

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

20

November 1965–December 1966

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
PYONGYANG, KOREA

1984

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ON IMPROVING PARTY WORK AND MANAGING THE NATION'S ECONOMIC LIFE ASSIDUOUSLY

**Concluding Speech at the 12th Plenary Meeting
of the Fourth Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

November 15-17, 1965

We held a consultative meeting of the chairmen of the county Party committees over several days some time ago and have also discussed the matter of improving county Party work and increasing the role of the counties at this plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

Improving county work is an important matter which is relevant to all our work. In dealing with it, therefore, we have naturally discussed Party work and all state matters such as economic, cultural and military affairs.

As you know, the county occupies a very important position in our country. It is responsible for agriculture and local industry and directs firsthand political, economic and cultural organizations at the lowest echelon. Without increasing the part played by the county, it would be impossible to carry out the proper implementation of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* nor could we expect development in politics, the economy, culture and in all other spheres.

The master of the county which occupies such an important place is the county Party committee and none other. Just as we refer to the Party Central Committee as the General Staff of our revolution, so we

can say that the county Party committee is the general staff in charge of all affairs in the county.

There are more than 200 counties in our country. So a county Party committee is directly responsible for all work, including political, economic, cultural and military affairs and public security in one-200th of the total area of our country. In other words, our Party placed each of the county Party committees in charge of the people and resources in a district one-200th the total area of the country and entrusted them with the responsibility of providing the people with a good life by the effective use of the county's resources and of managing the nation's economic life with precision. If all state affairs are to proceed successfully, therefore, the county Party committees must play their part properly.

Recognizing the work of the county Party committees as the most important link in our Party work, the Party Central Committee long ago took the necessary measures to increase the work of county Party committees and enhance the role of counties. Various steps have been taken to improve county work, particularly since guidance was given to the Chongsan-ri Party organization and the Kangso County Party Committee in their work.

We have established a system by which the higher authorities help the lower echelons, to ensure that the central authorities help the provinces, the provinces assist the counties, and the counties directly organize and guide the work of the ri and enterprises on the spot. In addition, we have set up various organizations to help the counties perform their duties satisfactorily. We have organized the cooperative farm management committees and local industry management committees at county level and also the county commissions of the State Planning Commission. Counties have construction corps, too. Besides this, we have put the county public security departments under the direct guidance of the county Party committees, set up military departments in county Party committees and organized the Worker-Peasant Red Guard unit in each county. We have also organized central counties in the districts where there are industrial

enterprises under central authorities and work is complicated, and we have appointed officials who are equivalent in grade to the deputy department director of the Party Central Committee as chairmen of the central county Party committees.

We have thus given great attention to strengthening county work and provided the counties with adequate and effective working conditions.

To our regret, however, this work is not efficient at present. The blame for this, of course, can partly be ascribed to the central and provincial authorities. Some senior officials still lack a clear understanding of the importance of county work and do not guide counties properly. But the ones who are most to blame for inefficient county work are the county Party committees.

The major shortcoming in their work is, first of all, that their officials are not working as they should as masters.

Quite a few of the chairmen of these committees are not working creatively on their own responsibility after a deep study of Party policy; these committees are not playing their proper role as masters who are responsible for all affairs in the counties.

As I have already said more than once, the government bodies, management boards of cooperative farms and our Party are masters of the rural economy now that agriculture has been cooperativized, although each individual farmer was master of his own economy at the time when private farming predominated in the countryside.

But on our inspection tours of the rural areas we find many indications which lead us to the belief that there are no masters. Roads which are bumpy enough to damage motor cars and tractors are left unrepaired, and few people seem to be concerned to see the fields which are being eroded by rainwater.

In former days no farmers stood by and watched their fields being washed away. Even tenant farmers, to say nothing of those who cultivated their own lands, used to build embankments at all costs to protect the fields when there was danger of their being washed away. In the past farmers valued and protected even the lands of landlords so

as to be able to cultivate them as their livelihood; why do our officials nowadays not take good care of the precious land, the communal property of all the farmers? This shows that the county Party committees are not properly training officials to manage the nation's economic life carefully.

These committees do not give responsible guidance to the people in their ideological and cultural lives as well as their economic lives. They ought to try to carry out the ideological and cultural revolutions in the countryside. But they do not work hard enough to do so in a responsible manner so that they do not know how high the people's ideological level is, what they are thinking, what books they read and what films they enjoy.

Another major shortcoming in the work of county Party committees is that their officials lack the fighting spirit and fortitude to carry out their tasks.

If one is to succeed in any work, one must have an unflagging fighting spirit to carry out the task one has undertaken. But many of our county Party committee chairmen undertake and spread out many things both in political and economic work but give them up halfway, instead of finishing them.

