or do fair business, without violating the laws of the state, they will all be regarded as citizens of our country. We should treat such people fairly and protect them as well.

You should not think that, simply because other parties such as the Chongu Party and the Democratic Party participate in it, our state power is one which compromises with the landlords and capitalists. As a matter of fact, the members of the Chongu Party and the Democratic Party are not necessarily landlords or capitalists. They may have belonged to the landlord or capitalist class in the past, but at present they no longer collect rent, nor do they run their own factories and exploit workers. That is a thing of the past. Today they all oppose exploitation and support socialist construction. Therefore, building of socialism hand in hand with them does not mean that our state power makes compromises with the landlords and capitalists.

Only those who support socialism, regardless of their past actions, can take part in our government; only those who support socialism are allowed to do so.

When it comes to the interests of the socialist revolution, our government does not make the least concession. It is specifically for the victory of the socialist revolution that our people's government defends socialist gains and wages an uncompromising struggle against all counter-revolutionary elements and wrong ideas that go against the socialist revolution and obstruct it. In particular, it exercises strict dictatorship against all the counter-revolutionary elements who are

attempting to revive capitalism.

It is, therefore, perfectly clear that our people's government, though based on a united front, is in essence the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because it resolutely fights in the interests of the socialist revolution.

Now, let me say something about the law. Some comrades insisted that they should obey only the law, but the question is: on what class interests is the law based, and from what standpoint should we interpret and enforce the law?

Law is not unchangeable. No law has been immune to change or applicable and effective like a panacea at any time and in any place. It is wrong to think of the law as if it had come down from Heaven, separating it from the socio-economic or the political system, or to consider that it should remain unchanged for long years once it is made by someone.

Law reflects the socio-economic system and is an expression of politics. There can be no law that is separated from a socio-economic system and from class struggle. When the socio-economic system and the content of the class struggle change, how can the law, which is their reflection, remain unchanged? We have, therefore, repeatedly advised those who boast of knowing Japanese law not to do so. Those comrades who studied Japanese law in the past are accustomed to say with an air of legal authority: "Do you know how long I have studied law?"

Well, what kind of law was Japanese law? It was a law that served the Japanese Emperor, Japanese imperialism and Japanese militarism, a law that protected the interests of the Japanese landlords and capitalists, and permitted the oppression and exploitation of the Japanese working people. It was also a law that served to defend the imperialist policy of colonial slavery, to oppress and plunder small and weak nations. Japanese law was a weapon for the Japanese imperialists in oppressing and exploiting the Korean people. Is it not true that numerous patriots who had fought for Korea's freedom and independence had been shot or imprisoned on

charges of violating the Japanese law? Amongst you, there are many comrades who were imprisoned by the Japanese imperialists. Even those who merely criticized the landlords and capitalists were accused of violating Japanese law and thrown into prison. Whom, then, did this law protect? From the class point of view, it was a law that oppressed the working people and protected the interests of the landlords and capitalists; and from the national point of view, it was a law that protected Japanese militarism and oppressed the Korean nation.

Let us suppose that you also know a little about the old law of the Ri dynasty. This was also a law that protected the feudal rulers of the Ri dynasty and not, in any way, the interests of the working people.

When the socio-economic system and the content of the political struggle between classes change, the law inevitably changes as well.

What kind of law do we need today? Today we live under a socialist system, and under a people's government which fights the counter-revolutionary resistance of the landlords and capitalists so that the masses of the people, including the workers and peasants, may build socialism. Accordingly, it is clear that our law must be a weapon for safeguarding our socialist system and gains, and a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, when he was Chief of the Judicial Bureau, Choe Yong Dal boasted of his career, writing in his curriculum vitae that he had graduated from a law school and then finished his legal studies at the law department of a university. So we told him, "The worthless law you claim to know may prove useful for a few technical terms which we might decide to adopt, or for studying the history of Japanese law, but it has nothing common at all with our law under the people's democratic government." You may find in our laws and regulations some phrases that are literally translated from Japanese law under the influence of such people. You must re-examine our laws and regulations from this angle. By this I do not mean, of course, that those who studied law during Japanese rule are to be left out of work in our judiciary system today. You should not take it that way, because

people change constantly. What I stress is that you should not blindly adopt laws which are incompatible with our socio-economic system and our class position.

Ours is the law of a socialist society, the law of our state power which exercises the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, our law is fundamentally different from and directly opposed to the Japanese imperialist law before the August 15 liberation, the law of the Japanese imperialist machine of colonial rule which oppressed our nation and exploited our workers and peasants.

It is important for the judicial workers to wipe out the ideological remnants of outdated law, that is, the ideological traces of Japanese imperialist law. According to the report made by the Minister of Justice, the anti-Party factionalists clamoured for "humanism", "democracy", etc., repeating the slogans which were aimed at deceiving our working people in the days of Japanese imperialism. Such remnants of obsolete ideology must be promptly eliminated.

If Japanese judges were sympathetic people, why did they murder so many Koreans and plunder the enormous wealth of Korea? That kind of concept shows the old ideology of bourgeois law, an ideology incapable of comprehending the class character of law. It is a very absurd and dangerous tendency to separate law from its class basis and from the social and political system.

We must struggle against those who, under the excuse of just obeying the law, think that they could ignore the Party or the state power. For example, Hwang Se Hwan, former President of the Supreme Court, did not go to the Party but only to the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly to see Kim Tu Bong in the last days of his career. Probably, he thought that he was under the jurisdiction of the People's Assembly alone, as the Supreme Court is elected by it. But who leads the people and guides the assembly? It is our Party.

It is quite right for lawyers to call for more strict observance of the law. Our Party has always urged this. It is a good thing to urge obedience to the law alone. Since judges and public prosecutors carry out their activities on the basis of law, it is not wrong that they obey

only the law. But obeying the law by no means implies rejection of Party leadership. As a matter of fact, those who obey the law are, in the long run, the same people who obey the Party. In fact those who abide by the law alone and do not obey the Party will be breaking the law.

I have already stated that law is an expression of politics. One can neither understand nor enforce the law when one is separated from politics.

The law of our country is an important weapon for implementing our state policies. The policies of our state are the policies of our Party. It is impossible to enforce the law without knowing our Party's political line and policies. You must realize that the judicial officials are political workers who implement the policies of our Party and all the state policies. Law cannot exist by itself without a definite basis. Being an expression of politics, law must be based on politics and not be separated from it. Then who makes all the policies of revolution and construction in our country today? Needless to say, it is our Party. Our Party leads our revolution and guides our country's politics and, therefore, it is the political leader of our people. Our Party is the highest form of all working-class organizations in our country. So, it is an invariable principle that all organizations should be led by the Party.

To obey only the law, ignoring the leadership of the Party, is, in effect, to disobey and distort the law. Some comrades seem to be doubtful, saying, "We are told not to strictly abide by the articles of the law from now on. Well, how are we to carry out our work?" This shows that they have an incorrect understanding of our idea. We do not mean that they should not strictly abide by the articles of the law but rather that they should not distort its fundamental spirit, apart from politics.

All we are stressing is that you should interpret and apply the law correctly from the class point of view, as demanded by our Party, that is, from the point of view of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our law is in itself aimed at defending and implementing our Party policies, and so, to enforce the law correctly means to implement the Party policies correctly and, therefore, to follow its leadership.

As you all know, the law does not consist only of criminal and civil procedure codes. The national economic plan is also a law, and so is the state budget. All these are legal expressions of the policies and measures of the state. Codes of legal procedure are also necessary for the defence of our political system. Thus, the law is established solely for implementing and defending the policies of the Party and, therefore, you cannot properly execute the law without obeying the Party leadership.

Also, in the light of the Party's organizational principles, it is natural that you, as Party members, should obey the Party organization.

A high degree of political and ideological consciousness is indispensable for the enforcement of the law. Judicial workers must always be inspired by the Party's ideology. The law may be enforced correctly or incorrectly, depending on the standpoint and thoughts of those who enforce it.

Just think, Comrades! There was nothing in our law that told us how to deal with Ri Man Hwa who opposed our Party and state. As one criminal act is different from another and is committed under different circumstances, the law cannot provide a definite penalty for each offender. Law may be compared to a yardstick which sets rules for dealing with cases. The yardstick may be used correctly or incorrectly, depending on who uses it. The law may be applied properly or wrongly, depending on the ideological standpoints of the judicial workers. An ideologically weak judge released such a villain as Ri Man Hwa. In dealing with the case, he reasoned, "This man was educated in a wrong way in his childhood and never learned the laws of social development; therefore, he committed this crime. So, he should be acquitted." The law was applied wrongly in this case.

An ideological stand is also necessary in order to obey only the law. With a wrong ideological standpoint, you may set a wrong standard. Those who have wrong ideas only talk about obeying the law, but violate it and even protect counter-revolutionaries. It is useless to call for a "law-abiding principle" alone. In fact, it was not us but the anti-Party factional elements who violated this principle, and protected

counter-revolutionary elements.

They did so because they strayed from the Party's position and totally distorted the spirit of the law. Judicial workers most essentially need an ideological stand to correctly put the spirit of the law into practice. Only by strengthening Party life in the Party organizations can we inspire ourselves with Party ideology. And only by constantly following Party guidance, can we have a correct ideological stand.

Many traces of obsolete ideology still remain in our society. And as we stand face to face with US imperialism and its stooges, there exists the great threat of infiltration of reactionary ideology. So, even those who were ideologically strong before may be corrupted by the enemy ideology.

Some people say, "That comrade was really a good man. He was all right when I saw him last year, and now I notice that he is no longer good. It's very strange." There is nothing strange about this. Though his ideology was sound last year, this year it has been poisoned by bourgeois ideas. Even though judicial workers know the law by memory at all times, it can never guarantee protection against their ideological corruption.

Everybody knows that if someone commits a crime, he will be punished under the law. Yet, people still commit crimes. Judicial workers know perfectly well how long they would be jailed for rehabilitation under certain provisions of the criminal code, if they were to commit a crime. Nevertheless, judicial workers commit crimes. And just as they may commit crimes, they may also apply the law wrongly.

To treat counter-revolutionary elements belonging to the hostile classes with great generosity and protect them by abusing our lenient policy, or to deal lightly with the criminals who hamper socialist construction—all this is not the attitude of a judicial worker with a correct ideological standpoint. What is it, if not a crime, to commit murder or robbery and to disturb public order, at a time when all the people are mobilized for the socialist revolution? But attempts to fabricate such unwarranted pretexts as attributing murder to a lack of

understanding and robbery to destitution, all result from a misinterpretation of the law and are, in the final analysis, attributable to an erroneous ideological position.

Judicial workers must clearly understand that they are the ones who defend and implement, by law, the policies of the Party. In a word, you must have a very strong Party spirit.

At a meeting of the interior servicemen I said that the interior servicemen and the soldiers of the People's Army should be very loyal to the Party. The same must be said for the judicial workers. You must be very loyal to the Party.

Some comrades may ask, why, then, were such people as Hong Ki Ju and Ri Sung Yop appointed Minister of Justice, to lead our judicial bodies, where such a strong Party spirit is required. We did not know that Ri Sung Yop was a villain when we appointed him Minister of Justice. And had we known that Hong Ki Ju was a villain, we would have never appointed him Minister of Justice. Obviously, we assigned them to the post hoping that they would do a good job, because we failed to judge them correctly and thought they were good people.

But you cannot say that because bad people held the post of minister, all the work of the judiciary went wrong. No matter who is minister, you should follow his instructions and strive to implement them when he executes our Party policies correctly. But when he does not carry out the Party policies properly, you should criticize his work, even though he is the minister. Why did you not do this when you saw that he was committing errors? What does this show? It shows that our Party members in the judiciary were weak in Party spirit.

You are by no means bound to a minister. You belong to the Party, so you must submit yourselves to the interests and policies of the Party. You should obey the Party and state organizations and the policies and laws of the state. Why, then, did you remain mere onlookers, when you could clearly see that things were not being done properly? Why, for instance, didn't you object to the ruling on the acquittal of such an element as Ri Man Hwa? Why did you instead carry it out? It was because you had a weak Party spirit. We must have a strong Party spirit

which allows no compromise with anyone who violates the Party policies. The Party hopes that you will correct the shortcomings manifested in your past work and persistently strive to strengthen your Party spirit.

A careful examination of the errors by our judicial workers and public prosecutors at this meeting has shown that all of them were caused by a departure from the working-class stand, from the principles of socialism, and from the principles of our Party. All in all, they resulted from a weak Party spirit.

It can be said that only those who faithfully carry out the Party policies and resolutely defend them are men of strong Party spirit. Merely claiming to have devotion to the Party does not make you men of strong Party spirit. Now and then we hear some comrades say: He is loyal to the Party, but he does not know how to handle his job. After all, such a person is a stupid fellow.

By a man who is loyal to the Party, we do not just mean a good-natured man, nor do we mean an incompetent yes-man. We mean one who resolutely upholds the Party policies, knows how to implement them correctly, always wages uncompromising struggles against class enemies and against all the negative factors, firmly defends the interests of the working class and staunchly fights at all times, to carry out the Party policies. Such a man can be called a loyal Party fighter, a loyal Party member and a man of strong Party spirit. All our judicial workers must prove that they are men of strong Party spirit, who, united firmly behind the Party Central Committee, resolutely uphold its policies and wage an energetic struggle for their implementation.

An extremely complex class struggle is going on in our country since it is divided into north and south. It is important here to distinguish correctly between friends and foes. We should make no compromise with the hostile classes which are dead set against socialism. For this reason, we must draw a clear line between the hostile elements and those members of our own class who have committed crimes by accident, while following the path of socialist

construction with us, between those who deliberately oppose us and those who do not. In order to make all these distinctions and mete out legal sanctions accordingly, you need a high political standard.

In order to attain this and analyse all matters correctly, it is necessary to have Marxist-Leninist political education. Therefore, I think that as our Party conference proposed to the entire Party, the Party spirit should first be enhanced and Party life strengthened, and, secondly, every Party member should work hard to attain a Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

All judicial workers must strengthen their Party spirit in accordance with the decision of the Party conference, and must raise the level of their political consciousness, so that they will successfully carry out the struggle against the counter-revolutionary elements and thoroughly implement the judicial policies of the Party and the state.

I hope that all the judicial workers will firmly adhere to our Party's judicial policy and intensify the struggle against the counter-revolutionary elements, firmly safeguard the socialist gains against any subversive activities and sabotage by the enemy, and resolutely fight for the victory of our socialist revolution.

#### ON PROPERLY PRESERVING HISTORICAL REMAINS AND RELICS

# Talk with the Teachers and Students of Kim Il Sung University

April 30, 1958

I would like to make a few remarks on the question of building Taesongsan Pleasure Park.

At present the construction of the road to Mt. Taesong is nearing completion. But by building a road alone you cannot call the place a pleasure park. In future we should develop Taesongsan Pleasure Park as a good cultural recreation ground for the people and turn it into a place where to educate the working people in the revolutionary traditions and patriotic spirit.

It is common knowledge that Mt. Taesong has a long and proud history. There are the graves of anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters and also a large number of historical remains. Old tombs of the Koguryo period alone number over 1,000 on this mountain; some of them have murals. There are also the remains of the ancient mountain fortress walls. These historical remains are part of our heritage which shows the long history of our country and the fine cultural traditions of our people.

In the past the Japanese imperialist aggressors damaged numerous historical remains all over our country and robbed large numbers of precious historical relics. But the new emerging generation did not see those enemies of our nation, those class enemies with their own eyes, so they have a very dim idea of how heinous and shameless the aggressors were. Therefore, with the help of the historical remains and relics we must clearly show the people, the new emerging generation in particular, the brilliant cultural traditions left by our ancestors and their patriotic spirit in courageously fighting back the foreign invaders.

It is therefore very important to restore all the historical remains which were ravaged by the Japanese imperialists and to unearth and restore those monuments which are still left unheeded. If in future we unearth and restore all the historical remains in this place to their original state and demonstrate the fine cultural traditions of our nation, Mt. Taesong will become not only a good cultural recreation ground for the working people but also an excellent place to fill the people with national pride and patriotic spirit.

Taking advantage of this opportunity to build Taesongsan Pleasure Park, we should simultaneously dig up, restore and put the historical remains existing here in order. It is absolutely wrong to destroy historical remains in order to carry out construction work. Yet, we should not use historical remains as an excuse for delaying or halting an absolutely necessary construction project. When you undertake construction work in a place with historical remains, you should first organize a team such as a "historical remains unearthing corps" to dig up the relics before starting the work. Thus, you should both save the remains and carry out the construction project without any problems. If you are to map out a general plan for the construction of the pleasure park correctly and continue construction work properly, you should not fail to unearth the historical remains in advance. To me it seems necessary to form a "historical remains unearthing corps" with some 30 persons under the control of the Academy of Sciences, to do only such a job.

The workers concerned should make the general plan for the construction of Taesongsan Pleasure Park without delay through extensive consultations with scientists and students, and then start work

As for the restoration of the historical remains, it should only be

started after sufficient investigation and study of necessary scientific material are made. It will not be a good thing either to set up new things where there were no historical remains or to restore what existed before in a haphazard manner. In unearthing and restoring historical remains, we should also strictly observe the principles of our Party and working-class spirit, and principles based on historic facts.

It is desirable that you first unearth and restore the ancient tombs on Mt. Taesong on these principles. You should investigate and unearth all tombs and then restore only typical ones to their original state and show them to the people. You should build a lawn over the tombs, plant many trees and grow thick foliage around them, make paths amongst them and build small pavilions for the convenience of the workers and students who go there to study and see the place.

In this connection, the stock farm situated in the tomb area should be moved to another place quickly.

The site of the Anhak Palace should also be restored. The present village located on the site should be transferred to another place and the whole site of the palace should be unearthed while its ancient buildings should be fully restored.

There are still remains of the old fortress walls on the mountain. So it is advisable that students of the history department of the University investigate and unearth the relics, restore some sections of the walls and repair the gate of the fortress to its original state. And the ancient pavilion which once stood on Jangsu Peak should also be rebuilt as it originally was.

It is said that there were ponds within the Taesongsan Mountain Fort. We can also say that these ponds are very important historical remains. In future you should locate and restore all these ancient ponds. When people go to a pleasure park or similar places, they will need much water. For the convenience of the working people who come here for recreation it is therefore necessary to find as many wellsprings as possible on Mt. Taesong and ensure enough water resources.

I have heard that many relics were dug out during construction of

the road to Mt. Taesong. Those relics should be preserved well. In future we should build a museum there to exhibit the precious relics excavated in the area.

In order to build a good pleasure park on Mt. Taesong, many buildings should be erected. Buildings on Mt. Taesong should be erected in such a way as to harmonize with this historical place, in conformity with the traditions of the ancient architecture of our country. This should be done after locating and examining all the historical remains there. We should thus ensure that those who visit the pleasure park can learn from our excellent traditional and ancient architecture. Needless to say, it will be difficult to do the job only with the efforts of builders. Scholars should also give great assistance in this work.

So far the University students have done a great deal of work to build Taesongsan Pleasure Park. But we have still got a long way to go to complete it satisfactorily. We should not only restore the historical remains to their original state in ancient times but also build new zoological and botanical gardens. So we can say that we have still more work to do than we have already done. It will be a good thing if the construction of the pleasure park is carried out by the University in future also.

It can be said that the construction work on Taesongsan Pleasure Park is a task most suitable for the University students. Unlike other pleasure parks, it is a project requiring comprehensive science and knowledge because historical relics should be excavated and restored to their original state, while geological investigations should also be carried out. Therefore, this job cannot be performed satisfactorily by any persons other than University students, whose studies cover the various fields of science. No one else but the students of the history department should tackle the job of excavating and restoring the cultural relics left behind by our ancestors. By nature, you should undertake the task to excavate the historical remains and, after examining them, you should also plan how to restore the site of the Anhak Palace, the ancient tombs, the mountain fortress walls, the gate

of the fortress and the pavilions. This task cannot be fully accomplished only with the efforts of the few archaeologists we have at present.

And on the basis of studying the historical remains on Mt. Taesong, the students should write theses and also provide material for the education of the working people. This is beneficial both because their academic level will be improved through practice and because they will contribute to the construction of the pleasure park.

We should excavate and restore the historical remains on Mt. Taesong and build new zoological and botanical gardens there, and thus set up a pleasure park of which we could boast before the world.

## SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE INAUGURATION OF BLAST FURNACE NO. 1 AND COKE OVEN OF THE HWANGHAE IRON WORKS

#### April 30, 1958

Comrades,

Tomorrow we will be greeting May Day, a day when the workers of the whole world will demonstrate their fighting power and international solidarity.

It is especially of great significance to hold the inauguration ceremony for blast furnace No. 1 and coke oven of the Hwanghae Iron Works on the eve of May Day, which is a great event in the development of ferrous metallurgy in our country. This increases our joy. The newly-built blast furnace and coke oven are the best gifts you can present to our working class and all the Korean people.

Today, on the occasion of the inauguration of blast furnace No. 1 and coke oven of the Hwanghae Iron Works, I offer warm congratulations and thanks, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, to all workers, technicians and office employees who performed brilliant labour exploits in the reconstruction of the iron works.

Like other heavy industry enterprises, the Hwanghae Iron Works suffered terrible destruction in the savage bombing by the enemy during the Fatherland Liberation War.

After the ceasefire the Party and the Government decided to build this iron works in different stages in anticipation of the balanced development of industrial sectors. In the period of postwar reconstruction we first rebuilt the steel shop and the crude steel shop in order to meet the pressing demand of the national economy for rolled steel.

In a short period less than a year after that, we have built such a large blast furnace and coke oven in accordance with the decision of the Party Central Committee.

The blast furnace and coke oven being inaugurated today have a capacity to produce 250,000 tons of pig iron and 300,000 tons of coke a year respectively. This means that output will be more than doubled with the same equipments.

The reconstruction of the iron works has been a really ambitious and difficult task. For the construction of the blast furnace and coke oven, more than 10,000 tons of steel frames were made and assembled, 28 kilometres of new railways were laid and over 600 units of various machines and equipment were assembled.

We had to surmount tremendous difficulties in order to supply the large amount of equipment and materials needed for the building of the blast furnace and coke oven, and solve complex technical problems we had never encountered before. But the Party firmly believed that our working class would overcome all these difficulties by showing patriotic zeal and inexhaustible creative talents and complete this difficult task ahead of schedule. You have admirably lived up to the expectations of the Party with your heroic feats.

Only by waging a devoted struggle without sleep and rest in support of the decision of the Party and the Government could all workers, technicians and office employees successfully carry out this ambitious and difficult construction work on the rubble.

During the construction of the blast furnace many Labour Heroes and labour innovators appeared. They led all the workers and carried out the most difficult work. By showing full loyalty to the Party and the country, they not only solved complex technical problems in a successful way but also completed arduous tasks in time. The builders of the blast furnace, including the metal plate processing worker

Comrade Won To Jung and spiderman Comrade Im Chang Ho, worked at a height of 60 metres for two months in spite of severe winter cold and showed an amazing creative initiative in assembling the crest equipment of the furnace on the ground and lifting it up to its place. And the brick layers, including Comrade Hong To Gwan, handled a large quantity of firebricks weighing 11,000 tons, despite the adverse conditions of a rigorous winter, and they succeeded in building the new coke oven through advanced techniques. The welders, such as Comrades Choe Yun Myong and Ri Mun Gwan, rendered great services in shortening the time of construction work to one-third by doing away with the old welding method and boldly adopting an advanced method.

In the huge and complex work on the blast furnace and coke oven of the Hwanghae Iron Works everything from designing to production of machinery and equipment and building operations has been done by our workers and technicians themselves.

Our inexperienced technicians made a detailed study of the advanced techniques and experience of other countries and completely eliminated the various technical shortcomings remaining from the days of Japanese imperialist rule, and thus introduced new designs even in the water supply and power systems, not to mention the blast furnace and coke oven, entirely on the basis of advanced techniques.

The reconstruction of the iron works has been carried out through the joint efforts of all our key industries and their workers and technicians, and through a nationwide campaign of support and assistance. If the workers and technicians of the machine-building enterprises, including the Pukjung and Ryongsong Machine Factories, and the workers in the construction and building-materials industries and transport sector, had not supplied the enormous quantities of equipment and materials in time through their unselfish endeavours and if the farmers, students, housewives and people in all other social spheres in North Hwanghae Province and Songnim had not helped you by a mass labour struggle, we would not have completed this magnificent and powerful iron works by now.

I would like to take this opportunity today to extend warm thanks to all the workers and helpers who gave active assistance in the construction of the Hwanghae Iron Works.

Through the reconstruction of the iron works, you have gained precious experience which cannot be bartered for anything. Today our technicians are in a good position to design a modern iron works on their own and our machine-building industry is capable of supplying the equipment necessary for it. And our workers have acquired the skill of expertly assembling the most complex structures and equipment.

This will serve as a priceless asset for the development of our ferrous metallurgical industry in future. This is also eloquent proof that our industry has entered a new stage of development and a strong guarantee for the attainment of the majestic goals of the Five-Year Plan.

In the construction of the iron works you have shown boundless loyalty to the Party and the revolution and proved that our working class is advancing steadily towards a brighter future, as the leading class in our country. The reconstruction of the Hwanghae Iron Works has once again demonstrated the indomitable fighting spirit, heroism and inexhaustible creative ability of our working class to the whole world, and clearly shown that they can surmount all difficulties.

Through the reconstruction of the Hwanghae Iron Works, you have introduced modern technology at the old enterprise and converted it into a new metallurgical mill with the most rational balances maintained between its manufacturing processes. You have thus performed great feats in eliminating colonial links which were for a long time a big scar in our industry, and in accelerating the independent development of the national economy.

You have set up blast furnace No. 1 and coke oven of the Hwanghae Iron Works which stand majestically here today, and which are the pride of our working class who has become the master of the country, and are also a symbol of their might. Strongly encouraged by the great feats you have performed, all the Korean people now have greater faith in victory.

Comrades, in three to four years after the war we have rebuilt the ravaged national economy through a heroic struggle by our people and with the economic and technical assistance of socialist countries, and created the material conditions for further consolidating the foundations of the socialist economy of the country.

Today our people are successfully carrying out the tasks of the second year of the First Five-Year Plan in all fields of the national economy. The reconstruction of the Hwanghae Iron Works is a great event in consolidating the foundations of the socialist economy by further developing the productive forces in the country, and it is an important landmark in rapidly developing our industry which is the most important sector of the national economy.

With the aim of continuously ensuring the priority growth of heavy industry during the First Five-Year Plan, the Party is also directing great efforts to the development of the ferrous metallurgical, machine-building, chemical and building-materials industries, and to the strengthening of the raw material and power production bases.

Ferrous metallurgy is extremely important in laying foundations for socialist industrialization, in strengthening our independent national economy and in solving the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

This industry is a key branch of heavy industry. Without developing it we cannot ensure the growth of the machine-building industry and capital construction and, accordingly, cannot hope for the further development of the national economy and improvement of the people's livelihood. This is why our Party always gives serious attention to the development of the ferrous metal industry.

In the postwar years this industry played a great role in the implementation of our Party's economic policy, but it still fails to satisfy the ever-increasing need of the national economy for rolled steel.

Our machine-building industry which is now developing rapidly, urgently requires various kinds of good-quality steel materials in larger quantities, and the demand for various rails and iron rods is increasing in the railways, ports, mines, lumbering grounds and irrigation projects.

In particular, construction work under the prefab method, now in full swing throughout the country, requires a decisive increase in the production of various kinds of round steel rods and wire while various sizes of seamless pipes and steel plates are also in great demand at the construction sites of factories and houses.

We plan to develop the ferrous metal industry rapidly during the Five-Year Plan and thus mainly meet domestic needs for various steel materials ourselves.

At its First Conference our Party put forward the ambitious task for the ferrous metallurgical industry to produce 700,000 tons of pig iron, 200,000 tons of granulated iron, 670,000 tons of steel and 500,000 tons of steel materials by the end of 1961.

The task entrusted to the Hwanghae Iron Works in this connection is really great.

In order to succeed in carrying out the important task assigned to the Hwanghae Iron Works under the Five-Year Plan, you should quickly become experienced in advanced techniques before anything else and see to it that the newly-built blast furnace and coke oven are operated to full capacity. Furthermore, in order to satisfy the needs of the national economy for various kinds of steel plate, you should start building a plate rolling shop with a capacity of 150,000 tons and a sheet rolling shop with a capacity of 60,000 tons. You should thus complete the plate rolling shop by the third quarter of 1959 and put some sections of the sheet rolling shop into operation by the second quarter of the same year. Meanwhile, you should build a blooming shop with a capacity of 300,000 tons to meet the needs of railway transport for rails. And you should complete the building of blast furnace No. 2 and coke oven No. 2 by 1960.

By completing all these enormous tasks, you should turn the Hwanghae Iron Works into a powerful ferrous metallurgical centre in our country with production capacities of 500,000 tons of pig iron, 450,000 tons of steel, and 400,000 tons of rolled steel by the end of the Five-Year Plan.

I would like to take the opportunity to make some remarks on the

tasks of other ferrous metallurgical enterprises in our country.

In order to continue developing our iron and steel industry rapidly, the Party and the Government plan to turn the Kim Chaek Iron Works into a new powerful metallurgical centre by expanding it further.

For this purpose the Kim Chaek Iron Works should start reconstructing blast furnace No. 2 as soon as possible and finish the work by the end of the first quarter of next year. Furthermore, it should start work on the construction of a new steel shop and build two 200-ton open-hearth furnaces during the First Five-Year Plan. In the Second Five-Year Plan period, construction work, such as expanding the steel shop and building a new rolling shop, should be undertaken. The Kim Chaek Iron Works should be mainly built by our own technical forces. With this view, the building forces of the Hwanghae Iron Works should be transferred to the Kim Chaek Iron Works from early 1961.

At present full-scale reconstruction work is under way at the Songjin Steel Plant. The present work on the crude steel rolling shop should be intensified and finished this year.

At the Kangson Steel Plant most of the work to rebuild and expand the crude steel shop for the production of 300,000 tons of rolled steel should be completed this year.

Thin round steel rods and wire, which are in great demand in our country at present, should be produced primarily at the Kangson Steel Plant. Therefore, the plant should improve the technical level in every way possible to increase the production of thin round steel rods rapidly, and should install more drawing machines to solve the problem concerning wire, so that in 1959 the capacity of wire production will exceed 30,000 tons.

And during the Five-Year Plan a new modern factory, capable of producing over 40,000 tons of various steel pipes, should be built in order to satisfy demand for them.

At present the source of scrap iron, one of the important raw materials for steel production, is gradually dwindling in our country. Therefore, we should rapidly increase the production of granulated iron to solve the problem of raw materials for the production of steel. Granulated iron is better than pig iron as a raw material for steel production either for the open-hearth furnace or for the electric furnace. Increasing the production of granulated iron has great importance both in view of our country's situation with regard to the resources and in view of strengthening the foundations of an independent ferrous metal industry. Therefore, while taking steps to increase the production of granulated iron at the Chongjin Steel Plant, we should envisage the construction of a new factory for the production of granulated iron in an appropriate place in the western region of our country in the near future.

And in the light of our country's situation with regard to material resources, the development of the electric iron sector has great importance. Our scientists and the personnel in the iron industry should rapidly set up experimental centres to manufacture iron by the electric method and carry out their research, making every effort to create conditions for manufacturing iron by the electric process on a full scale in future.

In order to build and expand ferrous metal works and increase their production, we should step up the work of developing and expanding iron mines. For the purpose of providing the rapidly-developing ferrous metal industry with enough iron ores, we should gradually expand iron mines, such as the Musan Mine, Chondong Mine, Hasong Mine and Unnyul Mine, and envisage opening an iron mine in the Hochon area of South Hamgyong Province.

If all these major tasks confronting the ferrous metal industry are to be carried out successfully, all the workers, technicians and office employees in this field should consolidate their victories and take advantage of the precious experience they have gained in the past, thus valiantly overcoming all difficulties in our way.

Greatly inspired by the decision of the First Conference of our Party, all the working people, led by our heroic working class, are now showing all their energy and enthusiasm to overcome with great confidence the enormous difficulties arising in the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

Our people are under the guidance of the Workers' Party of Korea which, during the grim war and in the solemn struggle for construction, has always led and is today leading them to victory. We have a heroic working class which never gives in, in the face of any difficulty. We have solid foundations for industry, which has risen strongly from the ruins, and has been rebuilt and expanded on the basis of modern technology. There is no doubt that our working class will win a greater victory in carrying out the assignments under the Five-Year Plan.

I am strongly convinced that you will honourably carry out the important tasks assigned to you by the Party and the Government by courageously overcoming all difficulties and hardships, shoulder to shoulder with all the working people in our country. All workers, technicians and office employees, let us advance towards a new victory in stronger unity around the Central Committee of our Party!

### ON CONDUCTING HEALTH AND SANITATION WORK IN A MASS CAMPAIGN

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

May 4, 1958

Health and sanitation work constitutes an important part of the cultural revolution which is also part of the socialist revolution. In our country the problems of food, clothing and housing have now been mainly solved and, accordingly, there are conditions for vigorously conducting health and sanitation work in a campaign by the whole Party and all the people.

We can say that sanitation work which is aimed at building up life in a clean and cultured way, lags behind the present developing realities. Distoma has spread to many areas of our country. We should wipe it out as soon as possible.

In order to improve health and sanitation work and conduct it through a mass campaign, we need first to conduct effective information work on sanitation and actively mobilize the broad masses for this work.

It is important to mobilize students for sanitation information work. At primary and secondary schools and colleges, with the exception of universities, Saturday should be fixed as the day to promote sanitation, a day when all students conduct information work on sanitation for half a day and go out to exterminate vectors such as flies, mosquitoes and

mice for the rest of the day. This work should be conducted regularly over three years.

Every Saturday newspapers should devote a column to sanitation to fully explain the harm the various diseases cause to humans and methods of preventing them, and to write about the good results achieved in health and sanitation work. Magazines should also conduct sanitation information work, publishing slogans on sanitation in bold red and blue letters.

Information work on sanitation should be conducted over the radio, in buses and trains, at public gathering places, and some ten minutes should be devoted to it before theatrical performance and film shows.

Health workers at present use many difficult words in sanitation information work which the people cannot understand, but they should use simple words for all to understand.

Schools in particular should guide their students well so that they will conduct sanitation information work with a clear view of various diseases.

In sanitation information work the stress should be put on controlling various infectious diseases and worms including distoma.

Various posters and booklets on health and sanitation should be published in large numbers, and the booklets should give a detailed explanation about the causes and perils of diseases, including different epidemics.

Good health and sanitation requires meticulous organizational work. Each agricultural cooperative, factory, enterprise and workplace should have a sanitary instructor, who should be in charge of the work of organizing and supervising sanitation, not to mention sanitation information work.

Furthermore, one or two days every month should be dedicated to sanitation work, when people should clean wells, plaster walls, mend toilets and clean up houses.

In every ri a sanitary inspection committee of four to five members should be formed with interior servicemen and workers of the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union. Sanitary inspection rules should be established and inspections should be made in accordance with them at all times.

And sanitation and epidemic prevention centres should be set up in the capital city, and provincial and county seats, and the month of sanitation should be observed twice every year, in spring and autumn, when campaigns for sanitation should be organized. During this time a nationwide campaign should be conducted to build bathhouses and mend wells and toilets in farming villages and towns. To this end the state will have to supply the necessary funds and materials.

Because we neglect sanitation and hygiene, there are many parasites on the bodies of people at present. This is a shame. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Public Health does not take resolute measures to destroy these things.

In order to exterminate parasites we should educate the working people in matters of hygiene so that they wash vegetables well before eating them, and chemical fertilizer should be used at all times in the cultivation of vegetables.

Now, I would like to make a few remarks on the problem of eradicating distoma.

Distoma has spread to many areas in our country at present. In particular, it is widespread in North and South Hwanghae Provinces, and Jagang and Kangwon Provinces.

In places where there are no wells and distoma is rampant, drinking water pipes should first of all be laid, or some other measures taken, even if this might require state funds, and a campaign should be launched to urge the people to boil drinking water at all times, in order to get rid of distoma.

And scattered solitary houses in the distoma-ridden areas should be grouped, and all members of the Children's Union and the Democratic Youth League, armymen and interior servicemen should be mobilized to launch campaigns to catch crabs, crayfish and mudsnails, the carriers of distoma.

In particular, students of universities and colleges of medicine

should be mobilized for sanitation information work, sanitary reformation and distoma prevention for one month every year. If schools give the students good education in sanitation and mobilize them, a large force of two million persons, for sanitation information work, great changes can take place in this sector.

The Women's Union should play a bigger role in the struggle against distoma. Sanitation should be the main task of the Women's Union.

In order to direct the struggle against distoma, leading officials should personally go to the scene to organize preventive work and even engage in medical treatment. Vice-Premiers in particular should personally go to North and South Hwanghae Provinces where distoma is widespread and direct the work in a serious manner. And prizes should be awarded to the counties that would fight distoma properly.

As for the sanitary reformation and the construction of sanitary facilities in factories and enterprises, the ministers concerned should be responsible for such things, and the chairmen of provincial people's committees should carry them out in a responsible way in rural areas.

Ministries concerned with production should build rest homes with some of the funds intended for housing and run them to safeguard the health of the workers and accommodate unhealthy persons. But they should not build them in any place they happen to come across but in accordance with the general plan for land development.

Furthermore, we should properly conduct work with the people who live on a social pension. At present the Ministry of Public Health passes people still fit for work as social pensioners in a haphazard manner, but the health conditions of such people should be examined and confirmed again.

# WE MUST TAKE GOOD CARE OF DISABLED SOLDIERS WHO SHED THEIR BLOOD IN THE FIGHT FOR THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Talk with Members of the Kilju Disabled Soldiers' Production Workshop May 7, 1958

You disabled soldiers fought heroically against the US imperialist aggressors and shed your blood to defend the motherland during the last war. It is really admirable that, although seriously disabled, you are taking an active part in the building of socialism.

We must scrupulously look after the disabled soldiers in every respect so that they will not suffer any inconveniences both in life and in work.

The disabled soldiers here want more fruit gardens. So it will be a good thing to give them the state orchard in the vicinity of the workshop. Even if the orchard is cultivated by the disabled soldiers, it will remain the property of the state. So there won't be any problems. Together with the orchard, the provincial authorities should hand over all means of production, including farm implements, to the disabled soldiers.

We should give them a truck. As we cannot bring a truck from another place right now, it is advisable for the moment to choose the best one from amongst the trucks of the Kilju Motor Station and put it at their disposal together with the driver. In its place, the motor station will get another one to be allocated by the State Planning Commission in future. This will do.

The Kilju Pulp Mill should supply the bearings needed for the repair of the rice-cleaning mill, owned by the disabled soldiers.

The disabled soldiers should be supplied with both fuel for production and firewood for home use.

They should be shown kindness and helped to find employment. I have heard that in Kilju County alone there are seven or eight disabled soldiers who want jobs. They should all be helped to go to work. Chairmen of the provincial Party committees should find all the disabled soldiers who want jobs and take measures to give them work. Some comrades say that at present disabled soldiers who are employed at ordinary public workshops are worse off than those working at the disabled soldiers' workshop. But they say these things because they do not know facts well. Those places of work also have Party organization and cadres, so how could they remain indifferent? There are only a few disabled soldiers in those places, and thus they are probably treated better than you.

Furthermore, the disabled soldiers' factories should not be too large. You want to amalgamate the existing disabled soldiers' factories to set up a new bigger factory, but you need not do so. Some 100 persons are most suitable as the working staff of either a workshop or a factory operated by disabled soldiers. To have more people is unprofitable. Disabled soldiers' factories scattered over a large area are beneficial in many respects. The disabled soldiers, who were tested in battle, can give a good example to the local people; they can get better social assistance; and they can make extensive use of local materials. So how good it is to have disabled soldiers' factories scattered over a large area! As this place has beautiful scenery and fresh air, it is a good place to live in. So you should not even think of leaving this place for a city to set up a large factory there. You did a good thing when you made terraced fields on the hill at the back of the factory to plant fruit trees. You should plant fruit trees in the fields and live in happiness here for long.

Disabled soldiers' factories should not employ many other people. It is said that your workshop has 65 disabled soldiers and 21 other employees. There are too many of the latter. A rate of around six per cent will be appropriate for employees other than disabled soldiers in the total working force at this kind of factory.

Disabled soldiers should work as much as they want. It will not be a good thing to give them the same quotas of work as other workers. We give them work not because we cannot afford to leave them doing nothing. The Party and the Government are quite capable of supporting you without giving you work. But if people do nothing, they will have no appetite and their health will also suffer. So you should do some work. Yet, you should never overwork yourselves. It will be good to work as much as necessary to keep yourselves fit.

Next, it is desirable to properly educate disabled soldiers who are not Party members, and award them Party membership. Disabled soldiers were tried and tested on the battlefields. The county Party committee or the primary Party committee should provide good education and boldly enlist those disabled soldiers who are not yet Party members. But in all events they must go through all formalities individually before they are admitted.

We should provide the disabled soldiers with sufficient educational facilities.

Now a comrade claimed that once he went to a school for disabled soldiers, only to be rejected and returned back because he had arms missing. The cadres at that school did the wrong thing. Could it be that one who has no arms cannot study? Such a person can study for sure. We should send that comrade to school. The provincial Party committee should advisably recommend him to the Songdo Institute of Political Science and Economics, as he wants. And in future comrades from the Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee should come and examine other disabled soldiers, too, and send them to the Central Party School, the Songdo Institute of Political Science and Economics, the National Economy Institute and others

Disabled soldiers should not only be sent to regular schools but should also be widely enrolled in the study-while-working system of education. You made a request for the appointment of teachers so that the disabled soldiers without elementary education might study while on their jobs, and this is a good idea. If there is no disabled soldier qualified for teaching, it is advisable to appoint two or three full-time teachers on the payroll of the state. Thus, I think it is right to organize studies so that not only the disabled soldiers but also their families will finish the courses at primary and junior middle schools.

Our disabled soldiers should lead a simple life and always live in a revolutionary way. Under no circumstances should they drink alcohol and say things under its influence. Heavy drinking is harmful to health. If there is a disabled soldier who disturbs social order after drinking alcohol, he should be criticized and corrected in time.

At school, you should also be well-disciplined and carry out your studies properly. You should not violate school discipline or disturb social order just because you are disabled soldiers. Disabled soldiers should be exemplary in study, in observing school discipline or in abiding by social order.

Disabled soldiers should always love the people and hate only the enemy. As you fought well and courageously for the motherland and the people on the battlefields in the past, you should today continue to have the same revolutionary spirit. You should also educate your sons and daughters in this way. Thus, disabled soldiers should always set an example in work and life. In particular, they should be optimistic in life. You should play chess, play bamboo flutes and have various means of entertainment. A comrade says that he cannot play musical instruments because he is disabled, but this cannot be the case. You have been able to play hand-made instruments on the front line, haven't you? If only disabled soldiers try, they will be able to play any musical instrument.

You should go to the movies more often and participate in amateur art activities, too. If you make good preparations for a public performance by amateur artistes, and take part in a contest with the disabled soldiers of the Ranam and Kyongsong workshops, it will be fine.

The present information hall of the workshop is rather small. We should build a large clubhouse for it. I think it will be a good thing to build a new attractive club with a seating capacity of about 100 on the vacant lot between the information hall and the office, where you can hold meetings, carry out your studies and conduct cultural work.

And the present information hall should be converted into a nursery school in future and thus all dependents of the disabled soldiers would be engaged in production work. Should wives sit at home doing nothing while their disabled husbands go to work? They should all go to the workshop to help their husbands. If all the dependents go to work, it will be advantageous in many ways: Things will go well in the workshop, their living standard will improve, and so on.

The wives of disabled soldiers should also bring up the children properly and faithfully look after their husbands. They should not treat their husbands as healthy men; they should act as their nurses and always take good care of them.

When I visited the houses of disabled soldiers, I found that they are all kept clean and tidy. As I see, the disabled soldiers are living a respectable life. You should strive to build a better life for your family in future.

#### TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN RYANGGANG PROVINCE

Speech Delivered before Officials of Party and Government Bodies and Social Organizations in Ryanggang Province May 11, 1958

Authorized by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, this time I have toured Ryanggang Province and got acquainted with the state of affairs in the province.

As we noticed during the inspection tour, considerable progress has been made so far in Ryanggang Province, which formerly was a backward region with regard to economy and culture with its population suffering great hardship. In particular, after the establishment of this province, the provincial Party and people's committees and other provincial institutions were set up, and Party organizations and people's committees at all levels have worked vigorously under their guidance. As a result, great achievements have been made in all fields of politics, economy and culture.

In our opinion, Ryanggang Province has developed as rapidly as all other provinces.

In the industrial field the timber and mining industries have made their first steps forward; in the rural economy the organization of agricultural cooperatives is nearing completion; and we can say that foundations for livestock farming have been established. With such progress made in the economic sector, the material and cultural standard of the people has improved much more than we had expected. This shows that the Party organization of Ryanggang Province has so far worked efficiently by strictly pursuing the correct line of the Party Central Committee. This also shows that all people in the province are united behind our Party and that they enthusiastically support our Party policy.

We are highly satisfied with all the achievements made in the work of Ryanggang Province.

If you continue to work as well as at present, rapid progress will be made in the building of the economy and culture in Ryanggang Province and the people's living standard will improve further. This will also greatly help the general economic development in our country.

On this occasion when I sit in your company today, I would like to comment on some questions. First of all, I am going to speak about the building of the economy and culture and then I will proceed to make some remarks on Party work.

## 1. ON THE BUILDING OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE

#### (1) CONSERVATION OF FORESTS

The most important task in the economic work of Ryanggang Province is to conserve and foster its forestry resources. As you know well, the area of Ryanggang Province accounts for the greater part of our forestry resources. If we only use trees for timber and fail to increase and protect them continuously, the forestry resources of the country will be exhausted before long.

Wood is needed everywhere. First of all, wood is an excellent raw material necessary for artificial fibres. Therefore, extensive planting of trees will directly help to solve the problem of clothing.

Paper and packing material for manufactured goods are also made from wood, and the kraft paper mill we are planning to build in future can only operate when there is wood. Without timber no construction work is possible, and chairs, desks and all other kinds of furniture and daily necessities can be made only when there is wood.

As you see, wood is essential for industry and construction work. Therefore, deep attention should be given to the work of fostering and conserving forests.

Needless to say, the people of Ryanggang Province have so far carried out tree planting in a fairly wide area. During my visit here I have seen many trees that were planted after liberation growing all over the region.

But we cannot rest on our laurels. It is quite insignificant when viewed against the requirements of today's vast economic construction. Ryanggang Province still has many adequate areas for afforestation and also other areas that must be turned into forests.

In order to encourage the masses to foster and preserve forests, it is necessary to make them understand correctly the great importance of forestry resources in the national economy. In other words, we should make the people realize clearly that the national economy cannot be developed without wood.

The main task confronting the Party organization and all people of Ryanggang Province is to foster and conserve the forests.

We should create enough woodlands to yield two to three million cubic metres of timber each year.

The Party Central Committee has shown great interest in the construction of the Chongjin Spinning Mill in order to solve the problem of clothing for the people. In order to continuously supply this mill with raw materials in future, we should plant cedars widely and conserve the existing cedars properly. Today the supply of raw fibre materials poses a very urgent problem.

What is of paramount importance in fostering forests is to continue with afforestation work. Ryanggang Province has comparatively favourable conditions for afforestation. There are lots of natural saplings and conditions also exist for growing large numbers of saplings.

In order to improve afforestation work, the Cabinet decided some time ago to set up new afforestation stations. It was agreed that three afforestation stations would be set up in Ryanggang Province. But you cannot sit idly only pinning your hopes on these three stations. Workers at these stations will assume responsibility for planting trees mainly in uninhabited mountain areas, located beyond the reach of agricultural cooperatives, and so tree planting in the other areas should be carried out through a mass movement.

A system of responsibility is needed in order to plant trees in a mass movement.

So far we plant trees mainly by mobilizing students, and then consider that everything is all right. We cannot carry out afforestation work properly through such a method.

I think it is necessary that every organization, such as the agricultural cooperative, factory, enterprise, saw mill and mine, forms a tree-planting team with an appropriate number of people from amongst its personnel. The county people's committee should allot nearby areas to factories, establishments and agricultural cooperatives and entrust them with planting a certain number of saplings in them. Establishments, enterprises and cooperatives should plant saplings in the allocated areas, which they should weed and fertilize, so that the saplings may grow well. Suppose the Kapsan Mine has 1,000 workers. Then it should form a tree-planting team of some 20 persons. In the afforestation season this team should plant trees and then weed and manure the fields. This is the way to develop forests rapidly.

You need not increase the number of personnel in order to form the tree-planting teams. These teams are not required to work all the year round, but they should plant trees in the spring and then do weeding and apply fertilizer on a number of occasions.

Since tree planting is important, all institutions, enterprises and cooperatives in Ryanggang Province should be mobilized for this work as a matter of duty. In order to organize and guide this work, I think it is

necessary to institute a new department like the forestry development department in the People's Committee of Ryanggang Province and appoint forestry instructors to the county people's committees. It will be a good thing to establish the system of officially commending institutions, enterprises and individuals who are exemplary in this work. If we go on working in this way for some ten years, we will be able to create vast forestry resources.

Afforestation work should not be done hastily for only a few years and then abandoned, but it should be continued for at least ten years. Therefore, Ryanggang Province needs a ten-year plan for afforestation. If we carry out afforestation work according to a plan, our forestry resources will increase, and this will enable not only us but also our descendants to have enough timber.

We often rebuke the Japanese imperialists for having felled trees indiscriminately. They could do so because Korea was not their country. It is more than ten years since we became masters of our country. Yet, in this period we also cut down many trees rather carelessly. Why should we fail to conserve our own resources? Of course, I do not mean that you have done nothing good. You have given your service, but it is still negligible. You cannot be happy with just a minor achievement.

What is necessary in afforestation is to plant the right trees that are suited for each locality. You should find out where cedars grow well and where broadleaf trees thrive, to plant the right trees in the right places.

You should know that for us afforestation is as important as planting cotton. White ashes, for example, can be cut down and used to make paper, when they are only ten years old. I think that if research is made on white ash, it could also be used as a raw fibre material.

Cedar is also as good as cotton for use as a raw material for the production of staple fibre or rayon. The cedar resources we have at present are enough to last for about 20-30 years. And the demand for staple fibre and rayon is increasing every year. Therefore, we must successfully foster the cedar resources from now on. If people know

that the trees we plant today will serve for cotton in ten years' time and the cotton will be immediately turned into cloth, they will not recklessly burn down forests and damage or fell trees at random but will instead take good care of them.

We should seriously embark on afforestation work from this autumn, when we should manage the work of transplanting natural saplings and preparing young trees, and next year we should plant trees on an extensive scale.

The next important thing in afforestation is not only to plant large numbers of trees but also to protect and foster them well. This time we saw a large number of fine trees which had been burnt lying on the ground in many places. What a waste! It is vital to protect the forestry resources.

This time I have done much thinking about this problem. It is of paramount importance in conserving the forestry resources to launch a nationwide movement to prevent forest fires, halt the reckless felling of trees and ban the burning off of wooded areas for cultivation at random. We must make the peasants realize that today there is no need for them at all to create "fire fields". Forests render more profit than "fire fields". Timber production will benefit the state more than the harvesting of some grain on the "fire fields". This is why we prohibited, through a Cabinet decision, the creation of even a single hectare of "fire fields". This decision should be strictly adhered to in future.

Forest conservation has so far been carried out in a poor way. Even when a forest fire broke out, no emergency steps were taken to extinguish the blaze, and no measures have been taken to prevent new forest fires. Until now the work of forest conservation has been left only in the hands of foresters, who are small in number, and all that has been done was putting up the warning "Beware of forest fires". Strict discipline has not been enforced to prohibit smoking on the mountains and to take all precautions against forest fires.

You must know that the forests which are valuable resources for the country are placed under your control. It would be deplorable if you are

careful about the money in your pocket amounting to only scores of *won* when you are negligent of forestry resources which are state property worth hundreds of millions of *won*. State property is the property of the people. You should fight those who try to damage it.

Ryanggang Province should take the lead in forest conservation, and all other provinces including North Hamgyong and Jagang Provinces should also play an active role in this work.

Our country has a limited territory, and thus as soon as you cut down a tree, you should plant one in its place.

The importance of forests should not be known by cadres alone. All the people should understand it clearly. To this end, this should be explained in school textbooks and also be widely disseminated through all information means including newspapers, magazines and the radio.

The people of Ryanggang Province, in particular, should be educated to understand that it is their honourable duty to conserve and foster forests. All of them, men and women, young and old, should thus be induced to take loving care of even a tree branch, conscious that it is the valuable property of the country.

#### (2) THE TIMBER INDUSTRY

It is important not only to grow and conserve trees but also to cut them down properly. As was emphasized in the resolution of the Third Congress of our Party, the most important thing in the timber industry is to economize in the use of timber. What, then, should be done towards this purpose?

First of all, you should cut a tree close to its base when felling it. In this way you should see to it that not even an inch of the full-grown tree is wasted. And when a tree is felled, you should take care so that no damage is done to other trees. As for the felled trees, it is important to transport and use them, branches and all. Nobody has ever shown interest in tree branches. Can we use branches? Of course, we can. A correct study will show that we could use them in many ways.

Secondly, the struggle for economization should be strengthened in the sphere of wood work. If you are careless and saw off a log from the wrong place when you are processing it, you may spoil the precious wood. Therefore, everyone should be made thoroughly aware of the slogan that even a piece of wood should not be wasted but processed carefully. When it comes to handling silk, no one is careless. An end should be put to the idea that you may saw wood haphazardly just because it is wood and not fabrics. We must clearly realize that wood is used to make cloth. The pulp mill is nothing less than a factory where raw silk material is made from wood. At the pulp mills, wood is prized and all operations are carried out methodically. Yet, when we go to a sawmill, we see wood is not properly used. There is a lot of waste during the processing of wood. We should resolutely do away with the practices of wasting wood.

It is important in the sawmill industry to make good use of waste materials. You largely neglect this matter. For several years the Party and the Government have been emphasizing the need for any factory and enterprise to use their waste materials in an effective manner and produce articles for daily use. At the sawmills, for example, it will be a good thing to set up by-product workshops and at least produce chessmen or *kkoni* game boards. In fact, these mills can make many kinds of products with their waste materials, such as various toys for young children or laboratory apparatus for use in schools. Nevertheless, they throw away the precious materials or burn them in fireplaces.

There is a mountain of sawdust at the Hyesan Sawmill, and this is left to rot away. This is being done not because they are short of manpower. In Hyesan alone there are more than 6,000 women wasting away time at their home. If this workforce is used to set up by-product workshops in factories and run them efficiently, this will be a good thing both because it will increase the income of the families of workers and office employees and improve their living standard and also because there will be more articles for daily use and more toys for children. Nevertheless, this has still not been realized.

The Party organizations in the timber industry are mainly to blame for this. The Party Central Committee is very unhappy with their work. Needless to say, work is not going wrong everywhere. Once we visited a producers' cooperative in Hamhung, where they were making large scooped bowls of sawdust mixed with waste fluid and penholders of small wood chips. Then, why cannot this be done in Hyesan? Because you failed to do this, we once had to import even penholders. It is well within our power to make fine penholders of wood pieces wasted in the wood-working process. We can say that the Party organizations which are indifferent to this kind of thing are not studying our Party's economic policy well enough.

Everything you throw away at the sawmills costs money. The price of a penholder is now 15 won. So you are like throwing a lot of money into fireplaces. What a serious mistake this is! If you see a burnt ten won note, you will probably feel very unhappy. But you are not unhappy to see wood, which is state property, trodden underfoot or thrown into fireplaces. This is only an expression of old Japanese imperialist ideas. To neglect the people's property and to be indifferent towards the people's life is only an expression of the old ideas. We must do away with all remnants of such ideas.

If cooperatives are organized with women who waste their time at home, and these are provided with various types of small machinery and instruments, such as wood-cutting and wood-polishing machines, large quantities of wood items could be produced. If the by-product workshops at factories and the cooperatives carry out production in this way, there will be a lot of toys, school things, sports apparatuses, furniture and similar objects.

Ryanggang Province alone has six sawmills. The Hyesan Sawmill which is situated near the provincial Party headquarters has not done this kind of thing, and so there will be no need to mention the sawmills situated far away from it. So what a great loss you have caused to the state! I reckon if it is calculated in terms of money, it will probably amount to hundreds or even thousands of millions of *won*. You will do well to do your calculations.

How much work do you have to do to fell and drag one cubic metre of timber down the mountain? It requires a great amount of labour to cut trees at the foot of Mt. Paektu and transport them to the sawmill. Remembering this, you should not throw away even one piece of wood.

An important task of the Party organizations in the timber industry today is not to waste wood when sawing logs and to use all waste materials to produce more articles for daily use.

#### (3) THE MINING INDUSTRY

Ryanggang Province can still be said to be a virgin soil in the development of our mining industry. This mountainous area could have deposits of coal and also various kinds of rare metals. Yet, prospecting work has so far been unsatisfactory in this region. The provincial Party organization should organize preparatory work for conducting extensive geological prospecting in the area of Ryanggang Province in future.

In future the central authority will engage a large number of people on geological prospecting work in provinces. The state and local bodies should unite their efforts in improving geological prospecting work

Special attention should be given to the Kapsan Mine which is now in operation. This mine plays a very important role in our socialist construction.

Mechanization and electrification are essential for rebuilding our backward industry into a fully independent one and for building socialism. This requires copper. In future our country will produce a large volume of electric power. Copper is needed both for producing electric power and also for using this power. Copper is used when making electric motors and electric wires. Thus, copper is essential for mechanization and electrification. Copper can be regarded as precious a material as gold. And it is very difficult to buy copper from other

countries. No one will give us copper. Rather, foreigners ask us for it.

As copper is so important, the Party Central Committee discussed the problem of developing the Kapsan Mine during the war and has vigorously developed the mine since 1951. This foresighted measure taken by the Party Central Committee was of great help in postwar reconstruction.

Deeply conscious of the importance of the Kapsan Mine, the Party organization of Ryanggang Province should in future strive to develop further and expand this mine.

At the end of the Five-Year Plan the Kapsan Mine will be able to produce up to 2,000 tons of copper. But this will still be too low to meet demand. Therefore, the mine should strive to produce more than that. If we only have enough copper, we will be able to supply electricity to all areas.

At present we are producing electric motors on our own. This year we envisage the production of over 23,000 motors. Silicon steel plate and copper wires are needed to produce motors. If only we have these two things, we can produce motors on a wide scale. Today the demand for electric motors is very great. When we visited an agricultural cooperative yesterday, people there said that a motor was needed to make silage. So we must have copper wires to meet such a demand for motors. Copper wires are necessary for the national defence industry and also in various branches of the national economy.

In clearly realizing the importance of their mine, the workers, technicians and office employees of the Kapsan Mine have already done a great deal of work. The underground ore-dressing plant, built through the workers' devoted efforts, is equipped in an excellent manner. But the dressing plant alone will get you nowhere. Only when large quantities of copper ores are mined will your efforts in building such a dressing plant be rewarded. If not much ores are mined, what is the use of a dressing plant, however good it may be?

It is essential to ensure the supply of enough ores so that the dressing plant may operate at full capacity. In order to supply enough ores, we should continue extensive prospecting of ore deposits and create conditions for increasing the output of ores.

The next important task at the Kapsan Mine is to improve the technique of ore dressing. As this technique is not very good, the actual rate of production of copper from ores mined with great hardship, is said to be not more than 86 per cent. In advanced countries this rate is as high as 90-95 per cent. So, when compared with advanced countries, we are leaving 10 per cent more of the copper to be washed away by water. This is very wrong, and a great loss! We should intensify the struggle to improve the dressing technique and increase the actual rate.

Furthermore, the construction of cableways should be stepped up at the Kapsan Mine. Since this work is not yet completed, motorcars are being used for transport. But motor transport costs much money. The construction of cableways should be completed at an early date in order to cut transport expenses.

Attention should be given to the welfare of workers at the Kapsan Mine. In particular, the Party organization of Kapsan County should express great concern for their lives. Good living conditions should be provided for them so that, though living far up in the mountains, they may not feel lonely.

In the first place, foodstuffs should be supplied adequately. You should guarantee a good supply of vegetables, seafood, eggs, meat and so on. This is not a very difficult task. I think you may as well instruct agricultural cooperatives in the Kapsan area to plan production and supply vegetables, eggs and meat. The question is whether the cadres organize this work or not.

#### (4) THE RURAL ECONOMY

I have already emphasized time and again at the Party Central Committee, that the most important thing in farming in Ryanggang Province is to prevent frost damage. To prevent frost damage and plant highly profitable crops is a very important task in the agriculture of Ryanggang Province today.

Yesterday we made an inspection of the Amnokgang Agricultural Cooperative in Pochon County. They say that this cooperative was named after the largest river in our country because it is a very large one. The cooperative has a good name, but its people simply do not know what crops they should cultivate.

At present this cooperative is growing rice. This is due to wrong guidance you have given. Rice should be cultivated where it grows well, so why should they plant rice there where it does not grow well? The Amnokgang Agricultural Cooperative had a hard time building paddy fields for two years, went through a bitter experience with unsuccessful rice farming, and is now facing the worst problems in removing the paddy fields. Thus, it has to go through all this for four years. As I often say, although the peasant was the master of private farming in bygone days, today when cooperatives have been formed, our Party organization is in charge of the countryside. The Amnokgang Agricultural Cooperative went through a hard time because of the Party organization of Pochon County. So today it could be called anything but "Amnokgang Cooperative"; it is worse than a "Brooklet Cooperative". Yet, as they did not carry out large-scale rice farming, the income of cooperative members was not affected much. They say that each household received a share of 2.5 tons of potatoes. If they had cultivated more rice crops, they would have suffered even more.