Let me take a few examples. Long ago we took various measures to develop the local economy and improve the people's living standards, and at the Changsong joint conference in particular, we set out detailed tasks in this connection. As a result, different kinds of worthwhile projects were undertaken in all counties, but, before long, all of these stopped halfway.

The Changsong joint conference discussed the matter of breeding large numbers of rabbits to produce rabbit-fur overcoats for schoolchildren. After the meeting all counties launched a movement to raise rabbits and continued with it for some time, but now they have all given it up, although no one has ever told them to stop. We also gave instructions that 200 hectares of raw material base should be created in each county to develop local industry, but few counties have carried out this task. The campaign to cultivate oil-bearing crops such as hemp

and sunflower on a large scale was discarded after a little effort. The movement for each household to plant fruit trees also died out after an extravagant start which was even reported in the newspapers.

The same thing can be said of the vegetable problem. We took strong steps to solve this problem. We even dismissed the chairman of North Hamgyong Provincial People's Committee because he had neglected the production of vegetables in that province. After that a movement to supply 300 to 350 kilogrammes per head annually was launched, but this movement, too, has now ceased.

The drive to mechanize farm work has also cooled down now after an initial period of enthusiasm. The project for the widespread use of cableways to free rural women from carrying loads on their backs has already been given up this year after a short trial in autumn last year.

The Chollima Movement, too, is not progressing well these days and so we are struggling to revitalize it. Officials are not enthusiastic about visiting lower echelons to help their subordinates as required by the Chongsanri method. There is no end of instances in which our officials stop doing what they had undertaken, instead of finishing it.

As you can see, there are two major shortcomings in the work of the county Party committees—one is that they lack the work attitude of masters, and the other is that they only disperse their work without carrying it out.

What, then, are the reasons for these shortcomings?

It is not because there has been anything vague in the policies of our Party, or the Party has ever failed to show a clear method of doing the work. Party policy has been absolutely correct, and the method of Party work, too, has been explained in detail. Neither is it because our officials have been disloyal to the Party. It is true that some of them lack Party responsibility but, on the whole, they are loyal to the Party and try hard to implement the tasks given by the Party.

The main reason for the inefficient work of the county Party committees is that the level of their officials' qualifications is low. Quite a few of them are not proficient in Party policy and Marxist-Leninist principles, and their level is not high enough to apply

Party policy to the existing conditions on their own initiative. In other words, they are not competent enough to assimilate all the tasks given by the Party.

Because they are not well qualified, county Party committee officials are narrow in their mental outlook, cannot see anything analytically and judge it from the point of view of the Party nor can they clearly judge whether a matter in hand accords with Party policy and whether it is in the interests of the people. Even when some ministries issue orders and instructions contrary to Party policy, county Party committees cannot see them with a critical eye.

In these circumstances, it is obvious that county Party committees cannot accept the Party Central Committee's orders and organize their implementation in an all-round way. In fact, the county Party committees at the moment are not attending to the work of all spheres including politics, the economy, culture, military affairs and public security, nor are they supervising administrative and economic affairs properly. Therefore, it will be impossible to improve county work if higher authorities give them one new task after another and only tell them to complete them quickly.

In order to improve county work and enhance the role of a county, it is necessary to confirm the completion of the task which has already been given before giving it the next task, and to increase the education of the officials in Party policy and Marxism-Leninism and raise the level of their practical qualifications so that the county Party committee can work efficiently. Figuratively speaking, an examination is needed to see if a man digests his food properly; and if he is suffering from indigestion because of lack of strength, a tonic must be given to him to increase his strength.

The most effective way to raise the level of the officials' qualifications and improve county work is, I think, that the central authorities directly assist the lower echelons. At the consultative meeting of the chairmen of the county Party committees we felt all the more keenly the need to help the counties and improve county work. That is why the current plenary meeting of the Party Central

Committee discussed the work of county Party committees and decided to send a number of officials from the central authorities to lower echelons to give direct guidance and assistance to the counties for approximately one year.

Those who are sent on this guidance mission should convey a good understanding of Party policy to the workers at lower echelons and sincerely help them to carry it out. The officials who go to the ri should buttress the cooperative farms in their work by playing the role of vice-chairmen of ri Party committees or cooperative farm management boards.

The officials who go to counties must guide agriculture and all other work of the counties while helping the chairmen of the county Party committees and county people's committees in their work. It would be advisable for those officials who go to counties to take charge of cooperative farms together with the officials of the county Party committees by dividing the farms among themselves, work at the ri at least for 20 days a month and spend the remaining ten days back at the county towns, summing up the monthly activities.

The members of the Political Committee and the department directors of the Party Central Committee who are sent to provinces should improve the work of the provincial Party committees, acting as vice-chairmen of these committees. They must train the senior officials of the provincial Party committees, help these committees to organize work properly and solve their problems. Those officials who are to be in charge of provinces should stay in the provinces at least one month every quarter.

Needless to say, it is better that leading officials go to the field in person and help their subordinates in their work than stay in Pyongyang giving instructions and sending decisions one after another to the lower echelons. I think that through this guidance the level of the qualifications of the officials at the lower echelons will rise and great progress will be made in their work.

We are sending the officials from the central authorities to the lower echelons also for the purpose of training them and raising the

level of their qualifications. So the officials who are mobilized in the work of guidance should endeavour to train themselves further and learn from conditions as they exist.

In the process of guiding the work of the counties and rural communities, they will learn about the people's standard of living, their ideological and cultural level, the requirement of the masses, and the problems of their subordinates. In this way, the officials at the central level will acquire a new understanding of the facts and know how to do their work in future. The period of this guidance will also be a good opportunity for the officials to wipe out the remnants of their outdated bureaucratic style of work.

Now, I shall talk about all the problems to which you comrades will have to give attention, centring on the question of strengthening county work.

1. ON AGRICULTURE

1) ON THE MAIN DIRECTION OF IMPROVING AGRICULTURE

Because of its deep concern for the rural question, our Party showed the clear orientation and detailed ways of successfully solving the question of farmers and the problem of agriculture after the completion of cooperativization in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

At present, the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions are being forcefully advanced and the guidance and management of the cooperative farms are being improved gradually in our country areas in accordance with the basic idea of the theses.

But the work of the rural areas still falls short of the mark set by the Party. Agricultural production in particular has been marking time in

the last few years. This means that there are serious shortcomings in rural work.

The grain output in our country rose to an all-time record of 4.83 million tons in 1961 following the year of guidance to Chongsan-ri. In that year we had no need to worry about the question of food. Not only was the staple food supply adequate, but also noodles were served at noodle houses without restriction or coupons and confectionary was readily available at shops. In addition, the state built up a large reserve of cereals.

If we had continued to pay intensive attention to agricultural production on the basis of the success in the production of grain in 1961, we could have increased the grain output every year. But agricultural production showed no tangible growth from 1962 to 1964.

What, then, are the reasons for our failure to increase it rapidly since 1961? The reason is not that the Party and state failed to provide the necessary material conditions for the development of agriculture. In the last four years we have made large state investments in this sector and carried on mechanization and irrigation on a large scale. In this period the number of tractors increased by more than 10,000 and the area of rice cultivation rose by nearly 120,000 hectares. The 120,000 hectares of additional paddy fields should have produced hundreds of thousands of tons of additional rice and the double-cropping we have introduced could have been expected to have increased the output of cereal considerably. The state sent a large number of technicians and specialists to the countryside and set up the county cooperative farm management committee to give specialist guidance and assistance to the rural economy. Why, then, is the grain output not increasing quickly?

The Agricultural Commission attributes this unsuccessful farming mainly to a shortage of fertilizer. Of course, it is partly due to the application of a smaller amount of fertilizer than in the preceding period. In fact, the amount of fertilizer applied per hectare dropped a little when compared with previous years, in spite of the large amount

now produced in our country, because we are giving it as aid to other countries and also exporting it.

It also cannot be denied that crops have suffered damage from adverse weather conditions over the last year or two. In this period, not only typhoons and floods badly affected the crops, but last year the reduced amount of sunshine hampered their growth and, this year, the drought in spring made it impossible to plant crops at the proper time, which in turn was detrimental to the proper ripening of these crops.

Nevertheless, the main reason for the failure to increase agricultural production quickly lies neither in the reduced amount of fertilizer nor in the unfavourable climate. The poor farming results are mainly due to the fact that our officials have not guided and managed cooperative farms efficiently and have not thoroughly implemented the Chongsanri spirit and method in particular in their rural work.

Before we gave guidance to Chongsan-ri in February 1960 there had been many shortcomings in the management of cooperative farms.

Management workers of cooperative farms had been running the economy by rule of thumb just as they did at the time of private farming, instead of developing agricultural production in a planned manner to suit the socialist cooperative economic system. They had failed to concentrate forces on farming by forming oil-extracting workteams, fishing workteams and so on. Workteams had been too big and their management had been inefficient, and a large amount of manpower had been wasted because of careless work organization. Worse still, violation of the socialist principle of distribution had resulted in lowering the farmers' enthusiasm for production. Without quickly rectifying the shortcomings revealed in the management of the cooperative farms at the time, it would have been impossible to advance the newly established socialist agricultural system any further.