This must not happen again. Rice crops should be cultivated in areas like South Phyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces where they can grow well. It will do if rice crops are planted in these areas and then supplied to you.

Potato is a high-yielding crop in Ryanggang Province. In this province potato, not maize, is the king crop of dry fields.

In plays and sketches you presented for us, you boasted so much about your potatoes. Although you are very proud of your potatoes, the area allotted to potato crops is small. You propagate Party policy on the stage, but you do not carry it out in practice. You should plant potato crops widely as instructed by the Party.

All land, except the area marked off for industrial crops, should be

planted with potato crops. Potato yields should be increased to 15-20 tons per hectare. Some people seem to become baffled and worried when they hear me saying this. But you need not be seriously worried. Some peasants in this locality have already produced much more than this in the past. During the war an old man in Phungsan County harvested 36 tons of potatoes per hectare of land. He is a great potato producer. The target of 15-20 tons I have mentioned is by no means an impossible one.

Once people at State Farm No. 5 at the foot of Mt. Paektu argued about difficulties in running their farm on the ground that the fields were full of stones. Even the Ministry of Agriculture said that it would close down the farm. So in 1954 we went there to study the situation. At the time this farm had 3,800 hectares of land. This was equal to the area of arable land in a county. We told them that we could not abandon such a wide area of land. In order to increase agricultural yields at a low cost for labour we took measures to mechanize work and plant potatoes instead of other crops. Formerly, people on the farm had gone through great hardship to cultivate rye and barnyard millet. But they planted potatoes and applied large quantities of humus and manure as instructed by the Party, with the result that last year they harvested 14 tons per hectare of land. In future yields per hectare of land on this farm will not be less than ten tons.

Yet, you think that 7-8 tons of potato per hectare of land is a very high yield. However, this is still too low. Apply large quantities of manure, and you will be able to produce 15-20 tons per hectare of land.

You should cultivate all your land, with the exception of flax and hop fields, with potatoes, and reap a harvest of 15-20 tons per hectare of land. Out of every 20 tons of potatoes, you should use ten tons for food and the rest for pig fodder, and then you will be able to produce one ton of meat from potatoes produced per hectare of land. You say this is difficult, and indeed, it is not an easy task. But if you only choose to do so, it is well within your power.

In order to increase yields, it is important to apply a large quantity of humus and compost and thus fertilize the farmland properly. Mountain dwellers should work more diligently and apply plenty of manure, but they fail to do this due to the habit they acquired when they worked as "slash-and-burn" tillers. So far such tillers do not manure the land. They should quickly get rid of the habit of bygone days when they used to move to another area to cultivate new land after abandoning the land they had ploughed and worked for some three years without manuring it.

Yesterday I had a talk with a peasant, who said that nothing could be done because the land had been cultivated for a long time and was now lean. He was unaware of our old saying that "There is no bad land for a diligent farmer." What does this saying imply? It implies that a diligent farmer turns lean land into fertile land by improving it. Even bad land will become good land if it is fertilized properly. An acidified field can be improved by applying the right manure. Land should be improved for farming purposes. Where can you find newly-reclaimed land in our country, which has a limited area of farmland? All farmland, without any exception, had been tilled a long time ago.

For thousands of years, generation after generation has survived by farming on this land, and thus it is obvious that this land had been over-cultivated. Can we, then, grow more good crops on such land? If we apply manure and improve soil conditions, it will be quite possible to do this. But as you are only hoping to reap a good harvest while sitting idle without manuring the fields, things will not go well.

Party organizations in Ryanggang Province have so far failed to promote advanced farming methods and struggle against the "slash-and-burn" method of cultivation. They should show the peasants how to improve the condition of soil and to select and plant the best high-yielding crop, suited to the natural features of this region. As I have already emphasized, potato is the best high-yielding crop for this area. At least 50,000-60,000 hectares out of the 90,000 hectares of dry fields should be planted with potato crops. Then, as pointed out in the decision of the Party, you should also carry out work for improvement of potato seed in an efficient manner.

From next year Ryanggang Province should stop planting too much

maize. It is advisable to grow maize only in an area covering a few thousand hectares of land for use as animal feed.

Furthermore, it is important to cultivate industrial crops. In this region, in particular, flax thrives, so it is desirable to plant this crop widely. At least 30,000-40,000 hectares of fields should be allotted to it. Flax is of great importance in finding a solution to the fibre problem. The Soviet people call it the "cotton for the northern countries". They are right. Flax is the cotton in Ryanggang Province as well.

Compared with cotton, flax requires less work for its cultivation. It had already been tried under Japanese imperialist rule and then we have also experimented on it for four years, which shows that flax grows well here. It is said, according to the experience gained by a cooperative, that a hectare of fertile land can yield as much as 2-3 tons of flax. So far it was planted in poor land and thus yields were low.

Flax cultivation may possibly be mechanized. If it is sown with machine and other operations are also gradually mechanized, the area of flax fields can be sharply increased. I have been told that this year 16,000 hectares of land will be allotted for it, but it is desirable to enlarge this area to 25,000-30,000 hectares in future.

Flax can be used not only for the production of fibre but also oil. They say that about 200 kilogrammes of oil can be produced per hectare of flax fields. It is not an easy job to obtain 200 kilogrammes of oil. When we grow soy beans for the production of oil, we get only some 160 kilogrammes per hectare of land. So, flax is a more profitable crop than soy beans for the production of oil.

The provincial target for the production of flax should be set at an average of 1.5-2 tons per hectare of land.

How is it that overcoat and suit materials are not woven in large quantities in our country at present? It is because wool and fibres are in short supply. When we visited farm villages yesterday, peasants asked for durable cloth. In order to meet the peasants' request, we should produce large quantities of wool and flax.

The Ministry of Light Industry is building a pilot plant for flax in order to weave cloth from this material. Fabrics woven from flax

mixed with cotton are very durable and good. In order to meet the demand of the peasants, it seems necessary to continuously weave fabrics from flax mixed with cotton until the flax textile mill goes into operation, even if this might incur some losses by the state. If only you produce enough flax, it will be possible to produce large quantities of good fabrics. Therefore, you should give great attention to the cultivation of flax.

In Ryanggang Province not only flax but also hops grow well. Hops yield very good profits. Therefore, you should expand the hop area in future. You should not limit the hop area to the present 230 hectares but expand it to 1,000-2,000 hectares. To this end, you should start making adequate preparations for this from now on.

You should consider using wires instead of wooden rods in use at present for supporting hop bines, and set up an experimental station to solve the technical problems concerning hop cultivation. And with the growth of hop production, you must build drying sheds.

In Ryanggang Province the main stress in farming should be put on three crops, namely potatoes, flax and hops which are suited to the local natural features and are profitable.

Now I will refer to livestock farming. In view of the actual conditions in Ryanggang Province, livestock farming holds an important place in agriculture here. Sheep breeding should come first in livestock farming.

Two methods are applicable to our livestock farming. One is to raise domestic animals in all scattered farmhouses and the other is to keep them in small herds.

Our country has no large pasture where people, like Mongolians, can raise thousands of animals moving them from one place to the other while playing the flute on horseback. It is a dream to think of introducing this kind of stockbreeding in our country. For several years we have tried to create pastures. But our efforts were not and will not be successful. Therefore, it is impossible to raise large herds in our country.

Our experience shows that livestock should be raised in scattered

farmhouses or in small herds. Even by such methods we can extensively develop livestock farming. Each peasant household can keep at least three sheep. At present there are only 18,000 sheep in Ryanggang Province. If each household keeps three sheep, the 32,000 peasant households in the province can raise 96,000 sheep. Every farming family may raise a few sheep belonging to the cooperative or their own sheep. And there are many grasslands in our country which are suitable for raising small herds. If we make good use of these small grasslands, we will be able to develop stock farming properly.

The Party organization of Ryanggang Province will do a good thing to launch a campaign for raising at least 100,000 sheep through such methods within 3-4 years. This is not a very large number. It means three sheep per farming family. But since there are small stock farms, each peasant household may in fact keep less than that.

From this year to 1961, a campaign should be launched to raise 100,000 sheep. Supposing half the existing sheep produce their young every year, their number can be increased to 100,000 within 3-4 years.

What is important in sheep raising is to develop the coarse-wool breed into a fine-wool breed. According to what you have said, it appears possible to turn the coarse-wool breed into the fine-wool breed through the creation of a hybrid of the second filial generation. You should not neglect but improve animal breeding work. The fine-wool breed gives more and far better wool than the coarse-wool breed. If 100,000 sheep are raised, we will be able to make 300,000 overcoats a year.

The natural conditions of Ryanggang Province are favourable for raising not only sheep but also cattle. Since this area abounds in grassland, it will be advisable to raise large numbers of herbivorous animals. And as potato crops are cultivated widely, you can raise many pigs, too.

You should avail yourselves of all other possibilities in carrying out various kinds of secondary jobs. You should raise bees, tussah and

willow silkworms widely. Willows grow fast, and so they should be planted on river banks and near streams.

If you work on these lines, the cooperative members of Ryanggang Province will be able to live as good a life as their counterparts in South Phyongan or South Hwanghae Province. Let us take a closer look at the matter. If two tons of flax are harvested from each hectare of dry fields, we can earn 200,000 won. Even if four tons of rice are harvested from each hectare of land, the income will be no more than 240,000 won. And it is much easier to cultivate flax than rice. So, if you extensively plant potatoes, flax and hops, raise large numbers of sheep and cattle and carry out secondary jobs such as beekeeping and raising of tussah and willow silkworms in Ryanggang Province, you will be able to live a better life than those engaged in rice farming in flat regions.

In fact, one would not be exaggerating to say that the people of Ryanggang Province are sitting on a heap of money. Today no one could say that the people of Samsu and Kapsan cannot become well-off. This only depends on how you organize and direct work.

There is the need for discussions on the matter of fruit growing as well. I am thinking of how to enable highlanders to eat fruit picked from their own gardens. It is desirable that you also study this matter thoroughly. Soviet people take the trouble to plant fruit trees even in Siberia. However low the temperature, Ryanggang Province will be less cold than Siberia. Then it must be possible to plant fruit trees suited for this province.

The mountain areas of this province abound with apricot trees. If you plant such wild apricot trees and graft other apricot on them, or otherwise graft apricot on the cold-resistant wild pear, I think you will be able to get better apricots or pears. I also think it is advisable to make experiments on vines and various other fruit trees through this method.

It is necessary first to set up a fruit experimental station. If you merely sit idle with folded arms just because fruit trees do not grow well here, you will not be able to eat fruit you yourselves grow, not

even in a hundred years. In my view, it will be well to assign an expert to a cooperative in order to organize a small fruit experimental station there. I think this kind of station can be set up under provincial control and also in various parts in each county. If you succeed in this experiment, you will be able to supply the population of your province with delicious fruit.

As I said before, blueberry is an edible wild fruit that is good for processing in local industries. It is very good to eat, and if processed properly, will provide tasty food.

You should not only look for blueberries on Mt. Paektu, but pick and process those in your vicinity. Now that cooperatives have been organized, you may either cultivate or transplant blueberry trees. Then the trees will grow well and bear plenty of fruit.

Wild plants like bracken should be propagated widely. All Koreans are fond of bracken salad, and so you should not neglect bracken. Once I told provincial Party committee chairmen that not only people, but also "gods" like bracken. You find it on every table set for memorial services, don't you?

In order to propagate bracken properly, you should cut it at the correct time and also transplant it. Then its stems will grow thick and it will become more savoury. Since bracken is a perennial plant, every year it grows new shoots.

If the cadres at county level use their heads to improve the living standard of the peasants and to help the state, they will find that there are many things to gain from the mountains. Herein lies the significance of the Party's slogan that people in mountain areas should exploit the mountain. To exploit the mountain does not mean that one may recklessly cut trees or create "slash-and-burn" fields. It means that you should use, conquer and change your natural environment. It is the binding duty of us communists to conquer and change nature.

You should put into effect the Party's slogan on exploiting the mountain. As yet you only declare "mountain, mountain", but, in reality, you are not actively implementing the slogan.

If you actively participate in the struggle to put the Party's slogan into reality, you will be able to considerably improve the standard of living of people in your province in just a few years. You will get nowhere while you work under the method of waiting for an apple to fall into your mouth without striving to master nature.

### (5) CONSTRUCTION WORK

In Ryanggang Province, many houses are now also being built. This is very gratifying. It is also a good suggestion to make blocks from pumice found on Mt. Paektu and to build houses under the prefab method. But since various problems, such as that concerning cranes, are still not solved, it will be a good thing to make large blocks and build one-storey houses with them, or to build two- or three-storey houses with walls erected with blocks and with their internal floor slabs made of reinforced concrete.

Last year we started building adobe houses, and these houses are all very good. The houses we built in the past required a large quantity of timber, and still, they cannot keep out the cold. Here it is first important to keep out the cold. In this cold region where the winter is long and the temperature falls as low as 40 degrees below zero, houses should be built with thick walls.

Ryanggang Province has favourable conditions for securing building materials. There is no need to set up brick factories here. Since there is plenty of pumice near Mt. Paektu, you can obtain excellent building material if you bring pumice and make blocks by mixing it with cement. Study the matter a little more, and you will be able to make blocks by mixing pumice with the locally abundant lime, instead of cement. You will do a good thing to make an experiment on this. If you make wide use of local materials, the costs of construction will be low. In the present situation when cranes are scarce, I presume that construction under the prefab method is impossible. In future the state will manufacture large numbers of

cranes and send them to you. Then you will be able to make large blocks and apply the prefab method in construction. Before cranes are available, it is advisable to build houses by using much local materials like pumice blocks. Such houses require less timber and are more durable and warmer.

In capital construction you must be careful how to select building sites. Ryanggang Province has a limited area of land. You propose to build large factories, but I cannot find a suitable site for building such a large factory in Hyesan, no matter how carefully I inspect the region. I am saying this because dwelling houses should not need large sites, as in plain areas. It is essential to build them in such a way as to occupy small plots. Therefore, you should erect multi-storey buildings on all accounts in future, provided that cranes are available. At present houses that have been built in Hyesan are too scattered, and so the place looks neither like a farm village nor like a city. And because you have wasted land space by building scattered houses, you now find it impossible to grow vegetables.

In the rural areas, the building of houses should also be concentrated in prescribed spots. Only then can cultural changes be easily carried out in the countryside. As I see it now, houses are scattered far and wide. If you build houses in this way, much wires for the electricity supply and cable radio will be needed and there will be more wastage of other things. So, when you build houses in the countryside, you must build them together in an orderly manner at designated spots according to a plan. Only when you do so, you will be able to build up the countryside in a modern way, find it easy to guide it, while arable land will not be wasted.

When houses are built in the mining districts and lumbering areas, special attention should be given so as not to occupy arable land.

Construction for the production purposes should be given priority in rural areas. In Ryanggang Province flax will be cultivated extensively in future, and thus many flax-processing mills should be built, either jointly by several cooperatives, or by each county, or otherwise by the state. If flax is not processed in the same place where it is produced and is transported to other places, many transportation means are needed. So it is advisable to build a flax mill like the one in Kapsan in each county where a large quantity of flax is produced. The Kapsan Flax Mill occupies too large an area, so new ones should be built in a way not to require large sites, and yet have large production capacities.

Furthermore, along with the construction of animal sheds, storehouses and other production facilities, such cultural and welfare facilities as bathhouses, clubs, schools and clinics should be built within the means of cooperatives.

### (6) LOCAL INDUSTRY AND TRADE

You should further develop the provincially-run local industry. Local industry has many things to do. You should build many factories such as potato-processing mills, wool selecting and washing mills, plants to make jam, juice and wine from wild fruit, and plants to produce household utensils or articles for daily use from waste timber.

There are more than 6,000 women idling away their time in Hyesan alone. With the continuous growth of the population in future, the number of able-bodied people will also increase. And when operations are further mechanized in various spheres of the economy, including the timber industry, there will be redundant workers. Of course, this manpower could be shifted to other places. But if you are to build a factory at all, you should build it where plenty of usable raw materials and waste materials are available, and thus employ all redundant workers.

If local factories are built in a place like Hyesan, you will be able to employ all idle women in them. I have already said that in future the living standard of the peasants would continue to improve. If factories employ women, the living standard of the workers and office employees will also rise.

All the dependents of workers and office employees should also go to work. In agricultural cooperatives all men and women go to work. Why, then, should only the menfolk of the families of workers and office employees go to work?

Local industry should be developed and thus adequate conditions created for all women to go to work. To this end, you should build nurseries and laundries and set up food stores and similar places. I discovered during my visits to different localities that families where men and wives go to work to earn a living are well-off, whereas families with only one breadwinner are not. Originally, under the social system in our country, everyone is supposed to work. Nevertheless, women want to eat the bread of idleness, and so things do not go well.

It is well to build many local factories. Thus, all women, along with men, should go to work. Then, not only will the living standard of workers and office employees improve, but women will also make progress ideologically because they will live within organizations. If they only depend on their husbands while sitting at home with their babies day and night, they will in the end become very backward people. Through collective life and work, the political level of women and their class consciousness will rise and they will grow to be dignified builders of socialism. It is therefore very important to ensure that women go to work.

I would like to make a few remarks on trade. During my present visit to Ryanggang Province I toured some stores, which I found quite satisfactory. In addition to the goods that are available in Pyongyang, even such items that are not available in the city, are on sale here. I do not think this province is short of commodities. But the supply of foodstuffs to cities and industrial districts is not yet satisfactory. It cannot be said that enough vegetables, meat, fish and other supplementary foodstuffs are supplied. It is important that commodity wholesale houses supply enough goods in proportion to the purchasing power and demand of the population. I think it is advisable to give attention to this.

### (7) THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

We are now building socialism, and socialism is not confined to the construction of the economy. Along with economic construction, a cultural revolution is needed. And also, for the sake of economic construction, engineers with modern scientific knowledge and technology are urgently required. This makes it necessary to develop education.

Needless to say, we have so far striven vigorously to reshape the thinking of the people and create a new culture. But at present when socialist transformation in the economic field has been mostly completed, the cultural revolution comes to the fore as a very urgent task.

The most important thing in the cultural revolution is the introduction of universal compulsory junior-middle-school education. If all young people receive education up to the level of the secondary school graduate, this will be a great achievement in improving the cultural level of our people.

While introducing compulsory junior-middle-school education, we should ensure that everyone reaches the level of the primary or secondary school graduate in rural areas, not to mention wiping out illiteracy. Only then will you be able to solve the technical problems arising in the countryside.

Technology is a must both in growing flax widely and cultivating hops in future. When agricultural chemicals are supplied to the countryside, the peasants should know how to use them against all kinds of blights and noxious insects, and when fertilizers are supplied, they should know which fertilizer is good for the different types of soil. Therefore, if we are to intensify the socialist revolution in towns and the country in future, we must carry out the cultural revolution.

Another important question in the cultural revolution is to ensure a cultural life for the people. In civilized countries people live in a clean

environment and, as a result, they are healthy and enjoy a long life. However learned and experienced in technology, an unhealthy man will become useless and unable to enjoy a happy life.

In bygone days the feudal rulers of Korea gave no attention to the health of the people and the development of the physical strength of youths. When after the Meiji Restoration the Japanese were busy introducing the modern culture and improving the people's physical strength, the rulers of Korea passed their time doing nothing, sitting with horse-hair hats on, drinking liquor and reciting poems. So the country could not but be colonized.

Physical education for the people is a matter that must not be neglected. If an army is to perform its role properly, the soldiers should be strong, before anything else. An army should have the mastery of shooting skills and flexible tactics. But if its soldiers are weak physically, it cannot manoeuvre swiftly, nor can it approach the enemy, take enemy positions, and shoot enemy soldiers. Tactics, techniques and physical strength should be combined.

The same can be said for building the nation. Let us suppose that there is an excellent social system, enabling the people to act freely, while there are also advanced techniques. But if the people who are to manage the system and use the techniques are physically weak, how can they expect to live well? If everyone is shaky like an opium addict, there cannot be a socialist revolution, or anything else.

We should properly perform the work of health and sanitation and thus eliminate distoma and eradicate various infectious diseases as soon as possible. Some time ago the Presidium of the Party Central Committee discussed this problem. You will receive the decision and the directive on it within a few days.

You should properly organize the work of health and sanitation in a mass campaign in accordance with the decision of the Party Presidium. When I toured cooperatives, I found their environmental arrangement and sanitation system unsatisfactory. I think it is advisable to establish the system of checking up on sanitation on a fixed cleaning day every month, by forming a sanitary inspection commission. You should thus

establish the system of cleaning up the surroundings on a fixed day every month, and in a certain month every year.

In order to prevent infectious diseases you should keep wells clean, rebuild toilets, and build bathhouses in every village. Beginning with this kind of work, you should mend the houses properly and set up laundries to wash the clothes well.

It is a good thing to increase clinics and their beds in the countryside. But you should rather rebuild the toilets and set up bathhouses first. This is essential to wipe out infectious diseases. And a mass drive should be launched to destroy mice and flies.

Briefly, the cultural revolution should be carried out by raising the level of education and techniques and strengthening the work of health and sanitation

### 2. ON PARTY WORK

## (1) STRENGTHENING SOCIALIST EDUCATION

The general trend of the Party's political work is set out in the decision of the First Conference of our Party on intensifying Party members' study of Marxism-Leninism and their socialist education and on strengthening their Party spirit and Party life.

Socialist education is of immense importance at the present time when socialist transformation is nearing completion in town and country. Without refashioning the thinking of people, a socialist society cannot be built completely. A few years ago our Party set the intensification of class education as its general objective, and still now continues to put stress on this problem.

In political education you should never fail to take into account the specific features of Ryanggang Province. All workers and peasants in this province have their characteristics.

What are the characteristics of the workers in this province? They are mostly engaged in the timber and mining industries.

What you should know about the workers in the timber industry is that they have remnants of the old ideology in their minds. Of all workers they are most desultory and liberalistic in their habits. They are more liberalistic than the factory workers who have been schooled at blast furnaces and have a strong spirit of organization. They are given to the old habits of lumberjacks who used to squander all their earnings having a good time and swear to be brothers.

I once mentioned this at a meeting of lumberjacks right after the armistice. In the old days workers were reluctant to go to work at lumbering grounds. It was believed that those who go to lumbering grounds would become rowdies and loafers. People would regard lumbering grounds as the meanest and worst place to work where lumberjacks led a devil-may-care life and did everything in a slovenly way.

But the position of lumberjacks today differs from that of yesterday. In the old days they used to change their place of work day after day and work in a happy-go-lucky way. But this cannot be the way our lumbering work is carried on today. In the socialist economy the timber industry also has definite production targets to reach every year. Accordingly, it is possible at present to organize work well with foresight and carry on operations uninterruptedly. So workers in the timber industry have now come to lead a settled life, are attached to their place of work and have a liking for labour.

However, they still retain the old habit of doing everything in a slovenly way. So the lumbering workers should be educated perseveringly. Formerly when capitalists and landlords ran the timber industry, the lumberjacks used to fell trees at random and indulge in unrestrained drinking bouts. They earned money one day and made off the next. Our lumbermen should not do their work in this way.

Our lumbering workers should regard the forests as their own property and care for them the way the factory workers treasure and safeguard their factories and machines. Whether building roads and railways in forests or felling trees, they should work with the attitude that everything is their own affair.

An energetic struggle should be launched to eliminate the obsolete ideas remaining in the minds of the lumbermen.

If education is intensified among the lumbermen, it will be possible to remove their looseness and liberalism and instil in them the idea of caring for the forests just as metallurgical and chemical workers take loving care of blast furnaces or sulfuration towers like their own bodies.

Another point to be borne in mind in their education is the fact that their working conditions are unusual. At a factory, for instance, hundreds of people work together and so collective education is possible. As for the raftsmen, their job takes them far away in twos and threes for months on end, and then they come back. So, it is difficult to educate them in a systematic and collective way. It is important therefore to provide the proper conditions so that the education of lumberjacks will no longer be sporadic and they can be educated in groups.

Furthermore, the peasants in Ryanggang Province who have lived scattered lives here and there in mountain areas also, in the main, have this tendency to disperse. It may be more difficult to educate the peasants in Ryanggang Province in collectivism than in other provinces. Why is it that those who once tilled burns for many long years return to the mountains when they are sent down to the plain? At heart, peasants have petty-bourgeois ideas, especially those who once tilled burns are more conservative and dispersive because they have lived a scattered life for so long. Party organizations in Ryanggang Province should take these specific features into consideration and, instead of working in a general way, should give a more intensive education to their strongly conservative and dispersive peasants than in other provinces.

As I have already touched on rural construction, attention should be paid to building houses in such a way as to enable the peasants to live collectively. The consciousness of man is influenced by his environment. So, in order to remould the consciousness of peasants, the material conditions should be provided for their collective life. This is an important question.

Party organizations in Ryanggang Province should educate the masses in a spirit of hating the exploiting system and classes, of resolutely fighting against the counter-revolutionary elements who try to restore that system, and of defending the socialist system and its gains. In this connection, they should carry on Party political work with due regard to the specific features of the workers and peasants in Ryanggang Province who still retain a good many obsolete ideas such as looseness, a scattered nature and liberalism.

### (2) INHERITING THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS

To inherit the revolutionary traditions is of great importance.

Our Party and people are continuers of the patriotic revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle waged valiantly for the country and the people against foreign invaders. This is a source of pride and honour to our Party and people. If we did not have such traditions, our Party and people would feel inferior. As our Party Rules stipulate, we have taken over the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese struggle.

Why should we inherit the revolutionary traditions? Only when we inherit the revolutionary traditions, can we convince ourselves utterly of victory in the future, as our forerunners emerged victorious from the revolutionary struggle in the past, and inflame everyone with ardent patriotism and a revolutionary fighting spirit.

As I said in Pochonbo yesterday, you may possibly minimize the significance of the Battle of Pochonbo-just an assault on a small village. But that is not so. In a war a desperate battle is fought to defend every hill, not because it is thickly populated.

Why was it that the battle for Height 1211 was important during the Fatherland Liberation War? Its great significance lay in the fact that the

Party's important strategic policy of not giving up an inch of land was upheld by defending the hill to the death. The surrender of Height 1211 would have meant losing many a hill and retreating scores of *ri*. We could not yield this important strongpoint. So we defended the height at all costs. The strategic importance is what matters.

What, then, was the strategic importance of the Pochonbo Battle?

As you know, it was the grimmest period of Japanese imperialist rule. Japanese scoundrels and pro-Japanese elements were out to destroy the national spirit of the Koreans and repressed their anti-Japanese struggle ruthlessly. They clamoured, "Japan and Korea are one" and "The Japanese and the Koreans are of the same descent."

Ri Kwang Su, Choe Nam Son and the like disseminated these slogans; Jo Man Sik and his ilk taught the Korean youth to collaborate with the Japanese imperialists in the war of aggression on China. In the last days of Japanese rule the Korean people were forbidden even to speak their mother tongue or to use Korean surnames.

At that time the Koreans had gloomy prospects ahead of them. Many people gave up all hope of casting off the yoke of slavery to Japanese imperialism. All movements including the March 1 Movement ended in failure and all hopes were dashed.

This was when the Battle of Pochonbo took place. What, then, is the significance of the battle? It does not lie in the fact that a few Japanese were killed in the battle but in the fact that it showed the Korean people were not dead, but alive; it offered revolutionary rays of hope which inspired them with the confidence that they could defeat Japanese imperialism if they fought it. The Battle of Pochonbo declared to the whole world: the Korean people are resisting Japanese imperialism; they do not accept the idea that "Korea and Japan are one"; they say the Japanese and the Koreans are not of the "same descent"; the Koreans will not join the Japanese in invading China; the Koreans will not abandon their mother tongue, nor will they change their surnames into Japanese ones; the Korean people are not dead but alive; and they can defeat the Japanese scoundrels if they fight them. This is the strategic significance of the Battle of Pochonbo. Herein lies the historic

significance of the Battle of Pochonbo.

The revolutionary movements in different parts of the homeland–Kapsan-Hyesan, Yonghung and Kilju incidents for example–were also of great significance.

What did the Kapsan-Hyesan incident show? It, too, showed that the Koreans were not dead but were up and fighting. It was the biggest incident in our country in the last years of Japanese rule, involving fairly broad sections of the masses. The number of the active communists arrested was the largest ever in any communist incident.

In the grimmest period of Japanese imperialist rule the people in Ryanggang Province waged a sanguinary struggle alongside the communists for the independence of the country and for the people's power, without yielding to the Japanese. What a noble and praiseworthy deed it was! Party organizations in Ryanggang Province should educate the masses in such revolutionary traditions. Our whole Party should carry forward the revolutionary traditions built up by the Korean communists through their selfless struggle, and educate the masses in them.

Faith in Marxism-Leninism is more important than anything else in inheriting the revolutionary traditions.

What moral support did the guerrillas have when they waged the hard struggle against the Japanese? Only Marxism-Leninism. Since the Korean communists are convinced that according to the law of social development, imperialism is doomed to ruin, whereas socialism and communism are bound to triumph, they fought to the bitter end in defiance of all hardships and difficulties. We won victory at last because we fought on along the road indicated by Marxism.

Although we are confronted with the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique, our forces are incomparably stronger now than in the days of the guerrilla struggle.

At that time the Soviet Union was the only socialist state. Today, however, there are the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Viet Nam and Mongolia, and many People's Democracies in Europe. Even when there was only

the Soviet Union, we communists fought on looking up to the Soviet Union and deriving fresh encouragement from its existence. Now that our forces have grown, we can fight with still greater conviction.

Even when the Soviet Union was the only socialist state, the German, Italian and Japanese fascists were defeated. Why, then, couldn't we now prevail over the US imperialist forces of aggression with the might of the socialist camp behind us?

Today we have a Party with a membership of one million, an army hundreds of thousands strong and a powerful economy. In the past the anti-Japanese guerrillas struck fear in the hearts of the Japanese and beat them, even though they had to go about the forests of Mt. Paektu carrying sewing machines and mimeographs. Thus, even when the odds were against them the guerrillas were full of revolutionary optimism and fought unyieldingly. Why, then, can't we win today when we have such favourable conditions and powerful forces?

The question is to reinforce our faith in victory and to equip ourselves with the spirit of valuing the gains of socialism more than our own lives. In this connection it is of great importance to study profoundly and take over the revolutionary traditions established by our forerunners. To inherit the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese struggle is a duty, an honourable task and a guarantee of victory.

We should convince the masses that our victories of today are a result of the bloody struggle waged by the communists.

The Korean revolution being carried on by us now has not been imported. Revolution cannot be exported or imported. Because there was a communist movement in the past, there is the Korean revolution today.

If it had not been for the staunch communists tempered in the anti-Japanese struggle, it would have been impossible to found our Party or carry out democratic reforms successfully after liberation.

After liberation a great number of new revolutionary cadres equipped with Marxism-Leninism were brought up. They have as their forerunners the communists who had waged the anti-Japanese

struggle. We should be aware that the cadres working in the Party organizations and government bodies at various levels and all those people taking an active part in the revolution today, have sprung from the midst of the revolutionary struggle against the Japanese imperialists.

Without respecting the revolutionaries who fought self-sacrificingly for the liberation of the Korean people, we cannot give a revolutionary education to the masses of the people. Nevertheless, there are many instances where comrades who fought faithfully in the past have been neglected. Although nearly 15 years have passed since liberation, these people have been left without an education. As a consequence, they are now too ignorant to be appointed to a higher position. In view of the fact that those who went through the most terrible ordeals have been slighted and left unheeded, we cannot say personnel administration has been in proper order.

In the Fatherland Liberation War, too, so many people fought valiantly. These excellent revolutionary fighters are the hard core of our Party. We were able to win victory thanks to these people, and it is to the credit of these people that our Party exists and that we are now in a position to build socialism. Therefore, we should learn to respect these people and educate and rally them as the Party's hard core. Only evil elements hate these revolutionaries. Why should honest people give them a wide berth? We should resolutely combat the tendency of slighting the old revolutionaries and the families of fallen revolutionaries.

## (3) THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The struggle against counter-revolution must be handled carefully because it concerns human beings. If this struggle is not handled skilfully, a "Leftist" error can be committed.

In our current struggle against counter-revolution, it appears there are cases, if only a few, of people of south Korean origin and

intellectuals being dealt with wrongfully. That is why the Party, as in the past, called the attention of its leading personnel to this matter once again.

First of all, I think we need to have a correct understanding of the old-time intellectuals who received an education in the years of Japanese imperialist rule. Needless to say, most of the old-time intellectuals who studied under Japanese imperialist rule and served Japanese imperialism have come from propertied classes. Because they were well-to-do they were able to go to college or university and to become professionals.

Although by origin they are of propertied class and served the Japanese imperialists, they are of a revolutionary turn of mind. Because they, too, were oppressed by the Japanese imperialists. They were discriminated against in education and then in employment. They were poorly paid and lived in mud huts, whereas the Japanese were highly paid and lived in brick houses. While Japanese were promoted, they had to work under them as junior clerks. Because of this national discrimination, all intellectuals excepting a few were of a revolutionary turn of mind and were against Japanese imperialism.

Who, then, in Korea collaborated with the imperialists? The landlords and comprador capitalists. The intellectuals were against them and had a revolutionary tendency. So, the intellectuals of Korea could join us in carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution right after liberation. Through this struggle they were remoulded and tempered ideologically, and now become our partners in the socialist revolution as well.

Since its founding our Party has taken a correct approach towards the old-time intellectuals. Although previously they served Japanese imperialism, we decided that because the country was now liberated, they would readily work for the people and the working class. That is why when our Party was founded, progressive elements among the working intellectuals, as well as the workers and the peasants, were defined as its components.

The correctness of our approach to the question of the intellectuals

was proved even more clearly during the Fatherland Liberation War. We waged a very arduous war for three years. Some, of course, were turncoats during the war, but the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals fought well in the wake of the working class, our Party and our people's government. Large numbers of intellectuals followed us in retreating from the Raktong River to the north of the Chongchon River in the teeth of all kinds of difficulties. Countless scholars and artists followed the Party, crossing steep mountains and rugged hills.

Could there be any more convincing proof than this! The reliability of the intellectuals was confirmed through severe trials. Though old-time intellectuals, they broke off long ago with feudalistic and capitalist production relations. They shook off the ideological influence of their old class standing a long time ago. They have lived under the new social system for nearly 15 years, coming under the influence of revolutionary, socialist ideology.

Through participation in the building of socialism and education in the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideas, they are converted into intellectuals of the working class. It is wrong, therefore, to draw hasty conclusions about them in the course of the struggle against counter-revolution merely from the standpoint of their social origin. It is a mistake to "label" old-time intellectuals beforehand suspecting them indiscriminately, instead of distinguishing between the right and the wrong of their thoughts. Needless to say, when an intellectual does something wrong, his past can be questioned.

Whether he works well or not should be weighed up soberly from various angles. You should learn to distinguish carefully between deliberate evil-doing and a blunder made with good intentions. You should not be prejudiced against an intellectual, suspecting that coming from a rich family, he will probably do evil things deliberately.

The same can be said of comrades from the southern half. It will not do to be prejudiced against people just because they have come from the south. Many people may come from the southern half at any time. They may come either tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Among them there can be those who have so far supported Syngman Rhee. But

we should understand that people in the southern half, too, can change.

How can Marxists regard things as immutable? Some people may see that Syngman Rhee is a traitor to the nation and come out against him today, even though until yesterday they supported him. It is possible that although they had supported Syngman Rhee until yesterday due to the propaganda against communism, they may desert him today for the communists because their conduct is correct.

Should we trust a man then who has come over to us or not? True, nobody can prove his identity. It is possible that he is a spy sent by the enemy. But if we mistrust him and forsake him, what will be the result? Nobody will come to us from south Korea. Who will come when we reject them?

What follows from this is that the south Korean revolution is impossible. This would leave us no alternative but to close the doors and carry on the revolution in the northern half only so as to live a good life by ourselves. This is nothing short of suicide. What shall we do then? We must trust people who have come from the south.

In this connection, I would like to tell you of my own experience. At present we have the state and the economic foundations, so we are well-off. During the guerrilla struggle, however, we had nothing, no shelter or anything else. These were the conditions under which we had to fight the enemy day after day. At the time some soldiers of the puppet Manchukuo Army and the Japanese imperialist "punitive force" came over to us bringing their guns with them. The hard and puzzling question was, should we trust them or not? There was no knowing if they would run away taking good guns and leaving behind their own worn-out guns, or kill our men and escape at night, or shoot our comrades in the back during a battle and make off to the Japanese side. It would have been hard to overtake them in the mountains if they had run off only a short distance, so it was a great risk to trust them. But if we had not believed in them, none of them would have come over to us. So, at that time we made it a principle to trust everyone who came over to our side. Our principle was to trust them and examine them in the course of battle. We examined people on the battlefields. It is enough if a man fights well on the battlefield. So why suspect him?

The same is the case with those who come from the south. A brother or a son of a battalion or a division commander of the "National Defence Army" may possibly come over to us. In that case, too, we must trust him. When the elder brother is a division commander and the younger a soldier, there can be discord and ideological difference between them.

Those who come over to us should be trusted first and then tested through practical work. Everyone needs to be checked in the course of work. The one who is keen on his job and does well in carrying out his task is a good person, but the one who is indifferent to his job and causes trouble is a rogue. It will not do to suspect people from the outset, on the grounds that the person is an intellectual or that the man is from south Korea.

Can we say that the people in the northern half are all good and will never turn bad? No, we cannot. Among the people of the north, too, there are those who are unable to get rid of the survivals of capitalist ideas and tend to have evil ways. Therefore, in distinguishing friend from foe we should not be prejudiced in any way or be subjective, but judge according to the yardstick—whether the actual deeds of man in question are in the interests of the Party and the revolution or not. If a man is ideologically of one mind with our Party or not, can be verified only by his activities.

Judging people and distinguishing friend from foe according to an objective criterion like this, does not contradict the class standpoint of our Party. What I mean is, only when those examined through practice are recognized as hard-core elements, can we avoid falling into subjectivism in work.

We should reinforce the position of hard-core elements with those who embrace the ideas of our Party. When we say we are building up the ranks of our hard-core personnel, some people may have doubts about it. They may ask: When the Party is already the core, what hard cores are needed in the Party? But our Workers' Party did not put up a communist platform when it was founded. The Communist Party and

the New Democratic Party merged to form the Workers' Party; this is our Party. The new Rules adopted at the Third Party Congress are a vast improvement on the original ones. The former Rules of our Party did not specify that only those supporting communism are qualified for membership.

Communists were not the only ones who joined our Party from its inception. So what is needed is to make non-communistic people accept communist ideas and in this way expand the ranks of communist-minded people. Increasing the hard-core elements in the Party means training large numbers of Party members capable of fighting for communism to the end. The more hard-core elements, the better. If all the one million members of the Party became hard cores, nothing could be better.

However, there are many comrades still who are not yet equipped closely with communist ideology. Therefore, this poses the important question of continuing to expand the ranks of the hard-core elements and to consolidate their position.

While constantly training hard cores, we should correctly handle those Party members who have committed errors and skilfully re-educate them. We cannot throw out all of them simply because they have made mistakes. If they have committed errors inadvertently, we should make efforts to remould them and unite with them.

The more people take part in the communist movement, the more powerful this movement will become. Its goal is to free all the working masses from exploitation and oppression and make them well-off. Every extra man must be brought in to support communism so that the communist movement can be strengthened and its goal attained. We can bring nearer the victory of the revolution only when larger numbers of people rally around our Party and fight for communism. The evil of the "Left" tendency is that it alienates the masses from the Party and pushes away to the enemy camp many people who could well become our fighting companions. While reinforcing the Party's hard cores and expanding its ranks, we should constantly strengthen its

ties with the masses.

A warning against the "Left" errors may make people lean towards the Right. When you are instructed not to dig into the social background of people but to trust them all, you must not take this to be an instruction to stop the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries. We should intensify the struggle against the counter-revolutionary elements who slander and try to disrupt the Party, and loaf on the job in the factories, causing trouble.

Our struggle should be further intensified. We should reinforce the ranks of hard cores in the Party, and strengthen ideological education and establish good order and strict discipline in factories, mines and agricultural cooperatives. This will prevent the counter-revolutionary elements from playing tricks on us, and enable us to detect them immediately no matter where they appear and what evil they do.

Intensifying Party work and strengthening order and discipline in all work is like hanging up mirrors on all sides. We must see to it that when a counter-revolutionary element turns left and merely gives quizzical looks, it is instantly reflected in the mirror on the right and that when he looks back and purses his lips, it is mirrored in the front glass.

The Chinese call the demon-detecting mirror "zhaoyaojing"; if we fix up such mirrors on all sides, counter-revolutionary elements can never fool us, whatever magic power they may have. This is the best method of fighting against counter-revolution. No one has a label on his forehead saying he is a counter-revolutionary. So it will not do merely to force a person to own up in spite of the fact that there is insufficient evidence.

You should not think you can doze because this is a mountain area and its people are naive and simple. Where people are dozing, the enemy will always steal in. Only when you work intensely and hang up "zhaoyaojing", will the villains find it impossible to steal in. But if you are dozing all the time, the rogues will certainly begin to cause mischief like mice. Villains, like mice, always take to dark places to cause mischief. Therefore, our work should not have a blind side.

You should not live peacefully in a happy-go-lucky manner, just because this is a mountain region. In this region, too, the struggle against counter-revolutionary elements must be intensified without fail. Our work should be strengthened further, without committing Right or "Left" errors.

Since I spoke at length of the methods of Party work at the meeting of chairmen of county Party committees some time ago, I will make no further remarks.

The policy of making personnel administration the central factor of Party work has not yet been fully understood. You should consider it basic to Party work to study cadres well, appoint good persons as cadres and educate them properly. If this work goes well, all other work will also go successfully. This is the most important link in the chain. Continued efforts should be made to improve our work in this direction.

We should make the Party policy thoroughly known to the masses and, taking into account the merits and shortcomings revealed in carrying it out, study perseveringly to work out a new, more advanced policy. This is the basic method of our Party work.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few remarks about the activities of the people's committee.

The work level of the people's committee should be improved. The people's committee should act as the master. At present local people's committees are vested with great authority. But there still remains the tendency of thinking that agriculture is the only concern of the people's committee. The people's committee should look after the public health service, too, but some comrades are unaware of how many beds there are in the hospital in their locality, and if its doctors are good persons or not. Since this is the situation with its officials, the people's committee is hardly able to play the role of master.

The provincial people's committee is the master of the province. Therefore, it should take care of everything–agriculture, local industry, city administration, educational and cultural affairs, the public health service and hygienic work. It should also have a good understanding of

trade. Our trade is a socialist supply system designed to provide the population with plenty of goods. Furthermore, only when we carry on trade expertly can we reorganize capitalist private trade.

We should improve the work of the people's committee at an early date, so that the people's committee carries out its functions actively.

We have not been able to make a complete study of your work for lack of time. Today I have touched on a few important questions which I think will be helpful in your future work.

I wish you success in your work.

# ON INCREASING THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS AND IMPROVING DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS

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

June 7, 1958

I think it was very opportune that the present plenary meeting discussed the problems of developing the food industry, increasing the production of daily necessities and improving distribution of goods.

Had we tried to tackle such problems earlier, we would not have solved them because the problems of developing the food industry and sharply increasing the production of daily necessities can be solved only when there are some sort of economic foundations.

If we had brought up the problem of developing the food industry when the problem of food had not yet been solved, it would have been a foolish thing. If we had proposed developing the food industry when the food situation was still difficult, who would have ever taken the matter seriously?

But now we have the economic foundations that enable us to tackle this problem. We have already mainly solved the food problem. We can say that in our countryside today the standard of living of the peasants has almost improved to that of the middle peasant, except for some poor peasants who can still be found in mountain areas. Not only the living standard of peasants has improved but that of workers has also risen considerably.

As for the problem of clothing, the fabrics produced in our country before the war were barely enough to supply one metre per person, whereas the textile output has now risen far above the prewar level to ten metres per person. In the case of cotton fabrics, the sale of which is controlled, an average of seven metres is supplied to each person. At the end of the Five-Year Plan, per-capita output of fabrics will be 20 metres. Thus, we are successfully solving the clothing problem.

Some time ago the Sinuiju Pulp Mill succeeded to produce fibres from reeds. If the Party organization of North Phyongan Province does a good job and builds a fibre mill using reeds as raw material in Sinuiju at an early date, we shall produce much more fabrics in future.

As you see, now that the problems of food and clothing have been mainly solved and, in the housing sector, almost every family has a house, though not a very good one, we cannot but propose to make our lives a little more comfortable. As the saying goes, "Put a man on a horse, and he will demand a footman." To live a more cultural and convenient life is today the urgent desire of the people.

To continuously improve the people's life is the supreme principle of our Party's activities. Therefore, it is one of the most important revolutionary duties of our Party today to meet the desire of our people to live in a more cultural and convenient way.

Then, can we satisfy the people's desire? Yes, we can. We now have foundations for both heavy and light industries. Today our machine-building industry is quite capable of making machines for the production of foodstuffs and daily necessities. We also have foundations for our chemical industry. This industry is fully capable of supplying necessary chemical products to the food industry. In addition, we can provide the necessary farm produce and seafood for the food industry and raw fibre materials needed for light industry. In other words, we have sufficient conditions for developing the food industry and increasing the production of daily necessities.

Today, however, these sectors are in a very bad state in our country. The cause for this is not only the severe war devastation of our industries. Since our country was made a colony under Japanese

imperialism before the bourgeois revolution was carried out, national industry was originally underdeveloped and, among other things, the food industry and the production of daily necessities remained totally undeveloped.

But now there is not only an urgent need to develop these branches but we also have sufficient conditions to do so. It is therefore the opportune moment for our Party to bring up this question.

Since the report contained a detailed account, I would like to emphasize only a few points.

### 1. ON THE FOOD INDUSTRY

Our country abounds with raw materials for the food industry.

As Korea has sea on its three sides, we have a great abundance of seafood resources. At present we land about 600,000 tons of fish a year. This is a considerable amount and means 60 kilogrammes per person.

It is a big mistake that while we land large quantities of fish, we fail to supply it to the people adequately. We eat only what remains after spoiling good fish. The same can be said for dried pollack, for example. People buy dried pollack which is rotten and crumbles when shaken. The entrails of pollack such as spawn, bowels and liver are tasty and nutritious, but at present they are not processed properly and are thrown away. This is a pity. The same thing happens to other kinds of fish as well. It would be much better if we process and eat all of the 600,000 tons of fish we land without throwing away even one gramme.

This is also the case with fruit. There are not many countries where fruit grows so well as in our country. Any kind of fruit thrives in our country. Our Party has set a target of expanding the area of orchards by 100,000 hectares during the Five-Year Plan and is striving to attain it. There is no doubt that this will be done. At

present our youths are participating in an extensive campaign to expand the fruit area and prepare seedlings for fruit trees. However, since we do not process the fruit we produce at present, we cannot have sufficient supplies.

Vegetables also grow well in our country. If we cultivate vegetables on a large scale and process them, we can consume them in all seasons without running out of supplies.

At present we are not satisfied with eating cooked rice alone. People demand various tasty and nutritious meals such as processed meat, seafood, fruit and vegetables.

There are unlimited raw materials for food processing. The question is that we do not know how to process them and have no equipment, and that the officials concerned take no action and give no guidance for developing processing work. If the officials organize and direct this work properly and the workers are taught how to process raw materials, the work will be quite easy. Therefore, this work should start right now.

Of course, it is wrong to expect everything to go off smoothly from the beginning. And it is also wrong to expect too much from the start. To begin with, you should strive to produce those foodstuffs that are in great demand by our working people at present.

Now, this work must be intensified in a mass movement. It should not be done by any one branch such as, for example, the Ministry of Light Industry or the Ministry of Domestic and Foreign Trade, but should be taken up by agricultural cooperatives, producers' cooperatives, fishing cooperatives, local industries, and also by groceries with processing kitchens set up in one place, and by factories under the Ministry of Light Industry with large processing facilities installed within their compounds. In this way it should be done by all economic branches through a mass movement. And food processing should be carried out in accordance with the local conditions; in North Hamgyong Province it should cater for the needs of the people, and the same should be done in South Phyongan Province.

It will be right to continue work in various ways through a mass

movement like this. It is possible that in this manner more tasty foodstuffs wanted by the people would be selected and widely favoured and distributed. Therefore, no restrictions should be made in the beginning so that creativity will be displayed in many ways.

The most important thing in food processing is to introduce more culture into it. You should know that to increase culture in the food industry and produce clean foodstuffs is one of the most important tasks of our present cultural revolution. The purpose of developing the food industry is to provide ourselves with good meals and live for long years. In the past our lives were left to take their own course because we were poor, but today when we have accomplished the socialist revolution and are heading for a better life, it is only right and within our power to step up the cultural revolution. I will say no more about the question of increasing culture in the food industry and ensuring hygiene in the production of foodstuffs because this matter was treated at length in the report and speeches.

Another important thing in food processing is to ensure that processed foodstuffs are more tasty and cheaper than homemade goods. If they taste worse and cost more than homemade foodstuffs, who will ever buy them? Our motto, therefore, is to produce clean, tasty and cheap foodstuffs.

In developing the food industry it is of great importance to solve the question of containers. It is in fact useless to speak about developing the food industry without solving this question beforehand. It is therefore essential to produce containers such as glass bottles, wood boxes and ceramic jars. It is advisable that this question should be solved by each locality on its own.

Furthermore, in order to continue to develop the food industry we need to carry out a good job in cultivation work to create the sources of raw materials for this industry.

Our country has many favourable conditions for this job. Not only our sea but also our fresh water abounds in tasty fish. The eel, for instance, is a very tasty fish. Can we breed such a fish? Of course we can. We can breed sweetfish in rivers such as the Chongchon. Breeding such fish as trout, rainbow trout and char is well within our power. Char will not go away. This fish gets fertile in deep waters and returns again to the mountain streams.

Our sea abounds in tasty shellfish, such as oyster and abalone. If we breed and process them all, they will be good either for export, for treating foreign guests or for local consumption.

We can cultivate such wild edible greens as mushrooms and bracken.

Only when we do a good job in breeding fresh water fish, shellfish, wild edible greens and various other raw materials for processing, will we be able to continue developing the food industry in future.

We should also solve the question of milk, which is vital for food processing. We are not yet very enthusiastic in breeding dairy cattle. We must take measures to breed milk cows and produce milk substitutes.

At present we are even failing to process eggs properly. Eggs go rotten when they are kept a little too long. Eggs should be processed into powder in order to be kept for long periods.

When many nurseries and kindergartens are set up in future, these products which are to be supplied to them will be needed in large quantities. But at present no steps are being taken to solve this problem. Thus the necessity to take positive measures.

#### 2. ON THE PRODUCTION OF DAILY NECESSITIES

Our country at present has a great shortage of daily necessities. Daily necessities are really varied as they include items needed for the house and for students, travellers, army men, office employees and so on. I told the Cabinet to form a commission and find out roughly how many different commodities are there in this category. It is said there are more than 22,000 kinds of commodities. We cannot say this

number comprises all sorts of daily necessities. It seems to me that there are more. It is by no means an easy job producing so many kinds of things to fully satisfy demand by the people. And we are now even unable to manufacture spoons properly. This is a very serious matter.

Increasing the production of daily necessities is one of the most important problems confronting our Party today. I think it will be wise to tackle the problem in two ways.

First, we should be bold enough to build many specialized daily necessities factories. This is by no means a difficult task. Build a house the size of this meeting hall, and you will be able to produce various essential commodities. And thus what is so difficult? This house was built within a week even when we were very short of materials. So our idea is to boldly build many factories specializing in the production of daily necessities.

Secondly, we should make good use of the production space at existing factories. We need to make an effective use of existing factories, to expand daily necessities workshops on a large scale. All enterprises, whether state-owned factories or producers' cooperatives, should be made to produce daily necessities.

State-run enterprises alone number 840 in our industrial field at present. It is said that different daily necessities total about 22,000. If each state-run enterprise produces only ten items, we will have more than 8,000 different commodities. Besides this, if the producers' cooperatives increase the output of essential commodities, we will have all kinds of articles we need.

Therefore, all production enterprises should make 10-15 kinds of consumer goods from now on. Back at your places of work, you comrade ministers, bureau chiefs and directors of enterprises, must calculate how many kinds of such goods your enterprises and factories will be able to produce with a certain amount of equipment. If we study and show initiative in various ways in this manner, we will be able to solve many things.

Furthermore, it is important to ensure a continuous supply of raw materials for the production of day-to-day necessities.

Fibres will be in greatest demand to solve the problem of such necessities. Moreover, large quantities of fur, leather, glass, timber, iron materials, paints, raw ceramic materials and the like are needed. Demand for all these things could be met if we increase their production, but one thing that is hard to get is plastics. In order to produce plastics the Ministry of Chemical Industry should first rapidly build a factory with even a capacity of several thousand tons. If only plastics are produced, we will have the raw material for the production of many kinds of consumer goods. While pushing ahead with the production of plastics, we should at the same time strive to increase the production of fibres, leather, glass, timber, iron materials, paints, raw ceramic materials and so on.

In addition, the Ministry of Machine Industry and other ministries should supply many machines for the production of daily necessities with existing machine tools.

Unless production processes are mechanized, the problem of manpower cannot be solved in our country. Moreover, mechanization is essential to lower production cost. It is therefore of great importance to supply many machines.

Machine factories and repair workshops which fall under the ministries should take measures to make more machines for the production of daily necessities and for food processing, without leaving their machines idle, even if they have to receive additional manpower for this purpose. This problem will not be settled smoothly without getting a bigger workforce. We should provide more men, so that one shift of workers will be entirely engaged on the production of machines for the supply of daily necessities and for food processing.

In order to help local factories and producers' cooperatives, every province must set up a small general machine factory which produces various small machines including ones for the production of daily necessities and for food processing. It will be right to put this general machine factory under the control of the chairman of the provincial people's committee.

Then, technical schools should be set up on a large scale to train

technicians for the production of daily necessities. Otherwise, we cannot teach the necessary techniques for the production of daily necessities. First of all, it is desirable to set up a comprehensive technical school in every province. You should not simply consider that building a college alone will serve the purpose. The Party Central Committee needs to take a look into this matter.

If in this way we solve the problem of raw materials, strive to build machines, take steps to train technical personnel and also bring the masses' enthusiasm and the Party's organizational power into full play, there will be nothing impossible for us. We should continue the struggle for developing the food industry and the production of daily necessities along such lines by the whole Party and in a nationwide movement.

By nature this plenary meeting ought to decide on how many hundreds of millions of *won* worth of consumer goods should be produced over and above the plan. But we have made no correct calculation about this, and so we will not announce the monetary index today. I think it is advisable to make calculations and give an index to each province in future.

#### 3. ON TRADE

The most important thing in trade is to make trade workers understand fully that our trade is fundamentally different from capitalist trade.

Trade by both our state and cooperatives is a socialist trade. Our socialist trade already has a history of more than ten years. But as a result of insufficient education about this, many trade workers are not yet aware of the essential difference between socialist and capitalist trade. This is the most serious of shortcomings in the sphere of trade.

What is the essential difference between the two?

First, socialist trade is aimed at improving the well-being and convenience of the working people. In contrast, capitalist trade aims to cheat and exploit them.

Secondly, capitalist trade is centred only in urban communities to serve for the comfort of the capitalists who are concentrated in cities, whereas socialist trade serves the purpose of narrowing the gap between town and country. In our country commodities available in Pyongyang can also be found at the foot of Mt. Paektu, and they cost exactly the same in both Pyongyang and at the foot of Mt. Paektu.

Thirdly, socialist trade ensures systematic distribution of goods produced in a planned manner, but in capitalist trade, where production is not controlled, the distribution and consumption of goods are also confused. According to the speech of comrade chairman of the Pyongyang City People's Committee, wicked people are refusing to supply goods according to plan. This is nothing short of trying to revive capitalism.

Finally, profits from capitalist trade go entirely into the pockets of capitalists, but those from socialist trade are used for the welfare of all the people and for increasing the accumulations for extensive socialist reproduction. This is another aspect of the important difference between socialist and capitalist trade. Only when our trade workers understand such things clearly will they have a desire to earn and save even a penny more.

Furthermore, only when our workers know that a major characteristic of socialist trade lies in the planned supply of goods to the population will they conduct socialist trade efficiently. It is obvious that if a trade worker sells many goods to only some people, there will be less goods for others. If cotton fabrics, for example, are not supplied properly in a planned way but sold at random, the plan for settling the problem of clothing for all people will not succeed and some people will not have good clothes. This is clearly evident.

Our trade workers are failing to work properly not because they are irresponsible people, but rather, I think, because they know very little about the essence of socialist trade. Yesterday a comrade said in his speech that as trading establishments are concentrated in a place, a shop sometimes serves only four customers in an hour. At that rate, business cannot go well. Needless to say, it is possible that there are irresponsible persons who deliberately arrange things to go that way. But, in fact it is also due to the ignorance of the people concerned who set up shops only in busy centres as is done in capitalist trade.

Therefore, the most important thing for trade workers is socialist education.

The socialist revolution in north Korea today demands that, even in the trade sector, intermediary exploitation be eliminated and private trade be transformed on socialist lines. Without completely doing away with intermediary exploitation that still remains in trade, we cannot fully accomplish the tasks of the socialist revolution.

Let me emphasize again that the primary aim of socialist trade lies in the service for the benefit of the working people and for the improvement of their living conditions. We open shops wherever working people live, even in a remote mountain region, for the convenience of the people, and with a view of supplying goods in a planned way to distribute them in a fair way amongst all working people.

If we educate trade workers properly, why should they hate to do this when it is done in the interests of the people? They should genuinely offer to serve the people. If we teach the trade workers how to grow cold-bed rice seedlings, for example, instead of teaching them this, things will not go well.

The resolution of this plenary meeting should establish the education of trade workers as the most important task.

The socialist education of trade workers is impossible without the struggle against the capitalist ideas that still exist in their minds. What are these capitalist ideas? Hating to serve the working people and handling state goods carelessly without regarding them as their own, are things derived from the lingering capitalist ideas. Where comrades inspired with socialist ideology are working, the loss of goods is very

low, but, it is very high in other places.

Without an ideological struggle there will be no victory in the revolution. There has never been such a victory before, and no other country can witness such an event. Therefore, while socialist education is strengthened, a resolute struggle should be waged against the ideological remnants of capitalism.

Furthermore, we need to reform our trading system with courage. At present under this system, goods are put on sale without taking the demand into consideration. This is its drawback. No matter from where it was copied, we should change it resolutely if it does not suit us.

It seems a good thing to me to reform our trading system boldly into an order system. Such a system may not keep with the actual conditions. If so, then we may as well change it again. There is nothing to fear at all.

What do we need to go over to an order system? It is necessary to put the retail shops under public control. The county and the province should form their trade guidance commissions.

The trade guidance commission should approve the list of ordered goods. This list will in fact be as good as a plan for the sale of goods. Only when the list is prepared in a good way will the ordered goods sell well. It is therefore very important to make the order list properly. If the wholesale houses supply goods according to the order lists approved by the trade guidance commission, I believe nothing will go seriously wrong.

There is another thing that must be revised in the trading system. We propose to give additional authority to the provincial people's committee. While the wholesale system for manufactured goods should be left under the control of the Ministry of Domestic and Foreign Trade as in the past, it will be a good thing to authorize the provincial people's committee to carry on the business of wholesale and state purchase in order to supply the provincial seat and major workers' settlements with vegetables and other supplementary foodstuffs.

Then the chairman of the People's Committee of South Phyongan

Province, for example, will be obliged to supply vegetables and other supplementary foodstuffs to the Nampho area, the Kangson Steel Plant, the Kiyang Machine Factory and the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. This will force him to take steps to grow vegetables in their vicinity according to a plan, and ensure their planned supply by establishing agencies for the purchase of vegetables by the state and vegetable wholesale houses. Purchase contracts can be concluded either with nearby agricultural cooperatives or fishing cooperatives.

It is a good thing to leave some supply work in the hands of local government organs themselves like this. If the Ministry of Domestic and Foreign Trade has a monopoly over all matters, things will only get complicated and nothing will result. If there are no vegetables or fish in the groceries after the system of supplying vegetables and other foodstuffs has been changed like this, the chairman of the provincial people's committee will be called to account for it. But at present, if there are no vegetables in the groceries, the provincial people's committee chairman rather inquires the Minister of Domestic and Foreign Trade to know the reason for it. Why should the Minister of Domestic and Foreign Trade trouble himself with this sort of thing? It is necessary to revise a few things like this in the trading system.

And it will be proper to authorize the provincial people's committee chairman to allocate manpower on a temporary basis in the trade sector.

In the training of cadres, it is now necessary to get rid of the mystification about trade cadres. What is mysterious about trade cadres? For trade workers there can be nothing more important than loyalty to the Party and the people.

There are many excellent saleswomen. They are not graduates from any college, nor have they a great deal of experience in trade. They finished primary school and have not worked in the sphere of trade for long. But they are better than those who graduated from the commercial school or commercial college. They know the principles we want for socialist trade. To serve the working people, they often go

out to see workers and peasants. They are also striving to earn even a penny more, to benefit the state. A person who graduated from the department of economics of Waseda University in Japan will probably find it difficult to understand that this is a principle for socialist trade. Because such a person learned bourgeois economics, he knows nothing about the principle of increasing wealth for the people and promoting their well-being. But they are well aware of it. If they have any shortcoming, it is because they do not have elementary knowledge of bookkeeping.

If you think the experience of capitalist trade can be of any help to us, you are grossly mistaken.

What is the experience gained in capitalist trade? After all, it is nothing but the experience of cheating and robbing others. What is the use to swindle others and squeeze the working people? We have no place for the experience of capitalist trade. Pyon Tong Yun who is a graduate of Waseda University made a mess of our trade. How foolish it was to be cheated by such a person who was said to have "experience". We should not be fooled again by people like him.

Therefore, we should boldly rid ourselves of the remnants of capitalist trade. Yet, this does not mean you should reject all old-time cadres. You must continue to educate and transform them to become faithful to the working class and the people. Our Party has long been pursuing this line. The old-time cadres should be educated in socialist ideology, so that they will learn to serve the working people, take good care of public property, distribute goods in a planned way, and accumulate profits according to a plan. But we cannot but discard those die-hards who refuse to change their life. We have no debt to pay them in the form of high officers.

We should boldly promote new cadres who are faithful to the Party and the people. We should give important posts to the people who work hard going round on to sell items for the greater convenience of the people and to try to earn even a penny more for the state. We have many such people. We should send them to take a short course of three to six months before boldly appointing them to important posts. Later,

they should be sent to study again.

In the sphere of trade, the old-timers should thus be thoroughly transformed and new cadres boldly promoted, so that the ranks of cadres are strengthened. Without this, there can be no improvement in work in this field.

The last point I would like to emphasize is that the local people's committees should have a greater sense of responsibility in the trade sector. I am not going to mention the need to increase the responsibilities of the Ministry of Domestic and Foreign Trade because it is a matter I always emphasize.

Local people's committees, the city people's committees in particular, should regard trade as their main task. All our cities are now nearly free of exploiters and are inhabited by working people, including workers and office employees. The urban dwellers are all builders of socialism. So what greater task can there be for the city people's committee chairmen than that of stabilizing and improving their living conditions? The people are working devotedly with utmost zeal for the state and society every day, and then what other duty can there be for the city people's committee chairmen except the work of improving their lives? To start with, they should get up early in the morning and go to the market to see how much fish has arrived and what quantities of vegetables are on sale that morning. In the evening, they should also go again to check how much fish and vegetables have been sold. This is the first thing they ought to do.

In the past the chairman of the Pyongyang City People's Committee did not work in this way. Even when holiday was approaching, he did not even consider taking steps to ensure the stocking and selling of enough meat. This is not right. With the approach of national holidays, he should take steps to ensure supply of more meat, eggs and, at least, rib meat. He should give attention to trade in this manner.

Socialist trade is in essence a work of supply to the population. Therefore, the development of trade is of great importance for the improvement of the working people's life.

If the city people's committee or the city Party committee belittles

and ignores trade, it is a serious mistake. This applies to the provincial people's committee as well. Its chairman should call at shops before anything else wherever he goes, and see what commodities are on sale, what supplies have run out, who is to blame for it, what is the reason for the inferior quality of commodities, and so on. He should always inquire into such things and find a solution. He should regard this as his important duty.

After this plenary meeting, the Party organizations should take trade firmly in hand and guide it so that radical changes may take place in work in this field.

#### 4. ON FOREIGN TRADE

Credit is everything in foreign trade. Foreign trade will not come off by force. It presupposes willingness on both parts, the other party and us.

Even if we produce a vast variety of goods, we cannot supply everything we need by ourselves. If we are to survive, we have to import what our country does not have, or lacks and sell what we have more than enough. We should thus satisfy each other's needs.

If we want to do successful business in purchase and sale, we must have credit. But at present we are losing our credit in foreign trade. Why? First, because our goods are of an inferior quality and, secondly, because we are failing to deliver goods in time. This is very wrong. In foreign trade even fraternal nations should have faith in each other. So, come what may, we must deliver the goods we promised to supply, and best quality goods at that.

Losing our credit affects the honour of the country. Therefore, to discredit yourself in foreign trade and thus undermine the national dignity is impermissible. Contracts should be observed strictly by all means. Once a contract has been made, it becomes a bargain. It is

absolutely wrong to try to cancel it.

Until now, our conditions were such that we received aid from fraternal countries and, furthermore, the latter treated us rather generously because they knew that our conditions were very hard because of the war. Accustomed to this, we have carried on with our foreign trade in an undisciplined and careless way. But from now on we should not do so. It should not be permitted to ask the other party for additional things after a contract has been signed.

Next we should strive to earn more foreign money. We have some problems concerning foreign currency in the Five-Year Plan. So, next year we should cut imports by about ten per cent and strive to increase exports by some 20 per cent.

This, in general, is what I wanted to speak of today.

# EVERYTHING FOR THE PROSPERITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

#### Speech Delivered at the Third Session of the Second Supreme People's Assembly

June 11, 1958

Comrade Deputies,

Today we are to adopt the Law on the First Five-Year Plan which has great historic significance for our country.

After liberation, the Korean people took power into their own hands and carried out democratic reforms, including the agrarian reform and the nationalization of industries, which enabled them to develop the national economy in a planned way for the welfare of the people.

More than ten years have elapsed since we inaugurated the plan on the economy in the northern half of Korea. In this period, the planned development of the national economy has vividly shown its advantages in our country. Under the guidance of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, our people achieved great success in the rebuilding and development of the national economy, both in the prewar and postwar years, by firmly relying on the advantages of a planned socialist economy. The planned economy in our country enabled us, even in the fierce war, to mobilize all the domestic resources quickly and rationally for victory in the war.

We have gained rich experience in developing the national economy in a planned way. We had already carried out two one-year plans before the war. Had the enemy not made an invasion, we would have also been able to successfully fulfil the Two-Year Plan at that time. We also carried out the Three-Year Plan under extremely difficult conditions following the war.

However, the present Five-Year Plan is the first of its kind in the history of our country. The fact that today we are to pass the Law on the First Five-Year Plan at the Supreme People's Assembly, and have already embarked on work to fulfil it, is of historic significance in the development of our country's national economy and in the politico-economic life of our people.

This shows, first of all, that the people's democratic system established in the northern half of Korea has been further consolidated and the economic foundations of our country have been strengthened. Unlike a one- or two-year plan, the Five-Year Plan envisages more distant prospects for the development of the national economy as well as long-term and large-scale construction. Therefore, a Five-Year Plan cannot be implemented without establishing the necessary economic foundations.

Under the leadership of our Party, the Korean people have established these economic foundations by surmounting innumerable obstacles and difficulties through an arduous struggle after the war.

In fact, our national economy was terribly devastated in the war. Immediately after the armistice, the difficult economic situation in our country was indescribable. We had neither steel nor cement or chemical fertilizer, and we were even in urgent need of food and clothing. Most of the factories and enterprises had been destroyed, towns and villages had been reduced to rubble, and our people had lost nearly all their houses and furniture.

However, all this is now a thing of the past. Thanks to the policy of our Party that gives priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneous with the development of light industry and agriculture, and to the devotion of all the working people in their efforts to make it a reality, we were able to considerably improve the scanty livelihood of the people, restore industry and agriculture and further strengthen the economic foundations of our country in no more than three or four

years after the war. Such key branches of heavy industry as the metal, electrical, coal, building-materials and chemical industries have been reconstructed, and expanded on modern technology. Our own machine-building industry has been set up and the foundations for light industry laid. Cooperativization has been introduced in agriculture and grain output has increased rapidly, making it possible for us to basically solve the food problem for the people. The towns and villages which had been reduced to rubble have been rebuilt with a new look, and the material and cultural life of the people has considerably improved.

All this constitutes the solid material and technological foundations in our country for the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, a long-term prospective plan.

The great economic and technical assistance of the people of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies played a significant role in the rebuilding of our economy after the war.

Had we used the aid from fraternal countries and our domestic resources mainly for consumption by the people after the war, without giving priority to the development of heavy industry and the restoration of the devastated economy, we would have been unable to lay our own economic foundations and, accordingly, would not be able today to draw up the Five-Year Plan for further development of the national economy and improvement of the people's living conditions. The great significance of our Party's economic policy in the postwar period is that it made it possible for us in a short time to improve our people's living standard and build an essentially self-reliant foundation for the further development of our national economy by making the most rational and effective use of both the aid from fraternal countries and our domestic resources.

It is on these very foundations that we are able to carry on the First Five-Year Plan and adopt a historic law for this plan today.

The First Five-Year Plan clearly shows to all the people the prospects for socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, and

also constitutes their programme of struggle.

In the past, the Korean people lived a gloomy life under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. They could not make plans, not even for a day, let alone one year ahead.

Today, however, all our working people, including workers and peasants, can make plans not just for tomorrow but for a bright future as well. Today our working people can clearly determine what they are going to do not for one or two years but for five whole years. Our people clearly understand what they should do in the five years from 1957 to 1961, to what level the national economy of our country will rise and to what extent their material and cultural life will improve through the implementation of the plan. This will further inspire and encourage the working people in their labour efforts, and further increase their hopes for a bright future and victory.

Embarking on the Five-Year Plan means that the national economy of our country is entering a new, higher stage of development. The one-year plans, the subsequent Two-Year Plan in the prewar period and the postwar Three-Year Plan were all plans whose basic aim was reconstruction. In our country, the development of the national economy was disrupted for several years due to the ruthless war, and the reconstruction period was much longer than in other countries. In fact, we went through two reconstruction periods, one before and the other after the war.

By successfully carrying out the postwar Three-Year Plan for rebuilding and developing the national economy, we have basically completed the difficult restoration of the national economy which was delayed for more than ten years because of the war.

No doubt, the Five-Year Plan also contains some aspects of reconstruction. As a result of the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan, the development of the economy as a whole was far better than during the prewar period, technological reconstruction has been carried out to a great extent, and the economic foundations of our country have been further consolidated. But there is still some reconstruction work to be done. In the Five-Year Plan period, we should fully rebuild those

factories and enterprises which have not yet been restored and completely heal the remaining war wounds we still have.

Thus, though the Five-Year Plan also has some objectives for reconstruction, the main task is the gradual technological reconstruction of the national economy. In the Three-Year Plan period, the question was to rebuild the devastated factories, mines and enterprises and reach the prewar level of industrial and agricultural production, but in the Five-Year Plan the fundamental question is the technological reconstruction and further expansion of factories, construction of new ones and further development of industrial and agricultural production.

Today we can safely say that our national economy has entered the period of technological reconstruction. This constitutes a great change in the economic development of our country and in the life of our people. This is precisely one of the main characteristics of our country's Five-Year Plan which differs from all the previous plans.

The First Five-Year Plan in our country is being carried out under new socio-economic conditions, that is, under the conditions in which socialism has won a decisive victory in towns and the countryside.

The prewar national economic plans were carried out in a situation where the individual peasant economy was still undisputed in the rural areas and capitalist elements also had considerable control in urban and rural areas. In 1949 the share of the socialist sector of the economy in terms of total industrial output value was 90.7 per cent, but in agriculture it was only 3.2 per cent and in the total retail-trade turnover, 56.5 per cent. At that time there was no socialist cooperative economy in the countryside, and private business had considerable influence in the field of trade as well.

Today, however, the situation has changed drastically. In 1957 the share of the socialist economic sector in terms of total industrial output value reached 98.7 per cent and in total retail-trade turnover, 87.9 per cent. In agriculture today, over 98.6 per cent of all peasant households have already joined cooperatives.

What does this mean? It means that socio-economic conditions

have been created in our country for accelerating the development of the productive forces, and for enabling all the working people to continue to improve their living conditions, free from exploitation. This also means that in our country planning is being made in all branches of the national economy and the spontaneous factors have been further restricted in economic development.

When individual peasant farming was predominant in the countryside, it was impossible for us to develop agriculture in a fully planned manner. The agricultural plan at that time was aimed at regulating the development of agriculture in the interests of the state and the peasants, but it did not fully represent a planned economy. And as private trade played a considerable part in towns and the countryside, it was impossible to distribute goods strictly according to a plan. The small-commodity economy and capitalist elements hindered the planned economy and were the cause for the appearance of spontaneity.

But, since cooperativization has been introduced in agriculture and socialist trade has become overwhelmingly predominant, we are in a position to develop not only industry but also agriculture and trade in a planned way. Spontaneous factors which disrupt planning have now been mostly eliminated from our national economy. Therefore, unlike the previous plans, the Five-Year Plan completely covers, and at the same time, delves deeper into all branches of the national economy.

Comrades,

The First Five-Year Plan has been drawn up in accordance with the basic orientation clearly indicated at the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea. As was pointed out in the decision of our Party conference and in the draft law, the basic task of the First Five-Year Plan is to further consolidate the economic foundations of socialism in the northern half of Korea and to essentially solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

This basic task of the Five-Year Plan correctly reflects the objective requirements for the economic development of our country.

Our country's socialist relations of production have already

achieved a decisive victory in all branches of the national economy including industry and agriculture. This was a great revolutionary change. By practically completing this change we have opened up a broad avenue for the rapid development of the productive forces.

The productive forces in our country, however, are still at a low level of development. Though industry and agriculture have been restored and developed at a very fast pace during the postwar Three-Year Plan, the level of development of the productive forces is still low due to the adverse effects of the prolonged colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and the severe war damage. Our industry has not yet caught up with modern technology nor has it completely rid itself of the colonial links inherited from the Japanese imperialists. Our industry has still not developed to such an extent as to introduce modern technology in all branches of the national economy. Owing to slow industrial progress, our agriculture still depends primarily on inefficient techniques.

Thus, although socialist production relations have now been basically established in our country, the material and productive foundations of socialism are still weak.

To build a socialist society it is not enough merely to transform the relations of production on socialist lines. Along with this, it is necessary to further strengthen the material and productive foundations of socialism which enable us to introduce modern technology in all sectors of the national economy. Under the conditions in which socialist production relations have mostly triumphed, technological reconstruction comes to the fore as one of the most pressing tasks. New technology is vital in all sectors of the national economy such as industry, agriculture, transport and capital construction. Without technological reconstruction, it is impossible to advance our national economy, to further consolidate and develop the already established socialist relations of production and improve the people's living standard.

The most essential factor for our country's economic development at present is the intensification of technological reconstruction and the further consolidation of the material and productive foundations of socialism in all fields of the national economy by relying on the already established new socialist relations of production. That is why socialist industrialization, designed to further consolidate the economic foundations of socialism, has been put forward as the most important task of the First Five-Year Plan,

The task of socialist industrialization in our country cannot be fulfilled in a short time; it should be carried out step by step.

We should firmly lay the foundations for socialist industrialization during the First Five-Year Plan, thus completely eliminating the colonial links and technological backwardness of our industry and gradually intensifying technological reconstruction in all sectors of the national economy. In this way, socialist industrialization should be further promoted during a second five-year plan, thereby re-equipping all branches of the national economy with modern technology and laying the material and technological foundations which will make it possible for us to carry out capital construction on a larger scale. This is the only way to further consolidate the economic foundations for socialism.

The aim of socialist production is to satisfy the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the people. The development of the productive forces and the further consolidation of the economic foundations for socialism are aimed also at further improving the people's standard of living.

It is the supreme principle of our Party's activities to steadily improve the material and cultural well-being of the people. Our Party and the Government of the Republic always struggle to improve our people's standard of living and to promote their welfare.

In the postwar period, thanks to the correct policy of our Party and the devotion of the working people in their work, our people's living conditions, devastated by the war, improved considerably in a short span of time. However, as the war damage was very extensive, our people's living conditions are still inadequate and their problems of food, clothing and housing have not been solved. Therefore, the basic

solution to these problems has been put forward as an urgent task of the First Five-Year Plan.

During the Five-Year Plan, we should continue to improve our people's living standard by completely solving the food problem, by basically overcoming the clothing problem and considerably ameliorating housing conditions.

Of course, the people's needs for food, clothing and housing grow constantly with the development of production and improvement of their standard of living. Therefore, the task of fully satisfying the steadily growing material and cultural needs of the people cannot be carried out in a single five-year plan. It is a permanent task in our struggle.

When the First Five-Year Plan is fulfilled, the war wounds inflicted upon the people's life will be entirely healed and the living standard of our people will improve over the prewar level. In view of present living conditions, this will mean a big stride forward.

For the successful fulfilment of the basic task of the Five-Year Plan, our Party's economic policy of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, should be consistently and thoroughly carried out. This is the basic line of our Party's economic policy, which we have followed closely since the armistice and which we have proved to be correct with facts.

Without giving priority to the growth of heavy industry, it is impossible to lay the foundations for socialist industrialization or to solve the questions of food, clothing and housing for the people.

In the past, our country had certain foundations of heavy industry, which were reconstructed considerably and expanded further during the postwar Three-Year Plan period. The heavy industry base already created in our country paves the way for the development of the whole national economy. We should continue to give priority to the development of heavy industry and, at the same time, further develop light industry and agriculture.

The basic task of the First Five-Year Plan envisages the most

rational combination of economic construction with the improvement of the people's living standard-that is, accumulation with consumption.

Under our system, both accumulation and consumption serve the interests of all the people. It can be said that accumulation is meant for future consumption. By investing materials, labour and funds in the building of factories and enterprises and various other construction projects today, we aim to further improve the people's livelihood in future. Therefore, when seen in a long-term perspective, accumulation and consumption are identified with each other.

However, if we put stress only on accumulation and neglect consumption during the First Five-Year Plan, just to provide for the future and to consolidate the economic foundations of socialism, it will be impossible to improve the people's standard of living and carry out the task of basically solving the questions of food, clothing and housing for the people.

On the other hand, if we put emphasis only on consumption and neglect accumulation on the grounds of improving the people's livelihood and solving their food, clothing and housing problems, it will be impossible to lay the foundations for socialist industrialization and, eventually, this will have adverse effects on the people's living conditions as well. To establish a correct balance between accumulation and consumption, it is important to take into consideration all their aspects, starting from the specific economic situation in our country and the basic task of the Five-Year Plan.

In forming its economic policy in the postwar period, our Party has adhered to the principle of rapidly increasing accumulation to strengthen the economic foundations and systematically improve the people's standard of living, while simultaneously increasing consumption to meet the immediate needs of the people. The correctness of this principle has been proved in actual life.

In future, we should also systematically increase accumulation and, on this basis, simultaneously increase consumption. We should bring all the working people to clearly realize that their living standard can be steadily improved only by carrying out extensive capital construction and technological reconstruction, and by continuously expanding and developing production. At the same time, we should combat those who ignore the constantly growing material and cultural demands of the people.

Comrades.

The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan will bring about big progress in our socialist economic construction. Our industry, agriculture and all other sectors of the national economy will be further developed and the living standard of our people improved.

The Five-Year Plan envisages a very high rate of growth in industrial production, before anything else. In these five years, gross industrial output value will be more than 2.6 times. In 1961, the last year of the Five-Year Plan, our industry will produce far more goods than the total amount produced during the whole period of the postwar Three-Year Plan.

With such a rapid growth in industrial production, our country will reach a considerably high level of per-capita output as far as major industrial products are concerned. For example, production of electricity will reach 970 kWh, coal 1,000 kilogrammes, pig iron and granulated iron about 90 kilogrammes, steel 68 kilogrammes, chemical fertilizer 64 kilogrammes, cement 200 kilogrammes, fabrics over 20 metres and fish 65 kilogrammes.

During the Five-Year Plan, the structure of our industry will undergo a fundamental change and its technological foundations will be further strengthened. As a result of priority being given to the growth of heavy industry, the share of the production of the means of production in terms of gross industrial output value, will reach 61.3 per cent in 1961. We will further strengthen the fuel and power base, go over from the production of raw materials and half-finished goods to the production of finished goods, and continue to expand the machine-building industry. We should see to it that by the end of the Five-Year Plan, small and medium-sized machinery and equipment, except large and specific ones, and various kinds of accessories that are

much needed in our country, are supplied primarily by our own machine-building industry.

In regard to the production of consumer goods for the people, we intend to further develop the textile industry and bring about changes in the food-processing industry and in the production of daily necessities.

In general, production processes will be more mechanized, technological reconstruction will be carried out to a certain extent, the variety of goods will be increased and their quality further improved in all branches of industry.

All this means that our industry will develop at an incomparably fast pace, its colonial links and technological backwardness will be eliminated altogether, and foundations for its independence will be strengthened further.

Thus, in the Five-Year Plan period, our industry will supply different means of production and consumption materials in sufficient quantities for the rapid development of all branches of the national economy and for the solution of the people's food, clothing and housing problems. Moreover, material and technological foundations will be laid to enable us to continue introducing modern technology in all branches of the national economy in future.

Agriculture in our country also has bright prospects for development. In 1961 the gross value of agricultural output will be more than double that of 1956, with the total grain harvest increasing by 31 per cent.

In the years of Japanese imperialism, north Korea was unable to meet its own food needs, and up until recent years, we had been depending to a certain degree on imports for the solution of the food problem. However, we have already basically solved this problem. When the First Five-Year Plan is fulfilled, we will be fully self-sufficient in food.

In agriculture we envisage developments in the cultivation of industrial crops, animal husbandry, fruit growing, sericulture and other sectors at a faster rate than grain production.

Flax and artificial fibres, in particular, are of great importance in solving the problem of raw fibre materials. In Ryanggang Province and other mountainous regions we should intensively expand the area for the cultivation of flax and, at the same time, extensively plant and tend various species of trees which are good for raw material for the production of artificial fibre. In the west coast area we should grow reeds on a large scale.

Communal stockbreeding within cooperatives should be the basis for animal husbandry. It should not be carried out on an extensive scale, but should rather be developed with small herds to suit the natural and geographical conditions of our country, and individual stockbreeding by the peasants should be correctly combined with this.

We called for a five-year campaign to reclaim 100,000 hectares of land for orchards, for the further development of fruit farming, and the peasants are successfully fulfilling this task.

Thus, the rural economy of our country will be converted from an outdated economy, which depended entirely on grain production and was even unable to solve this task satisfactorily, into a developed, diversified economy capable of solving the grain problem, and also providing the working people with a large quantity of meat and fruit, while supplying the textile industry with raw materials.

The material and technological foundations of the rural economy will be further strengthened during the Five-Year Plan.

Also in this period, many irrigation and riverdike projects will be continuously undertaken with huge state investments and with funds belonging to the peasants themselves. Rice paddy fields will be put under stable irrigation, a watering system will be introduced for dry fields as well, and the area of protected farmland will be further expanded.

During the Five-Year Plan we should wage an active struggle to put about 600,000 hectares of rice paddy fields under stable irrigation and, at the same time, introduce a watering system for some dry fields. Our agriculture should thus be transformed into a sound economy capable of giving high crop yields every year.

Chemical fertilizer has much importance in raising yields per hectare of land.

As I said in my speech, in 1961 per-capita output of chemical fertilizer will reach 64 kilogrammes and the variety of fertilizers will be improved considerably in order to be effective in our country's fields.

At a meeting of management workers of agricultural cooperatives of South Phyongan Province held last year, the peasants suggested that it would be possible to produce 5 tons of grain per hectare of rice paddy fields and 2.5 tons per hectare of dry fields if 400 kilogrammes of chemical fertilizer were applied to every hectare of rice paddy fields and 200 kilogrammes to every hectare of dry fields. We will be able to meet the demand for fertilizer by the peasants by the end of the First Five-Year Plan or during a second five-year plan.

During the Five-Year Plan, the number of tractors in use in agriculture will considerably increase, and many lorries will also be supplied to the countryside. In addition, the supply of different kinds of farm machinery and other equipment will increase further.

Thus, we will establish irrigation systems, supply chemical fertilizer, and gradually develop mechanical technology in the rural economy of our country.

We should carry out wide-scale capital construction in the Five-Year Plan period to ensure a high rate of expansive reproduction and to improve the working people's housing conditions.

Today no country is carrying out as much capital construction as our country. As our country remained behind in the past due to the prolonged colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists and especially because of the severe war damage, we should build more than other countries. We have to restore, build anew and expand factories, enterprises and various other production facilities and construct houses and cultural and welfare establishments on a large scale. Irrigation projects should also be carried out, reservoirs should be built and a large number of dikes should be constructed. More railways and highways should be built and harbours should also be reconstructed.

Housing construction is an important task, along with the building of production facilities. In towns and villages, new modern houses should be built on a large scale and, at the same time, more cultural and welfare establishments of various kinds, such as nursery schools, kindergartens, clinics and laundries, should be set up, so that the housing conditions of our working people would be radically improved and they will lead a more cultural life.

We have quite a lot to build. It is therefore especially important for our country to construct cheaper, more durable and convenient buildings at a faster rate. To this end, we must use prefab methods in construction, stepping up the production of different kinds of building materials, applying mechanization and further introducing modern technology in construction. Our Party had set this task a long time ago.

As experience shows, we are fully capable of carrying out construction work by prefab methods and mechanization. In response to the Party's call, construction workers in Pyongyang have pledged to build three times as many houses as indicated in the initial plan for the current year, and are now successfully putting this into practice. We should implement the full changeover to prefab methods in housing construction, and widely introduce these methods in factory construction as well. We should further increase the production of cement and reinforcement rods and augment the production of structural components and different kinds of pre-cast blocks; we should supply more building machines, and train large numbers of construction technicians. This is the only way to successfully cope with the huge volume of construction work confronting us.

With the rapid development in all sectors of the national economy including industry and agriculture, the leading role of industry in the national economy will become even greater. In the Five-Year Plan period, a noticeable proportional change will take place between industry and agriculture. Whereas the share of industry in terms of gross industrial and agricultural output value was 46.7 per cent in the prewar year of 1949, it was 60 per cent in 1956 and will be about 70 per cent in 1961. Thus, our country will change from a backward rural

country into an independent industrial-agricultural state.

The First Five-Year Plan period will witness not only a rapid development of productive forces, but also the further expansion and consolidation of socialist production relations and the establishment of undisputed control of the socialist economic sector in towns and the countryside. The cooperativization of individual peasant farming will be completed and private trade and industry will also undergo socialist transformation. All exploitation will be eliminated once and for all.

All the people, including the workers and peasants, will work and enjoy a happy life together as socialist working people who are neither exploited nor do they exploit others. There is not the least doubt that our people's life will become better, more cultured, blessed and joyful.

Comrade Deputies,

The First Five-Year Plan opens up wide horizons for socialist construction. These cannot easily be turned into a reality. There will be various difficulties in the course of fulfilling the Five-Year Plan. However, we are fully capable of surmounting all of them.

The Korean people faced many difficulties and tests during the past war and in the postwar reconstruction period. Our people beat back the enemy invasion and defended the independence and honour of their motherland through a heroic struggle. Even under such difficult conditions after the war, we have restored and further developed our devastated economy and considerably improved the people's deteriorated living conditions. Despite a very complex situation, at a time when international reaction was madly launching its anti-Soviet, anti-communist campaigns, the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique were further intensifying their acts of subversion and sabotage in our country and anti-Party factionalists were making an internal attack against the Party, our Party, holding higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism without the slightest vacillation, mobilized the masses and overcame all difficulties, thereby further strengthening the unity and cohesion of our ranks and consolidating our socialist position.

No force, no difficulty could halt the magnificent march forward of

our people under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea. We waged an arduous struggle. However, we won a great victory in this struggle.

We have laid the firm material foundations for a fresh upsurge in socialist construction. We have a socialist industry and a socialist, cooperativized agriculture.

The unity amongst people in all walks of life, based on the worker-peasant alliance, has been further consolidated on new, socialist foundations.

Through an arduous struggle and severe tests our people have become more firmly convinced of the correctness and vigorousness of the Party's policies and more profoundly conscious of their great strength. The masses of the people boundlessly love our Party and are firmly united behind it because it always leads them towards victory. They entrust their destiny in the hands of our Party without hesitation and devote all their energy and talents for the implementation of the tasks set forth by the Party.

The unbreakable unity between the Party and the people, and the people's strong hopes for a bright future and victory—this is the source of our indestructible strength.

Furthermore, we have the active support and assistance of the powerful socialist camp. Economic cooperation with fraternal countries and their aid further accelerate socialist construction in our country and give our people greater encouragement in their struggle.

All this has brought about great changes in our people's struggle to create a new life. In the course of implementing the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, a great change has taken place in the labour efforts of the working people and in all fields of state and economic life.

In 1957, our heroic working class surpassed a challenging industrial production plan by 17 per cent, after displaying unequalled creativity, talent and devotion in their work. In 1957 the total industrial output value increased by 44 per cent over the previous year. This is a rare record of development.

This year the labour efforts of our workers have shown a further upsurge, and they are making unusual achievements that amaze the world. They have already exceeded the plan for industrial production in the first quarter and are continuing to do so in the second quarter as well.

Our workers and technicians have built the Hungnam Ammonium Nitrate Plant which has a production capacity of 136,000 tons, a year ahead of schedule. In a short period of less than one year, and entirely on their own, our workers have built a gigantic blast furnace with a capacity of 250,000 tons and a coke oven with a capacity of 300,000 tons in the Hwanghae Iron Works.

Pyongyang, the democratic capital, is changing with each passing day, thanks to the enthusiastic efforts of its builders, youths and students who have answered the Party's call. In the single month of May, the construction workers of Pyongyang completed houses for 2,313 families, and they are now going to build modern multi-storey apartment blocks for 20,000 families this year.

Millions of peasants, who have firmly chosen the socialist path, are making great achievements in the development of the rural economy. Last year our peasants overcame the severest drought in many decades and produced 3,200,000 tons of grain. This is a bumper harvest unprecedented in the history of our country.

This year the peasants have introduced various advanced farming techniques on a large scale, including the method of raising rice seedlings in cold frames and the humus-pot cotton growing method, and they are striving for a fresh upswing in agriculture. Despite unfavourable weather conditions crops were planted with success and the bedding out of rice seedlings is nearing completion on agricultural cooperatives. All the people are assisting the peasants in their struggle to complete the rice transplanting work quickly and overcome the drought.

Along with the sharp production growth, the cultural revolution is progressing rapidly. Thanks to the activity and enthusiasm of the working people, compulsory secondary education is already being introduced in many localities. The habit of studying while working or working while studying is gaining ground among all the working people. All people are endeavouring to keep their towns and villages, workplaces and homes neat and tidy and to develop them in a more beautiful, cultural way.

Beautiful customs based on new socialist morals are taking shape amongst the working people: to love work, help each other, work and enjoy a happy life together.

There are no people who live in leisure in our country. Everyone is working with great pride and confidence in the future for the good of the state and society and for their own benefit. Flourishing now are the wisdom, talent, creativity and ardour of the Korean people who for centuries had been subjected to oppression and humiliation.

The socialist revolution and the building of socialism are in full swing in our country. Our country is today making great strides forward, and the whole society is being rapidly transformed along socialist lines. The Party's prestige has been further enhanced among the masses, who have been strongly united behind the Party. All the working people are advancing towards socialism at the speed of Chollima, in response to the Party's call. The revolutionary spirit and labour enthusiasm of the working people are rising rapidly in towns and villages, factories and mines, fishing grounds and animal breeding farms.

All this shows a great revolutionary upsurge unprecedented in the history of our country.

This is possible only where people have taken power into their own hands. Our people always remember that they were subjected to the oppression of the feudal dynasties for a long time and experienced the colonial slavery at the hands of the Japanese imperialists for nearly half a century. Is it strange that a people who had been suffering under such oppression and exploitation should be awakened before others? We must do so before anyone else.

Now that our people, who did not have any power and had been humiliated in the past, have taken power into their hands, there is nothing doubtful about the ardour with which they defend this power and build a society in a wonderful way, as its own masters. Moreover, it is a good thing that our people, who had lived in poverty in the past and, to make matters worse, are still short of everything, are worse-off than others and lag behind them owing to the ravages of war, should make rapid progress and, not rest on their laurels with that, but move ahead even faster so as to become better off, and to become as well-off as others!

Indeed, we should move ahead fast. This is the will and wish of the masses. No force can halt or break such a revolutionary will of the masses.

This great upsurge of socialist construction in our country indicates that our Five-Year Plan can certainly be fulfilled ahead of schedule.

Our task is to correctly organize and lead the highly revolutionary masses to surpass the Five-Year Plan and further accelerate socialist construction in the northern half.

It is necessary at all times to rely on the masses in our work and to be sensitive to their demands. We should not tail after the masses, but should lead them and mobilize all their enthusiasm and creativity to a new, greater victory.

We can confidently say that the Korean people will certainly fulfil the tasks of the First Five-Year Plan ahead of time, however enormous and difficult they may be.

The economic policy of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, expresses the legitimate requirements for the development of the national economy in the northern half and, at the same time, the national interests of all the Korean people, who long for the peaceful reunification, independence and sovereignty of our country.

In fulfilling the Five-Year Plan, we will further accelerate the building of a new, socialist society, free from exploitation and oppression, in which everyone can enjoy a happy life. In fulfilling the Five-Year Plan, we will also completely abolish the colonial dependence and backwardness of our national economy, inherited

from the old society, and establish still more firmly the foundations for an independent national economy.

Socialist construction and the establishment of foundations of an independent economy in the northern half of Korea will further inspire and encourage the people of south Korea in their struggle to oppose the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, and to seek the peaceful reunification of the country. They will provide the firm material basis for our country's future prosperity and progress.

By successfully carrying out socialist construction in our country, we will strongly defend the eastern outpost of the socialist camp and make our contribution to accelerating the victory of socialism in the East.

The struggle for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan is a struggle for the building of socialism in the northern half and, at the same time, a struggle for the early peaceful reunification of the country and for the prosperity and development of our country and the future prosperity of our nation. This is also our internationalist duty.

It is the greatest honour for everybody–workers, peasants, office employees, youths and students, entrepreneurs and traders–to take part in this sacred struggle.

All the people should show all their talents, energy and enthusiasm in their efforts to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan, united still more firmly around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic.

# DISABLED SOLDIERS SHOULD NOT SPOIL THE FEATS AND SERVICES THEY PERFORMED IN THE FATHERLAND LIBERATION WAR

### Talk with Members of the Ryongchon Branch of the Sinuiju Disabled Soldiers' Production Workshop

June 23, 1958

We should provide every condition for the disabled soldiers to lead a life based on culture. Originally, 50 per cent of the workshop manager's funds are to be earmarked for the cultural activities and welfare of the disabled soldiers, but at present they are not being used as they should. In future, however, these funds should be spent according to provisions.

Films should be shown frequently to the disabled soldiers. With this in mind, I think it is advisable to give one of the film projectors in the provincial centre to these comrades. Thus, we should enable the disabled soldiers to watch films regularly. We should also provide them with enough means of entertainment so that they may lead their life with more optimism.

It is necessary to ensure a regular supply of materials to enable the disabled soldiers to work without any trouble. It is said that they are finding it difficult to fulfil their production plans because materials are not supplied properly at present. These comrades should be praised for showing readiness to resolutely fulfil the state plans. It is not the main aim of their work to produce a great quantity of items. We give them work with the sole purpose of keeping their bodies fit and making their

lives less tedious. So, their production of furniture will not require a large quantity of timber. Then why should we fail to ensure a regular supply? If the water level of the Suphung reservoir has become too low to bring timber in floats, it should be transported even by train.

Disabled soldiers should not only work well but also do their studies properly. As you yourselves have suggested, if you find it hard to work for eight hours, you should work for only six hours and devote the remaining two hours to your studies. Because you were sons of workers and peasants, you had not received proper education in the past, before you served in the army. So, from now on you should study more to improve your technical skills.

We plan to open schools for disabled soldiers in factories and assign college teachers to them in order to educate disabled soldiers. It is advisable to set up a school for commercial cadres in the provincial centre, where education should be given to disabled soldiers before appointing them as managers of department stores or head clerks of shops. During the Fatherland Liberation War they fought heroically and shed their blood to defend every inch of our land and so there is no reason why they should be unable to manage a shop. If disabled soldiers are educated, they will be quite capable of working as managing personnel in the trade sector.

Under no circumstances should the disabled soldiers spoil the feats and services they performed on the battlefield in the past. You should never become sad and disheartened in life and drink hard or commit acts that disturb social order. As you fought well and bravely on the battlefields against the Americans during the Fatherland Liberation War, so today you should take the lead in educating the people on the home front and be exemplary in daily life.

You disabled soldiers have so far been faithful to the Party and the country and in future you should continue to work well for the victory of our revolution. You should resolutely combat all bad elements that harm the interests of the Party and the revolution, with a strict revolutionary vigilance, and always rely on the Party during all your life.

# ON SOME TASKS CONFRONTING NORTH PHYONGAN PROVINCE AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Speech to the Leading Personnel of North Phyongan Province

June 23, 1958

The talks I had with people during my recent tour of the various branches of the economy in North Phyongan Province firmly convinced me that all the people in the province, rallied closely behind the Party Central Committee, are working hard with a high spirit and vigorously pushing ahead with economic construction strictly in accordance with the Party's economic policy.

In April 1956 when I came to North Phyongan Province, I gave an assignment to Party organizations in this region to produce 560,000 tons of grain in 1957. Your province exceeded this assignment by producing 580,000 tons last year. I also gave instructions for the production of rayon pulp from reeds, and you are carrying out this task successfully.

Considerable success has also been achieved in the machine-building industry, despite all difficulties. Many machine factories have been enlarged and a solid basis was laid for further developing this industry in future.

Machine factories in North Phyongan Province have efficiently carried out the difficult tasks assigned to them by the Party. The Pukjung Machine Factory contributed greatly to the development of the fishing industry by producing hot-bulb engines in large quantities,

while the Ragwon Machine Factory is admirably carrying out the task of mass-producing crane trucks, turret cranes and various other building machines.

In a nutshell, it can be said that the Party organizations in North Phyongan Province are properly mobilizing the masses to carry out economic construction, strictly in conformity with the line laid down by the Party Central Committee.

I take this opportunity to extend, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, my thanks to the leading personnel and all the working people in this province.

Although the success already achieved by the province is great and economic construction is now progressing smoothly according to plans, it is still an initial result, when one takes the requirements of our people and the expectations of the Party into consideration. Therefore, the province should not rest on its laurels but advance faster to secure greater success. Otherwise, it can neither satisfy the needs of our people who are moving forward at the speed of Chollima in the struggle for socialist construction nor can it successfully fulfil the tasks assigned to it by the Party.

Now I would like to refer to some tasks confronting North Phyongan Province at the present stage of socialist construction.

The most important industrial task for the province is to develop the machine-building industry rapidly.

Today the development of the machine-building industry is one of the most important tasks for our Party to strengthen the national economy quickly. Without developing this industry we cannot introduce technical innovations in all fields of the national economy, and without developing technology we cannot continue with socialist construction. Whether the Five-Year National Economic Plan can be successfully fulfilled or not largely depends on the development of the machine-building industry. If this industry makes rapid progress, the Five-Year Plan will be fulfilled much earlier and, if not, the plan will be delayed in many spheres of the national economy.

The North Phyongan Province shoulders heavy responsibilities in

the development of the machine-building industry in our country. The machine factories in this province account for a great part of our machine-building industry. Your province has ten large machine factories operating under the ministries. Fulfilment of the important economic tasks facing our Party at present depends largely on the machine factories in your province.

The Pukjung Machine Factory makes cranes, which are very important for economic construction. It is producing boilers and hot-bulb engines as well. If it fails to make such engines at a normal rate, the 600,000-ton target set by the Party for fish landings cannot be reached. It should also make gasoline and diesel engines in the future. Production of diesel engines is today of great importance to our technical revolution. If we make diesel engines ourselves, we can use them to operate ships, tractors, cranes and also for many other purposes. The factory can produce refrigerators, as well. Refrigerators are needed for the development of the food and fishing industries and for the production of large quantities of meat through the development of livestock farming. This is proof of the important position the Pukjung Machine Factory occupies in the development of various spheres of our national economy.

The Ragwon Machine Factory produces turret cranes. Extensive construction necessitates a large number of cranes. During my present visit to North Phyongan Province, I saw very few cranes but many wood derricks on construction sites. Derricks cannot be compared with cranes. Cranes are needed not only in the construction sector but also in transport and all other fields of the national economy. Therefore, it is very important to make a large number of turret cranes and crane trucks.

I entrusted the Ragwon Machine Factory with the task of making electric-powered excavators. As I said on many occasions at meetings of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, if only we have 500 excavators and 1,000 bulldozers, we would be able to carry out more rural and urban construction in a shorter period.

If we are to carry out more construction projects for the people's

welfare, we need machines before anything else. These are needed not only for construction work but also at mines and in light industry. Light industry factories should have machines to manufacture daily necessities and, in order to make machines, we should build more machine-building factories.

The Pukjung Machine Factory should first produce diesel and gasoline engines quickly. If dry-field irrigation projects are to be undertaken on an extensive scale in our country in future, large numbers of gasoline engines are needed. They are very serviceable because they can be used even where electric power is not available. We cannot supply electricity to every farming village in our country right now. Moreover, we cannot afford to erect electric poles to supply electricity to distant mountain villages simply to operate small electric and gasoline engines Therefore, diesel mass-produced. The Pukjung Machine Factory says that it will make 100 gasoline engines on a trial basis this year, but it is advisable to produce about 500 this year and more than 3,000 next year. It would be even better if it makes about 5,000 gasoline engines next year. The more gasoline engines it makes, the better. The factory will do well if it makes as many refrigerators as is specified in the plan or a little more.

The Ragwon Machine Factory is now building excavators on a trial basis, and I think it is recommendable to make around 1,000 of these machines in future. This factory should also produce 40-inch pumps to be used in the Kiyang irrigation project. The production of such pumps is something new to our country. But it will be a good thing if the Ragwon Machine Factory gives it a try. Meanwhile it should produce crane trucks, turret cranes, cement mixers and various kinds of pumps in greater quantities.

While increasing production, the Pukjung and Ragwon Machine Factories should increase the quality and variety of their products.

In order to carry out these tasks successfully, these factories should be continuously expanded and the technical levels and skills of the workers should be improved. More necessary workshops should be set up in these factories. To do so more equipment should be installed and extensive capital construction should be carried out. Their cultural facilities should also be improved.

As for the Mining Machinery Factory, I have still not made a full assessment of its operations. So I will give it concrete assignments when I personally visit it.

Today the machine-building industry is confronted with the task of producing a wider range of better machines. In order to increase the production of good-quality machines, the machine factories should intensify technical training for the workers and drastically improve their technical levels and skills.

Machine factories should intensify efforts to economize in iron materials. As I said at the Pukjung Machine Factory some time ago, iron materials are very important in economic construction and demand for them is great in our country. Nevertheless, machine factories are at present wasting iron materials by using them carelessly. Our machines are heavier than those made in other countries. This shows that we use more iron to make the same kind of machines. Our country is still in a difficult economic situation. Why should we make heavy and awkward machines while wasting iron? Machine factories should use a minimum of iron materials by improving the quality of cast iron and forged steel and intensifying the campaign to economize. At the same time, they should actively conduct a drive to take care of machines.

Many designers should be trained to keep designing ahead of other work. Designing is a very complex job, so designers should be able to make all kinds of designs, instead of only one kind. Therefore, a large number of competent designers should be trained.

Next, North Phyongan Province should direct great efforts for the development of light industry.

It is a major achievement that our country has succeeded to produce rayon pulp from reeds. As you all know, our country does not produce much cotton. If cotton is planted on a bigger scale in our country, this will hamper the production of grain because of the limited area of cultivated land. The cultivation of cotton requires a large workforce. Since cotton cannot be planted in wide areas, we should solve the problem of fibres by producing various artificial fibres in large quantities. The Party Central Committee follows the important policy of manufacturing cloth with fibres produced from rayon pulp of wood or reed.

Since we succeeded in making rayon pulp from reeds, we should start producing staple fibre from rayon pulp. We should build a mill to make staple fibre from rayon pulp and a textile mill to weave cloth with staple fibre.

The new staple fibre mill and textile mill to be built in Sinuiju should be large. The staple fibre mill should be constructed with a view to reaching an annual output of 10,000 to 20,000 tons and the textile mill, 60,000 spindles. These are huge construction projects.

We envisage that 20 metres of cloth will be allotted per person during the period of the Five-Year National Economic Plan, and we will be able to reach this target if we work hard. It will be a good thing to accelerate the construction of the staple fibre and textile mills in North Phyongan Province in order to complete them by August 15 next year. Now that the whole country is moving forward at the speed of Chollima, North Phyongan Province should also do the same. Only if these mills are built by August 15 next year, will it be possible for you to say that your province has mounted Chollima.

We should vigorously continue with our research on the production of pulp from maize stalks, and I was told that you have produced around 5 tons of pulp from maize stalks. This is very good. More tests should be made to determine the actual rate of output and research on it intensified further. The research on production of staple fibre from maize stalks should thus be completed in a short time. If this research is completed, another big problem will be solved. Production of staple fibre from maize stalks will enable our country to produce as much cloth as required.

We should never underestimate our technology. We should not distrust ourselves and have doubt in our ability to do what people in other countries cannot do. Unlike the past, we today have a government, modern factories and enough conditions to study anything. And why should we fail to do something simply because others are incapable of doing it? We should launch a resolute struggle against the wrong practice of underestimating ourselves.

In order to produce pulp from reeds, we should plant the latter over wide areas. North Phyongan Province should extensively cultivate reeds where this is possible.

Several years ago the People's Committee of North Phyongan Province sought permission to set up paddy fields on Mumyongphyong as was done on Hwangchophyong. We did not permit this because there might be a time when reed fields would be needed more than paddy fields. It can be said that reed fields are in fact more necessary than paddy fields today when we can obtain yarn from reeds to weave cloth and make garments. Needless to say, this does not mean that reeds should be planted in existing paddy fields.

Many reed fields should be set up over tideland. Our country has a wide area of tideland on the west coast. At the estuaries of the Amnok and Chongchon Rivers, in particular, there is a wide area of tideland where reeds can be cultivated properly. This tideland should be diked off, and reeds cultivated on a large scale.

The Five-Year National Economic Plan envisages the creation of 20,000 hectares of reed fields. But by now only 3,200 hectares have been set up. Therefore, another 17,000 hectares of reed fields are still to be created in the remaining period. Party organizations in North Phyongan Province should not fail to reach the target set in the Five-Year Plan for the creation of reed fields. Planting reeds is much easier than planting cotton in humus pots. In addition, reeds will become the nation's permanent asset once they are planted.

Dredgers have been assigned to Tasa Island. These should be sent to the areas of Sin Island, Mumyongphyong and the Yongmun River for use in the setting up of reed fields while building dikes at the same time. Technicians should also be mobilized for this work. It will not be so difficult to create reed fields there because these places were originally intended for paddy fields surrounded by embankments.

Further efforts should be made to carry out surveys in regions suitable for reed fields along the west coast including Kwaksan, Sonchon and Cholsan and to create 20,000 hectares of reed fields during the Five-Year Plan.

The paper industry should also be developed. Production of newsprint should be increased, more papers for special use produced and the quality of paper improved. The quality of newsprint is so low at present that newspapers are not even good to look at. The machines and equipment of the paper mill should be improved in order to produce large quantities of good-quality newsprint.

You should thoroughly implement the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee on drastically developing industries that supply daily necessities and food.

Vigorous efforts are now being made to implement this decision in all areas of the national economy. Party organizations in North Phyongan Province should also strive to carry out the decision.

These organizations should tap all raw material sources in the province to increase production of daily necessities and foodstuffs.

Efforts should be made to supply large quantities of daily necessities and foodstuffs in a campaign involving all the people.

So far production in light industry has been left under the care of the Ministry of Light Industry alone, but from now on, this will not do. The growing demand by the working people for daily necessities and foodstuffs cannot be met only through the efforts of the Ministry of Light Industry. In the past all the food industry had to do was to make bean paste and soy sauce. When we were poor in days gone by, we could manage with bean paste and soy sauce alone. But today when we are carrying out socialist construction, we cannot be satisfied with these things alone. Our people's way of life has changed considerably and their living standard improved greatly. The higher the people's standard of living, the greater and the more diversified their demand for foodstuffs and daily necessities. In order to meet the steadily growing demand from the people, we should produce various daily necessities and foodstuffs in larger quantities. A mass campaign

should be launched for this purpose, instead of leaving the matter in the hands of a single establishment or factory.

Daily necessities and foodstuffs should be produced by the state, provinces and counties, and by all small and large factories and enterprises as well.

It is desirable that each county in North Phyongan Province should be encouraged to produce several items of processed foodstuffs. In the coastal areas these should consist primarily of marine products; in the plain areas, of vegetables, fruit or the like; and in the mountain regions, of wild fruit.

If raw material sources in all localities are properly utilized, processed foodstuffs and goods for daily use can be mass-produced everywhere. Mineral water, for instance, is found at Kusong, Changsong and Okhodong. If processed properly, it will be a good commodity. At present Changsong County does not produce any processed foodstuffs, but if in this county haws are picked and juice is extracted from them or wild grapes, fruits of the Actinidia arguta and mushrooms are picked and processed, these will be good foodstuffs. In Thaechon, for example, they could organize a cooperative to make good furniture from lacquer.

Producers' cooperatives should be organized with dependents of the People's Army personnel and of factory and office workers to produce daily necessities and processed foodstuffs. Agricultural cooperatives should also be induced to manufacture a few items.

Factories and enterprises should set up workshops to produce essential items with their by-products. There are many state-run factories in North Phyongan Province which should be all made to set up shops for the production of consumer goods and each should produce between 10 to 20 essential commodities. The pulp and paper mills can both make various goods for daily use. The Ragwon Machine Factory says it will produce over ten essential commodities including iron, scissors and safes with by-products, but it should still produce a little more. In case the daily necessities shops cannot use all their by-products, cooperatives should be organized near the factories so

that they will also produce goods with the by-products.

Over the past years workers in the local industry failed to show initiative in their work. Therefore, some time ago, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee decided that the local industry management departments of all provincial people's committees would be reorganized into local industry management bureaus. Thus, their functions should be enhanced. A management bureau is supposed to be in charge of at least scores of factories. More factories for the production of food, daily necessities and farm machines should be set up while various other local factories should also be constructed.

County Party committee chairmen should carefully find out what else their counties can produce to implement the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. Each county should then set up many local factories and producers' cooperatives which will produce various basic items for daily use.

The most important task confronting North Phyongan Province in agriculture is to introduce extensive irrigation in dry fields.

How to overcome dry weather is the greatest concern of our Party in agriculture at present, while fighting drought is today one of the most important questions arising in the development of our rural economy.

We discovered through our personal experience in the 15 years since liberation, that there have been only few springs with enough rain-water in our country. Dry weather which generally continued between April and June, is not confined to spring alone. In autumn, too, we often have a hard time because of a shortage of rain. Meanwhile, we suffer flood damage in summer because of heavy rains. Therefore, preventing flood damage in summer comes to the fore as an important question. Without avoiding the damage of drought and floods through nature remaking, we cannot develop our agriculture rapidly.

What is most important in overcoming drought damage is to set up irrigation projects efficiently. This is why I went to South Hwanghae Province last winter and emphasized the need to introduce extensive irrigation in dry fields. Irrigation of dry fields is as important as the irrigation of rice fields.

Irrigation of paddy fields requires much water, but this is not the case with the dry fields. Water needed for one hectare of paddy fields is enough for 10-20 hectares of dry fields. Even though we transplant cold-frame rice seedlings in fully irrigated paddy fields, we can harvest only six tons of rice per hectare of land. But if we irrigate 10 to 20 hectares of dry fields using the same amount of water, we can harvest 5-6 tons of maize or 3-4 tons of wheat per hectare of land. In the past when dry fields were not irrigated, yields of maize per hectare of land were no more than one ton. So ten hectares of dry fields barely yielded ten tons and, when dry weather was severe, the maize crop was lost. If dry fields are irrigated and extra four tons of maize are harvested per hectare of land than before, we will end up with 40 tons of maize more for every ten hectares of dry fields.

In our country dry fields are more difficult to irrigate than paddy fields. From olden times our peasants were largely engaged in paddy farming because they could get a large harvest and eat rice if they set up paddy fields and cultivated rice. However, they hardly irrigated dry fields. They could manage dry-field farming in one way or the other even without irrigation, so they were unwilling to irrigate dry fields. The peasants have a sort of speculative spirit. They have a bad habit of sitting idly waiting for rain, because at times dry spells are cut short by rainfall. So, if we are to carry out dry-field irrigation on a wide scale, we should first make them understand it correctly.

Irrigation is a decisive condition for growing good crops in dry fields. If crops cannot grow in season, because of drought, their yield decreases considerably. This is the only reason why dry fields at present yield poor harvests. Irrigation of dry fields will increase yields remarkably.

In South Hwanghae Province dry fields have been irrigated by many cooperatives including the Saenal Agricultural Cooperative in Sinchon County. Some time ago I went to the Wonsa Agricultural Cooperative in Ongjin County, where I was told that it irrigated 100 hectares of dry fields and that it expected to harvest an average 4-5 tons of wheat per hectare of irrigated fields. I instructed the people of this

cooperative to plant maize after the wheat is harvested. Maize as a second crop may or may not ripen fully. If it ripens, it can be used as food, and if not, it can be used as fodder. Even if unripe maize is used as fodder, a ton of pork can be produced from fodder yielded per hectare of land and this means that one hectare of dry field gives us an income of 250,000-260,000 *won*. This is equivalent to the income from one hectare of well-tended paddy fields.

Dry fields should be properly irrigated in order to increase grain yields per hectare of land and to ease labour shortage in the countryside. If paddy fields are enlarged, this will put more strain on the workforce. Under the present conditions, tractors can do nothing but plough rice fields, so it is very difficult to introduce mechanization methods in rice farming. It is still difficult to mechanize the transplantation of rice seedlings and their harvest. However, in dry-field farming machines can be used in sowing wheat, in harvesting and in the cultivation of maize, when it is planted as a second crop. Even though the income from one hectare of land is equal, farming on dry fields requires much less labour than paddy fields and can be done more easily with machines. This does not imply that paddy farming should be given up. While continuing with this farming, we should also irrigate dry fields and introduce mechanization in dry-field farming. This alone will enable us to obtain workforce to tend rice fields and. accordingly, to engage upon both paddy- and dry-field farming in a better way.

Irrigating dry fields on a wide scale is an important task facing us today. The Party Central Committee intends to hold a plenary meeting in August to discuss the question of extensive dry-field irrigation.

As I have already said at a session of the Supreme People's Assembly, we will be able to live well if large areas of dry fields are put under irrigation. Now our country has about 1.4 million hectares of dry fields, of which only around 700,000 hectares are truly dry fields, apart from orchards, fields on sloping land, and areas reserved for industrial crops. All the 700,000 hectares of dry fields can be irrigated and, if this is done, it will be a great achievement.

We envisage expanding the rice fields to 600,000 or 700,000 hectares during the Five-Year Plan, and if 600,000 hectares of paddy fields are properly irrigated and 700,000 hectares of dry fields are only watered, the irrigated area will increase to 1.3 million hectares. If only five tons of grain is yielded per hectare of land, a total of 6.5 million tons can be produced every year. Then, it can be said that our rural areas can turn into a rich socialist countryside free of crop failure. If we reach the 6.5 million-ton annual level of grain production, we need not worry about food even when crops fail in sloping fields. Then people will be able to use rice and flour for food and maize as fodder to produce meat.

Party organizations in North Phyongan Province should treat dry-field irrigation as an important task. This province has a total of 170,000 hectares of dry fields, of which 100,000 hectares should be irrigated during the Five-Year Plan. It is planned to put 150,000 hectares of dry fields under irrigation in South Phyongan Province during the same period. This means that in this province almost all dry fields, except those on slopes, will be put under irrigation. During the Five-Year Plan, South Hwanghae Province should irrigate 100,000 hectares of dry fields and all other provinces should also strive to put dry fields under irrigation. At present North Phyongan Province has 90,000 hectares of paddy fields, and it is advisable to enlarge this area by some 10,000 hectares and to expand the area of irrigated dry fields to 100,000 hectares.

In order to expand the paddy fields by 10,000 hectares and irrigate 100,000 hectares of dry fields, North Phyongan Province should produce a large number of pumps and build many irrigation facilities.

Your province abounds in water resources. It borders the Amnok River, which will continue to flow steadily as long as Lake Chon on Mt. Paektu does not dry up. The province should undertake a major irrigation project to irrigate tens of thousands of hectares of dry fields by making use of this river. In my opinion, it will be a good thing to build a tributary of the river extending to Jongju through Phihyon and Sonchon. In the meantime, reservoirs should be dug in many places and water should be pumped into them to be used when necessary.

This is well within your power. We communists should not fear nature but remake it with determination. Without remaking nature in the interests of society, we cannot build a communist society.

Party organizations in North Phyongan Province are fully capable of setting up large-scale irrigation projects if they explain the importance of these projects to the people and mobilize their inexhaustible strength properly. South Phyongan Province carried out the Phyongam irrigation project even when the food situation was difficult and life was very hard immediately after the truce. It is now possible to supply water up to mountain areas in South Phyongan Province provided there are pumps. The peasants in the province have made many animal-drawn pumps at blacksmiths' shops and are now pumping water with them for irrigation purposes. This is very commendable. You, too, should bring paddy and dry fields under irrigation by undertaking large irrigation projects as in South Phyongan Province. There is no reason why North Phyongan Province should be unable to do what South Phyongan Province is capable of doing.

A large-scale irrigation project requires careful surveys and good designing. In North Phyongan Province detailed surveys should be made and good plans drawn up in advance before the irrigation work is undertaken.

In your province the water problem cannot be solved satisfactorily without undertaking large irrigation projects, and simply by building dams in such small rivers as the Tongnae River which dries up in the dry season.

In countries with a vast territory, virgin lands are reclaimed in order to increase grain production, but our country has no such land. The way to increase grain output in our country now lies only in irrigation. Both the rain-dependent paddy fields and the dry fields should be watered through extensive irrigation work.

The paddy fields which yield a poor rice crop for lack of water should be turned into dry fields. If rain-dependent paddy fields are changed into dry fields and irrigated a little, they can yield a good crop.

We are now capable of carrying out any extensive irrigation work.

At first the Phyongnam irrigation project seemed to be an impossible task, but it was carried out successfully once we embarked on the work with determination. At present the situation is different from the time when we were carrying out the Phyongnam irrigation project. At that time we were not able to make pumps ourselves, but we are now producing large ones. Now conditions are better for irrigation work than at that time and the technical level of the workers in this sphere has been improved. The question depends on how Party organizations and leading personnel mobilize the strength of the people.

It is advisable to build many reservoirs on the Taeryong River. If a reservoir is built at every river gorge, dry fields can be protected from flood damage in the rainy season, and paddy and dry fields can be irrigated during the spring drought. If reservoirs are built in the upper reaches of the Taeryong and Kuryong Rivers, all paddy fields can be fully irrigated and dry fields put under irrigation in the areas of Thaechon and Nyongbyon.

Irrigation work should be carried out not only on a large scale but also on a small scale. Wells should be dug and brooks dammed up. Irrigation projects, irrespective of their scale, should be carried out extensively in a campaign by all the people.

Moreover, secondary activities should be organized well.

An important question in secondary production is the development of sericulture. While giving preference to mulberry silkworms, you should also breed large numbers of castor silkworms, which are advantageous in many ways because you can obtain oil from castor beans and produce cocoons on the leaves of the plants. Experiments carried out in Ongjin County, South Hwanghae Province, have shown that these silkworms feed on ailanthus leaves, too. Lots of castor-bean plants and ailanthuses should be planted to enable us to raise castor silkworms on a wide scale. This should be done especially in mountain areas where castor-bean plants thrive while other crops do not grow well. It will be a good thing for North Phyongan Province to strive to attain the target of producing some 3,000 tons of castor cocoons next year.

If you are to raise great numbers of castor silkworms next year, you should secure larvae from now on. At such places as Unsan and Sakju hot springs and waste heat from large factories should be utilized in hothouses to produce silkworm larvae in large quantities.

You should strive to obtain foreign currency by expanding orchards and extensively cultivating vegetables, while developing sericulture.

Furthermore, capital construction should be carried out on a large scale.

At present North Phyongan Province is lagging behind other provinces in capital construction. This province is a little weak in construction although it manages all other affairs well. You should accelerate construction and build more.

In order to bring about innovations in construction you should widely introduce the prefab method in accordance with the policy of the Party Central Committee. Where conditions do not exist for introducing this method, construction should be undertaken extensively by using local materials.

In North Phyongan Province the construction of factories including textile mills and machine factories should be stepped up.

You should strive to build more houses faster.

You should carry out embankment work on the Amnok River and others. If this is neglected, good land will be continually ruined. Embankment work should be carried out by all the masses in North Phyongan Province. In particular, the banks of the Amnok River, at its estuary, should be protected well.

In addition, you should intensify your efforts to carry out the cultural revolution in both towns and the countryside.

This morning I toured houses in the factory workers' settlement and I discovered that the good, new houses were not being kept in a good condition. Even though they have been provided with nice houses, the people fail to take good care of them not because their living standard is low but because they are not educated well. The cultural revolution should be conducted with the aim of keeping towns and villages clean and tidy.

You should see to it that all schools, including primary and secondary schools where the younger generation is trained, take the lead in the cultural revolution.

When we visit schools these days, we find them unclean, with desks and chairs not kept in good condition. The other day I visited a school in Kilju County, North Hamgyong Province. The school building was fine, but it was not kept in good condition. Desks and chairs of pupils were very unclean and broken ones were scattered all over the place. Teachers and pupils were also untidy and dirty. Some of the pupils were wearing unwashed clothes and their hair was not combed. There were even some who had not washed their faces.