We understood this state of affairs during our guidance at Chongsan-ri and gave the cooperative farms detailed tasks of managing the economy in a planned manner, of concentrating their efforts on farming, of improving labour organization to do away with the waste of manpower, and of correctly implementing the socialist

principle of distribution according to the quality and quantity of the work done to increase the farmers' enthusiasm for production. Later, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee took measures to spread the experience of guidance at Chongsan-ri throughout the country, and all cooperative farms tried hard to implement the Chongsanri method. In consequence, as I have already said, farming was very successful in 1961, the year following our guidance at Chongsan-ri. Our agricultural workers should have adhered to the Chongsanri spirit and method and continued to implement them thoroughly in the management of cooperative farms by drawing on the experience of 1961.

But, in fact, they threw away the Chongsanri spirit and method, although they talked about implementing them. The very review which is to be made according to the Chongsanri spirit in the countryside every year has not been conducted in such a way as to examine how they had implemented the main tasks given at the time of guidance at Chongsan-ri and to take measures to implement them better. Many of these reviews have not seriously discussed the basic problems arising in the management of cooperative farms such as manpower administration, technical and equipment management, the supply of materials and services. Because they have carried out the Chongsanri review in such a perfunctory manner, they have been unable to discover the major defects which hamper the development of agriculture and rectify them.

The fact that county cooperative farm management committees have not carried out their duties properly is another of the major reasons for the failure to implement the Chongsanri spirit and method correctly in agriculture.

With the full-scale introduction of irrigation, mechanization, electrification and the use of chemicals in the countryside, agricultural production has gradually acquired various technical processes similar to those of industry. Therefore, the county cooperative farm management committees should have directly taken over the work of manpower administration, technical and equipment management, land conservation, material supply, services for the farmers and all other

management activities of the cooperative farms and should have guided and helped them responsibly in the same way that factories direct industrial production.

However, the county cooperative farm management committees do not guide agriculture by the industrial method. They are sitting still and following the administrative method which was used formerly by the county people's committees, simply giving orders and demanding that they be carried out quickly. Even when county cooperative farm management committee officials do visit farm villages, they do not organize production in detailed terms, but behave like taskmasters, walking about from one place to another. So the shortcomings which had been revealed before we gave guidance to Chongsan-ri have revived and still persist in rural work.

At present, not one of the problems related to manpower administration, technical and equipment management, supply services and other activities of cooperative farms has been solved correctly. Cooperative farms spread their efforts over many kinds of work, instead of concentrating on farming, and they waste a great deal of manpower because of inefficient labour administration, with the result that farming is not proceeding successfully.

In the agricultural sector neither equipment management nor technical guidance is efficient. The number of tractors has increased, but their utilization rate is very low. Many irrigation works have been built, but water is wasted profusely. Officials pay little attention to advanced farming methods and, as a result, the area planted to rice seedlings grown in cold beds is decreasing every year. Even in the old days when they had no vinyl chloride sheets, they grew rice seedlings widely in cold beds, but they ignore this method nowadays when they are supplied with as much plastic sheeting as they ask for. Because they do not grow many cold-bed rice seedlings, they cannot bed out rice seedlings earlier and so fail to raise the yield.

Officials in the agricultural sector are also paying little attention to supply work for the farmers. Some of them say that the 400 kilogrammes of food grain per head of the farming population a year is

too much. This attitude is wrong. Four hundred kilogrammes of unhusked grain amounts to some 320 kilogrammes of polished cereal, and if we divide it by 365 days it means approximately 800 grammes a day. How can a farmer do heavy farm work without eating as much as 800 grammes a day?

All this shows that agricultural officials have not implemented the Chongsanri spirit and method in the management of cooperative farms. This is precisely the main reason for the failure to increase agricultural production in our country since 1961. If we had made the Chongsanri review correctly every year and managed the cooperative economy by the Chongsanri method, the agricultural output could have risen continuously.

The basic method of improving agriculture is to implement the Chongsanri spirit and method thoroughly in rural work. This means carrying out the tasks given at the time of guidance at Chongsan-ri and directing and managing agriculture by the Chongsanri method. The Chongsanri method is the only way to increase the agricultural output and carry out the tasks of building the socialist countryside as set forth in the rural theses successfully.

2) ON RAISING THE AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT

Unless agricultural production is made to catch up with industrial production, it will be impossible to raise the farmers' living standards, keep industry developing at a high rate or build socialism successfully as a whole.

Next year we must concentrate the efforts of the whole Party on agriculture and decisively step up agricultural production.

The most important question in agriculture is to increase the output of cereals. Our grain output is still inadequate to solve a number of problems. The shortage of food for farmers and also the low output of confectionary and other foodstuffs are due, in the main, to the low output of cereals.

Next year we must work hard to increase the grain output. Only when we attain next year's target of grain production can we provide adequate food grain for the people and feed light industry with the necessary raw materials. If we increase the per-hectare yields of grain by 500 kilogrammes, we will be able to hit next year's grain target. If we get down to this task and launch an all-Party, nationwide and all-people struggle, we shall be well able to do this.

If we are to achieve this, we must take firm measures to rectify the shortcomings revealed in agricultural production in previous years and improve farming.

The first and foremost task is to use land more effectively and increase the per-hectare yields.

The current per-hectare yields of cereals at cooperative farms are not high. For example, that of aquatic rice in Ryonggang County last year was four tons and that in Onchon County only 3.8 tons, although these counties are known as the most fertile lowland areas. Without increasing the per-hectare yields through a rational use of land, it would be impossible to attain the grain production target next year.

An important thing in increasing the rate of land utilization is to introduce double-cropping on a wide scale and to plant crops which thrive in the local climatic and soil conditions. Double-cropping guarantees a very high yield per unit area. It also averts typhoon damages and ensures high yields and a safe harvest.

Double-cropping requires prudence and a careful estimate of the local manpower situation, weather and soil conditions and the characteristics of the crops to be planted. Otherwise, it will bring you no good results.

Another important factor in raising the grain output is to do sowing and bedding out at the right season and to weed well.

Many cooperative farms do not sow and bed out at the correct time, and this delay badly affects the ripening of crops and their yields. Also, because of careless weeding crops do not grow well, being overrun by weeds.

No matter how much fertilizer you use, it will be of no avail if you

do not sow and bed out in the right season and weed well at the right time. Fertilizer will prove its effects only when you weed efficiently so that it can be absorbed by crops.

The cooperative farms must organize labour rationally and weed properly so as to exterminate the weeds in the fields and they should particularly try to kill off the barnyard grass in the rice fields. In our opinion, there are probably two reasons why so much barnyard grass grows in the rice fields. One is that, because you harvest your rice when the barnyard grass is ripe, the seeds of this grass drop on the fields and sprout in the following year; the other is that because you feed raw barnyard grass to your cattle, the seeds are discharged with the animals' dung and carried to the rice fields mixed with manure. So you should pull out the barnyard grass before it ripens. You should also boil it well before it is fed to your cattle, instead of feeding it raw.

If you eradicate the weeds in this way, you will be able to ensure a yield of at least four tons of grain from every hectare without difficulty even with the application of the amount of fertilizer now supplied.

Furthermore, cooperative farms should produce a large amount of vegetables. A large output of vegetables is very important for the satisfactory solution of the food problem and for improving the diet of the people.

Our country is mountainous and has limited arable land. So, however much we may increase the per-hectare yields, grain production still has certain limitations. Even if we produce five tons per hectare from rice fields and three tons from every hectare of dry fields by improving farming methods and applying large amounts of fertilizer and agricultural chemicals, we will be able to produce no more than 3.5 million tons of rice and 3 to 3.5 million tons of dry-field cereals from the land of the northern half of the country. In spite of such limitations in grain production, the population of our country grows every year. Therefore, using food grain economically is an important matter for us.

If we are to save food grain, we shall have to lower the rate of food consumption per head of population. In our country this rate is higher

than in other countries. Our present output of grain is enough to provide at least 350 kilogrammes per head of population a year. However, we find ourselves in a difficult situation with regard to food and this is due mainly to the fact that too many cereals are eaten while too few non-staple foodstuffs are consumed.

A man should eat fat, protein, carbohydrate and various other nutrients in reasonable proportions. A lot of these nutrients are contained in vegetables and other non-staple foodstuffs. If we eat too much cereal and too little non-staple food, we will not only consume too much grain, but also will be unable to take in all the necessary nutrients.

In order to economize in grain and provide the people with adequate nutrients, we will have to produce a great deal of vegetables, cooking oil, meat, fish and similar foodstuffs for the people. In particular, large quantities of vegetables should be produced. Vegetable production is no less important than cereal production.

But some officials still disparage the production of vegetables. The officials of the Agricultural Commission themselves are preoccupied with grain production and apathetic about vegetable cultivation. Some comrades suggest a reduction in food rations, instead of thinking of producing large quantities of vegetables and various other non-staple foodstuffs so as to save grain. This means that they lack the spirit to serve the working class and the people.

We must thoroughly correct the erroneous views of those officials who neglect vegetable production and must work hard to increase the output of vegetables. It is important to widen the area of rice cultivation so as to increase its output, but it is just as important to increase vegetable production bases around cities and large industrial centres and produce a large amount of vegetables. Fertile lands should be chosen as vegetable fields everywhere and well cultivated to ensure an output of at least 100 tons per hectare. It would be better to plant a smaller area of good lands to vegetables and increase the per-hectare yields than use a large area of bad land for this.

There are many ways to cultivate vegetable fields more effectively.