Schools should establish rules to ensure cleanliness amongst pupils. All pupils must be made to wash their faces, comb their hair and wear clean clothes before coming to school. They should be taught to wash their faces and feet upon returning home before they enter the room. Only when the pupils learn to keep themselves clean before anything else, will they learn to keep their houses in order, and take good care of their schools and also theatres, parks and such places.

The people's committees should supervise and control the teachers so that they live in a sanitary and cultured way. Only when the teachers do this will the pupils follow their example. If teachers go about with their hair uncombed, their pupils will do the same.

The cultural level of society as a whole should be gradually improved, beginning with making all people keep themselves and their surroundings clean.

We should introduce universal compulsory education and raise the intellectual level of all working people to that of the primary school graduate or even higher. The masters who build a new society should be educated. If they are to build a new society, they should have knowledge and learn to live in a sanitary and cultured way.

Nowadays the dance "Ongheya" has become popular in the countryside and this is a good thing. On their off days people should clean houses and get together to sing and dance. Only when one learns how to sing and dance and is educated can one enjoy a full happy life in

socialist society and work well and cheerfully. Only when club houses, schools, residential districts and roads in towns and farm villages are all kept clean and the working people's cultural level is raised as a whole will our society become a developed one, not only economically but also culturally.

Factories and enterprises in North Phyongan Province are still not clean. Of the factories I have visited, the pulp mill is kept comparatively clean. The mill is much cleaner and in better condition than two years ago. It should be kept even better, and all factories should be kept as clean as the pulp mill.

In order to promote the cultural revolution vigorously, information work should be conducted extensively on this revolution with the help of newspapers, radio and all other media.

The Democratic Youth League, the Women's Union, the Children's Union and the whole Party and all people should participate in the cultural revolution.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few remarks on ideological work.

Since we are now building socialism, we should intensify educational work to enlighten the working people with communist ideology.

Communist education should be conducted simultaneously with the struggle to strengthen Party spirit. Communist education, aimed at inducing people to love the socialist system, defend the revolutionary gains and have firm faith in the victory of socialism, is at the same time a work to strengthen the people's allegiance to their Party, which is the organizer and leader of all victories in the revolution and construction. Those who are firmly inspired with communist ideology will always remain loyal to the Party, and those who have a strong Party spirit surely love the socialist system, fight to defend the revolutionary gains and dedicate everything to the struggle for the victory of the revolution, with confidence in the triumph of socialism.

Those with a strong Party spirit, in other words those who are loyal to the Party, always faithfully carry out the revolutionary tasks

entrusted to them by the Party. When a person with a strong Party spirit is entrusted with the running of a factory, he keeps it clean, fulfils all production plans and puts everything in order. However, if the administration of a factory is entrusted to a person whose Party spirit is weak, things will not go well. People who lack Party spirit do not work for the Party and the socialist revolution but take care only of their own interests.

The intensification of the struggle to strengthen Party spirit and communist education is a prerequisite for a new victory in socialist construction. We can secure a great victory in the building of socialism only when all our workers are inspired with our Party's ideas and communist ideology.

We should continue to intensify ideological education in the Party to strongly unite all its members behind its Central Committee and, at the same time, should wage a resolute ideological struggle against all the factionalists who seek to wreck the unity and cohesion of the Party and distort Party line. Unless we wage a persistent ideological struggle against the factionalists, we cannot enhance the ideological consciousness of the masses of the people, nor can we strengthen the Party spirit of members and, accordingly, build socialism victoriously.

Through a vigorous ideological struggle to enhance the Party spirit of members and the ideological consciousness of the working people, the unity and cohesion of our Party has today grown stronger and the revolutionary spirit of the working masses has risen higher than ever before.

Taking advantage of their high revolutionary enthusiasm, we should encourage them to make full use of their energies and wisdom in socialist construction.

We should fight resolutely against all conservatives who do not believe in the strength of the masses of the people and who have fear for their revolutionary spirit.

Conservatism is an old idea that impedes social development. Today it is tenaciously hampering our progress. Without crushing it, we cannot continue to move ahead on Chollima. Through a determined

ideological struggle against all subjectivists and conservatives who refuse to discard the old, ignore the masses' revolutionary spirit and only stick to their wrong subjective views, we should strengthen our people's high spirit and advance our revolution more rapidly. This is the important task in our Party's ideological work at present.

Today our country and our people have entered a period of great prosperity. Our socialist revolution is now in full swing and our socialist construction is making great progress. We should maintain the great revolutionary upsurge and lead the people and show them the way so that they may press forward more vigorously for a new revolutionary victory. Only then will our Party become a strong party to lead our people who are moving ahead on Chollima.

I am convinced that Party organizations in North Phyongan Province will successfully fulfil their difficult tasks of socialist construction, taking full advantage of the high spirit of the people in the province.

## SOME TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN JAGANG PROVINCE

Speech to Officials of Party and Government Bodies, Economic Agencies and Social Organizations in Jagang Province

August 5, 1958

Comrades,

Today our socialist construction has entered a period of great progress. In 1957 the total value of our industrial output grew by 44 per cent over 1956, and this year we envisage an increase of more than 35 per cent over last year. It is hard to find such a high rate of growth in industrial production in other countries.

Our people have a very high spirit at present. They are successfully tackling ambitious projects which were considered impossible in the past. We planned ourselves the reconstruction of such a large factory as the Hwanghae Iron Works and completed it with the machines and equipment we made ourselves by May Day; we also completed the building of the modern Hungnam Ammonium Nitrate Plant last spring. By quickly restoring the Wonsan Railway Factory, we are now in a position to build freight cars which we were unable to make in the past. Furthermore, we completed in only 75 days the construction work of the Haeju-Hasong standard-gauge railway line, which had been expected to take three to four years. This is a great achievement.

As for agriculture, this year we witnessed an unusually severe drought, but we have opened up possibilities for a bumper crop by introducing cold-frame rice seedlings and humus-pot cotton seedlings and by making intensive efforts to prevent natural calamities throughout the country. This year's state plan envisages the output of 3.3 million tons of grain, and in the light of the present situation there will be no difficulty in producing 3.5 to 3.6 million tons.

The construction industry is also gathering momentum. The builders of Pyongyang resolved to build houses for 20,000 families with the manpower, materials and funds which had been earmarked for 7,000 families, and they are now successfully carrying out such a task.

All these facts show that in response to the Party's call the workers, peasants and all other working people are displaying an unusual revolutionary zeal and that socialist construction has entered a period of great upsurge in our country. At present all working people in all spheres of the national economy are making great progress like the wind in the saddle of Chollima.

The high revolutionary spirit of our people serves as a great force in further consolidating the economic foundations of socialism, rapidly improving the material and cultural standard of the working people and, moreover, in accelerating the peaceful reunification of the country.

This time I have toured various places in Jagang Province and found that the people here are also achieving great success in all domains of the national economy, including industry, agriculture and construction, in response to the call of the Party.

This year the province took measures to plant seeds early. This is an effective way to overcome damages caused by cold weather. As a result of early sowing, maize in all parts of Jagang Province has grown well and other crops are not bad either. This province is in an area which is affected only a little by elements other than cold weather. If only damage related to cold weather is prevented in farming, Jagang Province can have a rich harvest. As it planted crops early this year, the province has become able to achieve good results in farming, overcoming cold weather problems.

In construction work Jagang Province has also achieved good results as other provinces.

I came back here after an interval of three years, and I can see that during this period a great deal of construction has been carried out even in Kanggye. In Jagang Province a number of large factories, houses and cultural establishments have been built, and many locally-run factories, including a wine and various food-processing plants, were set up as well.

It can be said that Party organizations in Jagang Province have fulfilled most of the tasks I gave them in 1955 when I was here.

Although they have been very successful in their work, they have quite a few shortcomings.

Some units in Jagang Province have failed to carry out their assignments under the national economic plan properly.

I visited the construction site of the Tongnogang Power Station and found that the building plan for the first half of the year had not been fulfilled there. Needless to say, its builders had done much work. They mechanized building operations, secured good working conditions, strengthened labour discipline and established order. This, I think, will bring about more progress in the construction of the power station.

The Manpho Sawmill has also failed to implement its plan. So I told the cadres there that their sawmill is failing to carry out its plan, when all other factories and mills throughout the country are doing so.

The machine factories in Jagang Province which fall under the First Bureau of the Ministry of Machine Industry are not doing a good job either. It is true that they have carried out their basic production plans and are producing large quantities of daily necessities. But they are still far below the production level required by the Party. The main shortcoming in the work of these factories is that the workers are not responding enthusiastically to the Party's call for the production of more goods needed in other spheres of the national economy. In these factories the Party's slogan is known only to the managers or chief engineers; it has still not reached Party members and other working people. Therefore, the work of tapping all sources of production has

not developed in the form of a mass campaign.

Today, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to speak about some tasks to be carried out by Party organizations in Jagang Province.

First I will refer to the tasks in the industrial sphere.

An important task facing this sphere in Jagang Province is to accelerate the construction of power stations. Most of the large hydroelectric power stations in our country are being built in this province. At present the Tongnogang and Kanggye Power Stations are under construction, and construction work on the Unbong Power Station will start soon. Only when these power stations are built quickly, will it be possible to meet the increasing demand of the national economy for electricity.

It is important to accelerate the completion of the Tongnogang Power Station. Only then will it be possible to transfer the building force to the construction of the Uiju and Unbong Power Stations.

In Jagang Province efforts should be made to finish the construction of the Tongnogang Power Station by the first half of 1959, instead of by the end of the same year as initially planned.

In order to complete this construction quickly, it is very important for the State Planning Commission to provide the necessary materials in time. But, what is more important is that the creative enthusiasm of Party members and working people should be enhanced and latent resources tapped actively. They ask for an additional labour force of 700 men for the building of this power station. If the building operations are mechanized through vigorous efforts and the workforce is organized properly, they can easily eliminate the manpower problem.

Construction work on the Kanggye Power Station should also be accelerated. This is a prerequisite for an early commencement of the building of the Unbong Power Station.

What is important in stepping up the construction of the Tongnogang and Kanggye Power Stations is to enhance the revolutionary zeal of Party and Democratic Youth League members

and all the workers, supply materials and equipment in good time, raise the rate of mechanization in building operations and provide the workers with good living conditions. It is particularly important to grow large quantities of vegetables and such things and supply enough foodstuffs to the workers. Party organizations in Jagang Province should give attention to solving these problems.

Another important task confronting the industrial sphere in Jagang Province is the development of the machine-building industry.

Our Party expects a great deal from the machine factories in Jagang Province which fall under the First Bureau. It has the factories at heart and gives priority to meeting their requirements.

The workers at these factories are really fine people. The best Party members and workers work there. In the past they waged an arduous struggle for the Party and the revolution. During the arduous Fatherland Liberation War they ensured wartime production, suffering all sorts of hardships, day and night, working in dark flooded tunnels with water dripping over them. Our Party remembers their outstanding services, loves them and highly appreciates their exploits.

However, these factories are not operating properly as in the past. At present all workers are moving forward in the spirit of Chollima, but these factories are not yet progressing in a revolutionary way. Under the pretence of doing the special work of producing munitions, the officials are not being subjected to guidance and supervision by the provincial Party committee and other Party organizations. As a result, they are interested only in how to work in an easy way and do not make much effort to increase the utilization rate of the equipment in order to boost production.

At present, the machine factories which fall under the First Bureau have great potentialities. During my present tour, I visited Factory No. 76, where more than 100 machines were standing idle. The situation in Factory No. 26 was not much different.

The Party advised them long ago that full use should be made of machines and that equipment should be put into better use. However, these factories do not answer the Party's call. Although the Party warned that none of the machines should be left idle, the machine factories here keep hundreds of machines out of use. We cannot tolerate this practice.

The Party organizations and organizers and managers at the machine factories under the First Bureau have failed to carry out their duties properly. Leading officials should be criticized for their shortcomings in work so that they will do away with the bad habit of taking it easy on their jobs as soon as possible.

The task of these factories is to produce munitions ahead of schedule and make more machines and equipment needed in other fields of the national economy.

Their assignments to produce munitions are not so difficult. Therefore, if machines are operated to capacity, their production plans will be fulfilled ahead of schedule. In our country today no machine should be kept idle not even for a moment. Machine factories should organize work on three shifts and operate all machines to full capacity. By so doing, they would promptly carry out the munitions production plans and in the remaining days they would manufacture the machinery and equipment needed in other spheres of the national economy. A large quantity of machines and equipment should be produced for different economic fields in such a way that some factories would manufacture lathes, others weaving machines, and still others the other kind of machines.

Factory No. 26 should produce munitions which needed a year to be made in the past, in six months and should make other machines and equipment in the other six months. It should produce at least 500 silk-weaving machines, 1,000 cotton-weaving machines, 30 roving machines, and 500 boilers, as well as radiators and similar things.

Machines which could not be made at a single factory should be manufactured jointly by several factories.

While concentrating efforts on the production of machines and equipment, the machine factories should strive to produce daily necessities too

The Jagang Provincial Party Committee should give guidance to workers at the machine factories in the province, according to the intentions of the Party Central Committee.

An important thing in guiding the machine industry is to eliminate fear of technology.

At present many officials say that the machine industry is a difficult and mysterious sector. It is true that this industry is difficult. But communists can do anything however difficult and hard it may be. We should by all means overcome all hardships ahead of us, and develop the machine industry.

We need not regard the machine industry as a mysterious thing. Smoothing the surface of wood with a plane is similar in theory to cutting iron with a lathe. It is man who makes machines. Anybody can do such a thing once he decides to do it.

When we proposed to introduce the cold-frame rice seedling method, there was also apparent fear of technology. At that time many people recoiled, saying that it was hard to apply this method and that it was also difficult to raise cold-frame rice seedlings. So I referred to the problem of cold-frame rice seedlings at the meeting of management workers of agricultural cooperatives in South Phyongan Province and called on the participants to eliminate fear of technology. As a result, this method was introduced throughout the country and rice yields increased considerably.

Last year we were in dire need of steel. However, when formulating the national economic plan for 1957 the State Planning Commission envisaged the production of 190,000 tons of pig iron. The Presidium of the Party Central Committee discussed this problem and demanded that at least 230,000 tons of pig iron be produced, because 190,000 tons were not sufficient. But many officials claimed that the production of 230,000 tons would be quite impossible, in view of the accepted capacity set by the Japanese. We decided to discuss this problem again at a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee. We discussed the matter at the December 1956 Plenary Meeting and here, too, conservatives and passivists again stated that it would be difficult to

turn out 230,000 tons of pig iron. So, members of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee went to the Kim Chaek Iron Works and explained the situation in our country to the workers. They said: we are now in a difficult situation; no problem can be solved without pig iron; if we don't have pig iron, we cannot produce steel, and without steel, it is impossible to build houses and factories and manufacture machines; everything depends on pig iron; let's discuss the possibility of producing more pig iron. This inspired the workers to work harder. They resolved to produce 250,000 tons instead of 230,000 tons of pig iron. They criticized their manager for not consulting them before making his speech at the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, in which he claimed that it was impossible to produce 230,000 tons of pig iron. Finally, last year they produced 270,000 tons, instead of 250,000 tons. The accepted capacity fixed by the Japanese was smashed and fear of technology disappeared.

Let me cite another case. The Kangson Steel Plant has a blooming shop and the accepted capacity of this mill was only 60,000 tons. At that time we could not solve the steel problem with this amount. The situation was serious. So, entrusted by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, I went to the Kangson Steel Plant to give guidance.

At the steel plant we frankly told the workers about the difficult situation in the country. We appealed to them: "If we are to be well-off, we should build many houses and factories and make many machines, but we are short of steel. What should we do?" They started looking into possibilities and exploring reserves. After the discussion they were confident that they would be able to produce 90,000 tons of steel. So, production rose from 60,000 tons to 90,000 tons. In fact, the steel plant produced 120,000 tons of steel with the blooming mill having a production capacity of 60,000 tons. At present, the blooming shop turns out 160,000 tons. The accepted capacity and fear of technology were done away with in this manner.

If only the working class answers the Party's call, nothing is impossible. What is important is to urge the workers to take action.

Then, they will show endless creativity and solve problems which were quite impossible.

When a difficult problem crops up, leading officials should discuss it with workers, informing them fully of the Party's requirements and intentions. They should tell them frankly: we should promptly reach the production quota expected from our factory and make more machines needed in other fields of the national economy; we should weave cloth now, but we do not have enough weaving machines; we should produce more daily necessities, but we need this or that machine, so what should we do? Then, our workers will surely take urgent action, and everything will be settled.

When giving guidance to workers at the machine factories, Party organizations in Jagang Province should also make efforts to oppose conservatism and passivism.

Not only fear of technology stands in our way, but conservatism and passivity also hinder our progress. All these problems should be eliminated. Without wiping out these obsolete ideas, we cannot ride on Chollima.

Our Party has been combatting conservatism ever since its December 1956 Plenary Meeting. Activity fights passivity and progress opposes conservatism.

Conservatism is found everywhere. It can be found in farming, too. Some people do not fully support the Party's policy of introducing the humus-pot cotton seedling method. They even opposed it. They said cotton has a straight root, and it was the first time that cotton seedlings were being planted in humus pots. So, we told them: it is not the only thing that is being done for the first time; the Japanese and Americans were never defeated before; agricultural cooperatives were formed for the first time; 900-1,000 tons of pig iron was produced with the same blast furnace with which the Japanese used to produce only 500 tons, and in our country today industrial production increases at a high annual rate of more than 40 per cent; these are not all the only things that were done for the first time and there will be many things without precedent in future as well.

In the sphere of construction, Pak Ui Wan, Kim Sung Hwa and other anti-Party factionalists and conservatives also opposed the Party's policy, claiming that the prefab method in the construction industry was "premature" and "cannot be applied in Korea". Our Party removed such conservatives and continued applying the prefab method of construction, in keeping with the policy it had already adopted. This led to great innovations in construction. Builders in Pyongyang are constructing houses for 20,000 families with materials normally required for 7,000. This must be a great mystery for such people as Pak Ui Wan and Kim Sung Hwa. However, we are turning it into reality.

Machine factories under the First Bureau are still so conservative and passive that they do not uphold the Party's slogans zealously. Party organizations in Jagang Province should intensify the ideological struggle to eliminate these obsolete ideas. This is the only way to successfully carry out the tasks facing the factories.

If we keep advancing at the present pace, we will be able to fulfil the Five-Year Plan a year and a half ahead of schedule. Whether this plan is fulfilled earlier than the set time or not depends mainly on the machine industry. Therefore, Party guidance and control over this industry should be intensified.

Next, I will deal with the need to fully implement the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

As a whole this decision is not being carried out properly at present. Everybody is studying measures, drawing up plans and making preparations to implement it. And just that.

I am told that in North Phyongan Province they have not embarked on the work to implement the decision because a resolution has not yet been adopted at a plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee. There is no need to hold frequent meetings. It is important to implement the Party's policy as soon as possible, instead of wasting time by holding a plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee. If the provincial Party committee calls a plenary meeting each time a meeting is held by the Party Central Committee, when could it conduct its work? So, I told the provincial Party committee chairman that since

a decision is adopted by the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, a resolution by the provincial Party committee at its plenary meeting would be unnecessary and his report cannot be better than that of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee. I advised the chairman that he should give guidance to lower echelons and have factories built quickly, rather than presenting a report and presiding over such a plenary meeting. After that, the plenary meeting was not held in North Phyongan Province and officials are now giving direct guidance to their subordinates in implementing the decision of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

As for Jagang Province a provincial Party committee plenary meeting has already been held but you are still engaged merely in preparatory work.

Only preparations are being made everywhere, whether plenary meetings have been held or not. As a result, progress has not yet been made in the production of daily necessities, although a long time has passed since the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee was taken.

On this occasion I had talks with a number of county Party committee chairmen here in Jagang Province and in North Phyongan Province as well, and I found that there are two shortcomings in the implementation of the decision of the June Plenary Meeting. The first is that no thought is being given to implement this decision as if it has nothing to do with them, while the other is that only ambitious plans are drawn up in an endeavour to begin work after capital construction funds and the necessary machines are provided by the state and everything is ready.

County Party committee chairmen should not expect their problems to be solved by the central or provincial authorities. The provincial Party committee chairmen have no machines to give to counties, have they? It is true that we are hoping to build unified machine factories in provinces in future. This time I intend to visit Huichon and discuss possibilities of increasing the production of machines a little more. If large numbers of machines are produced in future, they could be

distributed in provinces. However, provincial Party committee chairmen have no machines yet. Therefore, county Party committee chairmen should not expect these things from higher authorities but should develop their local industries in a mass movement by inspiring the people in their counties. This is what the Party wants you to do.

At present, everybody regards the local industry as a mysterious sector and no active efforts are made to develop it. Of course, you may consider the building of factories to be a mysterious task because so far you have only grown potatoes or maize. However, there is nothing mysterious in this. It will do if only you make up your mind and embark on this task.

You must not try to produce large quantities of daily necessities and foodstuffs from the beginning. This requires a big amount of capital construction funds and a great number of machines and many other things.

The problem of implementing the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee should be solved in two ways. First, by-product shops for the supply of essential commodities should be opened in the existing factories without the need for large investments. Second, some large earthenware jars should be kept either in a straw-thatched house or in a corner of a warehouse, so that vegetables and similar things can be processed.

You should not attempt to build big factories from the start but begin with small ones. If you want to set up and run a repair shop, make sure you have tongs and some other tools to set up a blacksmith's workshop and begin work. Likewise, if you intend to operate a factory that produces daily necessities you should get a few chairs and some tools for shaving, hammering and cutting, before making simple goods for daily use. After earning money in this way you should gradually expand the factory. This will increase the supply of foodstuffs and clothes and enable you to construct small factories which will produce slates, cement, iron materials and such things needed for rural construction in future. As the saying goes, well begun is half done. It is important to start work quickly.

You had better go to Pyongyang and see for yourselves under what conditions the producers' cooperatives are working. The state did not invest even a penny in them. However, they are producing goods worth 18,000 million *won*.

The producers' cooperative members make all sorts of things—toothbrushes, knitted goods, fountain-pens—in small one-roomed buildings. Most of the daily necessities in supply in Pyongyang are produced by those members.

Yesterday I visited a food factory in Jagang Province, which is doing a good job. When 1 visited this same factory a few years ago, it was very unclean and the situation was appalling, but this time I found it clean. The workers were making cakes, sweets and tinned goods in tiny rooms. This is a good thing. Similar food-processing factories should be built not only in the provincial seat but in counties as well.

Each county should have at least one local factory.

Only when county Party and people's committee chairmen set up at least a repair shop in their county, will their people be able to repair broken oxcarts and such things for themselves.

I have been informed that people of Poptong County, Kangwon Province, go as far as Wonsan to get a broken oxcart repaired, because they have no blacksmith's shop in their region. It is a pity that the county people's committee chairman has failed to build a blacksmith's shop to repair oxcarts although he has scores of cooperatives.

If socialism is to be built, the county must have its own factories.

Counties have the manpower as well as materials available for the construction and management of factories.

Construction of local factories in county seats makes it possible to make effective use of available labour potentials. In county seats there are at present many housewives who spend most of their time at home. You could build simple nurseries and employ anyone who wants to work there for about four or five hours a day. Then, these women will get a job.

It would be advantageous in many respects if housewives work at

factories. It would be beneficial because the manpower problem would be solved, the operation of factories would pose no housing problem, and raw material resources in localities could be tapped and actively used. It would be also beneficial because women would get educated among the collective and they would help the state and would improve their own living standard.

In the countryside all women work at agricultural cooperatives. They are participating as builders of socialism. Housewives in big cities or county seats, however, are staying at home, idling away their time. This is wrong. If women do not work but only depend on their husbands, they will remain backward.

At present some girls in farming areas try to marry only workers or office employees in towns. This means that they want to live a leisurely life of idleness. It is by no means a laudable thing to stroll down the streets, carrying parasols. In our society today one takes pride not in living leisurely without work but in working hard.

A socialist society is not a society where a person works to support many people. In such a society all those who are able to work should do so conscientiously, considering it a great honour to give their share. No one should remain idle in our society. Therefore, locally-run factories should be set up in county seats and all housewives should be urged to work in them.

Construction of local factories in county seats will also enable county Party and people's committee chairmen to learn more about enterprise management. As they are occupied only with farming at present, they know very little about enterprise management. Many of our cadres, including these chairmen, do not well know what an enterprise is, how to run an enterprise and, worse still, how to estimate the cost of goods.

If a local factory is set up in each county, there will be many of these factories across the nation. There will be 200, to be more correct, because our country has 200 counties. If these are added to the by-product shops that are to be set up in existing factories and enterprises, the number will grow bigger. If each of the 800 factories

and enterprises has a by-product shop, we will have around 800 daily-necessities shops.

Even if the local factories to be built in counties are not large, they will be able to produce a large quantity of goods. When I visited Anju, I was told that women there formed a team, with each member weaving 40 metres of cloth a day with a foot loom. Workers operating a hundred foot looms can weave 4,000 metres of cloth per day. If a factory that can produce 4,000 metres of cloth a day is built in each county, 200 counties will supply 800,000 metres every day or 290 million metres a year.

Since a large quantity of hemp is produced in Jagang Province, it will be a good idea to weave it into hemp cloth.

It is not so difficult to make foot looms. You can make as many foot looms as you want if only you have timber.

You must not waste time, only considering the building of big local factories and making plans and preparations for them. You must start working as quickly as possible in accordance with instructions from the Party. The present state of affairs shows that the decision of the June Plenary Meeting will be put into effect only two or three years later. We did not adopt such a decision to be implemented two or three years later. It should be put into effect right away and this is quite possible.

You should encourage people in your counties to construct factories themselves and start production, rather than asking higher authorities for lathes and some other things from the beginning. Where there are edible herbs, you should process them, and where fish is abundant, you should do the same. Process whatever you actually have in your own localities, and that will do.

Everyday necessities should be produced not only by local factories but also by state enterprises. The latter should set up by-product shops and produce goods for daily use in large quantities. These shops should also solve the problem of labour force mainly by employing housewives.

In order to fully implement the decision of the June Plenary

Meeting of the Party Central Committee, it is necessary to conduct an effective ideological mobilization. You cannot solve the question by making appeals alone. When Party members realize the correctness of Party policy and are convinced that they can fulfil it, they will display creativity and work actively. Therefore, Party organizations should have detailed plans, and energetically conduct an ideological mobilization among Party members and working people.

Next, I will speak briefly on agriculture.

What is important for the rural economy of Jagang Province is to make good use of mountainous regions. This task had been put forward by our Party long ago.

In this province you should cultivate large quantities of maize. If maize is grown in this way and yields per hectare of land are increased, this will help to develop livestock farming. However, growing maize alone cannot solve all problems in agriculture.

For the consolidation of cooperatives' economic foundations and improvement of their members' living standard, we should give utmost attention to farming and, at the same time, animal husbandry and apiculture should be developed and mountains utilized effectively.

It is a good thing that in Jagang Province efforts are being made to develop livestock breeding and beekeeping. If all cooperatives breed domestic animals and keep bees, it will be very beneficial.

Sericulture should also be developed because mulberry trees grow well in this province.

In addition, tasty and nutritious wild grapes, edible herbs, mushrooms and such things should be collected and processed on a wide scale. Still you should not simply exploit mountains. You should transplant edible herbs, wild fruit trees, mushrooms and such things, while manuring and tending them well. As for wild grapes, the vines should not be cut at random but be tended with care.

Since this province has many ravines abounding in water, it will be a good idea to rear chars there. It is very easy to rear this fish. You need not prepare food especially for them. All you have to do is to catch females to get the spawn and incubate it before it is released. Teach a

couple of persons how to breed fish and prepare a small hatchery; that will be enough. In this way all cooperatives could breed fish.

When this kind of work is done well, the peasants in Jagang Province can be as well-off as those in flat areas.

Next, I am going to refer to the necessity to intensify the cultural revolution.

We cannot say that the cultural revolution is progressing successfully in Jagang Province. This province still has lots of people whose intellectual standard is low. Yesterday I had talks with some people, and found that quite a few Party members also have poor intellectual abilities. Jagang Province has only just started rudimentary information work on the cultural revolution. It should intensify this revolution.

The first task of the cultural revolution is to improve the education of all the people, up to the level of the primary school graduate. However, this province is still not very interested in this matter. You are happy with making speeches and publishing articles in newspapers, which emphasize the need to improve the working people's intellectual standard. This will get you nowhere.

In order to improve the intellectual standard of the working people, it is essential to organize work proficiently. If it is done well, we will be able to enhance the people's education to the level of the primary school graduate within three or four years.

After inspecting a ri in Changsong County, I discovered that there were 120 peasant families and 22 persons who were capable of providing primary school education to the peasants. Among these are people such as primary school teachers, a clinic doctor, the ri Party and people's committee chairmen, the manager of a shop and the head of a democratic publicity hall. They are all on the payroll of the state. If the ri Party committee gives them tasks, effective guidance and proper supervision, they will be able to achieve success in the cultural revolution. When the 120 peasant families are divided among 22 persons, each one would be in charge of five families. If a person teaches five families for three or four years, he or she can improve the

peasants' standard of education up to the level of the primary school graduate. Party bodies should make good organizational arrangements for this work.

It is important to efficiently run democratic publicity halls in the rural cultural revolution.

At present proper attention is not being given to these halls. They consist of small rooms with only a few chairs. There is nothing to attract the people's attention. Rooms are not kept clean and are not furnished properly. Democratic publicity halls are at present used only when cooperatives hold meetings and not for other purposes.

Village democratic publicity halls should be well equipped and utilized for educating peasants and improving their education. This does not mean that these halls must be equipped by their heads alone. The countryside has conditions for properly equipping and running democratic publicity halls. Office employees, middle school teachers and shop workers live there. They should all participate in the work of publicity halls. They should be given definite assignments so that they will prepare wall newspapers, draw and paste up diagrams and other things, and tell stories and read newspapers to others. Thus, the peasants will always go to democratic publicity halls in order to become educated.

Another important aspect of the rural cultural revolution is to conduct sanitary work properly. At present people think that hygiene is ensured once courtyards are swept and houses are whitewashed. But this is not the case. It is important to provide all working people with adequate conditions for cleanliness and to live in a cultured way. We should vigorously ensure hygiene in a campaign involving all the people.

The rural cultural revolution should be started at schools first. You should see to it that pupils always wash their faces and hands, have their hair cut, keep themselves clean, wear clean and proper clothes. To this end a strict system should be established under which teachers check the pupils' state.

Every family should carry out sanitary work effectively. They

should not only whitewash walls but also cover them with neat paper, wash and keep utensils clean and tidy up the kitchens.

Women should chiefly be responsible for hygienic work. Our rural women still do not fully understand the importance of this work and have half-hearted attitudes towards it. Hygienic information work should be intensified among women so that they will make their houses clean and bring up their children in a healthy and cultured way.

At present we have favourable conditions to carry out the cultural revolution with success. Our people have food, clothes and houses. The question now is how scrupulously Party organizations should arrange this work. Party bodies in Jagang Province should make effective arrangements to carry out the cultural revolution.

Now, I will talk a little about trade.

Our shops keep comparatively large quantities of commodities in stock and they are good at putting them on display. However, trade workers still do not make an effort to serve the people better. This is a serious shortcoming. At present they only sell goods if customers come and sit idle when there are no customers. And they think that trade goes on well if only there are tidy counters and goods on display.

We need trade workers who serve the people devotedly and work hard to meet the requirements of cooperative farm members. Trade workers should not be the sort of persons who work only when customers come and sit idle when they do not. They should investigate themselves what the requirements of the farmers are, and make orders and prepare the items they want. Only when trade workers work in this way, can they be called faithful servants of the people.

Trade should be advanced a step further. With a correct understanding of socialist trade, trade workers should check and meet the demand of cooperative farmers for goods and actively explore the sources in order to satisfy it quickly.

Furthermore, officials should improve their method of guidance.

What is most important in this is to get the chairmen of county and ri Party and people's committees to show their initiative in work.

If the Party Central Committee adopts a line or policy, a leading

official ought to work creatively in accordance with it, so as to ameliorate the living conditions of his county people. At present, however, some cadres do only what higher authorities ask them to do, instead of using their brains to work creatively. When the Party instructs them to grow cold-frame rice seedlings, they only do this, and when they are instructed to apply the humus-pot seedling method, they just do it, but they never conduct other work. All workers of county and ri Party and people's committees do something only when higher authorities force them to do it and they go back only if they are pulled back. They never perform creative work. They even do what they are supposed to do in their counties and ri, if there is a decision by a higher Party organization and they do nothing when there is no such decision. And even if there is a decision, they do the work only when their task is specified in the decision. Otherwise, they do not.

Since all county Party and people's committee chairmen live and work among the masses, they can and should make many good suggestions. But they do not do so.

The practice of leading personnel acting only upon instructions from higher authorities, instead of working in a creative way, has been also revealed in the course of implementing the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. Although it is quite possible to develop local industries, in accordance with the decision of the plenary meeting, some officials do not carry out work but waste time, saying that they have not received any directives, that there is no Cabinet decision, or that no plenary meeting decision of the provincial Party committee has been sent to them. In other words, our officials are not active in carrying out their duties properly.

What is important in improving officials' method of guidance is to give substantial guidance to their lower bodies.

At present county Party or people's committee officials do not give direct guidance to the lower echelons on the spot for several days; instead, they stay at county seats and summon subordinates and only give them directives. In case they do go to meet the workers, they return that same day after attending meetings and, at best, after meeting

and having some talks with ri Party committee chairmen. The higher units bluntly give instructions to the lower units whether the latter like it or not, and as a result officials at lower echelons find themselves in a position where they cannot carry them out.

Cadres should go and give substantial guidance to their subordinates. Leading officials of county Party or people's committees should conduct effective guidance work, staying amid lower units for three or four days, instead of going there and returning after only meeting ri Party and people's committee chairmen. They should listen to the opinion of the masses by attending meetings, taking meals and working together with Party members, and get to know better about all problems in the implementation of Party policy, their shortcomings in the management and economic affairs of cooperatives, and about demerits in the work of ri Party committee and cooperative management board chairmen. They should thus take specific measures to correct all shortcomings. Instead of punishing workers in lower units only after they have committed errors, cadres should show them how to work well by explaining to them their task in detail beforehand—how to study work, how to make decisions, how to guide work, and how to solve problems.

Recently the Party Central Committee held a short training course for county Party committee chairmen. On his return from the training course, the chairman of the Changsong County Party Committee called ri Party committee and cooperative management board chairmen and passed on to them all he had learned during the training.

At present, county Party committee chairmen think that they would do their duty once they convey what they received at short training courses in upper bodies to their subordinates, and ri Party committee and cooperative management board chairmen, on their part, believe that their duty is done if only they execute what county Party committee chairmen mention, and make no further effort to develop their work. They should not do so. If officials do their work in this way, it will be of no use, despite all the short training courses.

When they return after the training courses in upper bodies, county Party committee chairmen should not summon their subordinates nor make speeches on the subjects they learned during the training. They should rather go to ri and stay for about three or four days and, then study the situation there in light of what they learned and acquaint themselves with merits and shortcomings of ri and what should be done to eliminate the latter, before helping them to take measures for the thorough implementation of the Party's policy.

It is important to provide conditions for leading officials to show their creativity in work. The province should provide these conditions for county Party and people's committees, and the county for ri Party and people's committees.

Finally, I will talk on the necessity to intensify socialist education among Party members and working people.

In our country socialism has completely triumphed in both town and country. In order to consolidate and develop the socialist relations of production established in our country, it is necessary to intensify the socialist education of Party members and working people. We have transformed production relations along socialist lines, but, if we are to arouse the people's ideological consciousness in keeping with these lines, we still have a long way to go. Therefore, we should intensify socialist education among the working people and thus arouse their consciousness along socialist lines. Only then can we bring about great progress in building socialism. Revolutionary upswing knows no limit. The more the masses are aroused, the greater the revolutionary upswing.

Party organizations in Jagang Province should bring about a greater upswing in socialist construction by intensifying socialist education among the working people and by continuously enhancing Party spirit of Party members.

I firmly believe that by stirring up the revolutionary spirit of Party members and working people, Party organizations in Jagang Province will successfully fulfil the tasks confronting the province, thus meeting the great expectations of the Party Central Committee.

## ON SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

Speech at a Short Course for City and County People's Committee Chairmen August 9, 1958

As lectures have been given on various subjects and many comrades have participated in discussions at this short course, I would like to make some remarks on the practical work to be carried out by the city and county people's committees.

## 1. ON MAINTAINING THE UPSURGE IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Our country is now in a period of great revolutionary upsurge. All the working people are moving forward towards socialism at the speed of Chollima.

Since the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party, many major achievements have been made, one after another, in the implementation of the national economic plans for 1957 and 1958. The construction of the Hwanghae Iron Works has been completed, the Hungnam Ammonium Nitrate Plant has been

built, the Haeju-Hasong standard-gauge railway was set up within 75 days, Pyongyang builders constructed houses for 20,000 families with the materials and manpower usually needed for 7,000, the humus-pot cotton growing method has been introduced in the countryside, irrigation projects boldly carried out—all these facts point towards a great upsurge in socialist construction in our country.

It is by no means an easy task to rally all the people firmly around the Party and persuade them to take part together in socialist construction, upholding the will of the Party, and to bring about an upsurge in the revolution. This upsurge has come about only because our Party has educated the working people properly, won their deep trust and love, and has become strong enough to lead them in a revolutionary upsurge through more than ten years of hard efforts since liberation. Without the strength and assets acquired in the course of the long revolutionary struggle, today's revolutionary upsurge would simply not be possible.

This upsurge of socialist construction is a fact acknowledged not only by ourselves but by foreigners as well. I will not talk any more on today's brilliant successes, since you are achieving and witnessing them all yourselves.

Our task is to maintain and further develop the current revolutionary upsurge. This is the most important task ahead of us.

We should continue to keep the high spirit and creative activity of the revolutionary masses, and see to it that their enthusiasm does not slacken. And the greatest obstacles hindering the continued development of revolution at present are passivism and conservatism.

We should continue to fight determinedly against passivism and conservatism. Only by intensifying this struggle can we continue to move ahead and keep making reforms.

It was the December 1956 Plenary Meeting that sparked an all-out struggle against passivism and conservatism in our country. In fact, our achievements since the December Plenary Meeting have been gained in the struggle against passivism and conservatism.

Whenever we want to undertake any ambitious task, there are

always some people who turn up and insist that it is impossible. Such people invariably shrink back, saying it is difficult and impossible. Whenever they get a chance, they refer to the accepted capacities the Japanese suggested. They see only the accepted capacities, and fail to see the great revolutionary power of our people.

As you know, the December Plenary Meeting discussed the important question of stepping up our socialist construction by tapping all resources to increase production and economize. In drawing up the national economic plan for 1957, for instance, the State Planning Commission suggested to the Party Central Committee the production of 190,000 tons of pig iron. The Presidium of the Party Central Committee called for the production of 230,000 tons of pig iron, since 190,000 tons would not have been enough. At that time, however, and cadres, overcome technicians by passivism and conservatism, insisted that production of 230,000 tons of pig iron was absolutely impossible. They said that it was quite absurd to set a target of 230,000 tons, because the accepted capacity of the furnace built by the Japanese was 500 tons, and thus no more than 180,000-190,000 tons could be produced even if the furnace was operated on all 365 days of the year.

However, we suggested that the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee should discuss the possibility of producing 230,000 tons, since we had to meet the increasing demand by the people, and had to carry out more construction work. We summoned the manager and chief engineer and convened the plenary meeting with their presence. At this meeting, conservative and passive elements again insisted that such a production target was impossible. So the plenary meeting, on its part, adopted a resolution on the matter, and decided to consult the workers about it.

Members of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee personally visited the factory and informed the workers about the state of affairs in our country. They told the workers: "We are now in a difficult situation. It would be impossible to solve all problems without pig iron. No steel can be produced without pig iron, and if we have no

steel neither houses nor factories and machinery could be built. Everything depends on pig iron. Let us discuss whether more pig iron could be turned out or not." The workers rose to the occasion and resolved to produce not 230,000 but 250,000 tons. They criticized the wrong attitude of the manager and chief engineer who had claimed in their speeches at the plenary meeting—without even seeking the advice of the workers—that it was impossible to produce 230,000 tons.

How much did they produce in the end? They succeeded to produce 270,000 tons. The accepted capacity fixed by the Japanese was smashed.

Let me give you another example. The Kangson Steel Plant has a blooming shop, the only one we have. If the shop is operated properly, a large quantity of rolled steel could be produced but otherwise, this would not be possible. At first, it was asserted that no more than 60,000 tons could be produced. The production capacity was said to be 60,000 tons. The situation was serious. With such an amount of steel, it was impossible to solve the existing problems. So, authorized by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, I went to give guidance at the Kangson Steel Plant.

I consulted the workers there and told them frankly all about the difficult situation in our country. I called more than 1,000 workers together and appealed to them: production of a certain amount of rolled steel is indispensable in building a certain number of houses, setting up a certain number of factories and making a certain number of machines, and only if we do this can we become better off; and all this depends on rolled steel. Then what shall we do?

The workers began to check production means. Following this, they became confident that they could manage to produce 90,000 tons. The figure increased from 60,000 to 90,000 tons. So after welcoming their resolutions I told them to work harder if possible, because the more they produced the better. How much did they produce in the end? The blooming shop which was said to have a capacity of 60,000 tons, produced 120,000 tons.

Those who do not believe in the strength of the masses and who fail

to see the might of the working class, may not accept this, perhaps thinking that the communists are telling a lie. Those who have learned technology from books alone and, above all, from the capitalists and are captivated by bourgeois ideas, may not believe this.

Comrades, who makes everything in the world? It is the working men who change the world and carry out the revolution; it is also the working people who introduce modern technology. Is there anything that is not created by the workers and peasants? No, there is not.

James Watt who invented the steam engine was a worker. But not all things are done by learned men. This applies to our country. The cold-frame rice seedling and the humus-pot cotton seedling methods were invented not by learned men but by our peasants. Most of the new technical inventions, original ideas and devices which have led to major achievements at our factories and enterprises, can also be credited to the workers.

Thus, the creative power of our working class and our people is really inexhaustible. However, those who are afraid of new things and stick to the old refuse to believe in this power. Whenever they find themselves in difficulty, they simply say: "Impossible!" Conservatives stand in the way of our progress everywhere. Passivism and conservatism can be found in the capital, provinces, cities, counties, factories and farming districts. They are present everywhere. We should launch a determined struggle against these destructive, old ideas.

At present, much conservatism persists in the machine-building industry. Those who dislike changes and progress and want to remain as they are, raise a hue and cry about the mystery of machinery. They claim that machinery is a very mysterious thing and that it is taboo for amateurs. What is so mysterious? The carpenter shaves wood with a plane and the lathe operator cuts metal with a machine, then what difference is there between the two? It is true that a machine, as a modern instrument of work, requires precision and is rather difficult to make. But there is nothing mysterious about it. It is made by man and operated by man.

Recently, I went to Jagang Province and toured several factories.

Machine-building factories which fall under the First Bureau were keeping a lot of equipment idle, saying that it was difficult or mysterious to operate. So, I had a talk with the workers. I told them: the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee passed a resolution to expand the food-processing industry and increase the production of daily necessities; the people should be supplied with various good but cheap foodstuffs, as well as good-quality and handy daily necessities in large quantities; to do so, various types of machines should be produced in great numbers; and all factories and enterprises should also increase production of daily necessities; no machine should be kept idle; machines should be operated at a faster rate without keeping them idle even for a moment, and more goods should be produced. When they heard me, the workers said they were overcome with remorse; they had so far been actually keeping many machines idle and inoperative, which was a very grave mistake.

Factories which fall under the First Bureau did not carry out the Party's decision on maximum utilization of equipment. Consequently, hundreds of machines were left idle, and thousands of additional machines which could have been produced were never made. They say that Factory No. 26, for instance, can produce 2,500 looms, 500 boilers and 70-80 roving machines besides fulfilling its assignments concerning munitions production; some time ago Factory No. 65 fulfilled its production plan for the current year; and the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory has committed itself to manufacture 2,300 metal-cutting tools by August 15. So far, however, those factories have not increased production, although they could have done this, and have not endeavoured to operate all their machines.

What stands in the way of exploring existing reserves and moving swiftly ahead? Nothing but passivism and conservatism. Passive elements and conservatives are disrupting our progress, both at the Ministry of Machine Industry and at the machine factories. This is also the case in the electrical, metallurgical, cement, construction, and all other sectors.

Comrades, what tremendous harm have the anti-Party factionalist

elements and conservatives done in the field of construction! The rogues lurking there distorted and deliberately failed to follow the construction policy set forth by the Party at the January 1956 conference for builders. When the Party gave instructions for the introduction of prefab methods in construction, the anti-Party elements and conservatives resorted to all tricks, saying this was against our will, and not feasible. When they saw the Ministry of Light Industry introduce prefab methods in construction, they expressed the wish that those buildings would collapse. That's how far the anti-Party elements and conservatives ventured in their attempt to hinder the progress of our revolution.

The Party fought resolutely against the anti-Party factionalist elements and conservatives and endeavoured to implement its construction policy. When the rogues had been thrown out, construction went ahead smoothly. Since the October 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, great changes have taken place in construction. There is a great difference between the volume of building in 1956 and that of 1957 and 1958. In Pyongyang, the builders have resolved to build dwellings for 20,000 families with the funds, materials and manpower intended for 7,000 flats.

We could undertake as many construction projects as we want now if only we had enough cement. But passive elements have established a foothold in this sector as well, and are obstructing our progress. So the Presidium of the Party Central Committee has taken measures to eliminate this slow-moving tendency in that sector and to produce cement in large quantities. If we only overcome conservatism, 2 million tons will certainly be produced next year.

Also, when the Party gave instructions to complete the construction of the Hwanghae Iron Works by May Day this year, the conservatives said: How can such a big blast furnace and a coke oven be built by May Day? To ask for such a thing without even knowing anything about it! So, we told them: We do not claim to have any particular expertise and we are not technicians, either. But one thing is certain. What is it? It is the revolutionary principle, that when the working class resolves to

answer the call of the Party, nothing is impossible; if the passive elements and conservatives are repelled and the activists are mobilized, it is possible to do anything and make rapid progress as well. What happened in the end? The position of the conservatives who were so outspoken in asserting that the project was impossible, was totally discredited and the Hwanghae Iron Works was completed before May Day.

In the production of ferro-coke, there were again obstructions from conservatives. These people said: How could we do things which even an advanced country is unable to do well? Should we do only things that others can do, or should we not do what others cannot do? What is wrong in Koreans doing something before others?

When I visited Factory No. 65 recently, some of the people also said: This is a Soviet norm, thus how can we do it? So I told them: At present the Soviet economy is very advanced and the Soviet people are well-off, but we are still in a difficult situation, and we should advance faster than others to ameliorate our position as soon as possible; why should we make it a point to stick to Soviet norms? What is wrong if we Koreans produce twice as much as the Soviet people? I told them not to lag unnecessarily behind the Soviet norms.

Nothing is impossible if we make plans and daringly embark on our task, having faith in the might of the masses. We should get rid of the passivism and conservatism that stand in our way by insisting that even advanced countries have failed to do what we are doing, and that nobody has ever tried to do it before us.

Conservatives do not show the words "passive element" or "conservative" on their foreheads. They have words of praise for "innovation" and "Chollima", but back down in practical acts and in their work. In the struggle against conservatism, it is therefore necessary to learn to distinguish between who is a conservative and who is not.

In making continuous progress and uninterrupted reforms at present, it is important to destroy conservatism in a decisive manner. The entire Party should be mobilized to wage an energetic struggle against conservatism.

# 2. ON THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE WORK FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION

Now, it is important for us to further consolidate our socialist achievements.

Socialist transformation has been completed in our country. Socialist economic forms constitute an undivided system in towns and the countryside. This represents a great victory for the socialist revolution. But the people's ideological development is still very slow, even though the economic forms have all been changed along socialist lines. Widespread individualism and selfishness remain in the minds of those who, until a short time ago, lived under the capitalist economy. That is why the intensification of the work for socialist education is an important matter.

What kind of ideas should be encouraged today? It is necessary to encourage collectivism so that all the people help each other and unite in developing the socialist economy and devote themselves to common interests. The selfishness of our peasants is the greatest obstacle to the consolidation of the victory of socialism. Moreover, the struggle to eliminate selfishness is not being waged energetically today.

Individualism and selfishness are manifested in the daily life of the peasants. In the state procurement of grain, for instance, some peasants do not sell rice to the state in time, but store it up with the hope of selling it in the spring when it fetches better prices. Such outdated ideas on the part of the peasants should be corrected.

The complete victory of socialism can be attained only when the socialist economic system is further consolidated in towns and the countryside and the people are inspired by socialist ideology. Therefore, it becomes necessary to eliminate the remaining bourgeois ideas from the minds of the people and inspire them with socialist

ideology. We should further consolidate our socialist system and accelerate socialist construction by encouraging the working people to have loyalty to the Party and the revolution, devotedly fight for the country and the people, and also by promoting collectivism amongst them, which means that everyone dedicates himself to common interests and welfare, instead of seeking only personal gain.

# 3. ON THE TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS

We are going to carry out a technical revolution in the countryside, because we want to solve the questions of how to prevent crop failures, how to reap rich harvests, how to economize on labour, eliminate hardships at work and increase profits. The solution to these questions is indispensable for the consolidation of the socialist system in our countryside and for the decisive improvement of the peasants' living conditions.

The keystone of the technical revolution in the countryside is the establishment of an irrigation system in all cultivated areas except steep slopes, reckoning with the natural and economic conditions of our country. If we establish an irrigation system for 600,000 hectares of rice paddies and 700,000 hectares of dry fields in our country, it will mean the solution to the fundamental problem of the technical revolution in the countryside.

Water should be channelled into fields with suitable conditions to be turned into rice paddies; dry-field irrigation should be introduced where there is a shortage of water, where there is a wide area or where conditions are not suitable for rice fields. Only when the area of paddy fields is expanded and dry fields are irrigated in this way, can there be rich and stable harvests every year and our countryside can be well-off.

While setting up the irrigation system, we should intensify

mechanization of the countryside. The mechanization of transport operations is an urgent matter. A tractor and lorry hire station should be set up in each county. Elementary mechanization can be realized only if we first allocate an average of about 100 tractors and 60 lorries to each county.

The electricity supply should also be extended to the countryside. This can be easily done because our country has the foundations for the power industry and vast power resources. At present, copper wire is in very short supply, but it is also quite possible to solve this problem if copper production is increased and aluminium wire and other materials are used to substitute copper wire.

The cultural revolution should be carried out together with the technical revolution. With regard to the cultural revolution, some people think it is enough to sweep courtyards and kill flies. The main aims of the cultural revolution are to raise the educational, cultural and technical levels of the people. The main task of the cultural revolution today is to improve the standard of education of all the people to the level of primary school graduates, and that of primary school graduates to the level of secondary school graduates—not only in towns, but also in the countryside. Only by raising the cultural and technical levels of all the working people can we fully modernize our national economy and run it well. This is the only way to turn our country into a civilized one.

The officials of the Party and government organs, economic agencies and social organizations and People's Army officers should all improve their standard of education, at least above that of secondary school graduates and, furthermore, the level of education of all the people should be improved. To this end, the work of adult education should be further improved.

At the same time, adequate preparations should be made for the introduction of the compulsory secondary education system. We are going to introduce this education for the first time in Asia. This is a good thing. This system of education enables all youths to attend junior middle school.

And in future, all youths who finish junior middle school should be enrolled in technical schools. Technical schools are part of an effective educational system which gives the new generation skills in a definite branch of work and gives them general knowledge and vocational skills simultaneously by combining theory with practice. Therefore, many technical schools in all sectors, particularly industry and agriculture, should be set up in towns and villages.

While raising the people's standard of education, activities by the amateur circles including physical training, dancing and music should be developed on a wide scale to enrich cultural life and foster optimism. In this respect, the democratic publicity hall should play an important role as the centre of cultural life in the countryside. But now these halls are not being run well. When I visited some of them, they had nothing but a few chairs in empty rooms.

Naturally, a democratic publicity hall should be kept in a sanitary and cultured way. It should have diagrams, wall newspapers, pictorials, magazines, games, etc., which will interest people and have educational value. Only then will the people go there voluntarily and see and learn new things. This is the only way to enable the democratic publicity hall to play its proper role in the cultural revolution.

The wisdom and power of the people of the ri should be taken full advantage of in cultural work in the countryside. Let me give you the example of a particular ri of Changsong County. It has 120 houses, 22 persons having a standard of education as that of secondary school graduates—11 teachers, as well as the ri Party committee chairman, ri people's committee chairman, chairman and chief accountant of the cooperative, and workers at the forestry station, road office and stores. If the ri Party organization mobilizes these people properly, it will be able to conduct both the work of adult education and the work of the democratic publicity hall in an effective manner. If the 120 houses are distributed among the 22 educated persons, each of them will be in charge of five or six houses. If they work hard for some three years, the cultural standard of all the people in the ri will be improved and their ideology will be changed considerably.

We asked the ri Party committee chairman if the committee had ever taken up this matter and given assignments to the officials as they were all under his control and belonged to the same Party organization. When we went to the primary school, we also met the teachers and asked them if they had ever offered their services to the democratic publicity hall or for adult education. They all said no. The ri Party organization had not organized this kind of work. Cultural work in the countryside can be successfully carried out if the ri Party carries out organizational work.

The schools should play an important role in the cultural revolution in the countryside. We are at present failing to make good use of our student force. Through students, scientific education can be disseminated among parents, and socialist ideology can be instilled in them, while public sanitary work can also be performed properly.

Schools and students should give an example where hygiene is concerned. Still, when we visit schools, we can find pupils with long hair, dirty faces and clothes. This should not be tolerated any longer. If parents give just a little attention, they can see that their children's clothes are properly washed. When the pupils come to school in the morning, the teachers should see if they have washed their faces, cut their nails, and have clean clothes, and should give them proper guidance. But they are not doing this. Worse still, there are cases where the teacher himself goes to school without shaving, in unironed clothes, and with buttons missing on his clothes. Some school mistresses also go about with untidy hair and as dishevelled as a thicket. As long as things remain in such a state, neither culture nor the cultural revolution can be developed in our country.

Public sanitary work should be carried out in an effective manner. At present it is not being done properly, so it should be conducted in a better manner.

Recently, I visited Changsong County and discovered that the county people's committee had distributed lime and had the houses whitewashed all in one day. It is not wrong to do this, but all they did was only a facelifting, they did not plaster the interior. To do it in a

good way, they should have cleaned up the houses from inside, papered the walls and whitewashed both the interior and exterior with lime. It is wrong to think that hygienic work means only sweeping the courtyard.

At present children's clothes are dirty. All grownups have their Sunday best, but their children do not. So, we are going to provide all pupils and students with uniforms next year.

Along with the building of modern dwellings, the construction work on bathhouses, nurseries, laundries, etc., should be stepped up. We should limit women's household chores so that they would be able to go to work. To this end, it is essential to set up nurseries and laundries. I have seen the washing machines made at the Kanggye Machine Factory and they are very useful. They can wash about 30 pieces of clothing at a time in just a few minutes. It will be a good thing if each agricultural cooperative has such a washing machine.

#### 4. ON EXTENSIVELY DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY

According to my preliminary observations, our officials do not seem to have a profound knowledge of the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. This meeting decided to expand the food-processing industry and increase the production of daily necessities in order to rapidly improve the people's livelihood. The state should take measures and a campaign by all the people should be launched simultaneously to implement this decision.

Measures to be taken by the state mean that the state-owned industrial enterprises should open by-product shops to increase the production of daily necessities, while factories for daily necessities should be built with state investments.

And the campaign by all the people means that each district should enlist the local resources and set up small-scale factories on its own without big state investments, and produce foodstuffs and other daily necessities in large quantities.

The task of the chairmen of the county Party and people's committees is to use their brains and tap all local resources and potentialities. At least, more than one local factory should be set up in each county. This task has already been given in the Cabinet decision and in the appeal for the August 15 liberation anniversary this year. The decision is very clear. Yet, when I had talks with the leading county officials in North Phyongan and Jagang Provinces, they admitted that they were still studying it. They are simply waiting for the time when the state or the province will provide them with large machines and funds, and give them production quotas. If higher authorities provide things like this, it will not be a popular campaign.

You should use your heads and decide for yourselves what can be done, according to local conditions. You may set up oxcart repair shops, paper mills, textile mills and other factories. Some counties are hard pressed even for an oxcart shop. I have heard that there is no such shop in Poptong County of Kangwon Province, and so, when an oxcart breaks down, people have to carry it on their shoulders and go as far as Wonsan to repair it.

In Jonchon I visited a mill that makes dry noodles out of maize, and it was really excellent. Such a mill can be set up in any place. Mills for potato noodles should be set up in districts that abound in potatoes and vegetable-processing factories should be built where vegetables are plentiful. A small food-processing factory can also be set up if one has just a room and a couple of big jars.

Many small and medium textile mills, for instance, can be set up. I have inspected the mill for silk gauze in Anju, which is equipped entirely with treadle looms. It is said that one treadle loom can make 40 metres of cloth a day. So, if only one mill with 100 treadle looms is set up, it would be a major achievement. The output of 100 looms will be 4,000 metres of cloth a day. Working an estimated 300 days, the

annual output will be 1,200,000 metres.

It is also advisable to set up a paper mill to make white paper from tree bark. By daubing the white paper with oil, you can produce excellent floor paper. If you do your work properly, you can ensure that the peasants paper the floor of all their rooms and live in a neat place and in a cultured way.

Changsong County, for example, is rich in brushwood. This can be used to bake earthenware and the ash can be used for the production of fertilizer with a high potassium content. So it serves two ends. You can find such cases as much as you want to.

At present, the producers' cooperatives are producing all kinds of goods with small investments. They produce goods worth 18,000 million *won*. You will do a good thing if you go and inspect the producers' cooperatives.

If only work is organized, manpower can be found to carry it out. At least 200 to 300 families of workers and office employees live in each county seat. There is an idle local workforce that can be engaged in the production sector at any time.

Technicians can also be found. In any county, the producers' cooperatives have many craftsmen amongst their members. Some officials are unwilling to employ such technicians because they were engaged in private dealings up until recently, but this is wrong. They were private technicians until recently but today they have become socialist working people. Such people should not be left aside but should be boldly engaged in technical work; then they will show greater enthusiasm in their work.

To set up and operate more than one small or medium-size factory in each county is an important measure for ensuring the production of large quantities of processed foodstuffs and daily necessities, by making use of local resources without the need for state funds, and for improving the people's living conditions rapidly. An extensive project for the setting up of local factories has many advantages, because the income of the workers and office employees will increase as all the women will go out to work, the women will receive political training

and collective education and the workforce will be increased without using more housing funds and state grain.

And another good point is that it will increase know-how of enterprise management on the part of the leading county officials. A major shortcoming by many chairmen of county Party and people's committees is that they do not know how to run a factory. They do not know how to make economic planning. This also hinders their guidance in agriculture. Economic planning is necessary in agriculture as well, but as only little attention is given to it, the struggle to lower the cost of farm produce is not very effective. If factories are operated in every county, the economic knowledge of that county's leading officials can be enhanced and their guidance improved.

Thus, it is necessary and preferable in all respects to set up local factories. Therefore, you should use your wits in your work in order to thoroughly carry out the decision of the June Plenary Meeting. You should not simply seek help from higher authorities, but conduct work on your own and in a campaign involving all the people.

### 5. ON IMPROVING METHODS OF WORK IN THE CITY AND COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

The main shortcoming in the work of the city and county people's committees is that they fail to take total account of things. If they are pushed one step forward, they make one step forward, and if two, they make two steps forward; if they are pushed on this side, the other side goes wrong, and if they are pushed on the other side, this side goes amiss. This happens because they do not understand the Party's policies properly.

The principles and the basic orientation of the Party policy should be correctly understood. Only then can one do one's work creatively in conformity with the actual conditions in one's locality. It is not enough to work so mechanically as to do just what is specified in a Party decision, and nothing more.

The Party policy sets forth the general direction for the whole country; it cannot make specifications for each locality such as what to do and how to do it. That is why the officials should make a profound study of the Party policy, show organizational abilities and play an active part in order to implement it in an efficient way.

A perfunctory attitude towards the Party policy could be noted in the work of former leading officials in Ryanggang Province. When we said that maize was the king of dry-field grain crops, people in this province also made a fuss, planting extensive areas with maize. In this province, maize cannot be the best crop because potatoes grow better there. So the best crop to grow in this province is potatoes. And at the foot of Mt. Paektu where rice could not be grown, people had a really hard time turning the dry fields into paddy fields for the simple reason that they had been instructed to carry out irrigation work.

The people of Ryanggang Province had been fairly well-off before when they used to grow potatoes, but they had a hell of a time doing paddy farming. They had a bitter experience in turning dry fields into paddy fields, and suffered great hardships because rice did not grow, and then they had to go through the trouble of turning the paddy fields back into dry fields again. Thus, they had a bad time for about three or four years, because of one thing or another.

The county people's committees have so far worked without using their brains in conformity with the Party policy, like a machine that is in motion only when it is operated, moving when it is handled from above, while remaining stationary when the strings are not pulled. So it is like playing with a puppet.