You can grow spring vegetables first and after harvesting them you can cultivate autumn vegetables in the same field, or you can plant barley as an earlier crop and then autumn vegetables as later crops. It would also be a good idea to sow rice fields to cabbage, spinach, garlic and other similar spring vegetables and harvest them before the rice transplanting season. Spring vegetables do not thrive because it is always dry in spring in our country. But rice fields are moist, so vegetables will grow well even in the dry season.

Vegetable fields must have irrigation systems and must be fertilized liberally. You could use 200 to 300 kilogrammes of chemical fertilizers for every hectare. The Agricultural Commission should define the correct amount of chemical fertilizer separately for the cultivation of vegetables and ensure an adequate supply of fertilizer to production centres. Plastic sheets should also be supplied in large quantities so that vegetables can be widely grown in hotbeds and hothouses. Then the people will be supplied with fresh vegetables in and out of season.

Next, we must work hard to increase fruit production.

Today we have 130,000 hectares of orchards as a result of the mass campaign to create orchards over the past years. If we estimate the fruit output at ten tons from every hectare of mature orchards at some time in the future, we will be able to produce one million tons a year. With the present annual output of no more than 100,000 tons of apples, it would be impossible to supply adequate amounts to the people, still less export them to foreign countries. But when we produce one million tons of fruit a year we shall be able to allocate 600,000 tons for our own consumption and export the remaining 400,000 tons. Since one ton of apples is exported in exchange for two tons of wheat, we will be able to buy 800,000 tons of wheat by selling 400,000 tons of apples. This would be as good as farming wheat on an area of 400,000 hectares even at an estimate of two tons from every hectare.

Fruit will not only be a major export in future, but an indispensable foodstuff for our people. Fruit contains a great deal of the nutrients necessary for man's body. So it is imperative to produce fruit in great

quantities and supply it to the people regularly. Fruit is very good, especially for the growth of children, if eaten in reasonable amounts. If children eat large amounts of fruit they will eat less rice and this will help towards saving grain.

Nevertheless, some cooperative farm management workers are not yet interested in fruit cultivation and pay little attention to this matter. They say that it is not so profitable as grain production. They say so because, being ignorant of the method of fruit cultivation, they get low yields at the cost of great effort.

These comrades should learn how to cultivate fruit from the experience of the farmers in Pukchong County. In this county they lay out 350 man-days for the cultivation of one hectare of orchards and produce 20 to 30 tons of apples from every hectare. Even if we estimate the average per-hectare yield at ten tons of apples including those orchards which are still too young to bear fruit, the cash income from the output will amount to 7,000 *won* from every hectare of orchards.

In former days, in Pukchong County, too, they produced only seven to eight tons per hectare in spite of using a great deal of manpower because they followed the method of fruit cultivation used by the Japanese. The Japanese used to trim off too many branches in the form of what they called an “umbrella” or a “peaked thatched hat”. They also used to thin out the fruit, leaving only a small number of apples and they even covered them with paper envelopes. Of course, this method will help to grow big and good-coloured apples, but it will result in a low per-hectare yield and high production costs. Only rich people can afford to buy such expensive apples, but not the workers and peasants.

On my visit to Pukchong County in 1957, I instructed them to abandon the Japanese method of fruit cultivation. I told them to correct the pruning method, give manure lavishly to apple trees and apply one ton of chemical fertilizer to every hectare. From then on their apple yield grew rapidly.

Both state and cooperative farms should widely adopt advanced

methods of fruit cultivation and work hard to increase fruit yields and lower production costs.

Because the production cost is high, apples are sold for as much as 60 *jon* a kilogramme in shops. This is too high a price in the light of the wage level of the working people. They cannot afford to buy such expensive apples regularly. In future the price of apples should be lowered at least to approximately 30 *jon* a kilogramme so that every family can buy 10 kilogrammes a month. To this end, the fruit farms will have to lower production costs to approximately 15 *jon*.

If they are to reduce production costs, they must use manpower sparingly through the intensification of mechanization in fruit growing and increase the per-hectare yields through the efficient cultivation of orchards. Spraying should all be mechanized by supplying a large number of sprayers to the farms, ploughing done properly, and weeding done in the right season so that the orchards will be clear of weeds. If you spread dry grass or barley stalks under fruit trees weeds will not grow. The state must supply agricultural chemicals needed for fruit farming at low prices. These measures will help to lower fruit production costs considerably.

Grapes, peach trees, plums, pears, apricots and the like should be planted next to every farmhouse. If farmers cannot plant fruit trees because they have no saplings, the state must sell them to the farmers. If many fruit trees are planted in the yard of a house, the countryside will become attractive, and in summer and autumn the whole family can eat fruit.

To proceed, cooperative farms should give great attention to the cultivation of various kinds of industrial crops such as tobacco, cotton and oil crops.