It is also clear that local officials lack initiative in organizing work to carry out the decision of the June Plenary Meeting. As I have found out, they all sit down doing nothing and waste time, waiting for a decision from the provincial Party committee's plenary meeting. Each city and county Party committee and people's committee should have

organized the work promptly in conformity with the actual conditions of their county on the basis of the policy laid down in the decision of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee. Yet, the provincial Party committee is preparing for a plenary meeting, and the county Party committee is still preparing for a plenary meeting while waiting for the go-ahead from the province.

As for meetings, there is also a lot of formalities. What is the use of holding unnecessary plenary meetings? There is no need for both the provincial and county Party committees to hold a plenary meeting just because the Party Central Committee has held a plenary meeting. A plenary meeting should be held and the executive committee should meet when it is necessary, and a people's assembly should be called into session when there's the need to do so; any means available to carry out the decision will do.

As the North Phyongan Provincial Party Committee is to convene a plenary meeting to hear a report on the execution of the decision of the June Plenary Meeting, I have asked the vice-chairmen of the Provincial Party Committee how the report will be prepared and what decisions are envisaged. They said that, as a matter of fact, there was nothing to add to what the Central Committee had already said, and that, rather, they risked leaving out something if a new report was made. If that is the case, then why take the trouble to make another report and adopt another resolution? It would be enough to convene a meeting of the executive committee of the Provincial Party Committee and organize the work in accordance with the policy adopted by the Central Committee and then personally tour the counties to take measures such as determining what kind of food-processing factory or daily necessities factory should be set up in a particular place, and intensify work. There is no need to attach matters unnecessarily with provincial and county Party committee plenary meetings, reports and resolutions. Indeed, necessary meetings have to be convened, but there is no need to adhere to formalities.

All these things prevent the officials from showing initiative in their work. They say that if they do not heed formalities, they will be

reprimanded by the guidance group. They say that the guidance group puts them through severe questioning: why don't you convene a plenary meeting; why don't you take up the matter; why are you neglecting the Party decision so much? This is wrong. The guidance group should demand not formalities, but the substance of work.

It is a big drawback that our officials lack initiative. So, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee has made it an important task to bring into play the initiative and activity of the leading workers of the counties and ri.

An important factor in increasing initiative lies in the profound understanding of the Party policy. You should not swallow the Party policy whole or take a formal attitude towards it, but should make a deep study of it and implement it in a creative manner according to the actual conditions.

On-the-spot guidance should also be intensified. At present various meetings are often held in the capital, provinces and counties. This wrong practice should stop. An end should be put once and for all to the practice of calling continual meetings and remaining in one place while imposing things on subordinates. This question was also raised by the Party a long time ago, but it is not being put into practice properly.

The talks I have had with leading county officials show that they do not give proper on-the-spot guidance. They say that when a county people's committee chairman visits a ri and stays there overnight and then leaves the next day, that is the longest time he spends in that place. That is not enough. When a county people's committee chairman visits a ri, he should stay there for at feast two or three days, help the ri Party committee chairman or the ri people's committee chairman in their work, hold talks with the Party activists, investigate how things stand in the ri and take concrete measures to improve matters. However, our officials do not give on-the-spot guidance in this manner. When they visit the ri, most of them make conclusions according to their individual point of view after attending a meeting for a couple of hours, without scrupulously examining what work involves. Or

otherwise, they meet the ri Party or people's committee chairman, request statistic figures and then leave. As a result, the work of the ri people's or the ri Party committee cannot be expected to be done properly.

The leading county officials should visit the ri and stay there for several days, during which time they should question their elders, hold talks with both Party members and other people, and, availing themselves of the opportunity, should consult them about how to carry out cultural work, how to sell commodities, how to make preparations for farming and how to further improve the living standard of the peasants, and render them practical assistance. It will not be a good thing to impose things on them by giving orders of one kind or another in a subjective manner. Only through direct contacts with the masses will you be able to get a clear understanding of things, like where the ri is lagging in its work, what the weak points are in the work of the ri people's committee chairman, how to correct them, what the ideological preparations of ri cadres and activists, and their characters are like, and how to mobilize the hard-core members and all the peasants in an effective manner.

If the leading county officials do their work in this way for about a year, they will be able to know all about the situation in their county. At present, as I discovered during talks with county people's committee chairmen, they are not aware of the state of affairs in their counties; they can describe the situation only if they look at their notebooks. This does not mean that they have bad memories, but that they are unaware of the state of affairs in their counties. If they delve into the work of each ri, they will be able to get full information about such things as the area of dry fields and paddy fields in the ri and the production. They will know everything about every ri without having to look at their notebooks.

Most of the chairmen of the ri Party and people's committees are good people. If they fail to carry out their work properly, it is not because they are bad people, but because they do not know how to do it. So, you should continue to teach and help people, instead of firing

them after things have gone wrong. Also in matters like meetings, you should not merely instruct them to hold a meeting, but should guide them on how to make preparations and hold a meeting and after the meeting, you should teach them one by one how to organize, inspect and review the implementation of decisions. As for training, there is the method of giving short courses, but the best way is to give them on-the-spot guidance. You should provide conditions and give thorough assistance to the chairmen of ri Party and ri people's committees so that they would all be able to show initiative and play an active part. A method of always giving guidance in this way should be adopted, whether it is the province that is guiding the county, or the county that is guiding the ri.

I would like to emphasize once again that the city and county people's committees should get rid of conservatism, make continuous changes and uninterrupted progress, intensify socialist education among the peasants, promote the technical and cultural revolutions, use their wits to carry out the work of building local factories, improve the work methods of the people's committees, and also successfully carry out all the tasks ahead of them. While referring to these problems in general, I wish you great success in your future work.

## WARM CONGRATULATIONS TO YOUNG RAILWAY BUILDERS ON THEIR NEW EXAMPLE IN THE COLLECTIVE INNOVATION MOVEMENT

#### Speech at the Inauguration of the Haeju-Hasong Standard-Gauge Railway Line

August 12, 1958

#### Comrades,

The construction of the standard-gauge railway line between Haeju and Hasong which is of great significance in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan has been completed with success. It is a great pleasure to hold this ceremony of opening this line to traffic on the eve of the 13th anniversary of the August 15 liberation.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I offer warm congratulations and thanks at this opening ceremony to all the workers, technicians and office employees mobilized for the construction of this railway on having successfully completed the project in so short a time by displaying patriotic devotion and performing feats of labour.

In order to improve the technical equipment of railway transport, the First Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea put forward as a major task in the field of transport the laying of a standard-gauge line between Haeju and Hasong during the First Five-Year Plan.

Inspired by the decision of the Party and the Government young people employed in transport volunteered to participate in the construction work, each more ardently than the other. In South Hwanghae Province the youth came out in sympathy with them and flocked in their thousands to the construction site.

Laying the more than 80-kilometre long railway entailed 880,000 cubic metres of earthwork, and over 5,600 square metres of revetment work, the construction of 38 bridges, nine stations, nine track maintenance shops, one locomotive depot and over 200 dwelling houses.

Such a huge project would normally have taken three or four years to complete. In view of the urgent demands of the developing national economy, the Cabinet of the Republic decided to carry out the project in one year and open the railway line to traffic by May Day next year.

However, this huge construction work was finished by you in a short space of time just 75 days, without any extra manpower at all from the state. Last August 1 the first trainload of cement arrived in Pyongyang, the capital of the revolution, from Haeju by way of the new standard-gauge line built with your enthusiasm and devoted labour.

This is nothing short of a miracle! Such a building speed could not be measured by any old technical standard or work norm.

Indeed, you have broken all the old standards and created new records, performing a world-shaking miracle.

Overcoming all the difficulties and obstacles, the young builders mobilized for the project exceeded the fixed work norms four or five times over, while the advanced workers and workteams exceeded their work norms nine times over and even more, thereby showing a new example of the collective innovation movement in our socialist construction.

The young builders from the Kujang Construction Station made a notable contribution to the successful building of the railway by introducing advanced techniques. They undertook a big blasting job, placing over 30 tons of dynamite to remove a hill consisting of 70,000 cubic metres of soil and rock, the biggest mass of earth in the project.

A locomotive engineer belonging to the shock brigade named after

Hero Ri Su Bok introduced various innovations in underwater excavation and concrete-tamping. As a result, the work was finished in five days instead of the 40 days originally planned. Above all, anticipating the flood of July 1, he performed a heroic feat to prevent it doing any damage; he worked in deep water for 29 hours on end piling up 580 bags of earth, each weighing 70 kilogrammes.

A comrade from the Sansung Agricultural Cooperative in charge of a working company ensured that their embanking plan was fulfilled nine times over in order to cut down on the construction time by 81 days. In the process he trained 100 skilled workers and saved the labour of over 1,000 men. In doing so he performed a great exploit.

Such examples could be cited without end. All the young people who participated in the project were innovators. When one man took the lead, another immediately overtook and outstripped him, and when a workteam set a record, another workteam broke it right away.

The successful completion of the standard-gauge railway line between Haeju and Hasong is due to the combined efforts of workers from the factories and enterprises concerned including the Hwanghae Iron Works and Kilju Preserved Sleeper Factory who supplied an enormous quantity of equipment and materials in time and all the farmers, students and officials of the Party and government organs in South Hwanghae Province. It is the fruit of the labour efforts of all the people.

I take this opportunity to extend warm thanks to all the working people who have helped, directly or indirectly, in the construction of the railway.

The Party Committee of South Hwanghae Province and Party organizations within the province played an outstanding role in seeing that the necessary equipment and materials were supplied in time and in encouraging the builders in their efforts by organizing and mobilizing patriotic labour in the province.

The Haeju-Hasong standard-gauge railway is of major importance in further developing our national economy in the future. This railway will help promote socialist construction further by delivering cement more rapidly to various construction sites from the Haeju Cement Factory whose annual capacity is to reach 600,000 to 700,000 tons, and will offer great convenience to the working people by transporting daily necessities promptly and, at the same time, by opening a through passenger train service between Pyongyang and Haeju.

Through your heroic labour you have graphically illustrated what great might the masses of the people can display, once they have seized power and risen to create a new life.

Your great achievement and your reputation have added a fresh powerful spur and impetus to the enthusiasm for labour which is now running unprecedentedly high all over the country, and instilled in our people courage and confidence that they can readily overcome any difficulty.

Moreover, it has inspired all the working people and youths with infinite pride in the wisdom, resources and valour of our people, and added to their joy in being members of this great fighting force.

Comrades,

At present the Korean people are carrying out the First Five-Year Plan which is of great significance in developing our history.

During the Five-Year Plan, we will further develop the productive forces on the basis of the socialist relations of production already established. Thus, we will throw off our economic backwardness left over by the prolonged feudal rule and Japanese imperialist colonial rule and further consolidate the material and productive foundations of socialism and considerably improve the living standard of our people.

In order to carry out the basic tasks of the Five-Year Plan, our Party adheres to the policy of giving priority to the heavy industry such as the metallurgical industry, power industry, coal industry, machine-building industry, chemical industry and building-materials industry and, on this basis, simultaneously advancing light industry and agriculture.

Railway transport plays a vital role in carrying out the Five-Year Plan. The railways are, as it were, the arteries of the national economy. If the railways fail to ensure freight traffic on time for the development of the national economy, there cannot be a rapid development of industrial and agricultural production nor is it possible to carry out the huge-scale construction work nor can we satisfy the requirements of the people's life.

The Five-Year Plan confronts our railway transport with immense tasks.

In 1961 the volume of railway freight haulage should increase by 75 per cent as compared with 1956, and railway freight turnover, by 71.6 per cent.

If freight transport is to increase smoothly like this, the technical equipment of transport should be further improved, and traffic and carrying capacities expanded considerably. During the Five-Year Plan the carrying capacities of the major trunk lines including the Pyongyang-Wonsan line and the Wonsan-Rajin line should be raised sharply; the Susong-Komusan and Charyong-Kumphae lines should be double-tracked; the electrification of the railway between Kowon and Sinsongchon should be completed; and the railway between Myongchon and Tanchon should also be switched over to electric traction.

Besides, during the Five-Year Plan we should build new marshalling yards in Chongjin and Hamhung and improve the appearance of many station buildings.

With regard to passenger traffic, the foremost task is to improve the service for passengers and make it more efficient.

There must be a more efficient use of rolling stock and the turnaround time of freight cars constantly reduced.

Our country has rich power resources. Therefore, the railways should be switched over to electric traction in order to strengthen their technical equipment, to increase their carrying capacity and to reduce the cost of transport. Future development of our railways should be along the lines of electrification.

While electrifying the main trunk lines in the period of the First Five-Year Plan, we must lay the material and technical foundation for switching all our railways over to electric traction in the future. I firmly believe that all the workers, technicians and office employees in the field of railway transport will successfully fulfil and overfulfil this huge task set forth by the Party.

Comrades,

We are now victoriously breaking the bottleneck of the Five-Year Plan.

In all fields of the national economy including industry, agriculture, railway transport and capital construction, our working people overfulfilled by big margins the plans for 1957 and for the first half of 1958. In a warm response to the call of the Party, all the working people are displaying unexampled creative activity, resourcefulness and patriotic enthusiasm in carrying out the Five-Year Plan.

Today socialist construction in our country is at its peak. In the urban and rural communities, at factories and mines, in all fields of socialist construction, our working people are surging ahead on Chollima to build a new life. Our productive forces are developing at a great pace and the very appearance of society is changing very rapidly.

Historic events take place one after another in the development of our industry. Our heroic working class completed the construction of the Hungnam Ammonium Nitrate Plant one year ahead of schedule, and built a gigantic blast furnace and coke oven in the Hwanghae Iron Works.

Moreover, simultaneously with the formal opening of this railway line today, we are celebrating the completion of kiln No. 3 of the Haeju Cement Factory which has been rehabilitated in just 60 days.

Industrial production has continued to mount rapidly. As a result, in the first half of this year it was 34 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of last year.

At construction sites throughout the country all work is now progressing at an amazing speed. The construction workers of Pyongyang decided to build houses for 20,000 families with the materials and manpower for 7,000 flats. This patriotic initiative has touched off a great innovation drive at the construction sites all over the country. In Pyongyang in the first half of this year, work was

started on more than 18,000 flats and over 8,000 flats were completed.

Although agriculture this year experienced a severe natural calamity, a splendid harvest is expected thanks to the unremitting labour efforts of the farmers.

It is by no means accidental that our socialist construction has reached its peak.

Under the feudal rule over many centuries and under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism for almost half a century, our people traversed a dark and thorny path. Following liberation our people under the leadership of our Party took power into their own hands in a fierce struggle against reaction and defended the power from the enemy's encroachment.

After the war all the working people inspired by the Party policy rehabilitated the badly devastated economy and made vast improvements in their very hard life.

In our country the exploiting system on the whole has already been abolished in the main, and socialism has won a decisive victory in town and country.

Our people who under the leadership of the Party invariably won victory and gained a firm faith in the correctness of the Party policy through their life-and-death struggle, have now risen vigorously with redoubled courage and confidence in response to the call of the Party for a new greater victory.

The revolutionary upsurge now taking place in our country shows that no force can ever block the road ahead of our people united firmly around the Party and that nothing is beyond their power once they choose to tackle it.

We can say with confidence that our working people will overfulfil this gigantic Five-Year Plan.

Just one year ago it was a big poser for us how to carry out the Five-Year Plan successfully. But now the problem presents itself differently. Today we are confronted with the problem of how to carry out the Five-Year Plan more quickly before the set time.

If we continue to sustain the high revolutionary spirit of the masses

and bring about a continuous upsurge in all fields of the national economy without resting content with victory, we can for sure carry out the Five-Year Plan well ahead of schedule.

We completed in 75 days a project that was to have taken three or four years. If we go on working at this rate, nothing will be beyond us.

Only the passive and conservative elements who shut their eyes to such high revolutionary spirit of the masses may have little confidence in the unfailing creative power of our people.

Everywhere passivism and conservatism stand in the way of our people's vigorous advance.

After the historic December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, our struggle to bring about a new upsurge in socialist construction was mainly a struggle between the positive and the passive, between the progressive and the conservative. By overcoming passivism and conservatism on all fronts of socialist construction, we have been able to bring about a great change in work and to achieve the revolutionary upswing of today.

When we proposed the plan to increase industrial output by 22 per cent in 1957 as against the preceding year, the passive elements said it was absolutely impossible. But, contrary to their argument, industrial production that year chalked up a record growth of 44 per cent instead of a mere 22.

The conservative elements asserted that the blast furnace at the Hwanghae Iron Works could not be rehabilitated even by August 15, to say nothing of May 1, without importing a blower from abroad. But our workers and technicians who responded to the call of the Party built the blast furnace admirably with our own materials and techniques by May 1 this year, didn't they?

Because we aroused the creative zeal of the masses by nullifying the obstructions of the factionalists and conservatists entrenched in the field of construction, we could bring about a change such as can be seen today on the construction sites of the whole country including Pyongyang.

If we had not introduced advanced methods of farming including

the method of cold-bed rice seedlings in opposition to all shades of conservatism and passivism in agriculture and had not mobilized the peasant masses to the struggle for overcoming the drought, how could we have gathered the record grain harvest of 3,200,000 tons in a year like last year?

Conservative elements often go by rated capacities and refer to past records of performance and old technical standards to vindicate themselves. But at the Kim Chaek Iron Works, Kangson Steel Plant, Nampho Refinery, and in all fields of the national economy, the old rated capacities and work norms are surpassed several times or scores of times, and unprecedented records are created.

What does all this show? It shows that passivism and conservatism which hinder our forward movement are being smashed under the impact of the great labour upsurge of all the working people, and that only when they are overcome can success be achieved.

Conservatism still persists in our socialist construction and the struggle against it continues. Our task is to do away with all manifestations of conservatism, and to maintain and further develop today's revolutionary upsurge.

We cannot slow down our socialist construction. Our economy is still lagging behind and we stand face to face with the enemy. The situation in our country does not allow us even the slightest idleness. Keeping on the alert, we must make a dash forward for a greater victory and run faster still.

I firmly believe that you will attain greater success in socialist construction without slackening in the least the spirit you have displayed in construction work this time.

## YOU MUST BECOME ADVANCED COMBATANTS OF THE WORKING MASSES FAITHFUL TO THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION

Speech Delivered at the First Graduation Ceremony of the Three-Year Course of the Central Party School

August 18, 1958

Comrades,

Today it gives us great pleasure to be present at the first graduation ceremony of the three-year course of the Central Party School.

The Central Party School is the highest cadre-training institution of our Party which educates leading personnel for the Party and state bodies. This school has introduced a three-year training course, a comparatively lengthy one, and is producing its first batch of graduates. This is a big step forward in training Party cadres, a joyous event of really great significance today when the demand for cadres is higher than ever before now that the building of socialism is progressing at an accelerated pace.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee I warmly congratulate you, the graduating class, who as honorary first graduates of the three-year course of the Central Party School are leaving for different fields of socialist construction to carry out the Party policy and to play a leading role among the masses of people.

Further, I express wholehearted thanks to the entire teaching staff

including the school's director who have bent all their energies on educating the students.

Comrade graduates, in accordance with the Party's basic education policy you have made great efforts over the past three years to equip yourselves firmly with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, to gain a deeper ideological and theoretical understanding of our Party line and policy, to temper your Party spirit, to establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint and to acquire the correct style of work. In doing so you have prepared yourselves politically and theoretically to become able revolutionary workers capable of working independently in the future.

The Party expects a great deal from you. In order to live up to the Party's expectations in all respects, you should continue to temper your Party spirit without becoming self-complacent, and make strenuous efforts to consolidate the knowledge obtained at the school through practical work. Detached from work for three years, you may be ignorant of the rapidly changing objective realities. You should therefore begin your work by learning from the masses with an open mind and acquainting yourselves with the actual conditions.

Today I would like to touch on a few questions which I think will be helpful to you in your future work.

First of all, you should keep building up your Party spirit no matter where you go to work or what establishment employs you.

Everyone needs to cultivate his Party spirit constantly. There are people who think that because they have had enough in the way of promoting their Party spirit, they need no more. This will not do. Even a man with a strong Party spirit should continue tempering his Party spirit. Before entering this school, too, you had cultivated your Party spirit, and while at school you have done much in this respect. After leaving this school when you are engaged in practical work in the future, you should always regard the building up of your Party spirit as the prime task and continually strive to this end.

In a word, the Party spirit means fidelity to the Party. To be faithful to the Party you should work selflessly no matter when and where, going through fire and water, for the sake of the Party and the working masses, in conformity with the Party line and policy. To be faithful to the Party you should not only carry out your Party assignments faithfully, but actively support and defend the Party Central Committee, safeguard the unity and cohesion of the Party like the apple of your eye, and fight resolutely against all factional trends, localism and nepotism which impair this unity and cohesion.

Such is our basic criterion for the fidelity to the Party. We regard as core elements of our Party those Party members who endeavour perseveringly to acquire a high degree of Party spirit. By constantly promoting your Party spirit in future, you should always remain core elements of our Party.

What is more, you should maintain the upswing in socialist construction. To do so you should wage a determined ideological struggle against the remnants of all kinds of old thinking, such as conservatism and passivism which hamper the vigorous progress of socialist construction.

In our country today socialist construction has entered a period of great upswing, and our people are surging forward in the spirit of Chollima riders along the road to socialism.

The present revolutionary upsurge has come about as a result of the active struggle of all the people who were educated by our Party for more than ten years after liberation and tried in the course of the grim Fatherland Liberation War. United closely around the Party with the unwavering conviction that they would surely win if they followed the path indicated by the Party, they strove to carry out the Party line and policy. In particular, the upswing in the building of socialism was achieved through an acute struggle against conservatism, passivism and stagnation which stood in the way of our progress.

We fought resolutely against conservative elements during the discussion on the national economic plan for 1957 at the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. In fact, it can be said that this plenary meeting was directed against conservative trends. If we were to carry out our Party's basic line of economic construction which was to give priority to heavy industry while developing light

industry and agriculture, heavy industry had in the first place to produce large quantities of steel, machinery, cement, fertilizer and so on. This was the prerequisite for the development of light industry and agriculture and a rapid improvement in the people's standard of living. Therefore at the December Plenary Meeting, we set forth the task of turning out more steel, cement and fertilizer. At the time, however, the conservative elements who went by rated capacities declared this task infeasible. We were not the least shaken by the argument put forward by the conservatists and passivists.

In order to implement the decision of the December Plenary Meeting, we went to the workers and consulted them, kindling the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. The workers of the Kangson Steel Plant responded wholeheartedly to the Party's call and resolved to produce 90,000 tons at the blooming mill which the conservative elements had argued could not turn out more than 60,000 tons. Actually they performed a miracle by producing 120,000 tons of steel. The workers of the Kim Chaek Iron Works turned out 270,000 tons of pig iron at a blast furnace which the conservative elements maintained would be able to yield only 190,000 tons, referring to the rated capacity of the days of Japanese imperialist rule. The conservative elements had claimed that the construction of blast furnace No. 1 and the coke oven at the Hwanghae Iron Works could not have been completed by us before May Day this year. But the workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works completed them by May Day, thus exploding the claim of the conservatists.

If we had adopted the conservatists' view, we would have been unable to build so many factories in such a short space of time. Not only that, we would have failed to build Pyongyang so rapidly. The conservative elements and anti-Party factionalists took exception to mechanization and prefab methods in construction recommended by the Party. We beat back the obstructionist moves of the conservative elements and opposed the anti-Party factionalists, with the result that construction work moved forward very rapidly. The building workers of Pyongyang resolved to put up 20,000 flats with the materials, funds

and manpower earmarked this year for the construction of 7,000 flats. They are now successfully putting their resolve into effect.

As experience shows, without combatting conservatism and passivism there cannot be innovation and rapid progress in socialist construction, nor can there be a continued uplift of the masses' spirit.

At present the machine-building industry is infected to a great extent with conservatism and mysticism regarding technology. Certain conservative-minded people in this field make a mystery out of machinery and fail to increase the efficiency of machines and equipment and to boldly set about producing machines that are in big demand in various fields of socialist construction.

Instead of keeping pace with the masses in their rising enthusiasm and of actively helping the working people, the conservative elements hinder the forward movement of the masses. The moves of the conservative elements and anti-Party factionalists are, when all is said and done, an anti-Party, counter-revolutionary act to make the people dissatisfied with the Party and to alienate the masses of people from it by putting a brake on our progress and preventing any improvement in the people's material and cultural standards.

In short, the process of socialist construction since the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee has been a struggle between progress and conservatism, between the active and the passive, between innovation and stagnation, a triumph for progress, activeness and innovation.

We cannot slacken in the least the upswing of socialist construction brought about by a difficult struggle; we should promote it. In order to sustain the upswing of socialist construction and to boost it, the ideological struggle against conservatism, passivism and inertness should be stepped up and the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activity of the working masses should be brought into full play.

The conservative-minded people understand the rated capacities all right, but fail to see the revolutionary ardour of the workers and have little faith in the strength of the masses. However, because we combined the strength of the masses with the rated capacities, we were

able to throw overboard the rated capacities that were outdated and increase productivity several times over. No matter what revolutionary post you may be assigned to, you should resolutely reject conservatism and passivism and give full rein to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, thereby sustaining the upswing of socialist construction.

Further, an energetic struggle should be waged to wipe out formalism and subjectivism.

Formalism is very much in evidence today in the work of our personnel. Because they are not free from formalism, they cannot display creative initiative in their work nor can they carry out the Party policy efficiently.

As I said recently when addressing the short course for the chairmen of city and county people's committees, the principal shortcoming in the work of the county Party and people's committees is the lack of creative initiative in carrying out Party policy. At present many of our officials take one step when they are pushed one step and take just two steps when pushed two steps.

This lack of creative initiative in the work of our officials was clearly revealed in implementing the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

The plenary meeting passed a decision to produce articles of daily use and processed food in large quantities in order to quickly improve the living standard of the people. They should be turned out in sufficiently large quantities to meet the increasing demand for consumer goods that is accompanying the rise in the living standard of the working people. However, it is impossible to fully meet the diverse requirements of the people merely by building large factories, and we cannot build necessary factories in a short time on state investments only. Therefore, while the building of large light industry factories continues, the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee appealed for all factories and enterprises to set up by-product workshops and for every county to launch a massive drive to build several local industry factories.

Since the publication of this decision by the June Plenary Meeting

the provincial and county Party committees have failed to attend to this matter properly. The provincial Party committees are lingering over this work, saying that they are preparing for their own plenary meetings at present, and the city and county Party committees are merely waiting for the decisions of the plenary meetings of the provincial committees. Hearing that the provincial Party committees were preparing for plenary meetings, we asked the deputy chairman of the Party Committee of North Phyongan Province how they were compiling the report to the plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee which was to discuss ways of carrying out the decision of the June Plenary Meeting. His answer was that although they were writing the report, it differed little, apart from concrete illustrations, from the report to the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee; it had nothing new to add to it but it did have something to cut if only a few words.

When it is possible to organize work according to the decision of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, what is the use of the provincial Party committee holding a plenary meeting simply for form's sake if it has nothing new to discuss at it? If the provincial Party committee adopts another decision exactly the same at its plenary meeting, the lower units will only find it a cumber and a waste of time to propagate the decisions of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee and the plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee. The decision of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee clearly provides for expanding and developing the industries producing articles of daily use and food through a movement embracing all the people. Therefore, the local Party organizations will do well to make a deep study of the decision of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee on launching a nationwide movement to build local industry factories and to take steps to carry it out in keeping with local conditions.

The counties could build oxcart repair shops, textile mills, paper mills, china and porcelain factories, or vermicelli plants and the like. If, upon completion, these factories find it hard to introduce mechanization, they may start production by handicraft methods. Build a textile mill in each county and install in it about 20 treadle looms, and you will be able to produce a large quantity of fabrics. Supposing one treadle loom turns out 40 metres of cloth a day, one factory alone will be able to produce 240,000 metres of cloth a year with 300 workdays. If every county does the same, nearly 50 million metres of fabrics will be turned out by 200 counties in our country a year. We intend to produce 130 million metres of fabrics a year from the industry under central authority during the First Five-Year Plan. If, to this, we add the output of local industry, we shall have produced 180 million metres a year. This will mean nearly 20 metres of cloth per head of the population. And if paper mills are built in the counties and the stalks of cotton plants, branches of mulberry trees and the like are used to supply them with raw material, the paper needed for the cultural revolution in the rural areas will be obtained locally. If officials make serious efforts in a creative way, it is possible to set up many factories in the counties to produce by themselves a wide variety of articles of daily use and foodstuffs essential for the people.

Along with formalism, subjectivism should also be eliminated.

There are now many officials who work in a subjective manner out of touch with reality. This is why many shortcomings are to be found in their work. People captivated by subjectivism refuse to go among the masses to study the real state of affairs. They thoughtlessly impose their own subjective ideas on their subordinates without knowing the actual conditions at lower levels. Their ideas are accepted implicitly at lower levels, with the result that many things go wrong in the end.

In order to overcome formalism and subjectivism, officials are required, first of all, to be highly resourceful in implementing Party policy. They should make a profound study of Party policy and grasp its message correctly before they formulate various ways of implementing it and then carry it out thoroughly. On no account should they work like puppets.

In eliminating formalism and subjectivism active guidance of the lower levels is also necessary.

This enables one to get well acquainted with the state of affairs in the lower organizations, and consequently prevents one committing subjective errors in work and enables one to help subordinates effectively.

The present chairmen of the ri and factory Party committees are all good people, but as yet their level is low and their organizing ability is weak. So they are slow in spotting problems awaiting solution and lack a spirit of enterprise. Therefore, leading personnel should avoid formalism and directly contact the lower organizations, kindly helping their subordinates to work well.

After the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the practice is being generally established in our Party that leading workers personally go to guide work on the spot. We saw to it that the personnel of the Party Central Committee took the lead in giving on-the-spot guidance. At county level, too, the practice is now being introduced among the personnel of contacting the lower units to learn about their work and help them in accordance with the collective discussion. However, formalism is still very much in evidence. Although county officials make numerous visits to the lower organizations, they fail to get to the heart of thing or to discover in good time new seeds of originality. When such failings are eliminated in the guidance of the lower organizations, a great innovation will be brought about in our Party work.

Further, you should strive to thoroughly establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint and acquire a modest and simple style of work.

The revolution is an undertaking for the masses of people. We work to build socialism and communism so as to provide a life of plenty for all the people. Moreover, the revolution cannot be carried out single-handed; it can only be victorious when the masses of the people take an active part in it. Success in the building of socialism and communism, too, can only be hoped for when the masses are mobilized correctly.

If our Party is to be equal to its mission, its personnel should work in a manner meeting the interests and demands of the people and learn to skilfully mobilize the masses of the people for the revolution and construction work.

If one acts contrary to the interests of the masses they will be lost. He who has lost the masses cannot cope with revolutionary work. That is why we always emphasize to our officials that they should have a correct revolutionary mass viewpoint.

To have a revolutionary mass viewpoint means putting faith in the strength of the masses of the people and going among them, serving them, working with them, and leading them along the right path. In establishing the revolutionary mass viewpoint it is important to learn to mix with the masses, to converse with them, respect their interests and lead them along the right path.

If officials are to mingle with the masses, they must know them well and heed their opinion. To heed the opinion of the masses does not necessarily mean to lend an ear to the opinion of backward sections of the population. Indeed, the voice of the backward circles should also be heeded. Not in order to follow it but to combat it and to correct the backward thinking of these circles. It is necessary for Party workers to consult the revolutionary masses on a broad scale and to be quick to meet the demand of the masses. In all matters, they should carefully consider the interests of the masses.

We have many officials at present who handle matters at random in a subjective way in disregard of the interests of the masses.

Here is an example. In order to prevent reckless felling of trees, the state decided to levy a tax of 800 won on one cubic metre of trees felled. It is good to tighten control so as to check arbitrary tree felling. However, some officials lower down who lack the mass viewpoint, have applied the state law mechanically, imposing a tax of 800 won per cubic metre even on peasants who cut brushwood. This is a gross mistake. The consequence is that because of the heavy tax the peasants refrain from cutting brushwood for sale. This has led to an increase in the consumption of coal which has to be supplied by the state and also to a drop in the additional incomes of the peasants in the mountainous areas. Learning of this fact recently, we gave instructions to make

drastic cuts in the tax on brushwood. We could cite many similar instances.

You should combat such practices with determination in the future and, acting from a correct revolutionary mass viewpoint, handle all matters in conformity with the interests of the masses.

Moreover, you should be modest and simple.

If you belittle others or become arrogant just because you have had plenty of schooling, your education at the Party school will have been in vain. You have attended the Party school in order to study our Party policy and Marxism-Leninism and serve the people better, not just to show off your learning.

In the old days the spurious Marxists liked to make a vain show of their knowledge. A pretender like O Ki Sop, puffed up with pride on having finished a communist university in a certain other country, peppered his speech indiscriminately with foreign words unintelligible to ordinary people such as "hegemoni", "puroretaria", "ideologi" and so on. He used to carry about with him a memorandum on difficult terms to pretend he was very learned. Right after liberation he signed his name to newspaper articles in foreign letters.

Under no circumstances should you act like this. Wherever you may work, you should not assume the air of graduates from the Central Party School. When speaking, you should use plain language so that people can understand you easily. One speaks to make others understand him. What is the use of speaking over the heads of others? He who is fond of showing off his scanty knowledge is in fact an ignoramus.

You have acquired at this school initial knowledge which will merely serve as the basis for further development. Finishing the Central Party School never means becoming a great Marxist-Leninist. If the graduates of the Central Party School are well informed, this is no doubt gratifying. But the more learned you are, the more humble you should be, and you should help and teach others to know as much as you do.

You will have to study constantly. You are faced with the task of

studying our Party policy more profoundly and learning still more so as to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to the revolutionary practice of our country. In particular, you should make an earnest study of Party policy. If you think that because you have finished the Central Party School you need not study such things as Party decisions, you are seriously mistaken. Wherever you may go—factory, farm or any other place, you should always make a deep study of Party policy, be exemplary in Party studies, and take an active part in Party organizational life.

You should not seek high positions. For revolutionaries there can be neither higher nor lower positions. The positions you are assigned to by the Party are all alike—revolutionary posts. They say there are sometimes people who complain when the Party appoints them to some post, saying: "Once I held such-and-such a post and even graduated from the Central Party School, and now they put me in a low position like this!" They are mistaken. Our country has only 200 counties, and if everyone wants to become chairman of a county Party committee, what will happen? A graduate of the Party school should not seek high office, but should think what he can do to work better for the Party, for the revolution and for the people, no matter what he may be, an instructor or someone else.

Furthermore, you should not forget even for a moment that you are servants of the people and vanguard fighters of the working masses who have been trained by our Party, the continuer of the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

You comrades who are leaving the Party school today are mostly the sons and daughters of workers and peasants who either personally experienced cruel oppression and exploitation by the landlords and capitalists in the past or grew up in such families. For over ten years following liberation you have been educated by the Party and brought up to be able workers, and today, graduating from the Central Party School, the political college which trains communists, you are going out to take the lead in the building of socialism as cadres of the Party and state organizations. By no means is this because you were born

under a lucky star, nor is it because you have unusual talents. This is entirely because we have a revolutionary Party founded as the inheritor of the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and because our Party has brought you up well.

There are instances when officials who have been promoted to leading positions, lose sight of their origin, without knowing how they have become what they are today. Cadres should not forget their origin. It is a mistake to think they are destined to become cadres or that they have the special talents required to become cadres.

The Party has brought you up and is even now looking after you, and would like you to struggle resolutely in future for the revolution and for the well-being and benefit of the working masses. Fidelity to the revolution directly means fidelity to the Party. Therefore, you should launch an uncompromising struggle against the slightest manifestations harmful to the Party which has reared you to be revolutionaries or detrimental to the interests of the revolutionary masses, and should for ever remain faithful to the Party. This alone will earn you the support and respect of the masses, enable you to carry out the Party line and policy to the letter breathing the same air as the masses, and to rally them closely around the Party.

You are leaving as honorary first graduates of the three-year course run by the Central Party School. Convinced that you will faithfully carry out the revolutionary tasks assigned by the Party, united still firmer around the Party Central Committee, I wish you good health and every success in your future work.

## INTERVIEW WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK BROADCASTING AND TELEVISION COMMISSION

## August 28, 1958

**Question:** Comrade Premier, we hope you will explain a few things we want to know. We are most interested in socialist construction in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. What are the latest achievements in your socialist construction?

**Answer:** Our people will soon mark the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, their homeland.

The past ten years witnessed great changes in our country.

Today the building of socialism is progressing successfully in our country. All our working people are making giant strides forward with a very high spirit.

In the past our people had lived in poverty under Japanese imperialist oppression. After liberation their living standard improved gradually but, owing to the damage caused by the brutal three-year war ignited by the US imperialists, they again found themselves in a difficult position.

In order to help our people out of the existing difficulties and also to improve their living standard more quickly, we could not walk at a normal pace. We had to walk faster and work harder, and when others walked, we had to run. So, all our working people are now moving ahead at the speed of Chollima.

In fact, we had nothing right after ceasefire. We started construction on the debris and thus it was impossible for us to produce cement, bricks and steel reinforcements. However, our people were not disappointed. They had, most important of all, an indomitable will that enabled them to emerge victorious after enduring the bitter tests of war, and they were well aware that they had the Party and Government that always led them to victory. They took part in postwar reconstruction with a firm conviction that they would be quite able to overcome difficulties in construction, just as they did the harsh tests of war. Furthermore, they were well aware that they were not struggling alone, but together with the people of other socialist countries. Things will definitely go well, thanks to the correct leadership of the Party, the people's strong will and the positive assistance from the countries of the socialist camp.

We successfully carried out the postwar Three-Year National Economic Plan. During the plan period we reconstructed or built more than 360 small and large factories and enterprises. We healed most of the war wounds and laid the material foundations for socialist construction.

Considering these successes, in 1957 we embarked upon the task of fulfilling the First Five-Year Plan.

The main task of the Five-Year Plan put forward by our Party at its Third Congress is to set up strong economic foundations for socialism and to basically solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

In the past year and a half we achieved great success in carrying out the Five-Year Plan. Last year we produced 6,900 million kWh of electricity, 5 million tons of coal, 330,000 tons of pig and granulated iron, about 500,000 tons of steel and about 900,000 tons of cement. Besides, we turned out more than 320,000 tons of chemical fertilizers and over 90 million metres of cloth. Production of seafood was more than 560,000 tons.

This means that production of all these things surpassed by far the prewar levels. In 1957 the total value of industrial output was about

three times as that in the prewar year of 1949. Much progress was also made in agriculture. Last year we produced 3.2 million tons of grain, as compared with 2.67 million tons before the war. As a result, the northern half of Korea has turned from a zone that had insufficient food into a zone with surplus food. What is particularly noteworthy in agriculture is the achievement made in the socialist reorganization of this sector which started after the war. Until the end of June this year, 99.1 per cent of our cultivated area fell under the cooperative economic system. Now, we can say that our rural economy has been completely changed into a socialist one.

Under our Party's correct leadership, the socialist reorganization of agriculture in our country was effected gradually and smoothly without any problem.

At present, our peasants are determinedly pressing forward for the further development of a socialist rural economy.

All these successes are precious fruit gained because our working people have devotedly endeavoured to follow the Party line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while at the same time developing light industry and agriculture.

After the war our Party had to closely follow this line, for, had we not given priority to the growth of heavy industry, we could not have been able to develop light industry and agriculture which had been extensively damaged in the war and, without developing light industry and agriculture, we would have been unable to quickly improve the people's low standard of living.

When deciding on this line, we took various factors into consideration—some heavy industries which had already existed in our country, our rich natural resources, and also material and technical assistance from fraternal countries.

Our Party's economic policy was proved correct with facts.

The total value of industrial output in 1957 grew by 44 per cent over 1956, the year when the Three-Year Plan was completed, and the total output value in the first half of 1958 increased by 34 per cent over the same period in 1957.

Construction, too, is progressing rapidly. This year the builders of Pyongyang are constructing houses for 20,000 families with materials and a labour force needed for 7,000.

Our young socialist builders did the impossible by completing in only 75 days construction work on the 80-kilometre Haeju-Hasong standard-gauge railway line which would have taken three to four years during the Japanese imperialist rule. These things happen everywhere. The workers and technicians of the Hwanghae Iron Works admirably carried out construction work on blast furnaces solely with our strength, technology and materials in only a year. The project had been regarded as an impossible task for Koreans.

Our people are making rapid progress not only in industry and construction but also in all other spheres of the national economy.

The Five-Year Plan consists of a difficult, tightened-up plan. However, our working people have resolved to implement it by August 15, 1960 or about a year and a half before the target date.

The state planned to produce 3.3 million tons of grain this year and, despite the unusually severe drought and unfavourable weather conditions, it is envisaged that grain yields will be increased by about 400,000 tons.

This success is a result of the socialist transformation of agriculture, extensive irrigation projects and the production of large quantities of chemical fertilizers and manure.

Heavy industry also greatly helps agricultural development. Lathes being made at machine factories built with the aid of Czechoslovakia and many other fraternal countries are also very useful.

Our machine industry was very small in the past but, now, it produces a large number of lathes and various other machines for all spheres of the national economy. Last year our machine-building industry was 29 times as large as in 1946. Many machine factories are in operation at present in our country, producing many pumps and electric motors needed for rural areas.

With the help of technicians from brotherly countries, the Hochongang, Jangjingang and Pujongang Power Stations are being

restored, while the Suphung Power Station has been fully reconstructed and is generating a large supply of electricity. As a result, electricity has also been supplied to the chemical industry, to ensure the production of a large quantity of chemical fertilizers. This brought about a remarkable success in agricultural production.

A giant stride forward has also been made in construction.

After the October Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, a strenuous struggle was launched to eliminate conservatism and passivism in the construction industry, with the result that innovations are now taking place.

During the Three-Year Plan housing with a floor space of about six million square metres was constructed in cities alone. We planned to build dwellings with a floor space of about ten million square metres in cities and eight million square metres in rural regions under the Five-Year Plan, but these spaces are now expected to be extended to 13 million square metres and 12 million square metres respectively. Large-scale housing construction in towns and villages has enabled us to quickly improve the people's living conditions.

Furthermore, our country is developing chemical and artificial fibre industries on its own, and is now constructing a factory which will produce fibre from reeds.

We will produce about 120 million metres of textiles this year and about 160 million metres next year. Before the war per-capita production of textile was less than one metre in the northern half of Korea. But, last year it was nine metres and it will be further increased to 12 metres this year and to more than 20 metres in 1961.

If we do this, the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people will be basically solved in accordance with the task put forward by the Party.

We will continue to develop heavy industry. We anticipate a rapid development of the metallurgical, machine, power and coal industries and other heavy industries in future. This will consolidate the economic foundations for socialism and improve the livelihood of the people in the northern half of our country.

Along with the steady progress of the national economy, there are also cultural and technical revolutions which are well under way.

We introduced compulsory primary education in 1956, and this year about 95 per cent of the total primary school graduates entered secondary schools. Soon we will introduce universal compulsory secondary education.

We attach great importance to the training of technicians.

Now, our Party has entrusted young people with the task of learning more than one technique. As the socialist transformation of production relations in towns and the countryside has been completed, what is important today is to deeply imbue our working people with socialist ideology and improve their cultural and technical levels.

We believe that accelerating socialist construction and quickly improving the people's standard of living in the northern half of Korea are an important guarantee for the peaceful reunification of the country.

**Question:** We would be grateful if you would explain to us the prospects for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Answer: Our Party and the Government of our Republic have launched consistent and continuous efforts to this day to realize the unanimous desire of all the people for peaceful national reunification. However, our genuine efforts have failed to bear fruit because of obstacles by the US imperialists occupying the southern half of our country and their henchman Syngman Rhee and his followers.

Our Party's important policy for peaceful national reunification is, first, to force all foreign armies, particularly US troops, to withdraw from south Korea.

As you know, last February 5 the Government of the Republic made a proposal on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea to the states concerned. The Government of the People's Republic of China expressed its full support to our proposal, and took the initiative to withdraw all the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea by the end

of this year. That country has already finished the second phase of the withdrawal.

The US imperialists attributed the stationing of their troops in south Korea to the presence of the Chinese People's Volunteers in the north. However, even today when the Volunteers are getting out of north Korea, the US army is making desperate efforts to remain in the south.

Instead of withdrawing from south Korea, the US imperialists have taken missiles there and are staging large-scale military manoeuvres, while, at the same time, expanding the south Korean puppet armed forces and urging the Syngman Rhee clique to continue the "march north" clamour.

The Government of our Republic already proposed that both the north and south Korean authorities reduce their armed forces, and it was the first to cut its troops by 80,000.

The step we have taken aims to eliminate distrust between north and south Korea, ease tension in Korea, relieve the south Korean people from the heavy burden of military expenditure and open the way to peaceful national reunification.

In order to turn the ceasefire in Korea into a lasting peace, we proposed that there should be an end to arms shipments and that active support be given to the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in its work, and we have worked towards this end. However, the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique have expelled the inspection teams of the NNSC from south Korea and imported modern weapons in flagrant violation of major provisions of the Armistice Agreement.

Our proposal for peaceful national reunification is clear. We want Koreans to sit round the same table, without any foreign interference and frankly hold discussions and negotiations on the issue of the country's reunification, irrespective of affiliations with political parties and social organizations or any political views.

As the south Korean authorities did not agree to the proposal for political negotiations, we have suggested on many occasions that mutual visits and a postal service should at least be permitted between north and south and economic and cultural contacts be established as an initial step. However, the south Korean authorities have rejected even this.

The living conditions of the south Korean people are very bad at present. The northern half has strong power, iron and chemical industries and abounds in coal and forest resources. The development of the economy of south Korea should depend on the strong industry of the north. Therefore, we have on many occasions offered electricity, coal, timber, chemical fertilizers and similar things which are badly needed by the people in the south for their survival, but the south Korean authorities have always rejected our proposal and continue to obtain American capital and surplus materials.

The US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement and the cruel fascist terror rule of the Syngman Rhee clique that lasted for ten years and more have totally ruined south Korea's national economy.

In 1957 the total value of industrial output in south Korea went down by about one half of that in 1940, during the Japanese imperialist rule. Although south Korea's cultivated land is twice as large as that of the north, the grain yield is very low when compared with the latter. As a result, south Korea which used to export hundreds of thousands of tons of rice every year has become a famine-stricken region which is now compelled to import more than 700,000 tons of grain. Citing this fact, even the south Korean press comment that their agricultural policy has been a total failure.

At present the masses in south Korea are suffering from hunger and poverty. Even statistics issued by the enemy itself show that the number of unemployed and semi-unemployed persons has increased from over 3.8 million last spring to more than 4.2 million, while hundreds of thousands of orphans are wandering about in the streets.

Recently we took measures again to save our brothers in the south who are suffering under US imperialist occupation. Prompted by our compatriotic feeling, we proposed to the south Korean authorities that we send large quantities of rice, shoes and textiles to help the unemployed and the roaming orphans in the southern half, and take care of all these children and bring them up in the north. However, we have received no reply from the south Korean authorities.

While remaining in south Korea, US troops are now trying to threaten the Korean people with nuclear weapons. The US imperialists should have discovered during the past Korean war that they cannot blackmail the Korean people with anything.

While the US imperialists are shipping nuclear weapons into south Korea, we are building factories, schools, houses, nurseries and hospitals and improving towns and villages.

Today even the elementary democratic rights are being trampled in south Korea. Even those who refer to "peaceful reunification" are punished by the "law".

However desperately the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique try to obstruct peaceful reunification, the flames of the struggle being waged by the south Korean people are spreading fast.

The present situation in south Korea is characterized by the fact that the broad masses have found that their only way to survive is in the peaceful reunification of the country, and that the trend for peaceful reunification against the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique is becoming more conspicuous with each passing day.

Holding demonstrations and strikes and scattering leaflets to call for democratic rights and vital supplies, the south Korean people are staging a more resolute struggle against the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique.

In this situation, stepped-up socialist construction in the northern half of the country and efforts to unite the broad sections of patriotic forces in the south around the working class are of great importance for the cause of peaceful reunification.

Our people are homogeneous, people of the same ancestral blood who have lived in one and the same country from time immemorial. But, at present parents, wives and children live separated from each other in north and south and are not in a position to exchange letters, let alone meeting each other, because of the artificial barrier. No desperate campaign will enable the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique to stop parents, brothers and sisters from seeing each other.

Our struggle for peaceful national reunification is an arduous one. This is true. But, in the northern half of Korea socialist construction is progressing at a fast pace, providing a stronger guarantee for peaceful reunification, while the forces opposed to the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique are daily growing stronger among the masses of the people in south Korea. These facts make us more confident of victory. Besides, strong support and encouragement from the camp of peace and socialism further inspire our struggle.

Through their continuous and determined struggle the Korean people will succeed to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

**Question:** I would like to know about the development of political, economic and cultural interchanges and cooperation between Korea and Czechoslovakia.

**Answer:** We Korean people are very happy to have, as our friends, the Czechoslovak people in the socialist camp.

Our two peoples are very close comrades-in-arms who defend socialism in the East and West.

Even at the difficult time when imperialists and modern revisionists were viciously manoeuvring to destroy the unity among socialist countries and also among fraternal parties, the Parties and peoples of our two countries fought resolutely to further strengthen the unity and solidarity within the socialist camp and held high the banner of friendship and unity based on proletarian internationalism.

When he visited Korea last year, Comrade Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia said that the Czechoslovak people would bravely wage the struggle against revisionism and defend Marxism-Leninism in the Western sector of the socialist camp. The Communist Party and people of Czechoslovakia have done so with facts.

Our people have also been steadfast in this struggle and remained the true friends of the Czechoslovak people.

At the time of the Hungarian events, anti-Party factionalists showed

up in our Party and, at the same time, in south Korea the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique made frenzied efforts for wicked provocations and reactionary propaganda against the northern half of Korea. In those hard days all the Korean people rallied all the more closely around our Party and thereby defended the cause of socialism.

We will remain faithful to the Declaration of the Moscow Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and do our utmost to put it into effect.

There is no doubt that in future, too, proletarian internationalist friendship and solidarity between our two Parties and peoples will be strengthened in conformity with the spirit of the declaration of the Moscow conference.

The Czechoslovak people gave us material and moral assistance after diplomatic relations were established between our two countries, particularly when our country was going through the grim tests of war. In the three years of the Fatherland Liberation War they launched a campaign to give aid to Korea and thus supported our people in their battle against the US imperialists and encouraged them to achieve victory.

After the war the Czechoslovak people helped our country to construct a machine factory and a power station. Moreover, a large number of young Koreans who returned after finishing their studies in your country are doing a splendid job in the endeavour to develop the national economy.

Czechoslovakia always supports the just stand of the Korean people in the international arena and, as a member of the NNSC, contributes to the preservation of peace in Korea.

In recent years economic and technical cooperation and cultural interchanges between our two countries have been strengthened thanks to the agreements on economic and cultural cooperation.

This is of great significance in strengthening and developing fraternal friendship and solidarity between the two peoples.

The visit of our Government delegation to Czechoslovakia in 1956

and the visit of the Czechoslovak Government delegation to our country last year further strengthened the links of friendship and solidarity between the peoples of our two countries.

I hope that on your return home you will inform your people that our people will always stand firm within the socialist camp along with the Czechoslovak people, and eagerly expect more frequent mutual visits and a greater deal of mutual learning and assistance in economic, cultural and other spheres. Also, I hope you will tell the Czechoslovak people that the Korean people are deeply grateful to them for their assistance, support and encouragement during and after the war and will always remember it.

I wish you great success in your future work.

## SPEECH AT THE CEREMONY MARKING THE COMPLETE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SUPHUNG POWER STATION

August 30, 1958

Comrades,

Today we are holding a ceremony after having successfully reconstructed the Suphung Power Station, the largest one in our country.

On behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I would like to extend warm congratulations and thanks to all the workers, technicians and office employees who carried out the reconstruction work on the Suphung Power Station and performed such a great achievement by showing patriotic devotion.

This reconstruction work was carried out with the fraternal assistance of the Soviet people and the active help of Soviet technicians.

I would like to extend my cordial thanks to these technicians for having participated in the work and helped us with their valuable technical expertise, and to the people, Government and Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for providing us with great material assistance for the reconstruction of this power station.

Chinese workers and technicians also participated in the building of the secondary embankment of the Suphung Power Station. Allow me to offer my heartfelt thanks to the workers and technicians of the fraternal People's Republic of China for having taken part in this project and rendered us their services.

The Suphung Power Station is the largest power station in our country. It plays a very important role in the development of our national economy. The Hwanghae Iron Works, the Kangson Steel Plant, the Pyongyang Textile Mill, the Nampho Smeltery and many chemical and machine factories and mines depend on the electricity supplied by this power station. This is why our Party, Government and all our people show continuous interest in this power station and greet today's event with joy.

As you all know, the Suphung Power Station was extensively damaged in the US imperialists' brutal bombing during the Fatherland Liberation War.

In the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy, it was essential to reconstruct this power station as soon as possible. Therefore, our Party and the Government of the Republic invested large sums of money and engaged many workers in its reconstruction and gave particular attention to the introduction of modern technology.

Under the correct leadership of the Party and the Government, all the working people who took part in the reconstruction of the power station have successfully fulfilled such an arduous and gigantic task before the target date by showing unparalleled heroism and creativity.

You completed in only three years and eight months the enormous task of rebuilding the embankment and reconstructing the power station with a capacity of 700,000 kVA, a project which had been expected to take five years. This means that the work took a year and four months less. The reconstruction of the Suphung Power Station was, indeed, a difficult and gigantic project. During this work generators with a high capacity and various transformers were restored and new ones were built, and an operation involving the setting of 182,000 cubic metres of embankment concrete and other major building tasks were carried out.

The power station is a very modern enterprise. The construction of a power station requires an especially high level of technology. When we embarked on this project, we had no experience and were short of equipment and materials. We did not have enough skilled workers and technicians. However, such difficulties could not halt the advance of our workers who had risen in response to the Party's call. Our workers and technicians overcame all hardships and obstacles with an indomitable fighting spirit and much patriotic zeal.

In order to mechanize the building of electricity-generating structures, speed up work and improve its quality, Comrade Kang Jong Gun, Hero of Labour, and Comrades Kang To Jun, Kim Hung Ryop and other workers and technicians of the concrete production station and the embankment office, recovered a lot of equipment and materials from the frozen rivers at Unbong, Tongnogang, Kanggye and other places, while braving severe cold in temperatures of 30 degrees below zero. As a result, they could increase the level of mechanization in over 98 per cent of the work and found it possible to carry out the work still more rapidly.

To complete the project more quickly, the builders worked hard against time, and conducted a collective innovation drive. They reduced the time for concrete setting rotations from 15 minutes to 2 minutes and 30 seconds, and increased the daily amount of concrete set from 60 to 1,500 cubic metres. By introducing the prefab method in the work, in particular, they speeded up construction in a remarkable way and saved large quantities of equipment and materials.

The reconstruction and assembly of the hydraulic generator with a capacity of 100,000 kW were a laborious task requiring a high level of technology and precision. However, while introducing advanced techniques our workers, through their own initiative, carried out the difficult work with success.

Dear comrade workers and technicians, you have given more honour to the brave and talented Korean working class, by successfully completing this work. Through your hard efforts you have vividly shown to the people of the whole world that the workers of Korea are already becoming socialist builders, fully capable of constructing and managing such a modern industrial enterprise as the Suphung Power Station.

In the arduous struggle to rebuild this large power station, you have trained yourselves and acquired a higher level of technology. You now have the ability to fulfil greater tasks for the prosperity of the country and the well-being of the people.

Comrades, our country has triumphantly completed the socialist transformation of the relations of production and is now embarking upon technical modernization.

The electric industry has a great significance in the laying of solid material and technical foundations for socialism. Lenin once said that communism is the Soviet power plus electrification.

The more the national economy develops, the greater demand for electricity becomes. In future we should develop the iron, steel and other metallurgical industries, the cement industry as well as the chemical industry which will produce fertilizer, carbide and artificial fibre—these being industries which depend much on a large supply of energy—and construct electric railways on an wide scale. In order to ensure the mechanization and automation of our industry in future, we should also develop the electric industry.

Proper irrigation in the countryside also needs much electricity. Without developing the electrical power industry, we can develop neither heavy and light industries nor agriculture.

In order to turn our country into a socialist paradise with a fully developed industry and a rich and modern countryside with a proper supply of energy, we should give priority to the development of the electrical power industry.

Our country has favourable conditions for the development of this industry. It abounds in resources for the supply of hydro-electric power and, moreover, it already has many power stations and facilities.

With a view to rapidly developing the power industry in our country today, it is important, first, to fully restore and readjust the existing power stations and equipment and make the best use of them.

We can supply more than 9,000 million kWh of electricity if we complete reconstruction and maintenance of the existing power stations and equipment, without constructing new power plants.

It is very important to waste less energy. Still our country at present wastes more energy than advanced countries and our electricity consumption is higher than theirs. A campaign to economize in the use of electric power and prevent waste should be launched by all the people.

All the workers in the electrical power industry should take good care of the various electrical facilities and keep more order and discipline. Electrical power enterprises should always be kept in better order than those in other spheres.

We should build more power stations in future. For this purpose we should complete the present construction work on the Tongnogang and Kanggye Power Stations earlier than planned. The builders engaged on the Tongnogang Power Station are striving to finish construction work six months ahead of schedule. We are planning to start building a power station at Unbong in the upper reaches of the Amnok River next year.

While building such large hydro-electric power stations, we should also construct thermal power stations in cities and small hydro-electric power plants in the countryside.

There are advantages in constructing many small power plants. We are contemplating on the construction of many reservoirs which will prevent floods and provide water for the irrigation of paddy and dry fields in future. If a number of small power plants with a capacity of about 50 to 100 kW are built on these reservoirs, we will be able to eliminate damages caused by both floods and drought and, furthermore, many agricultural cooperatives will be in a position to supply electricity to rural areas through their own power plants. Therefore, we should not only build large power stations but many small ones all over the country as well.

Comrades.

As the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic is nearing,

our working people have high spirits. They are all carrying out a mass campaign to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan by the 15th anniversary of the August 15 liberation, or in three years and eight months. The brilliant feat you have performed this time helps to further inspire all our working people who have risen to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

I am convinced that our heroic working class will definitely succeed in carrying out the Five-Year Plan in three years and eight months.

Nothing is beyond the power of the masses of the people once they rise up. Every precious and beautiful thing in the world has been created by the working people.

The workers and peasants are the strongest and wisest of all people in the world. In the past the strength and intellect of our workers and peasants could not be fully exhibited because of the exploitation, oppression and fraud of the landlords and capitalists. Today, however, the workers and peasants have become not only the political masters of their country but also their own masters in life, who can make full use of their energy and talent in economic and cultural development.

In the three years of the fierce Fatherland Liberation War our workers and peasants, taking over the reigns of power, repulsed the invasion of the US imperialists and their puppets and defended the revolutionary gains to the end. They have also made and are making full use of their creativity in socialist economic construction. Our people have already proved with facts that they can splendidly build their country, both politically and economically, and they are fully confident of victory.

We should further consolidate and follow up these achievements.

The workers and peasants in particular should show their great patriotic devotion and rich creative talent in the effort to acquire a high level of technology and culture. Those who are still afraid of technology and consider the masses to be incapable of introducing it, are victims of a bourgeois ideology. We can and must all master modern techniques.

This time you yourselves precisely proved this through the reconstruction work of the Suphung Power Station. We should all strive to learn modern techniques.

Techniques are not always learnt from books or at school. One can acquire them more quickly and accurately in practice through production and construction. We cannot start building an industry only after we have fully mastered such techniques. We should learn them while constructing new industries. Our workers have mastered and are learning various techniques through a heroic struggle to carry out the postwar reconstruction of the national economy and the First Five-Year Plan. In recent years they have reconstructed or built many factories and enterprises equipped with modern technology. The great successes achieved show that our workers already have a basis for learning modern techniques. The question is that they should master modern techniques more determinedly and work strenuously, taking an active part in the construction of a socialist industry equipped with modern technology. Then it will be possible for us to construct a fully developed socialist industry and provide ourselves with new techniques.

The more our workers learn advanced techniques, the greater their ability to carry out socialist construction, and the faster and the better they will be able to build our country.

Comrade workers and technicians who have carried out the reconstruction work on the Suphung Power Station, you are among the foremost workers in electrifying the country and in carrying out our technical revolution. I believe that in future you will all display your full know-how and mass heroism in building new power stations at Unbong, Uiju and other places and thus keep your honour as forerunners in the technical revolution.

## REPORT AT CELEBRATIONS MARKING THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

September 8, 1958

Dear comrades,

Ten years have elapsed since the Korean people proclaimed the founding of their independent state and entered a new era under the glorious banner of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Today, our people look back with great pride and joy on the glorious path of victories along which they have determinedly traversed during the past decade.

Ten years are a very short period in the long history of our country. During this period, however, the people in our time have done many things which our ancestors could not even dream of doing in many centuries; they have made really great achievements for their beloved country. The look of our country has completely changed, and a great transformation and much progress have been made in the history and life of our people.

Today all our working people, with greater hope and confidence in the future of their prosperous country, are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic with a great political and labour upsurge.

On the occasion of this historic anniversary, allow me, on behalf of

the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, to extend warm greetings to you and to all the Korean people.

Comrades,

Our victory and glory have not come by themselves. Our country, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, is a great achievement made by our people after a long and difficult struggle for the freedom and independence of the nation. It has been consolidated and developed through one arduous test after another.

Deprived of their territory and national independence, the Korean people were forced to live the dismal life of colonial slaves under Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century.

Many Korean patriots, led by the communists, waged a long, bloody struggle solely to liberate the nation and regain their country, never surrendering to the brutal suppression of the Japanese imperialists.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has inherited the patriotic, revolutionary traditions of our people and embodied the unanimous desire of our nation for freedom and liberation of the country.

The liberation of our country from the Japanese imperialist colonial rule opened to our people a broad avenue for national independence and democratic development. Our people took part in the struggle to create a new life with their great patriotic zeal.

However, the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists and their aggressive policy created big obstacles to the struggle of the Korean people to build a democratic, independent and sovereign state, and caused complications and difficulties to the Korean revolution. From the first days of liberation, our Party had to determine the destiny of the country and the people under very complex and difficult circumstances.

In view of the situation prevailing in the country our Party embarked upon the building of a powerful revolutionary democratic base in the northern half, which would guarantee complete independence for the country. By channelling the high revolutionary enthusiasm of our liberated people, the Party established a people's government in north Korea, and in a short time carried out the agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms. As a result, a new people's democratic system was established in north Korea, which began to develop as the base of the Korean revolution, and as a powerful material force for the reunification of the country.

The US imperialists who occupied south Korea opposed from the beginning the establishment by the Korean people of a democratic independent state, while they pursued a colonial enslavement policy in that region. They suppressed all patriotic forces in south Korea, convened landlords, comprador capitalists and traitors, and formed a reactionary puppet regime to perpetuate the division of our country.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was born on the democratic base built in north Korea, amid a nationwide struggle by all the Korean people against the manoeuvres on the part of the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique to divide the country.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, founded by the people for the people, is the first genuine people's state in the history of our country. The workers, peasants and other working people of Korea, who had lived through oppression, humiliation, darkness and suffering for a long time, are now determining their own destiny as masters of their country.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the banner of freedom and independence of the Korean people, and it is a powerful weapon in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country and the building of a new society. Thus, our country, which had been deprived of its own colour on the world map for a long time, entered the international arena under the new banner of the Democratic People's Republic and as a member of the great socialist camp.

In the course of its development over the past ten years, the state and social system of our Republic has demonstrated its indestructible vitality and superiority both during war and in peaceful construction which also entailed many difficulties.

The three-year war forced upon us by the US imperialists and their henchmen, the Syngman Rhee clique, was the severest test for our people's democratic system and for all the Korean people. The invaders from 16 countries headed by the United States resorted to the most savage means of war in an attempt to obliterate the newly-established Democratic People's Republic of Korea and our people's gains.

The Korean war was unparalleled for its cruelty, and it brought about untold hardship and suffering to our people. But this did not discourage the Korean people who rose up united under the leadership of our Party in a heroic resistance to the armed aggressors.

With the active support of the people of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, our people and our People's Army, in cooperation with the Chinese People's Volunteers, repelled the enemy's invasion, and defended their Republic, protecting every inch of their motherland with their lives.

In the war the Korean people showed that no imperialist aggressor can conquer our people who have taken power into their own hands and have the full support from the socialist camp.

After defeating the US imperialist invaders who had boasted of being the "strongest" in the world, our people became more firmly convinced than ever before that they could overcome any difficulty and achieve the ultimate victory in the Korean revolution.

The world imperialists headed by the United States still refuse to recognize our People's Republic. But they cannot deny the fact that they suffered a humiliating defeat in their war against us, that they had to lay down their arms and sign the Armistice Agreement before the flag of our Republic.

Whether the enemies recognize it or not, whether they like it or not, our Republic still exists as an independent sovereign state; it is prospering and developing each day, and stands firm at the Eastern outpost of peace and socialism.

Comrades.

After liberation, our country inherited an outdated economy, and a culture left behind by the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. We had an acute shortage of national cadres, and we lacked experience in state administration and in economic construction.

As a result, our national construction inevitably encountered many difficulties. The division of our country into the north and the south and the incessant subversive activities by the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique against the northern half of Korea made our state and economic construction still more difficult.

The great democratic reforms carried out after liberation under the leadership of our Party, created great prospects for the rapid rebuilding and development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's living standard in the northern half, and led to the social and economic conditions that allowed us to carry out the tasks in the period of gradual transition of our country to socialism.

On the basis of the successful democratic reforms, all the working people in our country, led by the working class, made considerable achievements in national and economic construction, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

However, our peaceful work was interrupted by the war which was forced upon us by the enemy. The three years of war played havoc with our national economy and thus the living conditions of our people extremely worsened. The war further delayed progress in our already outdated national economy for five or six years, and led to the further deterioration of our low living standard.

The most fundamental task before us in the postwar period was to rapidly restore the devastated economy, further develop it and consolidate the economic foundations of the Republic and, at the same time, to quickly improve the living standard of the people.

With a view to carrying out this task successfully, our Party laid down the basic line of postwar economic construction which gave priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and mobilized the working masses for its fulfilment. This was the only correct way.

Needless to say, it was a very complicated and difficult task to carry out this line and fulfil the basic task of postwar economic reconstruction since there was total destruction and we were short of everything. But we had to do it. We could not delay the rebuilding of our ruined national economy nor could we ignore the difficult living conditions of the people for long.

In working out its economic policy to carry out this enormous and arduous task, the Party relied, first of all, on the indomitable fighting spirit and inexhaustible creative energy of our working people who had rallied more closely around the Party and had been put to test during the war; at the same time, the Party counted on the economic and technical aid of the people of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal countries. It also took into account the fact that the key to the solution of all our problems lay in the priority restoration and development of those heavy industry branches which, though severely damaged, formerly had certain foundations in our country.

Encouraged by the correct policy of our Party, the working people of our country overcame all hardships in difficult postwar conditions and successfully fulfilled the Three-Year Plan. Thus, in only three to four years after the war, industrial and agricultural production not only regained prewar levels but also exceeded them considerably. In this way we laid firm material foundations for developing the national economy on a higher level and for further improving the people's living conditions.

In 1957, in conformity with the basic line set forth by the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, we embarked upon the task to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan, the first of its kind in the history of our country. The beginning of the Five-Year Plan in our country represents a new stage of socialist construction in the northern half of Korea.

The Five-Year Plan is aimed at completely eliminating the problems of our underdeveloped national economy, turning our country into a self-reliant industrial-agricultural state and sharply improving the material and cultural standard of our people.

When we set out to fulfil the Five-Year Plan, an important issue arose: we had to maintain the high development rate of the productive forces. This was necessary because of the prevailing situation in our country and also because of the underdeveloped national economy.

The progress made in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan has fully shown the correctness of the line laid down by the Party.

In the course of implementing the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, great changes were witnessed in state and social life and in the efforts of workers. All our working people who rose in response to the call of the Party, showed great enthusiasm and inexhaustible creativity in all fields of socialist construction, thereby achieving great success in the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

Our heroic working class managed to surpass the targets of the 1957 plan for industrial production by 17 per cent, and is also triumphantly surpassing the targets of the 1958 plan. In 1957, industrial output increased by 44 per cent compared with the year before, and in the first half of 1958, by 34 per cent over the same period last year.

Despite the severe drought, our peasants last year had the best crop in the history of our country, exceeding the grain production plan by 12 per cent. This year, there was also a long spell of drought, which was as severe as last year, but a far greater grain yield is expected, thanks to the great labour enthusiasm of the peasants.

Today our country is making an enormous leap forward along the road of socialism, All factories and enterprises are launching a mass campaign to increase production and economize. In all fields of socialist construction the working people are setting up new records and doing wonders. They are aware of the correctness of the Party policy and are rushing forward towards socialism at the speed of Chollima.

We have now entered a period of great progress in socialist construction. Our people do not want to continue living in the old way nor do they want to lag behind others. They want to eliminate all outdated things and start living a new life. They are rushing ahead to emerge from the present situation as soon as possible, and to live a good life as other people.

The surging revolutionary spirit of the masses of the people shows that we can fulfil the ambitious assignments of the Five-Year Plan earlier.

Many enterprises have already resolved to fulfil the Five-Year Plan a year and a half ahead of schedule.

We are firmly convinced that the working people of our country will mark the 15th anniversary of the August 15 liberation, our national holiday, with the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan through their heroic efforts.

Comrades,

Thanks to the correct policies of the Party and the Government and to the devotion and efforts of our working people, we have already made tremendous achievements in socialist construction.

Today, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been further strengthened.

Industry, the leading sector of the national economy, has undergone a number of radical changes with respect to its technical equipment and its structure, and industrial production has increased.

During the postwar Three-Year Plan, our Party, while directing its main efforts to the reconstruction of destroyed enterprises and production installations, gave careful attention to carrying out a considerable amount of technological reconstruction and to creating a number of new industrial branches. On the one hand this line of our

Party ensured the rapid growth of industrial production and enabled us, on the other, to decisively end the colonial links and technological deficiency of our industry.

In the course of carrying out the Five-Year Plan, technological reconstruction is being conducted on a broader scale in all fields of industry; the foundations of our independent industry are being consolidated; and industrial production is increasing.

This year our industry will produce 4.7 times the amount of goods it manufactured ten years ago. When the damage caused in the war and the time needed for reconstruction are taken into account, one would find that this high rate of industrial production growth has, in fact, been attained in four or five years after the war.

We have rebuilt and expanded the sector of heavy industry and have also set up light industry factories.

Such vital heavy industry sectors as the metal, machine-building, chemical, and building-materials industries, have been further expanded; and the fuel and power bases of our country have also been further consolidated. This year our country will produce 8,600 million kWh of electricity, more than 6.7 million tons of coal, over 500,000 tons of pig iron and granulated iron, 410,000 tons of steel, more than 450,000 tons of chemical fertilizer and 1.2 million tons of cement.

The machine-building industry, which was the most outdated in our country, has developed at a very fast rate. In 1957, the output value of the machine-building and metal-processing industries grew 29 times that in 1946. Before the war, we had to import almost all the machinery and equipment we needed. But now, we can produce machine tools, electrical machines, mining machinery, building machines, farm machines, vessels, processing equipment for light industry, and various accessories by ourselves, thereby further promoting the technological reconstruction in all sectors of our national economy.

If our Party had not given priority to the development of heavy industry in the postwar period, how could we now ensure further progress of industry and agriculture and the vast construction work currently under way all over the country? Only by preferentially developing heavy industry could we rapidly rebuild the ruined national economy, improve the people's living conditions in a short time, and lay our own material foundations for developing our national economy on to a higher plane.

In the development of light industry we have also made remarkable achievements. Our newly set up textile industry will produce 120 million metres of different fabrics this year. This is more than 13 times the output in the prewar year 1948.

Thanks to the material foundation of the fishing industry laid in postwar years, we are landing between 500,000 to 600,000 tons of fish annually.

Remarkable progress has also been made in the food-processing industry and in the production of daily necessities, both of which had been extremely insufficient. At present our Party and all the people are launching a struggle to improve these branches.

With the development of state-owned industry, trade by the state and cooperatives has also increased sharply.

One of the greatest achievements in industry and trade is the transformation of the private sector along socialist lines.

In the past, the development of our national capital was strictly restricted, because of the Japanese imperialists' monopoly in our national economy. As a result, private trade and industry, which had very precarious economic foundations from the start, were further weakened in the ravages of war.

The Party and Government adhere to the line of gradually transforming private trade and industry along socialist lines, through the organization of production-and-marketing cooperatives. It has been only in the interests of individual tradesmen and manufacturers that they have been made to pool their small businesses to engage in production and trade.

As a result of this policy by the Party, entrepreneurs and tradesmen in our country started to transform themselves into socialist workers. Thus, today the socialist transformation of private trade and industry has already been completed in our country.

Agriculture in our country has also made great progress. North Korea was a zone which had long been short of food. The agricultural sector was so severely damaged in the war that our food problem became more serious in the postwar period.

To solve the grain problem the Party and Government gave much attention to the reconstruction and development of agriculture. The state took important measures for the development of agriculture: it set up irrigation projects on a large scale, supplied the countryside with more chemical fertilizers and farm machines, and widely introduced various advanced techniques. As a result, the largely weakened material and technical foundations of our agriculture have been further strengthened.

A decisive factor in the development of agriculture was cooperativization. Since the material foundations of agriculture had been severely damaged in the war and the peasant economy ruined, it would have been impossible to rebuild the agricultural sector rapidly and develop the productive forces of agriculture, if scattered, individual farming had been maintained. The limited conditions of individual farming would have not only delayed the development of agriculture but also greatly hindered the rapid advance of industry.

Socialist transformation of agriculture enabled us to solve the problems that existed between socialist industry and the individual peasant economy.

The peasants enthusiastically supported our Party's agricultural cooperativization policy, and the agricultural cooperative movement in our country made rapid progress. Thus, agricultural cooperativization has now been completed. Our agriculture has been turned from a scattered, individual peasant economy to a completely cooperativized socialist economy.

Agricultural cooperativization was one of the most complicated and difficult tasks of the socialist revolution. However, our Party, relying firmly on the Party's forces in the countryside and the surging revolutionary spirit of our peasants, fulfilled this task very smoothly in

only three or four years after the war. This is a major achievement in our Party's agricultural policy.

Cooperativization created essential prerequisites to the technical reconstruction of our agriculture, the transformation of peasants' consciousness along socialist lines and the radical improvement of their living conditions.

Our newly-established agricultural cooperatives have fully demonstrated their superiority and have been consolidated both politically and economically.

With the cooperativization of agriculture and the consolidation of its material foundation, we have made giant strides forward in agricultural production. Already in 1957, we harvested 3.2 million tons of grain, and thus more or less solved the difficult food problem. According to preliminary estimates, the total grain harvest this year is expected to reach 3.6 million to 3.7 million tons. This means an increase of nearly one million tons over 1948, and an increase of 1.2 million to 1.3 million tons when compared with 1944.

Along with the rapid growth of grain production, industrial crops, livestock breeding, sericulture, fruit farming and other branches of agriculture have also made rapid progress.

Thanks to the enormous achievements in our socialist economic construction, our people's living conditions have considerably improved.

The national income in 1957 was twice that in 1949 and the net wages of workers and office employees increased by more than 1.3 times during the same period.

The income of the peasants in kind and cash also increased sharply. When compared with 1956, the share of grain per peasant household in agricultural cooperatives in 1957 increased to 108 per cent, potatoes to 122 per cent and cash to 144 per cent, despite the fact that they set aside more than twice the previous year's amount for accumulation and various other community funds.

Immediately after the armistice, the poor peasants whose living conditions were very bad, accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the total peasant households in our countryside. But now the living standard of the peasants has been generally improved to that of middle peasants. We are striving to raise their living standard to that of fairly well-to-do middle peasants in the near future.

In the period since the armistice to 1957, dwellings with over 16.3 million square metres of floor space were built in cities and farm villages. Thanks to the patriotic enthusiasm of builders all over the country, the vast housing construction plan for this year will also be exceeded.

Pyongyang, the democratic capital, is now changing into a grand, modern city, and all other cities and farm villages, which were once reduced to ashes in the war, are being built anew.

How miserable our people's life was during the Japanese imperialist rule when we had no power! How hard the life of our people was immediately after the armistice! All this, however, is a thing of the past now.

Today, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic, we can say with deep satisfaction that we have completely healed the serious war wounds affecting the people's living conditions.

In the heart of the Republic the Korean people are successfully doing away with centuries-old backwardness in cultural life.

The shortage of national cadres and the low cultural standards of the working people were amongst the biggest difficulties in the task to build our country and economy after liberation. In order to surmount this problem, the Party and Government made great efforts to intensify educational and cultural work.

Universal compulsory primary education has been enforced in our country since 1956. Today more than 2,330,000 students and pupils are studying in all schools including 22 institutes of higher education and various specialized schools.

Thanks to the rapid development of higher and secondary technical education, more than 63,000 experts and technicians were trained in the ten years since the founding of the Republic, and have been assigned to all branches of the national economy.

Thus, we have our own cadres who are capable of competently administering the state and skilfully managing enterprises equipped with modern technology in all spheres of the national economy. This is one of the greatest achievements we have made under the people's government and a precious asset for socialist construction.

The national culture of the Korean people, which was trampled and buried for a long time under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, is in full bloom today.

Comrades.

Because of the great socio-economic reforms in our country, class relations in our society have undergone a fundamental change.

The ranks of the working class have grown and its leading role has been enhanced in all spheres of state and social life. Our heroic working class was put to test still more in the flames of a brutal war, and is making miraculous exploits on the labour front in the struggle for our postwar socialist economic construction. With their inexhaustible creativity and vigorous fighting spirit, they are reforming our society and, through their Party and Government, are leading all the people along the road of socialism.

In our country the peasants account for 50 per cent of the population. With the completion of agricultural cooperativization in the postwar period, the causes of exploitation and poverty have been eliminated once and for all in our countryside, and millions of peasants have changed their position from small producers of yesterday into honourable agricultural cooperative members and socialist workers.

Our peasants, who have found happiness on the road of socialism, are struggling to further consolidate and continuously develop the victories attained in the socialist transformation of agriculture, and are showing great patriotic enthusiasm in all fields of political, economic and cultural construction.

As a result, the worker-peasant alliance, the basis of the people's democratic system in our country, has been still more strengthened on new socialist foundations.

Intellectuals are playing a major role in the socialist construction of

our country. From the first days of liberation the Party has made consistent efforts to further expand the ranks of intellectuals by training a large number of new ones from among the working people and to improve their qualifications, while persistently reforming old intellectuals and making them take an active part in the building of a new life. One of our greatest achievements is that by transforming old intellectuals and training new ones, we have formed our own army of intellectuals, who work firmly for the Party and the revolution.

There are no longer any landlords or capitalists in our country. Exploitation of man by man has disappeared for ever in our society.

Unity and solidarity amongst all the people based on the workerpeasant alliance have been strengthened more than ever before.

Comrades.

The victories achieved by the Korean people in all the political, economic and cultural fields are victories of our people's government, which demonstrate the superiority and great vitality of our state and social system.

In the ten years since the founding of the Republic, we have had tremendous success in strengthening our people's government and in consolidating our state and social system. The formation of central and local government bodies has been further improved through elections to all institutions of state power—held on a number of occasions. Some irrational administrative divisions have been reorganized and the state apparatus made even more simple. This has brought the government closer to the people, strengthening its bonds with them.

In order to enhance the role and functions of local government bodies, we have taken measures to gradually extend the authority of these institutions in keeping with the economic progress and the increasing number of cadres. These measures have stimulated the activity and creativity of local government bodies in economic construction and cultural development and enabled the masses of the people to participate actively in state and economic administration.

At the same time, we have made persistent efforts to strengthen the people's control over state institutions, to do away with bureaucracy and to establish a revolutionary viewpoint on the masses amongst all the officials. As a result, officials of state organs have established a popular style of work consisting of more frequent visit to places of work in order to directly discuss state affairs with the working masses, correctly mobilize their enthusiasm and creativity, and promptly fulfil their requests.

Whenever we were confronted with a problem of great importance for the state or with a difficult task, we discussed measures to solve them with the masses of the people. Our working people ensured the successful fulfilment of their tasks, surmounting all hardships by showing inexhaustible creativity and determined fighting spirit in response to the call of the Party. This precisely proves that our people's government is the most democratic form of government that enjoys the full support and love of all the people, rallies the masses of the people around it and makes them actively participate in state affairs.

Our task is to further improve the work of state organs, ensure continued active participation by the masses of the people in state affairs and fully ensure socialist democracy in our country.

Needless to say, without further strengthening our people's democratic state we cannot guarantee socialist construction in the northern half of Korea.

All our state organs should continue their struggle to eliminate all outdated methods of work, bureaucracy and formalism.

In order to increase creativity and activity of lower bodies, we must further improve the work of local government organs, particularly of the county people's committees. In connection with the extension of the authority of local government organs and the rapid development of local industry, the role and functions of the local people's committees in economic construction and cultural development should be enhanced even more. Local government bodies and their officials should organize work in a creative manner and, mixing with the masses, should stimulate their enthusiasm and creativity and promptly satisfy their demands.

Great prospects for development exist before the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people. Today our people, clearly aware of the prospects of socialist construction in our country, are confidently marching towards their realization.

In our country, socialist relations of production have already been successful in all fields of the national economy.

At the present stage of socialist construction, our most important task is to further consolidate the material and productive foundations of socialism through the technological reconstruction of the national economy, and to carry out the cultural revolution on the basis of the already established socialist relations of production.

We can complete socialist construction in our country only if we carry out technological reconstruction of the national economy and the cultural revolution which is closely linked with it. We must carry out the socialist industrialization of our country in order to equip all branches of the national economy with modern techniques and consolidate the material and productive basis of socialism.

We must make decisive progress in socialist industrialization in the coming six or seven years. For this purpose, we must continue to develop industrial production at a fast rate and improve its technological equipment. We must rebuild and expand existing enterprises, build more industries equipped with modern technique and mechanize and automatize the processes of production.

Heavy industry is the foundation of socialist industrialization. We must continue to give priority to the development of the metal, machine-building, power, coal, chemical and building-materials industries and, on this basis, simultaneously ensure the development of light industry and agriculture. This is our Party's basic line of

economic construction, the correctness of which has already been proved in practice in our country. We must invariably carry through this line in the future as well.

The extension of the electricity supply occupies a most important place in the technological reconstruction of the national economy. We should fully meet the demand of the national economy for electricity and accelerate the work to extend the electricity supply in the country by giving priority to the power industry before other branches.

We should build large hydro-electric power stations on major rivers such as Amnok, Taedong and Tongno and, at the same time, build many small power stations along middle and small rivers.

The construction of hydro-electric power stations must be combined with the building of thermal power stations. Compared with hydro-electric power stations, thermal power stations require less time and funds to be built, and also make it possible for us to utilize power in various ways and to supply electricity regularly even in the dry season. Therefore, we should build thermal power stations in Pyongyang and other major cities.

Rapid development of the metal industry is of particular importance in the socialist construction of our country. At present, we need larger quantities of steel. In our country, the machine-building industry will develop further and construction will be carried out on a large scale in future. This means that there will be a rapid increase in the demand of the national economy for steel.

Our country has a wealth of iron ore and also has some foundations for the iron industry.

By further expanding the iron industry and greatly increasing the output of pig iron, granulated iron, steel and rolled steel, we will satisfy our own needs for all kinds and standards of rolled steel.

Since coking coal has not yet been found in our country, an important factor for the development of ferrous metallurgy is the establishment of methods for producing iron by electricity or producing coke from lignite or anthracite. The scientists, technicians and workers in the iron and steel industry should solve this technical

problem in a short time.

The development of the machine-building industry is of decisive significance in reinforcing the technical equipment of the national economy. More new machines, equipment and accessories are required in all fields of the national economy—heavy industry, light industry, agriculture, transport, capital construction, etc. Our national economy will not make any progress at all if we do not produce large quantities of machines and equipment and develop technology. We can say that the development of the machine-building industry is the key to the solution of all problems.

We have laid a definite basis for the machine-building industry in the postwar period. But it still does not satisfy the fast-growing requirements of the national economy. We must produce large quantities of various types of machines, equipment and spare parts which are in great demand in our country, by expanding existing machine-building plants, making more use of equipment and building more plants.

It is of great significance to develop the chemical industry in order to completely satisfy the demands for chemical fertilizers and raw materials for fibre. Our country is rich in electrical power, anthracite, limestone, etc., which are essential for the development of the chemical industry. It also has foundations for the chemical industry. Therefore, our country has great prospects for the development of this industry.

We must continue to develop this sector to produce different kinds of fertilizers, such as nitrogenous, phosphatic and potash fertilizers, in large quantities and, at the same time, fully meet the requirements of the textile industry for raw materials for fibre.

In light industry we should continue to expand the textile industry, rapidly develop the food-processing industry and increase the production of daily necessities. We should raise the per-capita output of textiles to more than 30 metres in the coming four or five years.

As regards the production of mass consumer goods, we must develop local factories along with large-scale factories, and

extensively utilize our handicraft technique together with modern techniques.

At its June Plenary Meeting, our Party adopted a decision to develop, through a campaign involving all the people, the food-processing industry and increase the production of daily necessities and, to this end, put forth the task of setting up more than one local factory in each county.

Hundreds of new local factories have now begun to spring up in all parts of the country and have started producing goods, thanks to the efforts of the local Party and government organs and the surging enthusiasm of all the workers to implement the decision taken at the June Plenary Meeting. According to preliminary estimates, next year alone, the new local factories are expected to produce as much consumer goods as the annual output value of all the enterprises which fall under the Ministry of Light Industry.

Even without big state investments, we will be producing such an enormous amount of manufactured goods by utilizing local raw material resources as well as available labour and materials in local areas. This is a new, sufficient reserve that has been tapped thanks to the correct policy of our Party and greater enthusiasm by the workers who have become determined to carry it out, and it has great significance in the development of industry. This will not only make it possible to fully meet the rapidly growing requirements of the people but will also offer possibilities for more rapid development of heavy industry and greatly accelerate overall economic development. When each city or county has its own industry, the role and functions of the local government organs in the management of the economy will be further enhanced and strengthened; the local officials and broad sections of workers will gain knowledge and experience in the management of industry, and will show still more zeal and creativity in socialist construction.

We will gradually expand and mechanize all these local factories as their foundations become stronger. If we develop local industry in this manner for three to four years, or five to six years, we will have hundreds or even more than a thousand of good light industry factories all over the country, that is, four or five factories in each county, without making large investments at a time. We should actively and boldly continue with the splendid work we have already initiated.

Thus, by continuously developing heavy and light industries at a fast rate, we will have a self-reliant industry built on modern technology, and firm foundations which will be able to ensure technological reconstruction in all sectors of the national economy.

Along with industry, transport should be developed further and its technical equipment improved. Since our country abounds in electrical power resources, we should work towards the electrification of railways. During the First Five-Year Plan, we should electrify the railways which most urgently require it and then prepare material and technical foundations for the overall electrification of the railways in future. During the second five-year plan, we should push ahead with this work on a large scale.

At the same time, we should develop our road and sea transport. In particular, we should bear in mind that when our country is reunified, sea transport will become important in transportation. We should build more vessels and increase the volume of cargo.

The technological transformation of agriculture should be actively intensified on the basis of the development of socialist industry.

Agriculture in our country has a number of specific features. Since there are many mountainous regions in our country, arable land is extremely limited and more than one-third of the total cultivated land lies on steep slopes. Rice production is the most important thing in our agriculture. Forty-five to fifty per cent of the total grain output is rice, and rice paddy fields account for some 30 per cent of the total farmland.

We have to take these specific features of agriculture into account to attain its technological transformation.

We must transform agriculture in order to increase agricultural production and to ease the hardships of peasants by introducing advanced science and technology in this sector.

In our country where arable land is limited, the decisive key to increasing agricultural produce lies in raising yields per hectare of land and the utilization of all land. We must grow much more crops on the limited area. Hence, the most important thing in the technological transformation of agriculture in our country is the setting up of irrigation systems.

Irrigation works are essential for the technological transformation of agriculture in our country.

It is characteristic of our climate to have dry spells from April to June and a rainy season in July and August each year. Therefore, a decisive condition for reaping a bumper crop is to prevent the damage of drought and floods through proper irrigation projects. If irrigation systems are set up, the peasants will be more successful in preventing drought and flood damage and, accordingly, will reap rich and stable harvests at all times, while economizing enormously on manpower.

In the postwar period, we have already put 91 per cent of paddy fields fully under irrigation by undertaking irrigation projects on an extensive scale. But the irrigation system has still not been fully introduced.

The Party and the Government have made it an important task to expand the area of rice fields to more than 700,000 hectares and put it completely under irrigation.

Our country also abounds in water resources. Our industry will supply enough cement, structural steel, water pumps and motors necessary for expanding irrigated areas, and various kinds of construction machines for mechanizing irrigation systems. Cooperativization has already been introduced in our agriculture. So we can fulfil this task as well.

There is an old saying in the East: "Forest and water conservation is the foundation of agriculture." It has been the centuries-old aspiration of our peasants to prevent drought and flood damage. The complete establishment of irrigation systems not only in rice fields but also in dry fields means that the aspirations of our peasants will be realized in our time While setting up irrigation systems, we should use more chemical fertilizers. Chemical fertilizers are very important in increasing yields per hectare of land.

In five or six years our industry will be supplying our agriculture with about four times as much chemical fertilizers as at present. Moreover, besides nitrogenous fertilizer, phosphatic and potash fertilizers will also be produced in large quantities, and thus the variety of chemical fertilizers will be considerably improved.

Simultaneously with the application of more chemical fertilizers, scientific methods of fertilization should be established in the near future in order to achieve better results.

We should direct profound attention to the improvement of farm machines and the mechanization of farming. When we say irrigation projects are essential to the technological transformation of our agriculture, we do not mean that the mechanization of agriculture should be ignored.

We should mechanize all possible work, while putting emphasis on increasing yields per hectare of land and utilizing land better. In the first place, transport operations and the ploughing of paddy and dry fields, the most labour-consuming work in the countryside, should be mechanized. To do this, the network of farm machine hire stations should be extended and the number of tractors and lorries increased.

Electrification has great significance in the technological transformation of agriculture. The electricity supply in rural areas is vital for the setting up of irrigation systems and, what's more, it will make it possible to mechanize threshing work and many other kinds of work and to improve the cultural life of the peasants. At the same time, it is necessary to introduce more animal-drawn farm machines, improve farm tools and make the different advanced farming techniques more popular.

If we accelerate the technological transformation of our agriculture in this direction, we will be able to reap a harvest of more than 6 million tons of grain, including 3 million tons of rice alone.

Such a growth in grain production will form strong foundations for

the rapid development of animal husbandry and all other branches of agriculture.

In this way, our agriculture will be built on modern technology and will have guarantees against crop failure; it will become a developed and multilateral economy.

## Comrades,

At the present stage of socialist construction when socialist relations of production have been established and our national economy has entered a period of technological reconstruction, the cultural revolution has become an urgent task for us. Unless the cultural revolution is carried out, the technological reconstruction of the national economy cannot be successful nor can socialist relations of production be consolidated.

The most important thing in the cultural revolution is to raise the level of general knowledge of all the working people. In this connection, our immediate task is to enforce universal compulsory secondary education and encourage all workers to reach at least the standard of education of primary or junior middle school graduates.

In our country, approximately 95 per cent of primary school graduates have already entered junior middle schools this year, thanks to the great care shown by the state and the great enthusiasm of the workers. Next year we will introduce universal compulsory secondary education.

We can say that the question of improving the standard of education of all the workers to the level of primary or junior middle school graduates has already been basically solved in towns. In the rural areas, too, the educational standard of all the peasants must be raised above the primary school graduate level in a few years by intensifying our adult education.

The mass training of technical personnel and the improvement of the working people's technical qualifications are extremely important factors in the cultural revolution. We need more specialists and technicians for socialist construction, particularly for the technological reconstruction of the national economy. The number of vocational schools and colleges must be increased and the standard of teaching must be further improved. In this connection, we must launch a mass campaign for setting up a technical school for a small number of ri. In this way we must train a large number of technical personnel by providing them with secondary education at new technical schools, such as agricultural, engineering, animal husbandry and fishery schools, for junior middle school graduates.

Along with this, all working people must intensify the struggle to learn new techniques. To do so, it is important to study while working and to work while studying.

In the four or five years after the war, the excellent habit of working while studying has been established in all our schools. Our students have adjusted themselves and become accustomed to production activities by participating in work for socialist construction while successfully continuing their studies.

To help the workers and peasants to learn techniques, we must expand correspondence courses and increase the number of evening schools.

By intensifying the work in public health and hygiene, we must control epidemics and endemics, keep our places of work and homes neat and clean and in a cultured way. All outmoded ways of life and obsolete customs should be done away with and new socialist morals be established amongst the working people.

We must also give deep attention to the advancement of science. The basic orientations for scientific development in our country today are, first, to concentrate on issues which are vital to the development of our national economy and which require an urgent solution, and, second, to study ways and means to adapt scientific and technological achievements by advanced countries to our specific conditions. Only in this way can our scientists help in the development of the national economy and rapidly reach the level of scientific and technological progress in advanced countries.

Literature and art should be rapidly developed and mass cultural work should be intensified amongst the working people.

Our writers and artists should serve the communist education of our working people by creating more literature and art works on socialist realism.

Thus, by successfully carrying out the tasks for the technological reconstruction of the national economy and the cultural revolution, we must accelerate socialist construction in the northern half of Korea.

Socialist construction in the northern half of Korea is a decisive guarantee for hastening the peaceful reunification of our country. It will make our democratic base as strong as steel and further encourage and intensify the struggle of the south Korean people against the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. It will also provide solid material foundations for the rapid restoration of the devastated economy of the southern half and for improvement of the appallingly poor living conditions of the south Korean people, after our country is reunified in future.

3

Comrades,

Today, when we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic with great achievements in socialist construction, the south Korean people are still suffering under the colonial oppression and exploitation of US imperialism.

South Korea is now facing ruin in all spheres of its political, economic and cultural life.

The US imperialists have completely seized the important arteries of the south Korean economy, and have geared them entirely to implement their policies of military aggression and colonial plunder.

The so-called "aid" given by the United States is an important tool for aggression in south Korea, where the US monopoly capitalists have gained control of all economic sectors, and completely destroyed its national economy.

The state of south Korean industry, which was always left undeveloped, has sharply deteriorated, chained to US monopoly capital. Over 90 per cent of the few remaining factories and enterprises are medium or small and have less than 50 workers. Today more than 80 per cent of these enterprises have fully or partially suspended operations because of a shortage of raw materials, power and funds under the pressure of US monopoly capital and a handful of comprador capitalists.

The mining industry in south Korea, which is said to have been in a relatively good state in the past, is also in a deplorable situation at present.

Today south Korea's industrial output is only half the pre-liberation level and industry's contribution to the total national revenue in 1957 was no more than 8.6 per cent. This indicates that the Syngman Rhee clique can obtain nothing more out of south Korean industry.

With the total collapse of south Korea's industry, the Syngman Rhee clique has used the rural areas as its main field of exploitation and plunder. But today even the rural areas are in a state of irretrievable bankruptcy.

Cultivated land in south Korea has dwindled by 600,000 hectares and the gross output of grain fell by 40 per cent compared to the time of Japanese imperialist rule. Thus, south Korea, which was formerly known as the "granary" of our country, has been reduced to an area of chronic famine which has to import more than 5 million *sok* of grain every year. In North and South Jolla Provinces, the rice-producing centres, more than 80 per cent of total peasant households ran out of food last spring.

Although industry is being destroyed and rural areas devastated in this way, the Syngman Rhee clique, the faithful henchmen of the US imperialists, are increasing armaments in a frenzied manner by persistently bleeding the people white. The national economy is collapsing and the people's living conditions are further deteriorating, but military spending is increasing steadily every year.

In 1957, military spending amounted to 3.6 times that in 1953. The Syngman Rhee clique is intensifying its plunder against the working people in order to continue maintaining the large puppet army of more than 600,000 men who are serving as a tool in the aggressive policy of the US imperialists. Today, the bulk of the south Korean puppet government's budget is used for military purposes. In 1957, spending for the army and police amounted to around 70 per cent of the puppet government's budget.

The Syngman Rhee clique continuously increase all kinds of tax burdens on the masses of the people in order to meet their enormous military costs. In 1957, the tax revenue of the puppet government was 5.3 times that of 1953. The working masses, greatly impoverished by the continuous cruel plundering, are now totally unable to pay the heavy taxes. According to the "results of the implementation of the financial programme" for the first half of this year, made public by the Ministry of Finance of the puppet government, actual revenue was no more than 34.3 per cent of the estimated total amount. This means that they are totally bankrupt and that the working masses have been so impoverished that nothing more can be taken from them through any terrorist or forceful means.

As its financial difficulties increase, the puppet government has no choice but to use almost all its budget for the upkeep of the army and police. The actual expenditure in the first half of this year amounted to only 37.1 per cent of the estimated sum, of which more than 96 per cent consisted of military, police and administrative expenses, and only 0.01 per cent was allocated for agriculture.

The workers of south Korea are receiving meagre wages, equivalent to barely one-third of the minimum cost of living, and in many cases they are not even paid such wages, sometimes for over half a year. More than 90 per cent of the peasants have enormous debts and many of them are abandoning their farmland to go from one place to another, unable to endure the robbery by the landlords and usurers. Today, the number of the unemployed and part-timers in south Korea has risen to more than 4.2 million and hundreds of thousands of child

beggars are roaming the streets.

South Korea, as its rulers themselves admit, is today undergoing its "hardest period in 4,000 years".

The American way of life and misanthropy are corrupting moral principles in south Korea, and are ruining the ancient national culture and the beautiful lifestyle and customs of our people. Thus, darkness and degeneration prevail in south Korean society.

This is precisely the outcome of 13 years of US army occupation and a traitorous rule by Syngman Rhee after liberation.

Comrades.

How can the south Korean people find a way out of this catastrophe? They can do this only by forcing the US imperialists who are occupying south Korea to withdraw from that region and by attaining the reunification of the divided country as soon as possible.

The cause of all the suffering and misery of the south Korean people today is the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists.

The Chinese People's Volunteers are now leaving Korea to return to their homeland. They have already ended their second-stage withdrawal and will complete their withdrawal from Korea by the end of this year.

However, the US imperialists, far from taking their dirty hands off south Korea, are creating more tension and seriously jeopardizing peace in Korea by continuously increasing their armaments and bringing even guided missiles and atomic weapons into that part of our country.

But the enemy will never frighten the Korean people by this.

There is no reason for the US armed forces to remain in Korea any longer. They must immediately stop their reckless provocative acts and pull out of south Korea.

All those who are concerned about the fate of their motherland and who want national prosperity should resolutely join in the struggle against the US imperialist occupation of south Korea. All Koreans who have a national conscience, from workers and peasants to entrepreneurs and merchants, should combine efforts and fight to force

the withdrawal of US troops.

Now is the time for all classes and sections in south Korea to learn a lesson from the national calamity and misery caused by 13 years of US imperialist occupation of south Korea and the division of our country.

Representing the vital interests and aspirations of the entire Korean population, our Republic has, from the first days of its foundation, waged a tireless struggle for the peaceful reunification of the divided country. We put forward just and realistic proposals so that we Koreans would hold negotiations and reunify the country by ourselves in a peaceful way without foreign interference.

However, the Syngman Rhee puppet clique, together with the US imperialists, answered to our proposal with an armed intrusion against our Republic.

Following the armistice the Government of the Republic, with a view to turning the truce into a lasting peace and easing the tense situation, repeatedly proposed that both the north and the south reduce armaments, renounce the use of armed force against each other and guarantee free economic and cultural exchanges.

However, even today, the puppet clique has answered these proposals with calls to "march north". The traitorous Syngman Rhee clique has even refused to accept our offer to send relief supplies, the precious fruit of the labour of the north Korean people, to the numerous unemployed people and orphans in south Korea.

In an endeavour to prolong its existence, the Syngman Rhee clique does not hesitate to violate the national interests in any way possible.

Therefore, the first and foremost question to be solved for the peaceful reunification of the country is to change the war provocation and traitorous policy of the puppet Syngman Rhee clique.

First of all, the basic democratic rights and freedom of the people should be ensured in the political life of south Korea.

Today south Korea is under a total fascist rule, and even those who talk about "peaceful reunification" are punished.

All political parties and social organizations should be guaranteed the freedom of political activity and, especially, the workers and peasants who make up the overwhelming majority of the population should be free to participate in all political institutions, including the "National Assembly".

To restore the completely devastated national economy of south Korea and improve the extremely low living standard of the people, it is necessary to change the traitorous policy of the Syngman Rhee clique and effect economic exchange between the north and the south.

In the northern half of Korea, the foundations for an independent economy have been laid and strong heavy and light industry bases have been built. Electricity, coal, steel, cement, chemical fertilizer and similar things which are abundant in the northern half are the precious assets for our people to build Korea into a rich and strong, independent and sovereign state. We ardently desire that all the wealth we have created will be used to build south Korea's economy again and free its people from poverty.

The Government of the Republic has, on a number of occasions, offered to supply south Korea with electricity, coal, cement, chemical fertilizer, etc., through economic exchange between the north and the south.

All these proposals have not materialized because they were rejected by the Syngman Rhee puppets.

We can no longer tolerate the traitorous policy of the Syngman Rhee clique which is opposing the unanimous desire of the Korean people for their fellow countrymen to visit each other freely and live in harmony and unity. The south Korean people should all actively participate in the struggle to open up economic exchange between north and south Korea. This is one of the most important steps for relieving the south Korean people from bankruptcy and hastening the peaceful reunification of the country.

It is of great importance to form a united front of all patriotic, democratic forces opposed to the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique in south Korea in order to hasten the peaceful reunification of our country. Today in south Korea the interests of not only the workers and peasants but of all sections including

intellectuals, youths and students, handicraftsmen and non-comprador capitalists, with the exception of the tiny handful of Syngman Rhee puppet clique, conflict sharply with the aggressive policy of the US imperialists. This means that further possibilities have appeared for the formation of a united front of the patriotic forces in south Korea.

All people who desire a change in the present catastrophic situation in south Korea must unite. All people who demand the withdrawal of US troops and who oppose the treacherous policy of the Syngman Rhee clique must join the united front.

We fully support the strengthening of the patriotic, progressive forces in south Korea. We will support and fight together with all the political parties, social organizations and public figures who struggle for the improvement of the living standard of the south Korean people, for their political freedom and rights and stand for the peaceful reunification of the country. We will fight together with those who oppose the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique and who want to work for the peaceful reunification of the country, without questioning them about their past.

The struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of the country is an arduous one.

However, when the socialist forces in the northern half become stronger and all the patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea unite and rise in the struggle to save the nation against the US imperialists and traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, the peaceful reunification of the country will certainly be achieved.

Comrades,

We cannot but show concern over the present position of our compatriots in Japan.

The Kishi government is intensifying its persecution of our compatriots in Japan. The Kishi government is not only refusing to recognize their legal rights but is even committing the inhumane act of using our compatriots, held illegally in Japanese detention camps, as bait for bargaining with the Syngman Rhee clique.

Our compatriots in Japan, who are deprived of all their rights and

suffer discrimination in that country and hardships in life, recently expressed their desire to return to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Our people warmly welcome our compatriots who, having lost their livelihood in Japan, want to return to their homeland.

Our fellow countrymen in Japan, as citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which is prospering and developing each day, have the legitimate right to return to their country and lead a happy life together with their compatriots in their homeland.

The Government of the Republic will provide our compatriots in Japan with all facilities to start a new life after their return to their homeland. We regard this as our national duty.

4

Comrades.

Our revolution is being carried out in a very favourable international situation.

The transition from capitalism to socialism, the main characteristic of our era, has become a broader, deeper and swifter process.

The main feature of the present international situation is that socialism is emerging victorious in a decisive way in the world and the forces of imperialism are further weakening and heading towards ruin. This creates a decisively favourable condition for us, Korean people, who are struggling for the peaceful reunification of the country and for socialism.

Of the 2,700 million people in the whole world, some 1,000 million have already firmly chosen the road of socialism and the banner of socialism is flying over a vast area covering one-fourth of the world's territory.

The socialist countries have not only proved their indisputable

superiority over the capitalist countries in their rapid development of production, science and technology, but have even begun to overcome the actual level of the capitalist world. The three earth satellites launched by the Soviet Union opened up a new era in the history of scientific advancement and more firmly convinced the people all over the world of the victory of socialism.

In other fraternal countries, economy and culture are also advancing rapidly.

The imperialists who until some time ago had been dreaming of cornering and stifling the socialist camp economically, have now been overcome with apprehension about the economic might of the socialist camp.

Today, the unity and solidarity within the socialist camp is indestructible.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as a member of the socialist camp, has established, on the principle of proletarian internationalism, relations of friendship and mutual cooperation with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries, and has been doing its utmost to strengthen these relations in every possible way.

Through their experience in arduous struggles, the Korean people have realized the great power of the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism underlies the foreign policy of our country. Our Party and all the Korean people have resolutely opposed, and will always oppose, all manoeuvres by the imperialists and revisionists who criticize this principle and try to destroy the unity amongst the socialist countries.

Our Party and our people strongly denounce the treacherous act of the revisionists who have completely deviated from the principle of proletarian internationalism and are over-praising the US imperialists and kowtowing before them.

In future we will also strive further to strengthen friendship and unity with the people of the socialist camp.

The increasing political and economic might of the socialist camp is hastening the process of disintegration of the imperialist forces and exerting more powerful revolutionary influence on the people of small and weak nations.

The time is gone when the imperialists could exploit and rule the people of colonial and dependent countries at will. In the last ten years or so since World War II, more than 700 million people have rid themselves of colonial slavery and won national independence. The people who have attained national liberation are struggling against war and imperialist aggression and are seeking peace and the development of their national economy, and have formed a vast "peace zone" along with the socialist camp.

The imperialist colonial system has almost completely disintegrated on the Asian Continent, and today the flames of the national liberation struggle in colonies are spreading to the Arab East and the African Continent. The struggle of the Latin-American people against the domination of US imperialism is also gaining momentum day after day.

History has placed the complete liquidation of the imperialist colonial system from the world, on the order of the day.

Today only 500 million people, or less than one-fifth of the world population, live under imperialist rule.

In imperialist countries, problems between the productive forces and production relations are becoming ever more acute, and the economy of these countries is facing a new, growing crisis. These days, production is fast declining in the United States and other capitalist countries, and the number of unemployed is increasing each day due to the mass dismissal of workers.

All the deceptive theories about "people's capitalism" or the "changed character of capitalism" advocated by the supporters of capitalism have been totally destroyed by practical realities. In capitalist countries the working people are waging a more intensive struggle against capitalist exploitation, for better living conditions, peace and socialism.

Especially in recent years, large-scale strikes by workers have swept across all the capitalist countries, and leading the struggle are the Communist and Workers' Parties whose activity is guided by Marxism-Leninism. The Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries, tested by a fierce class struggle, are growing and gaining in strength with every passing day and enjoying the support and trust of an increasing number of people.

The whole course of historical development shows that mankind is confidently marching ahead along the road of peace, socialism and national independence, and that imperialism is falling into an abyss of total ruin.

However, the world imperialists, led by the United States, are desperately trying to recover from their unstable position.

The US imperialist aggressors, the heinous enemy of mankind, threaten the national independence of other countries all over the world, repress the national liberation movement and perpetrate systematic subversive activities against socialist countries. While tenaciously pursuing their bankrupt "policy of strength," they are deliriously preparing another war by intensifying the arms drive and expanding their military bases in all parts of the world. With the British imperialists, they have recently launched fresh aggression against the Lebanese and Jordanian people.

However, developments show that things are not turning out as the imperialists want. The invasion by the British and French imperialists against the Arab people met a humiliating defeat. The aggressive plot by the United States against Syria was also foiled.

The recent extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly was further proof of the failure of the "policy of strength" of the US imperialists. Although the US and British imperialists resorted to every possible manoeuvre at the UN to justify their acts of aggression against Lebanon and Jordan, they could not but finally agree, under the pressure of the peace-loving people of the world, to the resolution calling for withdrawal of US and British troops from Lebanon and Jordan. This shows that even at the UN, the US imperialists are unable

to impose their will on others arbitrarily as they did before.

The Korean people extend wholehearted support and encouragement to the national liberation struggle by the Arab people against the foreign aggressors and strongly demand the immediate withdrawal of US and British imperialist armed forces from the Middle East.

Although their war policy is heading towards failure, the US imperialists still refuse to learn their lesson.

The US imperialists have recently launched aggressive provocation in the Taiwan Straits against the Chinese people with the aim of diverting the attention of the world's people from the Middle East situation and of maintaining the tense international situation. They have illegally occupied Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, integral parts of the People's Republic of China, and, using these territories as a springboard, are openly plotting to widen the scope of their aggression against the People's Republic of China.

The aggressive provocation of the US imperialists against the People's Republic of China constitutes a grave threat to peace in the Far East and the world and a challenge to all the peace-loving people of Asia.

The Taiwan question is entirely China's internal affair, and the liberation of Taiwan is the sacred and inviolable sovereign right of the People's Republic of China.

The Government of our Republic and the Korean people resolutely denounce the provocative manoeuvres of the US imperialists who interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China, violate its territory and sovereignty and increase tension in the Taiwan Straits.

We fully support the statement of Premier Zhou Enlai manifesting the just stand and firm determination of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people with regard to the situation in the Taiwan Straits.

The US imperialists should clearly realize that if they refuse to learn a lesson from their humiliating defeat in the Korean war and unleash another reckless war of aggression in Asia, they are doomed to self-destruction in the fire they themselves have started.

The Korean people will always march together with the fraternal Chinese people and strengthen solidarity between the people of the two countries in the struggle against the war provocation policy of the US imperialists and for a durable peace and security in Asia.

As long as imperialism persists, the threat of war will remain. We must always maintain sharp vigilance against all provocative manoeuvres by the enemy.

We must continue to struggle for a lasting universal peace together with the peace-loving people all over the world by further strengthening solidarity with them.

Our people will contribute to the consolidation of world peace by foiling the manoeuvres of the US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique to create fresh tension in Korea and by carrying on a dynamic struggle to preserve peace in Korea and attain the peaceful reunification of our country.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made persistent efforts to promote the relations of cooperation with independent states in Asia and Africa which are opposed to colonialism and imperialism, and is actively supporting the national liberation movement of people in colonial countries.

Our country's economic and cultural ties with India, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic, Burma, Ceylon and many other countries are being further strengthened.

We will in future also strive for the further development of friendly relations with all countries which want to establish good relations with our country and, particularly, with the Asian and African countries which are opposed to colonialism and imperialism.

Comrades.

The Korean people have risked their life to defend the Republic in the arduous struggle against our internal and external enemies and achieved great victories in the ten years under the banner of the Republic. The Republic is the realization of the centuries-old aspirations of the Korean people to attain freedom, independence and social progress, and is the light that illumines the road ahead in the struggle to attain the reunification of the country in future.

The Korean people base their destiny on the prosperity and progress of the Republic, in which they see an inexhaustible source of strength for the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution.

The fast-growing forces of socialism and a happier life of the people in the Republic are encouraging the liberation struggle of the people in the southern half in a more determined way.

No force can break the revolutionary strength of the Korean people who are united under the banner of the Republic, or disrupt our struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of the country and for socialism will surely be crowned with final victory.

Let us all march forward towards our great victory!

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

## AGAINST PASSIVENESS AND CONSERVATISM IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

## Speech at a National Meeting of Production Innovators September 16, 1958

Comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I extend warm greetings to you who, overcoming all difficulties, have wrought world-startling miracles in the struggle to carry out the Three-Year Plan for the Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy and the First Five-Year Plan.

The present National Meeting of Production Innovators is being held in the proper time. The meeting is of great significance in accelerating socialist construction and further increasing the enthusiasm of the masses.

The socialist transformation of production relations has now been completed in the urban and rural districts of our country. Thus, our society has become a socialist one, free from exploitation and oppression.

The main task confronting us is to consolidate the socialist system in the northern half of Korea and, by developing it still further, to complete the building of a socialist society.

To complete the promotion of socialism, we must industrialize the country along socialist lines. The complete victory of socialism is impossible without socialist industrialization. Socialist

industrialization is the only way to turn our country into an advanced industrial state.

When this is realized, our industry will further develop into a modern industry and agriculture will be free from crop failures, with the result that food and clothing will be plentiful and many modern houses will be erected. This is also the way to facilitate the peaceful reunification of the country and help the people in the southern half to have a standard of living similar to ours. Therefore, it is of prime importance that we quickly carry out socialist industrialization.

Two important tasks must be carried out for socialist industrialization.

One is to carry through the ideological revolution. Our social system has been reorganized, but capitalist ideas still remain in the minds of the people. These hangovers of obsolete ideas should be uprooted and the working people should be armed with communist ideas. And while remoulding their ideological consciousness, we should also work to raise their cultural and technical levels. Only then can the productive forces of society be highly developed.

The other task is to implement the technical revolution. A high level of technology is needed for the industrialization of the country. Without advanced technology, socialist industrialization cannot be materialized. Without industrialization, there can be no technical revolution, and vice versa. Industrialization itself requires the technical revolution. In order to provide the people with a good standard of living, their work should be made easier and production should be increased. This will be possible only when technology is advanced. For this reason, the Party sets it as an important task to carry out the technical revolution.

It is true that we have so far achieved no small success in the technological development. But in view of the demands of the development of the national economy, our technical development has not yet reached a satisfactory level.

We should develop the national economy more rapidly; we still lack many things. As far as the standard of living is concerned, the people do have enough fabrics, and the problem of supplying enough food has yet to be solved.

To solve the food problem, we must produce more rice so that all the people will soon be able to have rice meals. To reach this aim, we should expand the paddies, apply plenty of fertilizer and increase the per-unit-area yield of rice. When technical reconstruction is effected in agriculture, work in this sector will become easier and it will be possible to produce more rice. Once rice is abundant, we can also develop stockbreeding still better.

With regard to the clothing problem, we are also striving to provide everyone with 30 metres of cloth a year in the future. Once we build a combined textile mill in Sinuiju, complete the construction of the Chongjin Spinning Mill and erect a vinalon factory in Pongung, the clothing problem will be basically solved.

We also have to build many houses. It is true, of course, that we have already built quite a few, but we cannot be pleased with this. We must build more houses in future so that all of us can live in comfortable and modern houses, instead of the old ones in which we had to live in poverty for thousands of years.

Thus, we should solve the problems of food, clothing and housing more satisfactorily in the future. We must advance faster and work more in order to improve our standard of living.

We should develop heavy industry and produce plenty of electricity and coal. We should particularly produce large quantities of steel, since it is essential for the building of ships, bridges, houses and machines.

Every sector of the economy depends on steel. Our shortage of steel limits the number of houses and machines we can build, and hinders us in introducing mechanization and automation in production. In the old days iron had to be smelted and tools made at the smithy even to build up a village. So, how can we build a country without steel? In order to develop the national economy and improve the people's standard of living, we need a lot of steel. Therefore, the metal industry should be developed. To do this, we must further increase the production

capacity of the existing factories, and install many new blast furnaces, coke ovens, electric furnaces and open-hearth furnaces.

We must also develop the chemical industry. We must have much more chemical fertilizers than we have now and increase their variety. In addition to ammonium nitrate fertilizer, we also need phosphatic, potash and various other fertilizers. In the future, we will have to produce millions of tons of different chemical fertilizers—not just a few hundred thousand tons. Only by doing so can we also develop agriculture.

As for textile fibres, it is rather difficult for us to produce large amounts of cotton in addition to grain because arable land in our country is limited. Besides, cotton does not grow very well in our country. Thanks to the introduction of the humus-pot cotton growing method and other advanced methods of farming, the cotton output has increased to some extent this year. But extensive cultivation of cotton is impossible because of the limited amount of arable land. Therefore, to solve the problem of textile fibres, we should emphasize the mass production of chemical fibres. We should produce fibres from wood, carbide, reeds and cornstalks. We have just begun this work.

The key to the development of all sectors of the economy-power, iron, coal and chemical industries and agriculture—is the development of the machine-building industry. The technical revolution implies, first of all, extensive development of the machine-building industry. As a matter of fact, machinery determines everything.

The machine-building industry, however, was most backward in our country before. The Japanese imperialists, while building up industries in Korea, did not build one single machine-building plant. They did this because it was only in this way that they could keep Korea underdeveloped and sweat the Koreans as they pleased. We must once and for all rid ourselves of the backwardness we inherited from Japanese imperialism.

If we develop the machine-building industry on a vast scale and install machines everywhere, we can automate production, to say nothing of mechanizing it. In fact, everything can be solved if we install machines and supply electricity to operate them.

In future the production processes in industry should be electrified, mechanized and automated. Agriculture should also be mechanized.

The growth of light industry also requires the development of the machine-building industry. At present, we cannot rely on modern factories alone in the production of daily necessities and in the food industry, to meet the demands of the population. It is difficult to build only large factories because the machine-building industry is not sufficiently developed. Until we reach a stage when this industry is further developed, we should continue to build handicraft-type factories as well. But the main thing is to develop advanced, large-scale industry. The construction of handicraft-type factories is an auxiliary means of using all our potentials.

Then, should we some day abolish the handicraft-type textile mills, food-processing factories and building-materials factories we are now constructing in cities and counties? On the contrary. We need them now and will continue to need them even in the future. Even those factories which use treadle looms today can improve their equipment and weave more fabrics tomorrow when many textile machines would be produced.

Thus, the technical revolution is needed everywhere. So everyone must take part in the technical revolution, and this is a requirement of all sectors of the national economy.

Some people think that only those engaged in the machine-building industry have the duty to carry out the technical revolution and produce more machines. They are mistaken. All sectors of the national economy must be involved in this task, and all of you here should study and strive to continue the technical development in your respective fields.

What should we do, then? We should work out new devices and inventions to make work easier and raise production. Because our country is short of manpower and has not yet achieved a high enough standard of living, it is a very urgent matter to make everything

abundant as soon as possible by increasing production while performing work with facility and with less manpower.

The current National Collective Innovation Exhibition shows that you have done a lot of work. The exhibits show the rapid progress we have made in technical innovation.

However, our achievements are still very insignificant, compared with the requirements of the development of our national economy. We have now only laid the foundations and got the technical revolution started. If any of you ever think you have done enough by inventing one device, you are wrong. You should continue to invent even better, more effective devices. You should not rest on your laurels, but humbly study and work hard, thereby constantly developing technology. We must further advance the movement for technical innovation currently going on in production and construction and raise it to a still higher level.

We should make constant innovations. We should create better things and, on this basis, make still better things, thereby effecting uninterrupted innovations.

Man's desires will grow constantly. "Put a man on a horse, and he will demand a footman," as the saying goes. In housing, for instance, when people have one room, they want two; and when they have two, they want three. When they lived in dugouts just after the armistice, their only wish was to live in sunny houses. Now that they are living in sunny houses, they want more modern ones. To meet such growing needs of the people, we cannot afford to mark time, but must make constant innovations.

Let's take the development of technology for an example. It has progressed from the oxcart to the automobile and the train, and from the airplane to the rocket. How can we settle for the present state of affairs simply because we have brought about innovations? Therefore, we must continue to make efforts.

The movement for collective innovation is of tremendous significance in developing technology.

Needless to say, there are many examples of individuals making

innovation through their own heroic struggle. When we talk about the collective innovation movement, we do not mean to oppose this heroic individual struggle for innovations. It is incorrect to criticize one who studies and works by himself as an individualist hero.

What we want to emphasize is that the innovation movement should not be confined to one or a few people but should be carried out by many. Many people, not just one person, should become heroes.

Some are worried because there are so many heroes, but I think the more heroes we have, the better.

When plane-hunting teams were formed during the war, certain conservative "lawyers", noting that there were not as many heroes in other countries, were afraid that we would have too many heroes if every man who shot down three enemy planes in a month was made a hero. We told such people they had not learned their arithmetic properly. One thousand heroes, for example, would mean that 3,000 Yankee planes had been shot down, wouldn't it? If so many Yankee planes were shot down and 1,000 heroes emerged among us, what would be wrong?

If every Korean could ride Chollima now and become a hero, nothing could be better!

In the efforts to create new things, work that cannot be done through individual effort should preferably be collectively undertaken by many. When there is innovation by collective effort and the wisdom of many people, then all participants are innovators. If many people combine their efforts and wisdom and work collectively, work will be more joyful and the results will also be greater. This is why the Party is calling on you to launch the movement for collective innovations on a broad scale.

We should organize our work in such a way that we raise the number of those who perform heroic feats and display creativity, and thus swell the ranks of such innovators.

Another important aspect of the innovation movement is to effectively combine the efforts of workers and technicians.

Technicians, however, sometimes show the wrong tendency of

rejecting the creative initiative of the workers instead of encouraging it. If the technicians consider and develop the useful suggestions of the workers, there may possibly appear better inventions and new ideas. Therefore, it is wrong of them not to help the workers.

Technicians should, as a matter of fact, help the workers, and the workers should learn from the technicians. The workers may come up with many new proposals, because they are the ones who directly operate the machines, and they are always concerned about how to improve their production both in quantity and quality. It is therefore necessary to strengthen cooperation between workers and technicians in order to make better and more perfect things.

The workers of our country are performing miracles in the struggle to break with the old and create the new. But this does not come without any struggle. Innovations made by the working people have been won through the struggle against the conservatism and passiveness which block our advance.

Whenever there is an innovation, the outdated thing is always in the way. Therefore, innovation is always accompanied by struggle against the outdated. Innovation is impossible to achieve without fighting against backward and conservative things. This is a law of life.

In a movement for innovation, therefore, backward and conservative things should be done away with. In order to make further progress in the upsurge of socialist construction, it is important to reject the obstructive moves of the conservatives.

What do the conservatives cling to?

First, they cling to mystery. Conservatives say industry is mysterious, science is mysterious, technology is mysterious and machines are mysterious. To make a mystery of everything in this way means, in the last analysis, that only "God" can understand it. This implies that not ordinary people but only they can understand science, industry and technology, as if they were "God".

Certain people in the Academy of Sciences maintain that science cannot be mastered in a year or two, that it takes at least 10 to 20 years. But they have done nothing to brag about even in 10 years. They

themselves have fallen prey to mystery.

The workers and technicians have succeeded in producing ferro-coke and making fibre from reeds and cornstalks, and the peasants have introduced the cold-bed rice seedling method and humus-pot cotton growing method on an extensive scale, thus making innovations. But certain "scholars" in the Academy of Sciences hold that, since science and technology are mysterious, research cannot be undertaken at random. Thus, nothing is left to them but the word "mystery".