If they are to increase tobacco production, they will have to solve the problem of drying. Cooperative farms are hesitant about growing much tobacco because of the difficulty of drying it. Tobacco does not always need to be dried by heating. If they are to dry it all by heating, they will have to build tobacco barns which will use a great deal of manpower and materials, and they will have to use large quantities of

fuel. In places where barns exist and fuel is available, the heating method should still be used in future. But in other places open-air or sun drying should be encouraged. If leaf tobacco is entwined into a string with a straw rope and hung outdoors just as farmers used to do from olden times, it will dry very well. The tobacco which is to be exported ought to be dried by heating to preserve its good colour, but that for domestic use does not need to be dried this way.

Cooperative farms should cultivate oil crops on a large scale. A long time ago the Party set out an important task of supplying cooking oil regularly to the working people. But quite a few officials in the agricultural sector have virtually ignored the cultivation of oil crops. In order to increase the supply of cooking oil to the people in future, the agricultural workers have to correct the tendency to neglect oil crop farming and cultivate wild sesame, hemp, sunflower, big mustard and castor-oil plants on the edges of fields and dikes in greater quantities and also plant oil-bearing trees on hills.

Next, we should develop poultry and livestock farming.

To do this, the main effort should be directed to the development of joint poultry and livestock farming by the state agro-stock farms and cooperative farms, and this should be combined with the sideline efforts of the farm members. The proper combination of collective and individual raising of domestic birds and animals will facilitate the maximum mobilization of the sources of feed and reserve manpower and increase the output.

At the moment, however, some cooperative farms are concentrating all domestic animals in their workteams, not allowing individual farm houses to raise pigs, allegedly to carry out joint stock farming. But they are not doing that properly, either. In future, pigs should be raised in large numbers not only by joint efforts on the state agro-stock farms and cooperative farms but also by individual households. It would be advisable to encourage them to keep sows freely to breed young pigs as long as feed is available. This will help to increase the number of domestic animals and bring more income to the farmers.

For the purpose of developing poultry farming, the state recently set

up the General State Poultry Bureau of the Cabinet which is to give specialist guidance to poultry farms. We must run these undertakings well and increase the output of chickens and eggs quickly. We are now importing pedigreed chickens which have a high egg yield. If the state provides them with adequate amounts of feed, they will produce hundreds of millions of eggs in the coming two to three years.

Farm households should also raise chickens in large numbers. Doing this in rural areas is not very difficult. If they have enough feed they can raise as many chickens as they want.

It would also benefit the farm families if they bred rabbits as well as chickens. Rabbits would give them not only meat but also a good deal of fur. On the average, a fur rabbit yields 200 grammes of fur and with the addition of some other yarn that will be sufficient to knit a suit of woolen underwear. A schoolchild or an old man can raise several rabbits without difficulty.

In addition, cooperative farms have to organize sideline production prudently.

A cooperative farm belongs to the cooperative economy which literally farms. It should naturally do farming as its main job and concentrate its efforts on this work. Therefore, sideline production at cooperative farms should in any case be organized in spare time after farm work is done so as to make use of spare labour. A sideline job can never take the place of the main job.

But some of the cooperative farms, paying little attention to farming, divert able-bodied people to sideline production in the busy farming season, getting them to cut trees, dig coal, burn charcoal or pick wild fruit in order to increase cash incomes. They even send farmers to other far-off counties or other provinces on such jobs. This being so, able-bodied men all go away for one reason or another, finally leaving only women and old people to do the farm work in their villages. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that farming is not successful. We must determinedly correct the shortcomings revealed in the organization of sideline production.

Tree felling should be encouraged in winter in mountain

cooperative farms such as those in Ryanggang Province or North Hamgyong Province. In these parts of the country, they have a long winter and have nothing special to do at that time. So, if they organize tree cutting, they will be able to utilize spare labour rationally and also increase their cash income. But lowland farmers such as those in South Hwanghae Province need not take the trouble of going all the way to Ryanggang Province to cut trees. Farmers on the plains should do other sideline work instead of tree cutting in mountains in winter.

The same can be said of coal mining. If there is a coal mine in their own county or nearby in a neighbouring county, cooperative farms can organize coal mining by sending people to the mine when the busy farming season is over. But in cases there is no coal mine nearby, they must not send people far away to dig coal.

Chairmen of management boards may feel a little unhappy that they cannot mine coal and sell it, but they are chairmen of farm management boards, not managers of coal mines. They ought to be good at farming rather than coal mining.

In addition, cooperative farms must not divert labour to gathering wild vegetables and fruits in the busy farming season. Wild vegetables and the like should be gathered and processed by mobilizing workers and office workers of local industry factories even if factory work has to be suspended for a while. The farmers can do such things only when they are not busy with farming.