Both science and technology are studied and developed by man. Those who are daring in their studies and actions succeed in what they do, while those who harp on "mystery" accomplish nothing.

For communists, nothing is mysterious. We were told that the machine-building industry was mysterious and, at first, we, too, thought it was very difficult to tackle it. But, as we have found out, there is nothing mysterious about it.

What is mysterious about cutting metal to make a machine? What is the difference in their principle between smoothing wood and lathing metal? If we try hard enough, our machine-building plants, which are furnished with up-to-date equipment, can produce as many different kinds of heavy machines as we need.

Next, there are many ideological hangovers from Japanese imperialism in the minds of the conservatives. These people say, "As for me, I am a graduate of such and such a university in Japan. But what on earth do you know?" With this, they hold up the "rated capacity" of Japanese imperialist days and try to keep the people in check. They try to measure our reality with outdated techniques; they approach our realities from an old ideological point of view. We must do away with these ideas, too.

To make more rapid progress, we should learn from the good experience of other countries, such as the Soviet Union which is an advanced country. However, some people have the tendency of unconditionally regarding everything in European countries as advanced and blindly idolizing it, belittling their own progressive

experiences and great successes. True, we must learn from what is good. But it is a wrong idea to consider everything foreign as good and all that we have as bad, failing to appreciate our own good things.

There are some people who close their eyes to the fact that our country has harvested 20 tons of apples per hectare. However, when a foreign country does the same thing, they clamour that it is an advanced experience and we should learn from it.

We are opposed to such ideas, because some misled people, unwilling to grasp the specific realities of our country and accustomed to distrusting their own strength, do not show activity and creative initiative, but look up at foreign things and indulge in copying them mechanically.

Conservatives also attempt to paralyse the creative initiative of the working people by holding up the norms of others, saying, "These are the norms of advanced countries. How can we possibly surpass them?" This is also a dangerous tendency.

The norms of others do not stand still either, but continue to develop. There is no reason why we should remain under the shadow of the standards already reached by others, nor is there any reason why we should limit ourselves to tagging along behind them.

We must go faster than other people because we are still poorer than they are. When others take one step, we must take ten. Although we lag behind, we have favourable conditions for rapid progress, since our clear minds easily absorb good things.

Even if we cannot outstrip the more advanced countries, we should at least catch up and keep pace with them. We must learn faster, develop faster and go farther ahead. This is the current demand and cherished desire of the Korean people.

Therefore, it is necessary to fight all tendencies which, confined by conservatism, hinder our progress.

Another harmful tendency is that some scientists and technicians look down on the workers and peasants for their lack of knowledge. Such an attitude is entirely wrong. Science and technology are not developed by doctors, masters of science or university graduates alone.

Everything on earth is made through the efforts of the workers and peasants. Has anything in the world been produced without passing through their hands? All of the airplanes, automobiles, trains and steamboats, without exception, are made by the workers' hands.

This is the truth in our country, too, as is proved by reality, isn't it? Factories and enterprises have been built by the workers. Innovations in production have also been made by the workers. And the cold-bed rice seedling method was devised by the peasants.

This, however, is by no means to say that the Academy of Sciences and scientific workers are unnecessary or that science may be ignored. Research work in the Academy of Sciences should also be pushed forward, scientists and technicians should help the workers and peasants, and the latter should, in turn, constantly strive to learn advanced science and technical know-how from them. The workers, peasants, technicians and scientists must help one another and combine their efforts to come up with more wonderful inventions.

It is wrong for scientists, technicians and managers of factories and enterprises to stifle the creative initiative of the workers, hinder their positive efforts and refuse to help them. All this is a conservative tendency. If the workers, on the other hand, do not seek to learn from the technicians and scientists and refuse to cooperate with them, that is also wrong. This is a tendency to ignore science and technology.

Conservatives do not go around with signs on their foreheads announcing that they are conservatives. There are different types of conservatives. They may support the Party policy outwardly, shouting slogans such as, "Let us smash conservatism!" and "Let us do away with conservative ideas!" But, in reality, conservatives are found among these people, too.

What should be the criterion of judgment? We should judge them according to whether or not they work actively, whether or not they continue to promote the high spirit of the masses, help them and organize their work well.

If at meetings a manager says that he helps the workers and opposes conservatism, but acts otherwise in deed, he is a conservative.

However, this does not mean that such a person should be discharged outright. The point is to do away with his conservative ideas as soon as possible.

It is a question of rectifying backward ideas of people, a question of education through ideological struggle. Everyone may have a few conservative ideas. That is why the ideological struggle against conservatism and passiveness should be continuously intensified.

Furthermore, we should continue to strengthen the hardening of Party spirit in order to obtain bigger successes in the movement for innovation.

We always work and live under the leadership of the Party. None of our revolutionary struggles and our innovation movements can advance even an inch without the leadership of the Party. Because the Party is the General Staff in our revolution.

The Party always leads our people towards a new life. Its policies and decisions are the guide to all our activities, whether in revolutionary work or in the innovation movement. We should loyally hold to the decisions of the Party and fight for their implementation through thick and thin. You should remember that the successes you innovators have scored have been made under the Party's guidance and that they serve the interests of the Party.

To promote Party spirit means to be boundlessly loyal to the Party, to defend it and to strive to further its interests. Non-Party people, too, should be loyal to the Party, study its policies carefully and try to carry them through to the end.

The Party represents the interests of the working class and other working people, and it is the advanced detachment fighting for their welfare. Therefore, to be faithful to the Party and fully implement its policies means fighting for the sake of their own class and thus for themselves.

To be faithful to the Party and to become innovators in socialist construction, you should raise your cultural and technical levels. Some people say they are too old to study, but this is a mistaken idea. Even if they are old, they should continue to study, and should strive to raise their cultural and technical levels. The Party has set forth the task of raising everyone's education level to at least that of a middle school graduate within a short period of time.

Our innovators today should become pacemakers both in raising their cultural and technical levels and in developing the collective innovation movement.

In 1957 our country's industrial output increased by 44 per cent, compared with 1956. This year we envisage an increase of 35 per cent or more over last year. This is a very high rate of growth.

However, we cannot be satisfied with this. We must advance faster in order to live as well as others.

In conclusion, I would like to express my firm conviction that you will continue to advance with the vigour of Chollima riders in order to realize the First Five-Year Plan a year and a half ahead of schedule and accomplish the great long-range tasks presented in the report at celebrations marking the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic.

# SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN BRINGING ABOUT A FRESH UPSWING IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Senior Officials of Party and State Bodies, Economic Agencies and Social Organizations September 25, 1958

# 1. ON AMALGAMATING AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES AND REORGANIZING THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE RI

The cooperativization of agriculture has already been successfully completed in our country. In order to further reinforce and develop agricultural cooperatives in this situation, small-scale cooperatives should be amalgamated to conform with the requirements of the advancing socialist agriculture.

Since the existing agricultural cooperatives are small in scale and dispersed over a wide area, they are hampering the rapid increase of agricultural production.

The fact that there are several cooperatives in a ri constitutes an obstacle to the rational use of the land, the diversified development of agriculture, the extensive irrigation of paddy and dry fields and, especially, to the mechanization of agriculture and the rational organization of the labour force.

The existence of several cooperatives in a ri has given rise to gross disparity in the development of their economies and the standard of living of their members because of the qualitative and quantitative differences of their farmlands.

It has also caused a considerable waste in the countryside. Each cooperative builds its own productive and cultural establishments, quite a few of which are unnecessary from the standpoint of the ri. Moreover, the existence of several cooperatives in a ri, causes a waste of labour force as they need many workers on the management staff; it is also difficult to allocate capable and steadfast management workers to every cooperative. Past experience shows that those cooperatives whose management staff members are steadfast and have a correct understanding of the Party's policy and display initiative in work, develop rapidly, whereas those which have no such staffs make very slow progress.

Such irrationalities cannot be overcome unless the dispersed small cooperatives are amalgamated on a moderate scale.

The Saenal Agricultural Cooperative in Sinchon County, the Sambong Agricultural Cooperative in Phyongwon County, the Jonjin Agricultural Cooperative in Ryongchon County, Agricultural Cooperative in Hamju County, the Ssangryong Cooperative Agricultural in Kilju County. the Paengnosan Agricultural Cooperative in Cholwon County and other cooperatives which have been formed through the merger of small cooperatives with the ri as a unit are now attesting an excellent progress.

Today the issue of merging agricultural cooperatives with the ri as a unit is being looked at as a matured requirement. Most of cooperative members and management workers are asking for the amalgamation which they feel necessary.

In order to consolidate and develop agricultural cooperatives to meet the subjective and objective requirements of development, we should merge the existing cooperatives with the ri as a unit and organize appropriate branch farms or workteams in different villages, respecting their members' will. The administrative structure of the ri should be reorganized in view of this merger.

Now that the cooperativization of agriculture has been completed, the ri people's committee has, in fact, no part to play. The right of guiding agricultural production now belongs to each agricultural cooperative, and so the ri people's committee has lost the right to guide it. Therefore, the structure of the ri people's committee should be rationally reorganized to suit agricultural development.

The structural system of the ri people's committee should be so reorganized that its chairman will concurrently hold the chairmanship of the agricultural cooperative in the future. It is preferable that the reorganized ri people's committee has its chairman taking concurrently the chairmanship of the cooperative, a vice-chairman and two instructors in charge of production, a treasurer and a statistician.

The treasurer of the ri people's committee should not only keep accounts of all property belonging to the agricultural cooperative but also draw up production plans and take care of annual settlement of accounts and income distribution. The statistician should handle administrative affairs of the ri–the statistics of the population, food rationing for the industrial and non-industrial workers and marriages, funerals and other ceremonial functions.

In townships and workers' districts the administrative structures should not be changed; only agricultural cooperatives should be merged.

In connection with the amalgamation of agricultural cooperatives, the shops of village consumers' cooperatives, credit cooperatives and clinics should be under the responsibility of agricultural cooperatives so that the latter will run them for themselves.

When the shops of village consumers' cooperatives will be under the responsibility of agricultural cooperatives, the wholesale prices of articles should have two categories. The wholesale prices of the articles sent to the shops under agricultural cooperatives should be a little higher than those of the goods sent to the state shops.

The trading networks of the consumers' cooperatives should be

reorganized so that only the state trading network and agricultural cooperative trading network will be allowed to exist in our country. All the standing apparatus of consumers' cooperatives should be abolished from the centre down to localities.

The county seat should keep state retail shops as well as wholesale and purchasing shops. And branch shops of the county-run purchasing shop should be opened each for several ri to offer facilities to cooperative members, so that it will effect purchases at all times, including purchases through contracts.

The reorganization of the trading networks demands a further enhancement of the role of the provincial bureau of trade. This bureau should take measures so that shops under its control may distribute commodities in good time.

The rational reorganization of the administrative structure of the ri and the work system in the trade and health sectors will make it possible to reduce the number of the state regular staff by tens of thousands. This will be greatly helpful to easing labour shortage in various sectors of the national economy.

The amalgamation of cooperatives and the ensuing reorganization of the administrative structure of ri and the management system of consumers' cooperative shops, credit cooperatives and clinics is an undertaking of great political and economic importance. Therefore, all Party organizations should explain and widely propagate the importance of this work among the masses of people and give scrupulous guidance lest any deviation will be manifested in carrying it out.

Party organizations and government bodies at all levels should first extensively conduct work for ideological mobilization of cooperative members. This will lead all of them to correctly understand the necessity and advantage of the merger of cooperatives and to take an active part in this work. They should also prevent some cooperative chairmen from being inclined to oppose the merger, due to their interest in their own positions and fame, and should stave off negative practices that may occur in the merger of rich cooperatives and those with weak economic foundations.

Provincial Party organizations should take steps to bring the merger of cooperatives to successful completion by the end of this year.

By joining efforts with provincial people's committees, they should set up committees for directing this work to suit the specific conditions in their provinces and give intensive practical training courses to the officials before they are dispatched to cities and counties. Meanwhile, they should make sure that cities, counties and ri organize preparatory committees for the amalgamation of cooperatives. The personnel of the committees organized in the provinces to guide the amalgamation, as well as the city, county and ri preparatory committees, should ideologically mobilize cooperative members and, at the same time, correctly register the communal property of each cooperative, prevent negative practices such as slaughtering cattle and pigs and properly build up common funds in the annual settlement of accounts and income distribution this year.

Provincial Party organizations should make a further study of the issue of reorganizing the administrative structure of the ri and relative Party bodies and prepare and submit reasonable and concrete proposals.

#### 2. ON MEASURES TO DEVELOP THE LOCAL INDUSTRY

In just over three months after the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, 944 new local industry factories were built throughout the country.

Next year the local industry is expected to produce 92,700 million won worth of goods by tapping locally available materials, work forces and techniques, without a heavy state investment. This constitutes an important guarantee for the full implementation of our Party's basic line of economic construction—which ensures the priority growth of

heavy industry while at the same time developing light industry and agriculture—and for raising the people's standard of living more rapidly.

We hit upon a really good idea and set to a splendid enterprise. The development of the local industry has resulted in producing more cement and iron materials for various sectors of the national economy and in multiplying foodstuffs and clothes for the people. If our Party had failed to put forward the policy of developing the local industry at its June Plenary Meeting and to build local factories in a mass movement, we would have not been able to turn out large quantities of consumer goods today, while steadily developing heavy industry at a rapid pace.

It is envisaged that next year 60,000 million won worth of goods will be manufactured at the factories under the Ministry of Light Industry, which have been reconstructed with state investments amounting to thousands of millions of won, but the local industry with far less investments is expected to yield 92,700 million won worth of products. This serves as a striking example that clearly shows the advantages of the local industry.

While endeavouring to implement the decision of the June Plenary Meeting, leading officials of local Party and administrative organizations have enhanced their creativity and activity, mastered the method of enterprise management and techniques and acquired experience in the organization of production and the management of enterprises. Raw materials and other supplies, equipment, and techniques which the leading workers of local Party and economic organizations had discarded or completely neglected even at the time of the June Plenary Meeting, are today being taken into account and used to the fullest extent. As a result, local factories are now manufacturing several hundred kinds of new articles, including bearings which have been considered impossible to make for ourselves and completely depended on import for their supply. So, we find ourselves in a position to carry on the socialist construction at a faster speed.

In the rural areas where there were few factories or none at all, the bases of socialist industry have been created and strongholds of the working class are being expanded and strengthened. Until liberation, Samsu and Kapsan had been known as God-forsaken places where people could hardly live. After the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, however, a number of new local factories were built in Ryanggang Province, and now, 4,615 workers work at 79 local factories. This means that each county has seven factories and 420 workers.

With the development of the local industry and the expansion of the ranks of workers in rural areas, we have a greater possibility of exerting, through them, political influence directly over the peasant masses. We have also been able to draw many dependents of blue and white collar workers living in cities and county seats into productive activities to make socialist builders of them and thus markedly raise their material and cultural standard of living.

What does the successful effort to implement the decision of the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee show? It proves that the decision is an absolutely good policy framed on an accurate analysis of the economic situation in our country. At the same time, it shows that the creative enthusiasm of the working people is unusually high under the correct leadership of the Party.

In the implementation of the decision of the June Plenary Meeting there are shortcomings and quite a few problems which must be solved as soon as possible.

We cannot say that all the new local factories are being managed effectively and giving full production. As many factories are still under construction, they have weak economic foundations and are unable to organize production in a diversified way by making rational use of natural and economic conditions in their localities. In addition, the political and professional levels of their management staffs are still low and there are not any system and discipline in the factories.

In this situation, an important task facing all Party organizations is to intensify their guidance so that the new factories will be operated on a regular basis as soon as possible, production mechanized step by step, the quality of goods improved, their costs lowered and their variety increased.

Every Party organization should inform all the Party members and working people of the correctness of the decision of the June Plenary Meeting and clearly convince them of how greatly conducive it is to stepping up our socialist construction to weave cloths with foot looms and bake clinker by handicraft methods, so that they will have the sense of honour in working at local factories.

Measures should be adopted to raise the political and professional levels of factory management staffs. By organizing short training courses for them in accordance with their specific situation and teaching them Party policies and how to manage factories, Party organizations at all levels should ensure that they acquire the ability to proficiently manage enterprises in a short time.

In order to economically consolidate the new local factories in a short time, the state should not impose taxes on them for six or twelve months until they have modernized and expanded production facilities and have got cultural and hygienic establishments to a certain level.

Standard regulations of operation should be strictly observed in production. To reach this aim, the ministries of Light Industry, Metal Industry, Chemical Industry and Machine Industry should each build a standard factory in every province and see to it that all the local factories in the province will follow the model.

Provinces should boost the production of oxcarts, farm implements, bearings and various kinds of building materials. It is a very important task today to solve the transport problem in the countryside in keeping with the rapidly increasing agricultural production. Party organizations in provinces, cities and counties should construct factories which will manufacture oxcarts and bearings in every county and should produce and supply oxcarts and various other means of transport by their own efforts. Oxcarts should not be made in a conventional way; they should be well built by using bearings so that they will be light, and solid and easily drawn by oxen even when heavily loaded.

Local industry factories should be run mainly by female workers. If they employ many men, it will hinder large factories from increasing production, because currently there is a serious shortage of workers. Therefore, the local industry should be managed on the principle of using female workers and seasonal labourers in rural areas. The building-materials factories, iron works and the like which need male workers should ensure production mainly by employing peasants in their slack season.

There should be different systems of management for local factories run by the province and for those by the county. Factories which are considered important by a province should be run by the province itself and other small ones should be under the responsibilities of the county concerned.

In order to give systematic guidance to the fast-developing local factories, a local industry bureau should be set up in each provincial people's committee so as to run provincial factories and direct county factories; and a local industry department should be established in the county people's committee which has more than three county factories under it, so that it will run them directly. In addition, industry departments should be set up in city and county Party committees to responsibly guide and supervise the state, provincial and county factories in their cities and counties.

The problem of funds for the new local factories should, as a principle, be gradually solved by themselves with their own earnings. In case they are unable to be financially self-sufficient, however, they will be allowed to get short-term loans from the Central Bank. If these loans would not be enough, they may get financial assistance from the state budgetary expenditure. The state should make sure that investments in construction of the local industry are accurately distributed to each province.

It is important to enhance the level of mechanization in local factories. For this purpose, the equipment of the existing factories should be enlisted and rationally used and the combined machine factories to be built in all provinces next year should be put to good use. For the rapid development of the local industry, the State Planning Commission should formulate separate national economic plans for 1959—one for the state sector and the other for the local industry sector. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Light Industry and the Ministry of Construction and Building-Materials Industry should transfer small-scale factories to the local industry if it will be advantageous.

Provincial Party organizations should responsibly direct and supervise sideline production at state factories. The June Plenary Meeting laid strong emphasis on the manufacture of daily necessities from by-products at state factories, but this work is progressing at a snail's pace. Therefore the indices to sideline production at state factories should be included in each province's plan for the local industry and the production placed under the strict supervision of local Party organizations.

## 3. ON QUICKLY BOOSTING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The master key to increased agricultural production is irrigation, fertilizer, deep ploughing and close planting. All Party organizations and leading agricultural officials should strive to increase farming production, holding this master key to eliminate conservatism and passiveness and raise the per-hectare yields.

Between 1959 and 1961 all Party organizations should first irrigate more than 700,000 hectares of dry fields and get 300,000 hectares of paddy fields fully irrigated through a nationwide movement, thus expanding the irrigated area by a total of one million hectares. This will mean that a comprehensive system of irrigation will be established on all cultivated areas in our country except sharp slopes.

The work of establishing a comprehensive irrigation system is an honourable enterprise to realize the centuries-old desire of our

forefathers in our generation. In our country where arable land is limited and where a long spell of drought attacks every year, it is impossible to produce good crops without setting up an irrigation system.

Needless to say, to establish such an irrigation system is a quite difficult task. However, we have suitable conditions and possibilities to cope with this task. We have a powerful heavy industry base, a wealth of experience accumulated in the Phyongnam, Ojidon and other large and small-scale irrigation projects over the past years, and the people whose core is formed by more than a million Party members steeled in the three-year long Fatherland Liberation War and rallied closely as one around the Party Central Committee. The point is that Party organizations and leading personnel in the agricultural sector put faith in the inexhaustible strength of the masses and organize them properly.

All Party organizations should conduct a mass movement so that each locality will expand and develop their industries and be self-sufficient in equipment and materials such as cement, iron materials and pumps needed for irrigation projects.

In order to bring about an innovation in agricultural production, it is essential to positively ensure deep ploughing and close planting, along with irrigation. Technical know-how of such ploughing and planting according to crops should be disseminated among Party members engaged in agriculture and cooperative members, and ploughs and other farm implements should be improved for the purpose of deep ploughing and close planting.

Next, the production of homemade manure should be stepped up.

If we are to reap good crops, we should produce plenty of homemade manure, while applying deep-ploughing and close-planting methods. However, some agricultural workers only rely on chemical fertilizers; they are indifferent to the production of homemade manure and are producing it in an extremely formalistic and passive manner.

All Party organizations should strive to do away with passiveness

manifested in the production of homemade manure as soon as possible and conduct a mass movement to spread more than 50 tons of it per hectare of fields.

In rural areas homemade manure can be produced as much as we want. Grass or grain straw and stalks can be rotted into compost, domestic animals raised to get good-quality compost, and burnt soil, ashes made from burnt plants, loose soil and the like produced. In mountainous regions humus can be produced in large quantities and in coastal areas starfishes, seaweed, inward parts of fish and such like can be made into manure. In the agricultural sector every possible condition should be turned to good account to produce plenty of homemade manure by various methods.

More than 50 per cent of our soil is acidified. Improvement of this acidified soil needs over 300,000 tons of slaked lime a year. All Party organizations should take steps to dig limestone by activating peasants.

To secure much limestone and peat, mining centres should be set up in areas which have large deposits, and technicians should be allocated so as to give correct guidance to the mobilized peasants. In addition, factories and enterprises should produce and supply different kinds of mining machines.

Furthermore, the work of analysing soil should be conducted well.

Only when you are thoroughly acquainted through analysis with the nature of farmlands, the depth of cultivated lands, the composition and acidity of soil, the amount of phosphorus and potassium contained and so on, will you be able to establish a scientific manuring system and take proper measures for land amelioration. This is why our Party has kept laying emphasis on making a good analysis of soil. However, this work is not going well. The equipment for soil analysis in factories, mines and universities is not effectively utilized. And, because the Academy of Agricultural Science in particular plays its role improperly, only the soil of Taedong County was analysed in the past year.

If soil analysis is done this way, the whole soil of the country cannot

be analysed even in a hundred years. Revolutionary measures should be taken to step up this work.

All Party organizations should make effective use of the equipment for analysis in factories, enterprises, mines and universities and complete soil analysis within a few months. And, on the basis of the results of the analysis, they should spread silt over the fields, ameliorate soil, manure the crops reasonably and observe the principle of sowing the right crop on the right kind of soil, thus guaranteeing the increased production of grain.

Since the close-planting method will be extensively applied from next year on, deep attention should be paid to obtaining great numbers of high-grade strains in advance. Each agricultural cooperative should unfailingly prepare experimental farming plots and carry out high-yielding experiments and the work of selecting high-grade strains under a plan.

Let's continue. The efforts of the masses should be adequately harnessed to develop livestock farming.

Rabbits should be raised widely in a mass movement. Pupils and students at different levels and dependants of blue and white collar workers of all enterprises and other establishments should be induced to raise many rabbits so that over 40,000 tons of rabbit meat and 23 million sheets of rabbit skins will be produced next year. This will enable us to supply the people with nutritious rabbit meat and make rabbit-fur overcoats for children.

More than 20 parent pigs should be bred per a hundred peasant families to lay a solid basis for livestock farming, and great care devoted also to breeding cattle and sheep and keeping honeybees.

The main point in developing animal husbandry is to secure strong fodder bases. In 1959 each cooperative should cultivate over 30 hectares of arrowroot hills and conduct the work of building grazing lands more vigorously. At the same time, the plan to produce silage and hay should be realized successfully.

Next, sericulture should be developed still further.

A mass movement to raise castor silkworms should be launched

through the mobilization of students and dependants of the workers and office employees of all enterprises and other establishments to produce more than 30,000 tons of cocoons in 1959. To reach this aim, extensive arrangements should be made to diffuse technical know-how about raising castor silkworms. Castor beans should be planted along roads, at the foot of hills, on the ridges between dry fields and all other vacant places. Measures should also be taken to secure necessary nits.

While expanding mulberry fields systematically, you should ensure the production of mulberry saplings, create and improve groves of oak trees and prepare silkworm-raising rooms and improve the implements well.

Party organizations at all levels should actively work to improve farm implements.

In order to fulfil agricultural production quotas for 1959 improved farm implements and modern machines should be introduced at all costs and steps should be taken to mechanize weeding, threshing, hauling operations, and fodder cutting. Two or three combined farm implement factories should be built in each province and a farm implement repair plant set up in every county so that farm implements and means of transport which will make farming simple and easy will be manufactured for themselves.

Training courses in technology and exhibitions of modern farm implements should be extensively organized to introduce such implements, and mass campaigns for new inventions should be waged to improve farm implements and means of transport.

If Party organizations at all levels devote efforts to irrigation, deep ploughing, close planting, production of manure, acquisition of seeds, improvement of farm machines and mechanization of farming and properly enlist the wisdom and energies of the masses, a great change will take place in our agricultural production in a year or two and a higher target of grain production can be attained in the not too distant future without taking the trouble of enlarging the area under cultivation

#### 4. ON EASING THE SHORTAGE OF MANPOWER

Today the manpower situation is very much strained as a result of the rapid progress of the nation's economy. To solve the problem of manpower shortage it is imperative to actively seek out labour resources and use large numbers of female employees in particular.

At present, Party organizations are not good at encouraging housewives to take employment on a mass scale. So, the percentage of female employees is extremely low in our country. In particular, ministries and bureaus do not thoroughly execute Cabinet Decision No. 84 on employing women widely into various sectors of the national economy. Only 18 per cent of our office workers are women. As sturdy men are employed in light labour and clerical and technical sectors, which are well within the power of women, the country's manpower situation has become more strained.

One of the major defects in labour administration today is that the leading personnel of economic agencies reckon manpower, not giving proper consideration to the creative initiative of the working masses dashing in the saddle of Chollima, but basing themselves on the old work norms. Now that the working people's productivity is three or four times as much as in the past, you should not reckon work forces according to outdated norms. Calculation of manpower on the basis of old norms despite increased productivity, is a typical expression of conservatism and passiveness in the work of leading officials of economic agencies. If much labour force is needlessly allocated on the basis of old norms, it will prevent the workers in the productive sectors from displaying their initiative in raising the level of mechanization of operations and will cause heavy burdens and great losses to the state.

Party organizations at all levels, planning bodies and labour

administration agencies should carry their work efficiently and thus cater for the increasing needs of the national economy for manpower.

All Party organizations and labour administration agencies should take steps to increase labour productivity in all sectors of the national economy. To this end, the processes of operation should be mechanized and new methods of production applied actively on construction sites and in factories. Vigorous efforts should also be made by the working people to acquire new techniques and steadily uplift their technical levels and skill. Only then will they be able to keep on creating new work norms in all sectors of the national economy.

Party organizations at all levels and labour administration agencies should deeply study the Party's policy on producing more without increasing work forces and implement it thoroughly. State planning departments and labour administration agencies should examine the method of reckoning manpower and reconsider the needs of all sectors of the national economy for manpower and, on this basis, give manpower only to those sectors which must be provided with an additional workforce.

Efforts should be redoubled to employ a large number of women in all sectors of the national economy.

Party organizations, as well as state and economic bodies, should raise the proportion of female employees. This should be particularly done by trading agencies, and educational and health service establishments.

In order to encourage women to take up work and raise the rate of female workers, ideological education should be intensified among them so that they will regard work as the most sacred duty and take part in it voluntarily and conscientiously.

All Party organizations should first intensify their efforts to induce housewives, who are idle at home after having received higher and secondary education, to take employment. Today, in towns there are many such women who coop up themselves at home, without doing any production work. They are ignorant of the present realities of society and are quite backward politically and ideologically, as they are isolated from political life.

Encouraging women to take up productive jobs prevents them from lagging behind politically and, moreover, it is an important factor that will make it possible for the country to better meet the people's material requirements by easing the nation's manpower shortage and increasing the production and also to raise the standard of living of the working people. Therefore, Party organizations of different levels should make more efforts with housewives and encourage them to be zealous in taking up jobs, and they should make sure that Cabinet Decision No. 84 should be executed thoroughly in all sectors of the national economy.

You should continue to study the structure of civil service offices and press agencies and seek out large labour resources, by either merging or reducing their structures, according to necessities. Meanwhile, social campaigns to reduce work forces should be conducted in such a way that teachers of different levels will launch a movement to take charge of several classes and health service establishments will increase their work efficiency.

Ministries, central organizations and other civil service agencies should redouble their efforts to enforce a strict work discipline and increase work efficiency while, at the same time, carrying on a drive to work overtime at least for two hours every day in keeping with the high spirits of the working people advancing in the saddle of Chollima.

Party organizations at all levels should further strengthen Party guidance to labour administration so that the manpower shortage problem will be solved in such a way.

### 5. ON MAKING EFFORTS TO EARN FOREIGN CURRENCY IN A MOVEMENT INVOLVING ALL THE PEOPLE

Since liberation, our Party has always followed the policy of giving

priority to the development of heavy industry to eliminate the colonial lopsidedness of industry left behind by the Japanese imperialists and build a solid independent national economy. As a result, our heavy industry is now playing a great part in the development of our economy and in the strengthening of the country's defence capabilities. However, it still fails to smoothly manufacture the means of production needed by various sectors of the national economy and, accordingly, the level of mechanization in production is low.

In order to rapidly develop our heavy industry, particularly the machine-building industry, we should import a number of modern machines and equipment and this requires a large amount of foreign currency.

Party organizations at all levels and officials of state and economic bodies should make vigorous efforts to earn more foreign currency and economize on it.

They should first strive to carry out the work of exploring sources of exports in a mass movement and earn as much foreign currency as possible.

Today, our country has abundant sources with which to obtain foreign money. Seeds of castor beans and sunflowers, peanuts, onions, pumpkin seeds, fruits, cucumbers, tomatoes, water melons and other agricultural products can be exported, and *miyok* seaweed, cuttlefish, oysters, laver and various other kinds of seafood can also be sold to other countries. So can camellias, acorns, mushrooms, and chicken and duck feathers, pig skins, pheasant feathers and the like. Although these seem insignificant, large amounts of foreign currency can be gained if they are collected and sold to other countries.

However, quite a few Party organizations and leading personnel of economic agencies are indifferent to the sources of foreign currency which can be found everywhere because they render low profits. They are only interested in those which are highly profitable. And they make no effort to protect and multiply various resources through which we can obtain large amounts of foreign currency.

While waging a resolute struggle against such practices, all Party

organizations should see to it that economic agencies do not fail to implement their plans for production of exports drawn up by the state, on all indices and both in quality and quantity. They should also make all Party members and people fully understand that only when a large amount of foreign currency is earned will it be possible to develop the national economy faster and improve the people's life, so that they will participate voluntarily in the effort to obtain more foreign currency by exporting as many items as possible, be they apples or eggs.

Foreign trade officials should enhance their sense of responsibility and role.

They have a very important duty in earning foreign currency and economizing on it. However, they are rather inactive in the effort to implement the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. They do not bustle about themselves and strive to explore more sources of export and seek ways to export the goods which do not sell well. They work irresponsibly and passively, in such an easy way that they only sell export goods which are provided to them and they do not care to sell if customers do not buy.

Party organizations at all levels should promote the Party spirit of foreign trade officials and make them true workers who are ready to perform all their responsibilities to the Party and the state.

Party control should be tightened so that strict discipline and system are established in the production of export goods so as to fully implement the foreign trade plan.

Our foreign trade serves as a basic form and an important means to strengthen economic ties and cooperation not only with fraternal countries but also with nations under different social systems. Therefore, to carry out foreign trade contracts made with other countries is a responsible work which affects the economic development of the countries concerned and constitutes our international duty.

Because of the irresponsibility of officials in the foreign trade and production sectors, however, our trade contracts with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries and with various nations such as India and Burma have not been fulfilled. The result is that the international prestige of our country has been damaged considerably. As of September 20, the 1958 plan for exports was implemented by 82.2 per cent in the value of money but only by 46.1 per cent on indices of products.

Party organizations at all levels should enforce rigorous discipline with regard to the production of goods for export and establish a principle of estimating the implementation of the production plans by state and economic bodies according to the results of the implementation of their production plans for export goods. In addition, workshops and workteams specialized in the production of export goods should be set up at factories, enterprises and agricultural cooperatives to fully ensure the manufacture of export commodities both in quality and quantity. As for those establishments and enterprises which inflict even the slightest political and economic losses on the state because of their failure to carry out export plans, appropriate legal sanctions should be applied against them.

We should wage a movement throughout the country to earn foreign currency so that we will not only reach the targets of the export plan for this year without fail but also exceed the targets of the plan for next year which are nearly twice as big as those for this year.

## 6. ON INTENSIFYING THE EDUCATION OF SCIENTISTS AND TECHNICIANS

Today our socialist industry and cooperativized agriculture confront us with a number of difficult and complex scientific and technological problems. The working people who are striving day and night to bring about a great upswing in production and construction call upon scientists and technicians to promptly solve practical scientific and technological problems, in keeping with the upswing in socialist construction.

Over the past years, however, people engaged in scientific researches have failed to meet such an urgent and realistic requirement, imbued with fear of science and technology, conservatism and passiveness. Among scientists and technicians obsolete ideas such as subjectivism, egoism and formalism were revealed to a considerable degree. They also lacked self-consciousness, responsibility and Party spirit.

After the recent consultative meeting of scientific and educational workers there has been a definite progress in the work in these sectors, but this is only an initial step. Some scientists are still gripped by fear of science and technology and idle away their time, studying matters alien to what our country actually needs. Some teachers and cultural workers are unable to free themselves from egoistic tendencies to work little and get high wages. Some technicians do not put their faith in the creative strength of the working people educated by our Party. Instead, they stick to their outdated and backward techniques, and are hampering our progress in various ways.

We must intensify the ideological education of scientists and technicians.

One of the important aspects in this work is to educate them through their own experience in practice.

It is necessary to ensure that those scientists and technicians who are not aware of the realities and idle about behind, scared at the spirits of the masses riding on Chollima, are sent to production sites to acquaint themselves with realities and transform their ideological consciousness through labour. We should make sure that the scientists and technicians who cannot keep up with realities from which they have been divorced for a long time, are sent to factories and rural areas to live with workers and peasants for a year or two and learn their revolutionary spirit. This will be effective in transforming their outworn ideological consciousness and, at the same time, imparting their knowledge and techniques to workers and peasants.

Party organizations should ensure that scientific research workers make an extensive and profound study of Party policies to make them

an integral part of themselves and take them as a steadfast guideline in their work, do away with conservatism, passiveness and egoism, and fully demonstrate revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activity in their work.

Party organizations should also intensify the education of scientists, technicians, teachers and cultural workers so that all of them will fully understand that labour is the most sacred thing under the socialist system. Thus, their egoism and the petty-bourgeois idea of slighting labour and hating to work will be uprooted.

Leading personnel of all Party, state and economic organizations must not rest on their laurels but keep themselves alert and ready to wage a vigorous struggle against indolence, conservativeness and stagnation.

Today a very heavy responsibility devolves on the leading workers of Party organizations and state and economic bodies.

Our Party has set forth a magnificent fighting programme to surpass through two five-year plans the level of economic growth reached by other countries through three five-year plans and build communist society side by side with them. If Party organizations at all levels and leading officials properly organize the masses pressing forward in the spirit of Chollima riders and work by displaying initiative and activity, while opposing conservatism, passiveness, complacency and idleness, they will be able to reach the target set by the Party without difficulty.

I hope leading officials of Party, state and economic organizations will bring about a new upswing in socialist construction by working in a revolutionary way with a high sense of responsibility.

### ON WAGING A VIGOROUS STRUGGLE AGAINST REMNANTS OF OLD IDEOLOGIES AMONG WRITERS AND ARTISTS

#### **Speech to Writers and Artists**

October 14, 1958

Under the correct guidance and utmost care of the Party, our writers and artists have so far achieved great success in developing socialist literature and art. The Party Central Committee is overjoyed at this and highly appreciates their achievements.

Today I am going to speak about making a vigorous effort to uproot the remnants of old ideologies among writers and artists.

The socialist reorganization of old relations of production has been completed in our country, with the result that today the socialist relations of production hold undivided sway in towns and the countryside and a great revolutionary upsurge is taking place in socialist construction. Innovations and miracles are occurring frequently every day and steady progress is being made in all fields of the national economy.

Today when the socialist system has been established completely, to eradicate the surviving thoughts of capitalism from the working people and equip them with communist ideology is a basic duty and a pressing task confronting us. Without intensifying communist education we cannot consolidate and develop the triumphant socialist system and construct communism.

Today the great majority of writers and artists, armed with our Party's ideology, are closely united around the Party Central Committee and are devoting all their talents and energies to the struggle for the Party and the people and for the building of socialism and communism. However, some writers and artists still retain, to a considerable degree, old ideological remnants which are alien to our Party's idea, communist ideology.

Outdated thoughts are surviving among writers and artists and are found, first of all, in egoistic and stardom-seeking activities. Some of them only feel pleased when they are praised or awarded a prize and are not happy if they are ignored.

Such an instance can be seen in an artist who poses as an "authority on dance".

The Party has given her a lot of guidance and assistance coupled with a feeling of care and love. She should therefore work much harder for the Party and the people. However, the more money she is paid and the more awards and praise she receives, the happier she is, but, if she receives anything less, she complains and makes severe criticisms. She has gone as far as to openly complain about the Party for not having published newspaper comments on her works.

I am told that she presumes that she alone is of excellent calibre and has given prominence to herself to such an extent that the art of dancing in Korea could make no progress without her. In our country a dependable, talented reserve force of literature and art is growing and new artists are making steady progress under the care of the Party. We can produce as many excellent dancing works as we want and develop our art of dancing without her. It is a very grave mistake to take dancing as something mysterious and to think that only specific people can dance. Communists deny mystery. Dances depict thoughts, emotions and the lives of people by means of artistic, rhythmical movements. Therefore, there is nothing mysterious about them. Anyone can produce excellent dancing works if only he or she makes a deep study of vibrant realities and is prepared for untiring effort

Practices of seeking personal interests and fame are revealed not only by this dancer but also by other artists.

To feel oneself flattered by praises and selfishly to want only to gain awards, is an egoistic and absolutely profiteering attitude which has nothing to do with communist ideology. Under our socialist system today we can never tolerate such behaviour as placing personal interests and fame above the interests of the Party and the revolution. Our people love the artists who dance and sing for the Party and the revolution. They do not love those who have a capitalist smell, that is to say, those who dance and sing for their personal interests and careers. The artists who are disliked by the people are useless to us.

More surviving examples of old ideologies among writers and artists are seen in latitudinarian acts and an unwillingness to follow the Party's guidance with sincerity.

Among some writers and artists there are undisciplined instances of wanting to do things their own way. They become annoyed at the Party's guidance and just criticism, and are reluctant to follow the leadership of the Party.

Because the dance drama *Tale of Paek Hyang* had many shortcomings with unfavourable comments from spectators, the Party gave its opinion. The dance director of this work should accept the Party's just criticism and the masses' opinions with an open mind and proceed to examine her work. Instead of doing this, however, she is criticizing the Party's policy on literature and art and its guidance, being very displeased with its opinion.

Such an act of hers is not accidental. For a long time she has been imbued with capitalist ideas, and her arrogant behaviour is a result of this.

We have educated her patiently for 13 long years, hoping that she would discard capitalist ideological residues and become an artist serving the Party, the revolution and the people. Betraying the Party's trust and solicitude, however, she has gone much farther along the road differing from the one that the Party wanted her to take. To eradicate the remaining capitalist ideological thoughts from her mind, and in

order to remould her, people in the sphere of literature and art should give her principled, comradely assistance and wage a resolute ideological struggle.

A latitudinarian act also appeared in the course of making the feature film *Flames*.

This is a badly misleading film which defiles our workers who are striving devotedly for socialist construction. Writers and artists should keenly realize what a great influence their writings and other works will exert on the people, and should have a high sense of responsibility for it. However, the scenarist of the *Flames* inserted into the film the subject matter of another work which had been already criticized a few years ago. This is a conscienceless and immensely irresponsible act. The Party had criticized this previously, but the staff still produced and released the film without due revision in accordance with the Party's opinion. This is an incorrect attitude towards the Party.

These undisciplined practices, though revealed only among a limited number of writers and artists, greatly hinder the strengthening of unity and cohesion of the Party, and the establishment of the Party's ideological system among them.

We should oppose these practices totally and establish revolutionary discipline and order in the sphere of literature and art.

It can be said that a Marxist-Leninist party owes its very existence to rigorous revolutionary discipline and order. Only when one million Party members act as one man under the leadership of the Party Central Committee will our Party be able to perform its part well as a vanguard detachment, that is, an advanced detachment of the working class which will correctly guide the revolutionary work. When the Party ranks fail to act as one, the Party will hardly be able to fulfil its duty and carry on the revolutionary work properly. As in all other spheres, so in the sphere of literature and art, the leadership of the Party should be intensified. Writers and artists should rely entirely on the Party in their work and receive its guidance with sincerity.

Now it is necessary for me to refer to the nepotic practices that are seen among writers and artists.

Since we were aware that there were nepotic practices among writers and artists, we have already urged Party organizations to educate them and ensure that they drop these habits. Among some of them, however, these practices are still manifested. Other serious defects still persisting among writers and artists are mainly due to the fact that some of them are conniving at each other's defects, being unable to free themselves from the framework of nepotism.

You should be ready to fight that person who acts against the Party's ideas, no matter how intimate you may be with him. You should not make friends with people who have wrong ideas and when unhealthy ideological elements are manifested in your friend's mind, you should advise and correct him before it's too late. You should abandon the old habit of converging at bars with people of similar thinking where you would drink and criticize others. In his self-criticism a comrade resolved to get out of the pit of nepotism. He should do so, as a matter of course.

What, then, are the main reasons for the fact that old ideological remnants have not yet disappeared among writers and artists and that some have even ideologically degenerated?

First of all, Party organizations in the sphere of literature and art have not waged a determined ideological struggle to uproot capitalist thinking surviving among writers and artists.

In the past these Party organizations fought successfully against the reactionary writers such as Rim Hwa and Ri Thae Jun. However, they failed to closely combine this fight with the effort for eradicating the capitalist ideologies remaining in the minds of writers and artists. When fighting to liquidate the reactionary writers who had wormed their way into the sphere of literature and art, Party organizations in this sphere ought to have been highly vigilant against the surviving capitalist ideologies among writers and artists and to have waged a resolute war against them. But they confined themselves to the struggle against a few reactionary writers and paid little attention to the problem of weeding out the remnants of capitalist ideologies from the minds of writers and artists.

Another reason why the surviving thoughts are not extracted from the minds of writers and artists is that they themselves do not strive to eliminate these lingering ideas. In the past years they did not strive to examine their own ideological life for themselves and wipe out the remains of old thought processes.

In order to build up the ranks of writers and artists, a vigorous ideological struggle should be centred towards them in order to do away with all manifestations of surviving outdated ideas.

Party organizations in the sphere of literature and art should, before anything else, unfold a resolute ideological struggle against egoism, stardom-seeking, latitudinarianism and nepotism among writers and artists.

Writers and artists should take an active part in the ideological struggle to uproot living capitalist ideas. All of them should examine frankly their own work and criticize their life according to the standard of Party policy, as if looking at the scars on their faces reflected in the mirror.

The ideological struggle aims neither to purge people from the revolutionary ranks nor to bury them socially in oblivion. Without a struggle there can be no progress. Only through the strenuous ideological struggle will writers and artists be able to make progress in their ideological life and creative activities. We instruct them to take up an ideological struggle because we love them, and it is an expression of the Party's deep trust and care for them. They should have a clear understanding of the Party's intentions and carry out intensive ideological struggle in connection with the work of discussing the recent letter from the Party Central Committee to all the Party members.

You should not take this struggle against the capitalist ideological remnants as a temporary undertaking but continue with it vigorously without laxity until they are completely destroyed.

While waging the ideological battle, writers and artists should go to factories, rural villages and other sites of vibrant socialist construction to learn from the realities of life and train themselves. If sensitive

writers and artists visit these pulsating realities, they will learn a great deal from the devoted working people who are striving to implement Party policies and build socialism.

Writers and artists should go to factories and farm villages to learn from the working people their boundless loyalty to the Party and the revolution and their indomitable revolutionary spirit and, meanwhile, they should energetically propagate our Party's policies to them. This is the way to serve the Party and the people.

Writers and artists should eliminate indolence and laxity and work and live in a more tense manner.

At present all the people are filled with creative enthusiasm and miracles and innovations are being created daily on all fronts of socialist construction. Our working class is rendering heroic services in building modern blast furnaces out of nothing but ashes and turning out molten iron solely by its own efforts. It is a shame for writers and artists to drink and live in leisure at a time when the whole country is seething with a massive revolutionary upsurge.

The present situation does not allow writers and artists to do so. The US imperialists still remain in one half of our country and national reunification is at present nonexistent. At the instigation of the US imperialist aggressors their stooges are bent on war preparations in order to invade the northern half of Korea. We should construct much more and advance much faster if our country is to be reunified.

All writers and artists must lead an intense life as fighters in literature and art, in this era of socialism and revolution, and should bring about innovations in their creative activities.

In conclusion, I want to speak briefly on the point that writers and artists should defend the Party Central Committee politically and ideologically.

Every Party member, whoever he may be, should defend the Party Central Committee. As for the practices of criticizing the Party's policies and opposing the Party Central Committee, all Party organizations and members should wage a strong struggle against them, and obligatorily report these practices to the Central Committee.

As for those who criticize the Party in secret and behave towards it in a dubious way, all Party members in the sphere of literature and art, and the writers and artists should never overlook them, but deliver a decisive blow to them as soon as possible.

The Science and School Education Department of the Party Central Committee, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Writers' Union should wage a resolute war among writers and artists against those who criticize the Party policy in secret and who undermine the ideological, purposeful unity within the Party.

I am firmly convinced that writers and artists will achieve great success in their efforts to implement the Party's policy on literature and art by weeding out the old ideological remnants and fully arming themselves with our Party's ideas.

### ON INTENSIFYING EDUCATION IN COMMUNISM AND IN THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS AMONG SOLDIERS

Speech at a Congress of Teachers of All Military Academies of the Korean People's Army

October 30, 1958

Comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I would like first to extend my thanks to the teaching staffs of all military academies for their energetic efforts in the educational work to train cadres for our People's Army.

As you all know, the great upsurge of socialist construction today continues in our country.

Encouraged by the letter of the Party Central Committee, Party members and all working people are now reviewing all their work and, while overcoming all manifestations of conservatism and passiveness, are courageously struggling on Chollima to rise to the high peak of socialism.

This high-spirited endeavour of our working people constitutes a nationwide struggle unprecedented in the history of our country.

We should continue to strive not only to ameliorate the conditions of the people in the northern half of our country but also to enable those in the southern half to live a decent life in future. To this end, we should maintain the revolutionary upsurge. Our idea is to fight a hard battle for two more years, starting now. However, the hard battle we mention today is not like the one we fought during the war. At present we struggle with enough food and clothes. Therefore, our people are working cheerfully with a high spirit, showing no signs of fatigue in spite of the arduous struggle.

Some time ago I went to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant and had a talk with the workers.

I told them that rather than listening to what I had to say, it would be better if they let me know what they thought of the letter they had received from the Party Central Committee.

An ex-serviceman gave his opinion after receiving the letter. He said that when he joined the Party he received the red Party membership card for the first time, and that he now received the red letter, which was an immensely important document in the struggle for communism, for the second time. He added that when he read in the letter that we would reach the high peak of socialism, he started thinking of how to move forward faster. He went on to say that he was convinced that if the people in the factory embarked on their work with determination, they would find nothing beyond their power, just as he and his comrades-in-arms had carried out their mission to take a hill at all costs, even suffering great hardships without having any sleep at night, once they had decided to do so during the war.

I confirmed that he was right.

A woman said that when she read the letter of the Party Central Committee, which suggested providing all farm villages with bright electric lights, she was greatly moved.

The woman once lived in a mountain village in Rajin County and is now working in that electrical machinery plant. She said that after she read the letter she resolved that she would work day and night because if she, as a Party member, worked hard, she would realize in four or five years her father's lifelong wish to have electric light in his house.

Today all working people have such enthusiasm.

In response to the Party's call, all the Party members and working

people have a desire to carry on with construction at a faster rate, to carry out socialist industrialization more quickly, to complete the socialist revolution at an earlier date, and to advance more rapidly towards communism.

Two days ago we held an enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee and heard reports from the provincial Party committee chairmen on the results achieved so far during discussions on the letter. Things are going very well. In fact, we had thought that the extension of the electricity supply to rural areas would require great efforts, but provincial Party committee chairmen said that they could almost complete it within a very short time in view of the high spirit and determination of all the people. If we do so, our country will be the first to supply electricity to farm villages.

If every village is provided with electricity, all families will be able to listen to the radio and enjoy a better cultural life. And if electric power is supplied to all farm villages, all operations, such as threshing and washing, can be done by means of electric power and all work will be carried out in an easier way.

At present small generators are manufactured everywhere. If only we have generators, we can install them on reservoirs and small rivers to produce cheap electricity. We can use them very conveniently.

According to the report of the chairman of the Party Committee of North Hwanghae Province, an old man living in a farm village in this province at first did not believe that generators were made and electricity could be generated in the countryside. However, soldiers and people cooperated to make a generator and produced electricity in that village, too. Thus, when the room was illuminated on the first evening, the old man shouted in an excited voice, "Long live the Workers' Party!"

We can do anything once we decide to do it.

Even fraternal countries marvel at the things we are doing. They ask us how Korea could make such rapid progress. Some people say that when they read newspapers they think they are telling lies, but when they come and see things for themselves, they express greater admiration than when reading papers.

A comrade from a fraternal country who visited our country recently asked us how we could make such rapid progress and, at the same time, begged us to tell him the secret. We did so briefly.

What is the secret of such amazing achievements?

In the past we Koreans lived in poverty. That is why we want to advance fast and to carry out the revolution. Our people have a high fighting spirit and firm resolve to advance fast, to build communism rapidly and to overtake and outstrip others in order to live in a good way. Today our working people are ablaze with such determination, and the successes in our socialist construction are multiplying rapidly.

Furthermore, our people's trust in the Party is tremendous. The unity and cohesion of the Party and the people are very strong. This is a source for victory nobody can break. The people give unreserved support to the Party's policy and strive to carry it out through thick and thin.

As he shouted "Long live the Workers' Party!" when electric light was put on, the simple old man expressed his genuine feeling. It is a feeling of a man who would have never had electric light had it not been for the Workers' Party. Our people have keenly realized through their personal experience that the Party policy is correct.

Today we are advancing with vigour at a very fast rate towards the completion of the socialist revolution, towards communism. All this is due to the correctness of the Party policy and the unselfish struggle of the working people who are inspired by, and give support to, that policy.

The source of our strength, in emerging victorious in the past arduous struggle and in making rapid progress in the postwar economic construction, lies in the unity of our Party and our people and the correct leadership of the Party.

Our progress is very fast. But we cannot be content with this alone. We should advance faster.

Revolutionaries should not come to a halt after fulfilling a task but should organize more work and embark on it. We should continue the revolution.

Socialist transformation has been completed in the northern half of our country and only the socialist economic sector prevails there. We should consolidate the victory already achieved and advance farther.

We should strengthen the established socialist production relations and likewise develop the productive forces to suit them. To this end, we should carry out the technical and cultural revolutions.

In this connection it is of paramount importance to effect industrialization at an early date. Industrialization implies mechanization and automation. Everywhere, either in industry or in agriculture, the technical revolution is indispensable to make work easy with lower labour costs, to increase productivity and to boost production.

The building of irrigation systems is an important task in the rural technical revolution in our country. Only by putting paddy and dry fields under irrigation can we rid our countryside of crop failure and harvest good crops from the limited area of land.

Furthermore, it is important to supply the countryside with tractors, trucks and other modern farm machines.

Small cooperatives are disadvantageous to the mechanization and diversified development of farming. Somewhat bigger cooperatives will make it easy to effect mechanization and irrigation and to diversify farming. This is why cooperatives are now being merged into a single group in each ri in the countryside.

In order to accelerate rural mechanization, we should make trucks and tractors on our own. The workers have resolved to produce 3,000 trucks and 3,500 tractors next year. At present they are being made on a trial basis.

If we produce and supply large numbers of tractors and trucks to the countryside, we will accelerate farm mechanization. If farming is mechanized, the agricultural productive forces will increase drastically.

The same can be said for industry. If we build more power stations to generate a larger amount of electricity and produce more machines and thus introduce electric power and automation in industry, the technical revolution can be accomplished in this sector as well.

Along with the technical revolution, we should carry out the cultural revolution.

Although the production relations have been reorganized along socialist lines in towns and the countryside, old bourgeois ideas are still lingering on in the people's minds. To eliminate them and educate the working people in socialist and communist ideology constitutes the most important content of the cultural revolution.

Meanwhile, the cultural level and technical skills of the working people should be improved. All young people should reach the level above secondary school graduate and should master more than one technical skill. If all our working people do so, they will be able to do more useful work for society.

Only through the technical and cultural revolutions can we move over to communism. Today when the decisive victory of socialism has been achieved, our Party presents these revolutions as the most important tasks.

Today I am going to speak about some of the tasks our advancing revolution has put before you.

What are the important duties of our People's Army?

Rallied closely around the Party Central Committee, all the people in the northern half are now moving rapidly towards the high peak of socialism which looks out over the horizon of communism.

The People's Army, an armed force of the Party, should safeguard the socialist gains and fully defend the creative efforts of the people who are advancing towards socialism and communism. This is the first task of the People's Army.

In order to admirably fulfil this task, our People's Army soldiers should have a deep understanding of the advantages of the socialist system and firmly embrace communist ideology.

Without embracing this ideology, the People's Army can defend neither the people's labour efforts nor our socialist system. Therefore, the task of the People's Army, particularly the teaching staff present here, is to provide cadres and soldiers with better communist education. The keynote of communist education is to make people realize the advantages of the socialist and communist system and teach them to hate the capitalist system and intensify their hatred against the enemy.

All soldiers, from privates to cadres, should be trained into indomitable revolutionary fighters who will thoroughly defend the socialist system and struggle for communism.

If they are to defend the socialist system with arms, every officer and man should embrace socialist and communist ideology. If they are not inspired by communist ideology, they will be unable to understand why they should defend the socialist system with their lives.

Immediately after the ceasefire our Party put forward the important task of intensifying the class education of soldiers. By class education we mean developing the class consciousness of people in order to hate the landlord and capitalist classes, oppose the capitalist system, protect the interests of the working class and defend the socialist gains. However, the People's Army has so far failed to carry out class education properly. Over the past years it has carried out this work only in a superficial manner.

In enhancing the class consciousness of soldiers, it is important to make them more aware of the difference between the governments in north and south Korea.

Our government belongs to the toiling classes; it defends the interests of the workers and peasants. However, the Syngman Rhee "government" set up in the south is a bourgeois government that defends the interests of the landlords and capitalists and oppresses and exploits the workers and peasants, and is a puppet government of US imperialism. This should be fully explained to our soldiers. Only then will every soldier clearly realize why he must struggle at the cost of his life, for whom he stands guard and whom he serves, and thus firmly defend his post.

I deem it necessary to examine and rewrite the Servicemen's Oath and various other documents with the aim of intensifying class education.

As you know, an extremely hard class struggle is now going on in

our country. The US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique are making every vicious attempt to disrupt our socialist construction. They keep sending in subversive elements, saboteurs and spies. Moreover, in our ranks, there are also elements who dislike socialism or are hostile to it.

After liberation the landlord class was liquidated as this class had the land taken away from it in the countryside. However, its surviving elements still exist today. The same can be said about towns. Thanks to the nationalization of industries, all the factories under pro-Japanese elements and traitors were nationalized, and these people were liquidated as a class. But there are their remnants.

With the completion of socialist transformation in towns and the countryside, people from all walks of life are now being transformed into socialist working people.

Only the former landlords and capitalists have not yet been transformed; they are turning against our socialist system. Looking upon our system with hostility, they are making a sinister attempt to revive the old landlord and capitalist system under which man exploits man.

Some time ago a meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee discussed the work of the united front. The meeting summed up the work of the united front in relation with the Chongu Party, the Democratic Party and the Consultative Council of Former South Korean Politicians in North Korea for the Promotion of Peaceful Reunification.

The Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee advanced important tasks concerning the united front policy.

Since the Seventh Plenary Meeting we have been strengthening the united front with the rank and file of the Democratic Party and the Chongu Party. In order to win them over, we have encouraged them to join cooperatives, economic agencies and cultural establishments. As a result, the number of these parties' rank-and-file members has decreased considerably, and only a few members remain.

At present the few remaining members of the Chongu and Democratic Parties have also joined the cooperatives and are being transformed along socialist lines. They want to be our companions in the socialist revolution.

However, not all members of the Chongu and Democratic Parties have been transformed ideologically. Among them are those who want to join us in the socialist revolution, those who do not like socialism but remain quiet, unable to oppose it, and those who are against the socialist system and dream of the capitalist system.

At the present stage our Party abides by the policy that in the northern half the united front can only be formed with people who support socialism.

At the present stage we cannot form a united front with those who oppose socialism. We can do this only with those who are ready to join us in the socialist revolution. We should not form a united front with those opposed to socialism but rather struggle against them. Why should we do so? Because we should eradicate the remnants of capitalism in order to complete the socialist revolution.

We cannot allow the slightest remnant of capitalism or hostile element to continue existing as it is.

To those who say, "We are not for socialism. We also do not want the revival of capitalism. We will only remain quiet," we declare, "All right, then. Keep quiet. But we warn you that if you keep still, it will be all right. But if you plot against us, slander our socialist system or engage in subversive activities, you will be punished by the dictatorship of the proletariat."

We ask them whether they will continue to go with us in future as well, or drop out, and tell them to decide now. If you want to go with us, do away with your capitalist thinking and embrace socialist and communist ideology, and move ahead with us towards communism.

We, who are engaged in the revolution, should win the support of as many people as possible. The revolution will emerge victorious only when a large number of people unite to show their strength. Since we have advanced with those people till now, we have no objection to continue doing so in future, too.

As for a person who wants to go with us to the end, we will not

question his past, whether he was a capitalist, a landlord, a Democrat or a pastor.

This is exactly our stand. Whether one is for or against socialism should be our criterion to distinguish friend from foe today.

At present an ideological struggle is going on within the Chongu and Democratic Parties and the Consultative Council of Former South Korean Politicians in North Korea for the Promotion of Peaceful Reunification.

Needless to say, with such a bitter ideological struggle going on like this even within the united front, we should intensify the campaign to uproot the remnants of old capitalist ideas in our Party and among the working people.

Of course, our Party members and all the working people support communism. They have fought for it with their own lives and are now even fighting devotedly for its realization.

However, our Party members and working masses still have in their minds the old ideas which they inherited from the bourgeois society. We should get rid of them. In order to eliminate the remnants of such old ideas, it is necessary to intensify communist education before anything else.

Today our Party calls upon all its members to intensify class education and education in socialism and communism.

If the People's Army is to fulfil its solemn duty of defending socialism, each soldier should get rid of capitalist ideology remaining in his mind and embrace communist ideology. It is very important for every soldier, no matter to which company, platoon or squad he may belong, to wage a resolute struggle to get rid of capitalist ideology and embrace socialist and communist ideology.

Along with this, it is important to further enhance the Party spirit.

Needless to say, the great majority of Party members are loyal to the Party Central Committee. They have shed their blood in the interests of the Party and are firmly resolved to continue fighting sacrificingly if ordered to do so by the Party. Among our Party members, however, there are still many people whose Party spirit has not been strengthened enough.

The Party spirit implies allegiance to the Party. It should be expressed in the struggle to defend the Party Central Committee, support Party policy and safeguard the unity and cohesion within Party ranks.

Every Party member should wage a resolute struggle against the anti-Party elements trying to destroy our Party, the General Staff of the revolution.

As there was no party in our country in the past, the Korean revolutionary movement suffered a great deal. If there had been a party from the beginning, our revolutionary forces would have been more powerful and we would not have gone through a complicated struggle within the Party, both before and after the August 15 liberation.

It was not until after liberation that our Party was set up with steadfast communists as its hard-core members. The communists, tested and strengthened through the prolonged arduous struggle, formed the backbone of our Party, which developed into a mass party while steadily consolidating its main force.

During the period from its foundation on October 10, 1945 to this day, our Party has grown into a Marxist-Leninist party with great fighting capabilities.

The best and most advanced and progressive elements amongst workers, peasants and other working people joined our Party. With a strong determination to fulfil their revolutionary tasks, all our Party members in the past fought faithfully to strengthen the Party organization and defend its unity and cohesion. However, individual factionalists plotted to destroy the Party organization and some unsound people became involved with the factionalists in their plot.

Those who try to destroy the Party after joining it while expressing support for it, are people who have hostile ideas and ulterior motives.

Kim Tu Bong, Choe Chang Ik, Han Pin, Ri Yu Min, Kim Min San and other people who had organized the petty-bourgeois New Democratic Party intervened and tried to take over important posts in the Workers' Party, disrupting everything that had been attained by the Communist Party. Their recent plot for a rebellion is connected with

this. We cannot, under any circumstances, compromise with such elements who try to find faults in the Party deliberately in order to try to overthrow Party organizations and destroy the Party.

Enhancing the Party spirit is not only necessary amongst Party members. Other people, too, should have allegiance to the Party, because it is the advanced detachment of the toiling class and is the General Staff that defends its interests and leads the revolution. A person, if he belongs to the working class, is duty-bound to defend the Workers' Party. Soldiers should be educated properly in this direction.

Next, I will speak once more about education in the revolutionary traditions.

As I already said at the March Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, why is it considered wrong for our Party and people to carry forward the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle? If the Korean people had no revolutionary traditions, it would be a rather shameful thing. Why, then, shouldn't we take pride in and carry forward the existing revolutionary traditions?

Why is it necessary for our People's Army to inherit the revolutionary traditions? Because by doing so they will be able to attain strong revolutionary convictions that they will certainly defeat the enemy and secure victory if they fight to the end with a firm faith in Marxism-Leninism in spite of all sorts of hardships, as the anti-Japanese guerrillas did.

The present internal and international situation and the political and economic foundations we have laid are incomparable to the conditions of bygone days, when we were waging guerrilla warfare. At the time our conditions were very difficult. The anti-Japanese guerrillas started the revolutionary struggle with only a few guns and continuously waged a heroic struggle in face of all difficulties, and finally defeated the Japanese imperialist villains and achieved the historic national liberation.

They gave revolutionary rays of hope in the grimmest days of Japanese imperialist rule, at a time when many people joined the Japanese in claiming that "the Japanese and the Koreans are of the same descent" and "Japan and Korea are one" in an attempt to stamp out even the Korean language and the patronymics of the Koreans. Aren't their deeds admirable?

Anti-Japanese guerrillas fought to the end for the communist cause inspired by Marxist-Leninist faith, without yielding under the difficult circumstances. They held the banner of communism and emerged victorious. What is wrong with the People's Army carrying forward these precious revolutionary traditions?

By educating the People's Army in the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we should turn it into an ever-victorious armed force of the people that will endure whatever difficulties with its strong Marxist-Leninist faith.

Our Party Rules also stipulate that the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle must be continued, and the Party pointed out emphatically on the very day when the People's Army was founded, that the army is to continue the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas.

In the grim days of Japanese imperialist rule the communists of Korea did not go to the French Settlement in Shanghai or to hotels in the United States to drink and relax, but fought hard, shedding their blood in the Paektu forests and on the shores of the Amnok River. We want to let this be known to the soldiers.

We also know about the "traditions" of the villains. Syngman Rhee has the "tradition" of staying in US hotels. Choe Chang Ik and Kim Won Bong have the "tradition" of acting as agents for Jiang Jieshi.

How glorious it is to continue the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas, who waged a hard struggle for the country's regeneration and national liberation on Mt. Paektu and on the shores of the Amnok River in such extremely difficult days! It does not matter who were guerrillas and how many they were. Their fighting will, their ideology and their faith are the only things that count, no matter who and how many people may have waged the guerrilla warfare.

Our aim in giving prominence to the revolutionary traditions lies

not in glorifying those who fought in the past but in encouraging every soldier to have a firm faith that he is capable of defeating any enemy if he fights with the same spirit in which the anti-Japanese guerrillas fought.

What is wrong with this? We can concede nothing in this connection. Our officers and men should defend, and carry forward the revolutionary patriotic traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas.

Now I would like to comment on the question of peaceful reunification of the country.

The peaceful reunification of the country can be achieved only when our armed forces are strengthened and when we also have strong economic and political forces.

Strengthening both the cohesion of the people and the unity of the Party means increasing our political strength.

And peaceful reunification is inconceivable without increasing the economic might. For peaceful reunification, therefore, socialism should be successfully built. Accelerated socialist construction in the northern half will provide guarantees for national reunification.

The People's Army plays a great part in ensuring successful economic construction. If the People's Army is weak, we cannot continue construction work. Peaceful reunification should not be an excuse for weakening the People's Army.

Those who want to weaken the army by calling for peaceful reunification and socialist construction are all villains. They are people who want to disintegrate our revolutionary forces.

Villains say, "Why do we maintain such a large army when the people are leading a hard life?" They say all kinds of nonsense because the soldiers have the privilege of good salaries and fine clothes. All these things are said for ulterior motives.

We are facing the enemy. Socialism and capitalism are pitted against each other. The US imperialist troops of aggression, who form a capitalist army, are occupying south Korea and the Syngman Rhee puppet troops, a tool in the hands of the landlords and capitalists, are entrenched there.

Since we are standing face to face with the enemy, we must have a powerful army of the working people in order to defend the interests of the workers and peasants. This is essential for the defence of the working people's interests.

With a view to achieving our country's peaceful reunification, carrying out socialist construction in a better way, and completing the socialist revolution at an early date, we should strengthen the People's Army still further.

Immediately after the ceasefire our Party adopted a policy of turning the People's Army into a strong army of cadres, by strengthening it in terms of quality rather than quantity. This shows that preparations should be made so that all the working people led by one million Party members will be able to take up arms in case of emergency.

We should turn the People's Army into an experienced cadre army so that each private can command a platoon or a squad, each platoon leader—a company, each company commander—a battalion, each battalion commander—a regiment, and each regimental commander—a division. In other words, every political or military cadre or private should be ready to fulfil the duties in a higher rank in future. A regimental commander should be able to do the work of a divisional commander, a battalion commander—that of regimental commander, a company commander—that of battalion commander, a platoon leader—that of company commander, and each private should be trained to command a platoon or a squad at any time.

In order to strengthen the People's Army, we should also strengthen technical arms and steadily improve the technical equipment.

In modern warfare a battle cannot be fought successfully without techniques. Others are improving their technical level, so we cannot fight the enemy without modern techniques.

Herein lies one of the reasons why our forefathers were defeated. While the Japanese used five-chambered rifles, our grandfathers fought with firelocks. Even such guns were not enough. So, in the end Korea was taken over by the Japanese imperialists.

The higher the technical level of the enemy, the more we should develop the techniques of our People's Army. If our People's Army is technically on an equal footing with the enemy and, in addition, firmly embraces Marxist-Leninist ideology, it will be twice as strong as the enemy and will always win battles.

To increase the country's economic strength is tantamount to strengthening the People's Army.

If the economic power of our Republic and other socialist countries in Asia increases further, the Americans would not be able to set foot in Asia.

Our economic construction also exerts a tremendous influence on the people in south Korea.

At present Syngman Rhee is repeatedly slashing wages, whereas we continue to increase them. After the fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan we gave pay increases every year. We increased wages by 35 per cent in the first year and 10 per cent last year, and will increase them by 40 per cent next year. This is a remarkable achievement.

Our working people have clearly realized through practice that if they work hard they can live well. However, the people in south Korea themselves admit that they are suffering the greatest hardships witnessed over the past 4,000 years.

The people in the south will compare the economic development and the people's living standard in the north with their own situation and soon realize more deeply why they are worse off.

Therefore, it is highly important to carry out economic construction successfully. If the Americans are driven out even by tomorrow, the barriers between the north and the south are torn down and free traffic is permitted, people in the south will be able to come and see the realities here, and people here will be able to go to the south when they want. If several visits are exchanged in this manner, no one will want to serve the Syngman Rhee army or support the Syngman Rhee "regime", and everyone will support us.

At present Syngman Rhee keeps the door shut and ignores our proposal because he is well aware that if the people in the south cross over to the north and see their well-off compatriots there, with their living standard improving steadily, their spirits high, and the economy there making rapid progress, he will be doomed. This is why he keeps clamouring for the "march north". As he is a madman he may attempt the "march north" adventure. However, his call for the "march north" is not aimed to achieve that objective but rather to maintain his reactionary rule as best as he can by diverting the attention of the south Korean people.

He is manoeuvring in every possible way to aggravate the situation, so that he will be able to increase the number of troops, suppress the discontent of the south Korean people, threaten them and thus overcome the serious crisis in which he has found himself. However, by no means will he be able to maintain the crumbling system of reactionary rule and save himself from destruction.

If, in north Korea, socialism is built successfully, the socialist system strengthened, the people's consciousness of socialism heightened, the unity of the Party and the people strengthened, and the People's Army firmly inspired by revolutionary ideas of the working class, and turned into a strong army of cadres with excellent techniques, the reunification of the country will be achieved more rapidly.

I hope that you will move ahead at the speed of Chollima in all spheres of work. Today all our people are doing so. Our People's Army should also advance on Chollima.

Teachers should display greater enthusiasm than in the past and teach our Party members, officers, men and cadets more and in a better way. This is how they ride on Chollima. Every officer and man should carry out defence work and undergo combat training in a better way. If they were poor in shooting practice or combat training in the past, they should improve it and thus ride on Chollima. They should ride on Chollima in turning the People's Army into a cadre army, in improving their technical skills, in carrying out defence work better and in everything else.

They should ride on Chollima in ideological stimulation as well.

All soldiers should firmly embrace ideas of the working class and communist ideology. All officers and men should become more conscious of the fact that they should dedicate their bodies and souls to the Workers' Party, the working class, the working people, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the homeland of the workers and peasants.

I hope that you will more zealously intensify political and ideological education and improve the military and technical level and bring about great changes in the educational work of military academies.

## ON COMMUNIST EDUCATION

## Speech at Short Course for Motivation Workers of City and County Party Committees of the Country

November 20, 1958

Today I would like to talk on the economic situation in our country, particularly on the future prospects for economic development and on the question of communist ideological education which emerges as an important task in accelerating socialist construction.

As you all know, our country is now witnessing a great upsurge in the building of socialism. And the upsurge continues. Following the letter sent to members by the September Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, all Party members and working people are forging ahead in the spirit of the Chollima riders to carry out all the tasks set forth by the Party more quickly and efficiently. Indeed never before in the history of Korea have we seen an occasion when all the working people moved rapidly ahead with such a spirit towards the high peak of socialism at the speed of Chollima.

This spirit of ours is becoming a great force which cannot be broken. It demonstrates that all the people, united behind our Party in a body, move forward determinedly despite all difficulties to answer the Party's call.

We are now carrying out the Five-Year Plan for the first time in our country's history. We have made great achievements in the first two years of this plan. In 1957, industrial output was 44 per cent higher than in the previous year. This year it will increase by 35 to 36 per cent

over last year. Indeed, there is hardly any precedent for such a high rate of growth.

If we keep advancing at this rate, we can fulfil the Five-Year Plan for industry next year. While discussing the Party Central Committee's letter, our working people have resolved to try to more than double productivity in all sectors. Next year, if we achieve a 50 to 60 per cent increase in industrial output, as compared with this year, we will by far exceed the 1961 production level envisaged in the Five-Year Plan.

As I have always said, we must advance faster than other people because we have so far lived in poverty.

At a time when other people had already carried out a bourgeois revolution and were building a technically developed, rich and strong country, our forefathers were still riding donkeys, wearing horse-hair hats, and idling their time away reciting poems and drinking wine. While others were building factories, manufacturing goods and developing productive forces, our forefathers lagged behind, following the plough as they had done for hundreds of years. Our forefathers left us only a heritage of backwardness and poverty.

Wherever you go in European countries you will find good roads and even most rural people living in brick houses. The reason for this is that these countries have long since developed their culture and productive forces.

However, we have had to live in shabby hovels, from one generation to the other. Our ancestors could neither exploit mineral resources nor build a factory for themselves. Our country remained so poor and backward that it fell under the dominance of the Japanese imperialists.

It was obviously impossible to think that the Japanese imperialists should work in the interests of the Koreans. They built factories and railways by exploiting all the resources of Korea. They did so only to exploit and plunder the Korean people, and not for the benefit of Koreans.

The Korean people, subjected to humiliation and destitute lives, began to work with more energy and courage when they took power into their own hands and were in a position to shape their own destiny after liberation. And why not? Yet, a certain factional element attributed the gallantry of the Korean people in war to stolidity and their tremendous efforts in construction to ignorance. This is an intolerable insult to our people.

You should know that even though they were in need in the past, Koreans are very intelligent people. What reasons have we got to say this? Their knowledge is not vague. Rather, it is as clear as a letter written on a clean, white sheet of paper. The Koreans, therefore, perfectly understand the things they have learned. As they have known poverty, the Korean people also have a desire to learn more than others.

Although we were once poorly dressed and lived in shabby hovels, our ideology is as progressive as that of other people; we are more determined to advance faster and have a very strong revolutionary will to do away with the old and acquire the new. It is by no means by chance that we are advancing so rapidly today.

The people of fraternal countries who were liberated about the same time as ourselves, are already carrying out their third five-year plan.

Formerly our country was backward and, to make things worse, it suffered utter devastation in all fields during the three-year war. Thus we lagged farther behind others.

Under these circumstances, we hope to attain, in two five-year plans, the level fraternal countries plan to reach after fulfilling three of their five-year plans, so that we will catch up with them. Judging from the present enthusiasm of Party members and all the working people in their struggle, we should be able to realize our wishes.

Our rate of economic development is incomparably faster than that in capitalist countries. Let me recall an interesting fact.

Japan underwent a bourgeois revolution by accomplishing the Meiji Restoration; it became a civilized country before others, and for a time occupied our country. The Japanese imperialists used five-round magazine rifles when they invaded our country, but we could not make even a matchlock properly at that time. When the

Japanese were building locomotives and freight cars and other modern machines, our forefathers were still travelling on donkeys. But all this is a thing of the past now.

What is happening today? Next year, we will be fully able to catch up with Japan in per-capita output of major manufactured goods.

In 1957 the per-capita output of electric power in Japan was 853 kWh. But we will produce 850 to 900 kWh per person next year. In other words, we will surpass Japan in power production.

Japan's output of coal is an average of 568 kilogrammes for each member of the population. This year our per-capita output is already 690 kilogrammes. We plan to produce 9 million tons of coal next year. This means a production of 900 kilogrammes per person.

The same can be said for pig iron. Japan's per-capita output of pig iron is 75 kilogrammes, whereas our figure will rise to 80 to 90 kilogrammes next year.

Japan's per-capita output of cement is 167 kilogrammes. Next year, we will produce about 2 million tons of cement. The production volume of the Ministry of Chemical Industry alone will reach an average of 180 kilogrammes per person. So we will also surpass Japan in cement production.

In the output of textiles, we still lag behind Japan. But in a few years we will be able to surpass Japan in this field as well.

From all this, it is clear that we have already caught up with or surpassed Japan in the per-capita output of the greater part of major industrial products with the exception of some light industry products.

Japan, of course, has things that are better than ours. It is true that her machine-building industry is on the whole more developed than ours. But we will catch up with Japan before long in that industry as well.

As you all know, we have already started producing our own lorries, tractors, excavators and many other machines and ships. We have already laid the foundations for the machine-building industry.

Our machine-building industry has much better prospects for development than that in Japan. Her machine-building industry is at a

rather high level now, but its development is bound to be greatly slowed down due to restrictions in securing raw materials and the backwardness of the country's social system. Our conditions, however, are very favourable in comparison with those in Japan. We have an excellent socialist system, our people's incomparably strong determination to move forward, and an abundance of iron, nonferrous metals and other necessary raw materials. Therefore, there is no doubt that we will soon catch up with Japan in the machine-building industry as well.

It is really wonderful that we are catching up with and surpassing Japan, which once dreamt of conquering the whole of Asia and extending her claws of aggression even as far as the Soviet Union.

Today, our country is neither a backward feudal state nor a colonial agricultural country. It is a socialist state with an independent national industry. One more leap forward now, and we will be able to accomplish socialist industrialization in the near future.

In agriculture, we have also achieved a great victory. Socialist transformation of agriculture is one of the most difficult tasks in the socialist revolution. Nevertheless, we have smoothly accomplished agricultural cooperativization in a short time, and without any hitch-though, of course, not without a class struggle.

As you all know, the northern half of Korea, a limited area of land, and infertile at that, was a region that faced food shortage from olden times. But now we can fully produce our own food to satisfy our needs despite our small area of land, as a result of extensive nature-remaking projects and positive efforts to develop agricultural production. Thus, we have converted the northern half of Korea from a zone of food shortages into a self-sufficient one. This is a great victory for us.

We have really done a great deal in the agricultural sector. We have carried out large-scale irrigation projects, converting poorly irrigated rice paddy fields into fully irrigated ones. Even now we continue to energetically push ahead with these projects. We have already set up firm foundations for the production of grain and industrial crops.

In the early post-armistice days, poor peasants accounted for about

40 per cent of all the peasant households. But now the question concerning poor peasants has been completely solved. As for cooperatives with weak economic foundations, research carried out by the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration shows that they may have a shortage of only some 40,000 tons of the total grain they need, after delivering grain to the state and setting aside provisions, seed grain, grain to be exchanged for fertilizer and grain for common funds.

In the past it was common even amongst middle peasants in the mountainous regions to run out of provisions for one or two months in the spring. In fact according to this standard, there are today no poor peasants at all in our countryside. Strictly speaking, the living standard of nearly all our peasants has now reached the level of the middle peasant.

In future we must improve the peasants' living standard so that it will be better than that of the well-to-do middle peasant. That is the goal set by our Party. It can be attained after another few years of work. All the victories mentioned above were achieved in only five years after the war.

After the armistice, we accomplished the Three-Year Plan on the ruins of the war. In the subsequent two years we have fought a hard battle to fulfil the Five-Year Plan. The result is that our country has been turned, within a few years, into a self-reliant industrial-agricultural state. This is certainly a great unprecedented victory in the history of our nation.

How could we achieve such a great victory?

We can attribute it first of all to the correct leadership of the Central Committee of our Party and to the correct economic policy of the Party. The victory has been possible only because all the people, upholding the policies of our Party and united behind the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, have destroyed both local and foreign enemies.

At one time anti-Party factionalists were very critical of the correct policies of our Party. There were many people inside and

outside the Party who tried to find faults. When our Party first established the policy of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, we heard all sorts of comments. They raised a hue and cry; certain people remarked, for example, that we were very reckless to try to carry out, on the ruins of war, such a new line of socialist construction unheard-of in any other country. Others remarked that we were only concerned with building factories while ignoring the immediate difficulties in the people's life. They asked how machines could give them food.

As a matter of fact, you cannot say that a machine does not give us food. Yet the anti-Party elements could not and did not want to see this. This was why they opposed the correct policies of the Party. In their attempt to alienate the Party from the masses anti-Party factionalists spread many malignant rumours at a critical moment when the people's living conditions were most difficult.

The building of socialism in the countryside was also widely slandered. Some people questioned the feasibility of our plan to transform the countryside along socialist lines during the Five-Year Plan period. But the fact is that it was accomplished in the first two years of the Five-Year Plan.

Others doubted that private trade and industry could be transformed through cooperativization. But this task has also been carried out very rapidly and smoothly.

We have recently noticed some fear growing amongst so-called educated men about machinery. These people asked how we could produce machines, such as lorries and tractors that seemed so mysterious. But the Party, ignoring their insistence, eliminated such fear. The result is that lorries, tractors, excavators and many other machines are being produced at an amazing rate.

We can attribute all our achievements to the fact that all the people, upholding the correct policies of our Party, repulsed both local and foreign enemies and implemented the Party lines, eliminating all sorts of erroneous tendencies such as conservatism and mystification that

stood in the way of our progress. No one can disclaim the historic victory achieved by our Party.

We have thus won a great victory. But the Party always teaches all its members and the working people not to be carried away by victory. The Party calls for continuous and faster progress for new, greater victories. Thus, the September Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee appealed in its letter to all Party members for greater strides forward towards an even more magnificent victory.

What is the most important task set forth in the letter of the Party Central Committee?

The primary task is to fulfil the Five-Year Plan one and a half years ahead of schedule. Now all Party members, who have risen in response to the letter of the Party Central Committee, are determined to fulfil the Five-Year Plan, not one year and a half but two years ahead of schedule.

In the industrial sector, the letter calls for a struggle to create solid material and technological foundations for socialism by further stepping up socialist industrialization. And it has set out the tasks of producing, within the next six to seven years, 20,000 million kWh of electricity, 3 to 3.5 million tons of steel, 4 million tons of cement, 2 million tons of fertilizer, 400 million metres of textiles and 25 million tons of coal. The letter has also set out the task to manufacture by ourselves all the machines we need in large quantities, with the exception of some special kinds.

To build a socialist society we must, before anything else, step up industrialization and lay the strong material and technological foundations for socialism. To this end, we should increase the production of electricity, pig iron, cement, fertilizer and various types of machines and textiles. We cannot attain this target without accelerating industrialization. The Party Central Committee's letter made an appeal to all the members of the Party with this in mind.

In agriculture, we plan to go on vigorously setting up irrigation projects. Irrigation forms the basis for the technological reconstruction of agriculture in our country. Our country now has only about 1.8

million hectares of cultivated land, apart from that used for various other purposes. Our plan is to irrigate most of the rice paddies and dry fields, except those on hillsides, and to transform our agriculture into an advanced one, free from crop failures.

The next task is the supply of electricity to rural areas. We must see to it that every village has electric light and radios. Radios in every village will mean that we will be accelerating the fulfilment of the tasks of cultural revolution by constantly making music, arts and other cultural activities more popular, in addition to political and scientific knowledge. Electrification will also make work more simple. Electricity can be used for operating threshers and pumping water.

Electrification in rural areas has already started to change the face of the country. It is being extended quickly even in mountainous areas like Jagang Province. Osudok in this province is the highest mountain village. In bygone days people used to carry young calves up there on their backs and bred them as draught animals. According to today's newspapers, a wind energy station has been set up in Osudok, the well-known mountain village in Jagang Province. This is indeed a wonderful thing.

The last important task is rural mechanization. We plan to send 30,000 to 35,000 tractors and 25,000 to 30,000 lorries to the countryside within the coming four to five years. Next year we will send a total of 5,000 tractors and 2,500 lorries, made both locally and in other countries, to our farm villages.

The whole Party must be mobilized to carry out irrigation, electricity projects and mechanization in the countryside. When this is done, we will be able to harvest more than 7 million tons of grain, and produce industrial crops, such as cotton, castor beans and flax, in large quantities.

Now that the grain question has been solved, we are confronted with the task of meeting the people's need for animal products. The recent enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party took strict measures to supply the people with enough meat, milk and eggs.

Along with stockbreeding, we must also develop fruit growing so that people will have a lot of fruit. We should continue to give wide publicity to our plan to expand the orchard area to 100,000 hectares. A one-hectare orchard will give us at least 10 tons of fruit. If we harvest 10 tons from each hectare of orchards, the output from 100,000 hectares will be one million tons. This means an average of 100 kilogrammes of fruit per person. Then we must also produce wine and fruit juices as well.

When we carry out all these plans in the near future, our country will be an ideal place to live in. Some time ago I told our comrades that our country, although not very big, has fertile land and a mild climate, and therefore, taking this into account, we should measure land not by the square metre but by the cubic metre.

What will our position be when we have mechanized and automated industry on a large scale to sharply increase productive forces in this sector, and when we have introduced irrigation, electricity and mechanization in agriculture and extensively developed not only grain production but also livestock breeding and fruit growing? When we do that we can say that we will have completed the building of a socialist society. If we continue to work hard for a year or two, and accomplish these tasks in six or seven years, we will be able to reach the high peak of socialism.

In order to do this as early as possible, it is necessary to firmly inspire the working masses with communist ideology. Unless we provide a thorough ideological education, and unless we wage resolute ideological struggle, we will not be able to ensure the advance of the revolution nor consolidate the victories achieved so far.

We must destroy the remnants of obsolete feudal and capitalist ideologies which still remain in the minds of the working masses.

The revolution we are carrying out is precisely a struggle to eliminate all that is outdated and to create new things. The struggle between the new and the old, between progress and conservatism, between activity and passivity, between collectivism and individualism, and in general between socialism and capitalism—such

is the content of our revolutionary struggle. The struggle for socialist construction will be victorious only when we get rid of all outdated and corrupt things that stand in our way.

We are now moving forward at the speed of Chollima, but old things are holding us back. We are eager to make progress every day and every hour, but conservatives are putting obstacles in our way. We are eager to actively push ahead all our work, but passive elements are trying to dampen our enthusiasm and spirit. We are willing to live in the spirit of collectivism, but individualism is undermining our common cause.

All these are the evil consequences of a capitalist ideology. Unless we wipe out this ideological poison, we cannot attain our great goal of transforming the old society and building socialism and communism.

It is essential to inspire all the working people with communist ideology in order to eliminate the remnants of the outdated capitalist ideology and push the revolutionary upsurge even higher. This is the main task before all our Party members, in particular the information and motivation workers at present.

Syngman Rhee calls us "Reds". Let him say what he wants.

We do not deny that we are Red. We are neither black nor grey. We are Red people. We want all the working people to be "dyed" in one colour–revolutionary red–and we are striving to attain this. The more the enemy fears the "Reds", the more it is necessary to make all our working people Red from top to bottom, or in other words, to inspire them with communist ideology.

What things, then, should we stress in this ideological education?

It is important, first of all, to make the working people fully aware of the superiority of socialism and communism over capitalism.

Capitalist society is "heaven" for a handful of exploiters and oppressors, but it is "hell" for the overwhelming majority of the population, the exploited and oppressed working people.

For example, what kind of country is the United States, the most developed capitalist country? The United States produces large

quantities of goods, but its working people lose their jobs and suffer hunger precisely because their production is so high. Such a society cannot exist for a long time. The exploiters and oppressors are trying to defend this society. But despite all the means they may use, they can never stop the struggle of millions of working people to free themselves from that "hell".

In socialist society, newly built after the overthrow of capitalism, there is no exploitation of man by man; the interests of that society are fundamentally the same as those of the individual. Every person devotedly works for his own happiness and for social prosperity, thus achieving the rapid growth of social production and the all-round development of culture unprecedented in history. We must make the working people fully aware of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Making a comparison between the northern half of Korea and the southern half will provide a good contrast between socialism and capitalism. Early this year a passenger plane flew here from south Korea. A stewardess on the plane made some very interesting remarks. She said that in Pyongyang she could note that everyone could have a job, no one had to worry about food and clothings as long as one worked and all the people had plain clothes with no discernible difference amongst them. The stewardess also said that she saw women going to factories in the morning and that, although "luxurious" goods were not to be found in the markets, there were plenty of goods such as ordinary cloth, grains, etc. This girl from south Korea must have been thoroughly imbued with bourgeois ideology, yet she could clearly spot these things in the northern half.

But what is the situation in Seoul? There are plenty of expensive goods that enable the rich to live in luxury, corruption and debauchery. On the other hand, over 4 million unemployed and part-time workers and hundreds of thousands of orphans are wandering in the streets in search of food. According to an article that appeared in *Tonga Ilbo* some time ago, there are between 160,000 and 200,000 child beggars in North Kyongsang Province alone.

Thus by comparing the situation in the northern half with that in the southern half, we can clearly show the advantages of the socialist system in the northern half. If we ask our working people which they prefer, the capitalist system under which only a handful of exploiters get all the food and clothes they want while the great majority of the people suffer cold and starvation, or the socialist system under which all the people work and live in comfort, they will be able to reach their own clear conclusions.

Only when they are educated in this way will the working people be inspired to defend the socialist system, develop it further and advance towards a communist society.

It is also necessary to teach them the truth, that the new will certainly win and the old will ruin.

Socialism represents the new. Therefore, its forces, which are insignificant at first, are certain to prevail soon over the outdated, corrupt capitalist forces in accordance with the law for social development. The whole history of socialism—its emergence, development and victory—eloquently bears witness to this truth.

The Communist Party was not very strong when the great Lenin first organized it. But the Communist Party educated and organized the Russian working class and labouring masses into an invincible revolutionary force and finally overthrew tsarism and founded the world's first socialist state.

Up until World War II the Soviet Union was the only socialist state.

The armed forces of imperialist countries, such as Germany, Japan and Italy, seemed at first to be strong when they were desperately attacking that socialist country. But in the end they were defeated and the Soviet Union achieved a great historic victory. This was because the Soviet Union, the new-born force representing the future, enjoyed the support of progressive people all over the world, who were striving for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, whereas the fascist troops were isolated from the great majority of the people.

It is a strict law of social development that the capitalist system, which has its days counted, is destined to give way to a new and

progressive socialist system, just as the outdated feudal society had collapsed and a new capitalist society had emerged and developed. According to this same law, US imperialism, which still seems powerful today, is doomed to collapse before long.

Let us recall the history of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle in Korea. What were the convictions of the Korean communists in their fight? Though a very weak force compared with the powerful Japanese imperialism, the communists, as a new force representing the long-cherished desire of the people and justice, fought hard despite all difficulties because they counted on the support of the masses of the people and on solidarity with the revolutionary forces all over the world and were firmly convinced that outdated and corrupt Japanese imperialism would inevitably collapse. Finally the Japanese imperialists were defeated and Korea was liberated.

After liberation, the US imperialists, taking the place of the Japanese imperialists, also invaded Korea, but the Korean communists were never afraid of them. Even when allied forces from 16 countries, with US imperialism as their ringleader, invaded the northern half of Korea, the members of our Workers' Party did not waver at all. They were firmly convinced that the Korean people, who had risen in defence of their socialist motherland and enjoyed the powerful support of the socialist camp and peace-loving people of the world, would certainly emerge victorious, and that US imperialism, isolated from the people of the world, would inevitably suffer defeat. The US imperialists were eventually defeated in the war and were forced to sign the Armistice Agreement.

Needless to say, we did not fight alone but fought side by side with the Chinese people. Compared with the United States, China was also weak in armaments even though she had a larger population. Nevertheless, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China, newly-established forces full of vitality, defeated the old and corrupt US imperialist forces of aggression.

Therefore, the purpose of our study of the revolutionary traditions, is to inherit the high spirit of the Korean communists who valiantly

fought against formidable Japanese imperialism in the past, strictly abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and remaining firmly convinced of final victory.

Another important factor in communist education is to combat individualism and selfishness, which are major obstacles in the reorganization of society along communist lines.

Individualism and selfishness obstruct the consolidation of socialist ownership, i.e., collective ownership and ownership by all the people. They hinder our struggle for the establishment of widespread communist ownership, that is, ownership by all the people. Cooperativization in the countryside has now been completed, but it does not mean the attainment of our ultimate goal. For the building of communism, which is our final objective, we have to make another step forward and bring the cooperative economy up to the level of ownership by all the people. The process of such a development by society cannot be successfully intensified without overcoming selfishness and individualism, the remnants of the obsolete capitalist ideology.

It goes without saying that the struggle against individualism and selfishness is important in safeguarding socialist gains and in consolidating the already triumphant socialist system. People must be educated to protect cooperative and state property better than their own. We often witness cases of total indifference towards safeguarding socialist property or even cases of violations against it, in the interests of individuals. All these are the evil remnants of capitalist ideology which cannot be tolerated.

Another important question in communist ideological education is to inspire the working people with the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

They must be taught to love their socialist motherland where all the working people now lead a good life and will be even better off in future. This should begin with love for their workplaces, villages and towns where they can live and work happily in peace, free from exploitation, under a socialist system built with their own sweat and blood.

Furthermore, we must ensure that our people's love for their country will lead them to love all countries of the socialist camp which are in the same situation; we must teach them to love all working people in the world who fight for freedom and happiness, just as we do. We should also teach the people that the international interests of the working class in all lands can be defended only when they have boundless love for their socialist motherland and do their utmost to strengthen its power.

When the working people are in power, the patriotic service towards one's country is exactly identical with proletarian internationalism. A working man who devotedly tries to build his socialist hometown or village can, at the same time, be an ardent patriot for his socialist country and, furthermore, an internationalist fighter for the common interests of the whole socialist camp and of the working class all over the world. Thus the necessity of educating everyone as a fighter who battles ruthlessly against an enemy that is attempting to encroach upon our happy native places, our socialist system and our socialist motherland, and who firmly defends the gains of socialism, a fighter who wages an uncompromising struggle against those who infringe upon the interests of the working people of the world.

Yet another important factor in communist education is to inspire the people with the spirit of love for work.

Labour creates the wealth of human society and is the source of the welfare of mankind.

An idle life was regarded as honourable under the system of exploitation in the past. But it is a very shameful thing under our socialist system which has the principle, "He who does not work shall not eat." In a society where exploitation is rampant, work is regarded as mean and toilsome drudgery, but in a socialist society it has become the greatest honour and pleasure.

A person who doesn't work is a parasite living at the expense of others. In order to step up the Chollima march which is now giving encouragement to the whole country, we should launch an ideological struggle against able-bodied people who hang about doing nothing among our ranks.

We also should educate the working people in the spirit of continuous revolution, in the revolutionary spirit of steady advance and continuous change.

Our revolution demands uninterrupted advance. We cannot rest on our laurels with the fulfilment of one revolutionary task. We must set forth and accomplish one task after another. The victory we have already achieved serves to prepare us for a bigger victory tomorrow, as a basis for further advancement.

The completion of socialist construction in the northern half will not mean the end of our work. There still remain the tasks of reunifying the country and then carrying out democratic reforms such as agrarian reform and the nationalization of industries in south Korea. The fulfilment of the tasks of democratic revolution in the southern half should be followed by the continuing task of building socialism, and after the completion of socialist construction, our country will gradually have to move ahead towards communism. Only when all these tasks are carried out with success will we be able to say that we have fulfilled our duties in the world revolution. For this reason, communist education in the northern half should always be carried out in conjunction with the task of reunifying the country. We must stress the idea that socialist construction in the northern half is the guarantee for the reunification of the country.

In this way, all the working people must be turned into ardent builders of socialism and communism, communist fighters fully inspired by Red ideology.

In my opinion, this should be the basis for communist education, designed to accelerate socialist construction.

Our country has an advantage as far as ideological work among the working people is concerned. Unlike Europe, our country affords no ideological ground for Right-wing social democracy, which splits the ranks of the working class and paralyses its class consciousness with bourgeois ideology. This is a favourable condition which will make

ideological work in our country comparatively less complicated.

With regard to communist education, I would like to mention the technical and cultural revolutions, which are the most important tasks in the building of socialism in our country today.

At present one of our most important slogans is: "All working people, learn technology and create new techniques!" If the working people are to embrace communist ideology and learn technology and create new techniques, their cultural standard must be improved. Our aim today is to wipe out ignorance in our country and educate everyone at least to the level of a middle school graduate. This is essential for improving the technical skills of the working people and inspiring them more quickly and more thoroughly with communist ideology.

From this it follows that our information and motivation workers should take an active part in the cultural revolution in villages, towns, cooperatives, factories and everywhere else.

In order to accomplish the cultural revolution, we need to organize groups of different kinds on a wide scale, such as sports, literature, art and technical study circles, while introducing compulsory education and adult education. And it is of great importance that we do a good job in running clubs in factories and villages, in making an effective use of newspapers such as the Party paper and those papers published by social organizations, and also in effectively utilizing other information media, such as factory and wall newspapers.

You must become not only information workers but also organizers of the cultural revolution. Only when this task is carried out properly will you also be able to successfully fulfil the task of inspiring the working people with communist ideology.

It is wrong to think that education in a school is indispensable to the improvement of one's cultural standard. Not all those who reach the level of middle school education are middle school graduates, and not all with the level of university education are university graduates. What counts is not the diploma but one's real cultural and intellectual abilities.

Some comrades are apt to draw hasty conclusions when reading

someone's curriculum vitae. When he happens to be a university graduate, they say, "He is a capable man" and when he is a primary school graduate, they say, "His cultural level is very low."

I have witnessed on many occasions how foolish and dangerous such conclusions could be. Many of the university graduates I have met have turned out to be far from intelligent, let alone having the level of education of a university graduate, while many primary school graduates, whom some people neglect, proved to be men of good manners with a high level of education.

I say this to prevent you from falling victim to the mystery surrounding university training. There is no need for anyone to underestimate himself only because he is not a university graduate, still less for university graduates to consider themselves so important. There is nothing mysterious about a university. Everybody can reach the level of education of a university graduate even by studying at home. You should study hard and endeavour to improve your cultural attainments and education, first to the level of a middle school graduate, and then to that of a university graduate.

Even in such distant mountain villages as Changsong and Phothae-ri at the foot of Mt. Paektu, anyone can study as much as he wants and attain the level of education of a university graduate. This is impossible under the capitalist system, but under our socialist system it can be done.

Therefore, men without regular education should, of course, improve their level of education, and those who have attended school should continue their studies for further advancement. If a man neglects his studies, being happy only with middle school or university education, he will certainly be a failure. Here constant advancement is also required.

Since science and technology make steady progress, you have to make constant efforts to learn new things in science and technology.

One more thing I want to say is that the work to improve the cultural standard of the working people and the work of communist education must be combined with efforts to teach them to be loyal to the Party.

Whether a member of the Party or not, everyone should be loyal to the Workers' Party. The Party is the leading force of the Korean people that guarantees great victories. Loyalty to the Party means precisely loyalty to the revolution.

To educate the working people in the spirit of loyalty to the Party means, in other words, to enhance their Party spirit. By Party spirit we mean the militant spirit of boundless loyalty to the Party and the people, a fighting spirit that is evident at all times, with all one's strength and, if need be, even at the cost of one's life, in order to carry out the Party policies and decisions.

Loyalty to the Party, that is, Party spirit, should be manifested, above all, in one's constant struggle to safeguard the strong unity and solidarity within the Party. For, if a party lacks unity, it will become powerless, will fail to carry out revolutionary tasks and will collapse in the end. The most important thing is to strengthen the unity of the Party in every possible way.

The Central Committee of our Party is now made up of steeled communists who fought for many years against Japanese imperialism before liberation, and of tested fighters who have devotedly taken part in the building of the Party and the state since liberation. All Party members should therefore defend the Party Central Committee and, rallying around it more firmly, show no tolerance for even the slightest manifestation of parochialism, nepotism and factionalism which obstruct the unity and cohesion of the Party, and wage a resolute struggle to destroy them.

You information and motivation workers who have the heavy responsibility of constantly explaining and propagating the Party policies among the working people and educating them in the spirit of communism, should bear in mind that the enhancement of your own Party spirit is your first and foremost task. It is quite obvious that an information worker or a motivation worker who lacks Party spirit will be unable to propagate the Party policies and mobilize the masses in the correct manner.

Those who work on the ideological front should lead the struggle

for the implementation of the Party policies and should prepare themselves to fight resolutely against any tendency to disparage the Party Central Committee and undermine the unity and cohesion of the Party. Information and motivation workers who are thus prepared ideologically, are exactly the kind of genuine information and motivation workers our Party needs.

You must have better knowledge than anyone else of the Party policies in order to properly fulfil your duty of explaining these policies and of mobilizing the masses for the implementation of revolutionary tasks. You can never expect to correctly propagate the Party policies if you do not study them profoundly. Certain attitudes towards one's work such as learning sentences from decisions by heart and repeating them like a parrot will not do.

You information and motivation workers should know that all our Party policies represent Marxism-Leninism correctly applied to the specific realities of Korea. You should therefore make a deep study of our Party policies while studying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. Only then will you be able to eliminate completely any ideological trends, incompatible with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which may penetrate from outside sources or any wrong ideological tendencies, when they appear within our ranks. As Lenin said this is why you should study, study and study.

You should embrace this ideology and knowledge through constant improvement and study and, at the same time, you should become soldiers of our Party who maintain close ties with the masses and work amongst them.

To do this, you should work and mix with the masses.

Some time ago, a certain comrade told me after his visit to South Hamgyong Province that, although we had been relying upon the strength of the masses and had been aware of their great strength all through the long course of our revolutionary work, he had never before seen such a great strength as that of our working people, who had risen up in response to the recent letter of the Party Central Committee.

This proves that we have started eliminating the bureaucratic and

ostensible work style that is detrimental to the Party work, through the examples set recently by our Party Central Committee in giving guidance by mixing with the masses to discuss matters with them and to mobilize them.

In the past, all an instructor had been interested in when making inspections was finding fault. One who was good only at doing this and at criticizing others, was praised as a good instructor; otherwise he was regarded as incompetent.

Nowadays our Party's work methods are quite different. An inspection is made with the purpose of discovering and correcting errors. We have now adopted the term "guidance and assistance" in place of "inspection". When our Party instructors go out to rural villages, they sweep yards for the peasants, work with them, chat with them during breaks and advise them to correct their shortcomings, thus mixing with the masses. This naturally makes it possible to spot bad characters, expose wrong tendencies and discover what the masses want.

You should also go amongst the masses in this manner. When visiting the villages, you should dress like the peasants, thresh grain with them when you happen to be on a threshing ground, sit together and chat with them during breaks. You should learn to organize information work while working in this way.

Peasants will never talk to, nor follow, people who because they are information workers, sport strange haircuts, or, in the case of women, doll themselves up and carry handbags. However, this does not mean that I am against carrying handbags. It is all right to carry handbags when you go to the theatre but it would look rather awkward to do so when you go to work amongst the masses.

In the past, those who were engaged in the would-be "communist movement", carried with them memos in which they jotted down such foreign terms as "ideologi", "hegemoni" and "puroretaria"; when they delivered speeches they deliberately intermingled those words which were difficult to understand, because they had to show that they were communists despite their ignorance. This wrong practice was prevalent

in South Hamgyong Province, and the Presidium of the Party Central Committee once gave this matter serious consideration shortly after liberation.

If you make a speech in this way in front of the masses, the workers and peasants will not understand you. Some foolish people, intending to follow the pattern of those who carried on with the would-be "communist movement", borrow the latter's memos and copy out those words. An end must be put to such a practice once and for all. You must use as far as possible the simple language of workers and peasants, the language they understand.

What is the duty of information and motivation workers? It is to make people understand things and wake up, is it not? It is not good to use words which they do not understand.

Only the information worker who goes amongst the masses, listens to what they have to say, investigates and urgently meets their demands and organizes and mobilizes the masses for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks, can be called a genuine information worker of our Party. You must rid yourselves completely of the harmful consequences of the past work style of the factionalists and showy communists and must mix with the people.

Your task is two-fold. The first thing to do is to study tirelessly and to improve your qualifications and strengthen your Party spirit; the second is to mix with the masses and educate and mobilize them.

Finally, I hope that you will hold high the red banner of communism in our factories and mines, in our farm and fishing villages, everywhere you go, and strive to turn all our working people into revolutionaries who embrace Red ideas, the ideas of communism.

## ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY THE CORRESPONDENT OF A FINNISH NEWSPAPER

November 28, 1958

**Question:** The problem of the peaceful reunification of Korea has not yet been solved. What measures should first be taken to solve this problem which is important for the relaxation of international tension?

**Answer:** Korea's reunification has not yet been achieved and tension still exists in Korea. The root cause for this lies in the occupation of south Korea by the US troops.

The US troops are impeding the Korean reunification. In violation of the Armistice Agreement, they are increasing their armaments by bringing into south Korea atomic weapons, guided missiles and other different and new kinds of weapons. And they keep creating tension by instigating the Syngman Rhee clique to clamour for "march north". This very fact shows that as long as the US troops stay in south Korea neither can peaceful reunification be achieved nor durable peace be ensured in Korea.

Korea's reunification is the Korean people's own affair, and it must be settled by themselves without any foreign interference. Now that the Chinese People's Volunteers have withdrawn from Korea, the US troops have not the slightest excuse for remaining in south Korea. First of all, they must get out of south Korea. This is the prerequisite for the achievement of peaceful reunification and the easing of tension in Korea

**Question:** Some people suggest the idea of abolishing the Korean Military Armistice Commission. What is your opinion about the meaning and work of this commission?

**Answer:** The Korean Armistice Agreement stipulates that all foreign troops shall be withdrawn from Korea and that the armistice shall be turned into a durable peace.

The Chinese People's Volunteers have already withdrawn from Korea.

The US troops must get out of south Korea so that the Korean armistice may be turned into a lasting peace and that the solution of the Korean issue may be left to the Korean people themselves. However, they refuse to get out of south Korea, flagrantly trampling down the Armistice Agreement.

The Military Armistice Commission must continue to exist until all the US troops withdraw from south Korea.

Also necessary is the activity of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission whose function is to supervise the scrupulous observance of the Armistice Agreement.

The US side is hindering in every way the activity of the NNSC which plays a positive role in the preservation of the armistice. The US side must desist from this position; it is duty-bound to give proper assistance to the NNSC.

**Question:** With how many countries does the Democratic People's Republic of Korea maintain diplomatic relations? If the Republic of Finland wants to establish diplomatic relations with your country, what would be your attitude on this matter?

**Answer:** The DPRK has established diplomatic relations with eleven socialist countries including the Soviet Union and the People's

Republic of China and is promoting friendly cooperative relations with them. In addition, the DPRK has economic and cultural relations with a number of Asian and African nations. The DPRK, which since its very inception has consistently pursued a peace-loving foreign policy, endeavours to promote friendly relations with all countries, irrespective of their social systems, in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. We are ready to establish good relations with all countries which want to form friendly relations with our country.

## CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO THE WORKERS, TECHNICIANS AND OFFICE EMPLOYEES OF THE TOKCHON AUTOMOBILE PLANT

November 29, 1958

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I extend my warm congratulations to all the workers, technicians and office employees of the Tokchon Automobile Plant which manufactured the first lorry in our history. Congratulations must also go to those of other enterprises which participated in cooperative production for the same purpose.

The workers, technicians and office employees of the Tokchon Automobile Plant have obtained a proud success by building a lorry in a short time, boldly dissipating the fear of technology and displaying unusual labour enthusiasm and creativeness in order to step up socialist construction in our country.

The lorry, the production of which was thought to be impossible in our country, has been built with our own hands, using our own material and our own techniques. This is another brilliant victory of demonstrating the might of our working class who is dashing in the spirit of Chollima rider, upholding the correct economic policy of our Party.

The lorries to be manufactured at the Tokchon Automobile Plant will be a great contribution to easing the strain on transport in

agriculture and all other sectors of production and construction in our country.

I am confident that all the workers, technicians and office employees of this enterprise will obtain more splendid success in production of lorries by making continued innovations and progress, without resting content with their initial success.

## FOR HIGHER QUALITY IN CONSTRUCTION

## Speech at a Meeting of the Construction Workers of Pyongyang

December 25, 1958

As you all know, the construction workers of Pyongyang have done a great deal of work in the past year. They have erected houses for more than 20,000 families and built the Taedonggang Public Gardens. They have also built many streets, including Chilsongmunthong Street and Youth Avenue, and a large number of public buildings as well as social and cultural facilities.

This year, we did a huge amount of work which would have formerly taken us ten years to complete. In housing construction alone, it would have taken us at least three or four years to erect 20,000 flats. But in the current year we have constructed more than 20,000 flats in Pyongyang alone.

This success is the fruit of the efforts of all our construction workers, who, closely rallied around the Party, have worked enthusiastically, responding to the appeal of our Party Central Committee.

The year 1958 has been marked by a great change in construction, the same as in all other sectors.

The anti-Party factionalists, who had gone undetected in the construction sector for a long time, sought to hinder our work and did their best to see our Party's construction policy failing.

On January 30, 1956, the Party Central Committee had set forth a

policy of changing over to prefab methods in construction and proposed concrete tasks, such as the standardization and specification of designs, the production of structural parts and elements by industrial methods and the mechanization of construction. The factionalists, however, refused to carry out these tasks. The anti-Party factionalists—including Pak Ui Wan and Kim Sung Hwa—deliberately opposed these tasks, and the conservatives followed them blindly. They refused to adopt the prefab methods in construction, under various pretexts—for example, saying that it was "still premature" or "unfeasible in Korea".

After the October 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, all the Party members worked vigorously for the thorough implementation of the Party policy, inspired by the decision of the plenary meeting. Under the direct guidance of the Party Central Committee, the construction workers of Pyongyang have foiled all kinds of plots by the factionalists who sought to hinder the implementation of the Party policy, and defeated the obstructive acts of the conservatives. In this way, the construction workers of Pyongyang have fought tirelessly to carry through the Party policy and have brought about great innovation in construction this year.

The building of over 20,000 flats is an important achievement, but the fact that we have overcome the obstructions of the factionalists and conservatives and carried through the Party's construction policy is even more important. If we had not removed the obstructions of the conservatives and foiled the plots of the factional elements, we would not have been able to achieve this success.

Although the factional elements alleged that construction through prefab methods was still premature in our country, we have carried it out successfully this year. If we had not applied these methods in construction, it would have been unthinkable to build over 20,000 family units in a year in Pyongyang alone. The fact that we have attained such a success, therefore, proves that the Party's construction policy was the best one.

Our achievements could have been bigger had all workers in our

construction industry, holding firm to our Party's line, thoroughly implemented the Party's policy from the outset. But harmful actions by the factional elements precluded our possibility of building as many houses as we could have done in 1956 and 1957. The fact that we have built over 20,000 flats this year, means that we lost 40,000 dwellings in the two previous years. If in the two previous years we had worked in the same way as we did this year, free from the hindrance of factional elements and conservatives, we would have built houses for 60,000 families in these years, and 300,000 people would have already been living in new houses.

This gives us a clear idea of how serious the damage done by the factionalists and the conservatives is. The factionalists have done tremendous harm not only in the construction of houses, but also in all other aspects of urban construction.

Through this year's experience we have come to appreciate better the advantages of prefab methods in construction and the correctness of our Party's policy.

What are the advantages? Prefab methods in construction facilitate and expedite the work, making it possible to do more work. We can build at least four or five times as many houses as when using old methods.

Today it is very important in our country to make work easier and to quickly build a large number of houses, because we must restore innumerable houses that were demolished in the war and replace old houses, the type of which has been used for thousands of years, by new ones with a socialist content, in order to live in a modern way.

If we use time-consuming methods in tackling such an enormous task, we will not be able to solve the problem. We must use a quick method: that of prefab construction. As a result of the application of prefab methods to construction, we have been able to build a large number of houses much more quickly and easily.

However, you should not think that we have done away with all conservative ideas. We can hardly say that all construction work is going on smoothly, without any hitches. There still exist quite a few

people who are infected with conservative ideas.

The construction workers of Pyongyang and everywhere else in our country, therefore, should wage a continuous struggle to do away with remnants of conservative ideas and carry out more thoroughly our Party's call for standard and specified designs, for the industrialized production of structural parts and elements, and for the mechanization of building operations. We must fight resolutely against the wrong tendency of objecting to the Party's line under various pretexts, and uproot it.

In order to carry out our Party's policy in construction, it is important to improve the work of the comrades in the designing sector. Indeed, our designers are devoted to their work, but their designs still fall short of the standard called for by the people.

As I have already emphasized on a number of occasions, our designers must draw up designs with socialist content. But our designs do not have this yet, and they entail great wastage. Our designers should keep this deep in their mind. If they draw a line incorrectly, it will cause a loss of tens of thousands of *won* and adversely affect our people's standard of living. Yet there are still many instances of designers drawing plans carelessly.

The reason why our designs are still slipshod and do not have socialist content lies in the fact that our workers lack the Party's sense of responsibility and the loyalty to the people.

The production of structural parts and elements is not proceeding satisfactorily in line with our Party's requirements either. Only when all these parts and elements are standardized and their production industrialized would it be possible to build houses attractively and easily, using prefab methods. In the building-materials industry, however, not all structural parts and elements are now being manufactured by industrial methods.

For example, wall panels—which can be used in place of plastering—are not being produced yet. If they were, we would only have to erect houses of blocks or bricks and then affix such panels instead of plastering. Nor are light blocks used well, and their quality is poor.

Moreover, there are many shortcomings in making windows and doors and their frames.

In addition, mechanization of building operations has not been fully achieved, and mysticism about machinery still persists. There are people who consider mechanization to be something mysterious, comprehensible only by a divine intelligence. We are fully able to mechanize construction, and such things as turret cranes can be made in nearly all ordinary factories. In spite of this, the production of cranes is not yet carried out boldly and their use in mechanization is not being tackled resolutely.

All this is due to the fact that hangovers of conservative ideas have not been fully eradicated in carrying through our Party's construction policy.

Prefab methods are not extensively adopted in constructing factories and bridges. It would be definitely advantageous to assemble them, wherever possible, with concrete blocks.

Everywhere, whether in constructing factories or in building bridges, prefab methods should be introduced. This alone will enable us to step up the speed of socialist construction.

As for housing construction, only by using such methods will we be able to pull down the shacks inherited from our ancestors through thousands of years and build fine modern dwellings on a large scale.

If we carry through the construction policy set forth by the Party, we will be able to accomplish all this in a few years. Suppose we continue to construct 20,000 flats in Pyongyang every year; 100,000 flats will be erected in five years—which, with those already built, will provide housing for 700,000 people. In my opinion, housing construction in the countryside will also be completed in a few years' time if prefab methods are applied.

You must, therefore, carry out the Party's policy without the slightest vacillation. The policies set forth by the Party Central Committee are right because they express the will of the whole Party and because their correctness has been confirmed in practice.

Now, I would like to speak about improving the quality of construction.

There are many problems which have to be tackled for improvement in quality. First, if the designs for the construction of houses or factories are bad, no good buildings can be built, however hard we try. This is true particularly in building by prefab methods. Yet our designs are still deficient in socialist content.

What is the socialist content of our buildings? It means convenience for the comfort of the people, cleanliness, beauty and durability. This is what we require as far as quality in construction is concerned.

The masters of our society are the working people. So, the people's houses, clubs, restaurants, cinema houses, schools and everything else that we build must be socialist in content.

When building a restaurant, it must be so designed as to be serviceable to the people, with washstands, hat racks, coat hangers and a checkroom for packages.

For designs to be socialist in content, our designers must arm themselves with socialist ideas, to begin with. It is no use talking about building socialism if actual deeds are not socialist in content. The construction of socialism cannot be carried out only by shouting, "Long live socialist construction!" Thoroughgoing changes are needed in all sectors of life to have socialist content.

The Central Committee of the Party has recently set it as the most important task to improve quality in all sectors of socialist construction in our country. This must be done everywhere—higher quality in construction, in industrial production, and in the creative work of literature and art.

In the past, the Japanese imperialists, who exploited the Koreans at will, did not build one single good hotel or public bathhouse.

Now, the Korean people have become the masters of the country. It is wrong for us to continue with the old ways, instead of detesting and eliminating the system and customs of the Japanese imperialists who looked down on us and worked in a slipshod manner.

We must construct buildings which are socialist in content, to make

people happy and to provide them with convenience. The designs must be drawn up precisely along these lines.

The same holds true with the production of building materials. Only when attractive, solid, durable building materials of good quality are produced, can our construction workers put up decent houses. Quality in construction depends, to a large extent, on the building materials. If the building materials are inferior, it is impossible—even with a good design, and no matter how hard you try—to build a good house or make it durable. Even a well-made door will soon rot if the wood is of poor quality.

Our country abounds in excellent building materials, including marble and granite. We can produce any quantity of beautiful, good-quality building materials. But what is being done? Although building materials of very fine quality are on display in the exhibition halls, they are not supplied to the construction sites.

If we take lumber as an example, we find out that our country is rich in this material, both in quality and quantity. The lumber enterprises, however, supply red pine to coal and ore mines for pit props instead of supplying it to construction sector where there is a big demand for it.

Many shortcomings are also to be found in the production of blocks. The blocks used in the building of Pyongyang were not up to standard and this caused a lot of trouble. Not infrequently it happens that building materials cannot be used and are left in heaps because they are not sufficiently well made, even though precious cement and reinforcement rods are consumed in them.

It is necessary to maintain a high level of quality in building materials by raising our workers' sense of responsibility in production. Substandard products should not be tolerated.

Building operations are also not yet being carried out well. The most important factor here is the workers' attitude towards their work.

All workers who are engaged in building operations should keep in mind that the houses, schools, cinema houses, conference halls and everything else they construct are for the people who are building socialism. We are erecting buildings for ourselves and for our class and people, and they will become our people's property. They will remain the people's property for ever. So they should be built still better. We must improve all constructions still further to provide the people with buildings that are pleasant, comfortable and durable. This is precisely the communist attitude to work.

In our society, work is most honourable and worthwhile. Contempt for those who work is a capitalist attitude. The workers are the most honoured and treasured people in our socialist society. We should build even better houses, for here the children of these people will grow up and they themselves will live.

Moreover, we are builders of the socialist era. Houses erected in the socialist era should be of better quality than houses built in the era of capitalism.

To raise quality, it is first necessary to intensify the ideological education of our construction workers. Everyone, whoever he may be, should arm himself with communist ideology. With the hangovers of backward capitalist ideology or of feudalistic ideas, there can be no construction befitting the socialist era.

Only when our construction workers are well armed with communist ideology can they erect buildings with socialist content and work efficiently as the people's builders.

While carrying out construction work, we have keenly felt that the education of the working people in communist ideology is still below the required standard. In order to raise the quality of our construction, it is essential that communist ideological education of our construction workers be carried out vigorously.

Now, in order to obtain higher quality in construction, we must raise the technical and skill levels of all workers. Improvement in the quality of construction is impossible without an improvement in skills. Technical and skill levels should be raised in all sectors—designing, the production of building materials and building operations.

None of our construction workers would deliberately do bad work; any poor houses that are built are the result of their ignorance or lack of skill. Therefore, in order to improve quality in construction, they must acquire technical knowledge. Technical knowledge is not necessarily acquired by attending lectures with books under one's arm or by attending a college or university. What we mean is that one should study while working. In our schools, too, we have established a system of working while studying.

Our workers and builders should study while working. Workers must work eight hours, rest eight hours, and in the remaining eight hours attend evening school, study by themselves, or receive technical instruction from their fellow workers. Every skilled worker, while making continuous efforts to raise his own skill level, should also take charge of three or four less skilled workers and teach them devotedly. If the skills of all the workers are to be raised in every field of work—assembling, welding, plastering, crane operating, etc.—it is absolutely necessary that such an educational system be established.

Moreover, to improve the quality of construction work, inspections should be intensified and the transferring and taking over of completed buildings should be done in a thoroughgoing way.

It is of great importance to intensify inspections. In this regard, it is, of course, important to improve the work of our inspection bodies, but I think it would also be a good idea for the workers themselves to organize committees and check up on their own work, and for the workteams to check each other's work.

The system of mutual inspection is necessary so that workers can learn from one another and raise the quality of construction work. Through mutual criticism and the exchange of experiences, you should improve the quality of construction.

In conclusion, I would like to touch on some tasks confronting the construction sector in the coming year.

Next year's capital construction target will nearly be twice as much as this year's, and construction target in Pyongyang will be 2.3 times as great. So, in anticipation of a continued strain on the supply of materials, a struggle should be waged for economizing on iron materials and cement, and the construction organizations should launch a movement to produce their own building materials.

We must set up a small workshop for producing building materials at every construction site. As this year's experience in the construction carried out in Pyongyang shows, the centralization of the production of building materials—which had previously taken place at each construction site—led to inadequacies in supply, which caused work stoppages on more than one occasion. This is a very grave shortcoming. True, it is impossible for every construction site to have a large block factory, but each could have a small, open-air one.

Each construction site should also have a small fittings shop and a stone cutting shop, and it would also be a good idea for it to be equipped with a workshop for elongating iron bars and with installations for smelting iron. It would be even better to enlist large numbers of unemployed members of construction workers' families at such workshops.

Only then will it be possible for every unit to always maintain the pace of construction work by making up for the shortage of structural parts and elements on its own, even in case of their inadequate supply. Moreover, all such red tape as wasting time writing official documents and going all over with them to get a single screw will disappear. It is also necessary to have these facilities in order to make efficient use of iron materials, cement, timber, etc., without wastage.

Next year, in Pyongyang, we should build 20,000 flats, several large department stores, schools with a floor space of 200,000 square metres, kindergartens and hospitals with a total floor space of 40,000 to 50,000 square metres. And we will have to build a second Taedong Bridge; extend the Taedonggang Public Gardens as far as Chongnyu Cliff; carry out an improvement project on the Pothong River and lay out public gardens along its banks; and set to work on a Grand Theatre, a Youth Palace and a Children's Palace. There is a tremendous amount of construction work to be done: roads in and around Pyongyang must be paved; Mt. Taesong and Moran Hill should be landscaped; the reservoir of the Nam River must be built; and water mains, conduit pipes and sewer pipes must be laid, to mention just a few.

Pyongyang is the heart of the Korean people, the capital of our

socialist homeland and a wellspring of our revolution. With great pride we must make the hero city of Pyongyang even more beautiful and magnificent next year.

The tasks assigned to the countryside are also enormous. There we must plough deep, plant close and prepare plenty of manure for increasing yield per unit area, carry out a huge amount of construction work–including building irrigation facilities, houses and clubs and other cultural facilities–and set up many schools in order to introduce compulsory technical education.

We are quite able to successfully carry out these huge and difficult tasks. In the space of only four or five years, we have gained the experience of constructing many facilities in places that were completely reduced to ashes by the war. This experience is invaluable. It is tantamount to having all our construction workers graduate at a university of civil engineering and architecture. We have both a considerable amount of construction machinery on hand and conditions for producing enough building materials.

The point is that our construction workers must now make thorough preparations, firmly resolved to overcome all difficulties and fulfil the tasks set to them by the Party. Good preparations are necessary also for eliminating wastages in both labour and materials. We must further strengthen organizational leadership in our construction work.

I think this meeting is a very significant one. This meeting, I believe, is one which has summed up the victory we obtained in our first battle by breaking through the defence line of the conservatives, and made preparations for the coming battle in 1959. We have fully clarified here what our defects and merits are and completed our mobilization arrangements for another victory in next year's battle.

It is my firm belief that all of you, construction workers in Pyongyang, will carry out the enormous construction tasks set to you by the Party with success and thereby add even more to your reputation as the builders of our democratic capital.