Farm members can be given the task of making straw bags as a sideline job. This is not the sort of work that has to be done far away from their homes nor does it interfere with farm work very much. If they produce straw bags in large numbers and sell them to the state, their income will increase. Straw bags are badly needed, particularly to make up for the shortage of packing material.

At the moment the shortage of packing material is a source of difficulty in our country. We are producing a large amount of chemical fertilizer, cement and salt, but these are being partly wasted because they are not packed properly. Precious cement and fertilizer are loaded on lorries and tractors and transported without packing, so they trickle

over the roads or are blown away by the wind while the vehicles are moving. Even a loss of this kind amounts to tens of thousands of tons. Salt, too, is carried on vehicles without covering and much of it is wasted and becomes dirty. It is a matter of great regret that such precious goods produced by the efforts of so many workers are wasted.

Until packing materials are mass-produced by running the kraft paper mill at full capacity at some time in the future, the rural communities will have to produce straw bags to solve the problem of packing.

Cooperative farms should even get young people to make straw bags in winter and the old and infirm who can do light work should do the same as far as possible throughout the year. In this way the output of straw bags will increase.

The state should supply cooperative farms with sufficient machines for the manufacture of straw bags and straw ropes to increase their production. At the same time, the purchase price of straw bags should be raised to encourage the farmers to take an interest in their production. Although the price of straw bags needed for the procurement of food grain is kept unchanged, the price of other straw bags should be raised. Since tens of millions of *won* of state funds are being wasted because of the shortage of packing materials, we must produce straw bags in large numbers even by raising the price. This will benefit the state.

Cooperative farms can grow medicinal herbs as a sideline. The cultivation of these plants does not require much labour. Farmers can grow them quite easily even in their spare time and earn a large cash income from a small area of land. Besides, the widespread cultivation of medicinal herbs will help the state to save foreign currency. Until quite recently we imported aromatic materials such as peppermint and still import a sizable amount of medicinal herbs at the cost of a great deal of foreign currency. Cooperative farms should widely cultivate the kinds which thrive in their local conditions.

If cooperative farms concentrate their efforts on farming and organize sideline production prudently by using spare manpower and

spare time rationally, agricultural production will grow and their income from sideline efforts will increase considerably.

3) ON IMPROVING RURAL MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

The first and foremost question in rural manpower administration is to stop the migration of the rural working population. The Party has long emphasized the need to stabilize the rural workforce, but this has not yet been implemented properly. A large part of the rural workforce is still migrating to the cities.

The main reason why rural working people do not settle down is that senior officials neglect the study of the theses on the rural question and do not try hard to eliminate the distinctions between towns and the countryside.

Our rural communities are still inferior to urban communities in many respects. Both the working and cultural recreation conditions in the urban communities are better than those in the countryside. The townsfolk can change their clothes after eight hours of work and go to a cinema or take a walk in a park or go to night college if they want to study. Factory and office workers are provided with housing by the state and supplied with food at low prices. But the rural areas still lack such amenities. Since towns are better than farm villages and since the living standards of urban working people are higher than those of the farmers, it is natural that rural workers tend to go to live in cities.

The basic method of getting them to settle down is for our officials to give more attention to rural work and ensure that the distinctions between towns and the countryside are eliminated. If the rural areas shake off their backwardness and if the farmers are as well-off as the urban working people, they will not be bothered about going to live in towns. Of course, it will be impossible to wipe out, in a day or two, the rural backwardness which has ancient historical roots. This task can be fulfilled only through many years of stubborn struggle.

The most important factor in eliminating rural backwardness is to do away with the outdated point of view of looking down on the rural areas. Our officials still have a bad tendency to neglect the lives of the farmers because the farmers belong to the cooperative sector of the economy, not the state economic sector. Senior officials are concerned about building houses for factory and office workers but they pay little attention to rural housing construction; they regard the work of supplying vegetables to factory and office workers as their own job, but they do not even consider whether or not farmers eat vegetables. We must oppose the idea of scorning the rural areas, devote great attention to the rural question and tirelessly strive to narrow the distinctions between towns and the countryside.

We should zealously carry on the work of irrigation, mechanization, electrification and the intensive use of chemicals in a far-sighted way, build houses and cultural facilities in the countryside at state expense, raise the farmers' cash incomes and supply a large quantity of good-quality commodities to the rural communities. In this way, we shall ease the difficult work of the farmers and provide them with as good a life as that of the factory and office workers. Solving this basic problem is the way to stabilize the rural workforce.

The next task is to increase the proportion of able-bodied men in the makeup of the rural workforce.

Today our countryside demands a great deal of manpower, able-bodied men in particular. As you all know, most of our farms consist of sloping land and fields are small. Moreover, we cultivate rice fields a great deal and use the intensive method of agriculture to increase crop yields.

So it will take a fairly long time to complete the mechanization of agriculture in our country. We are producing a relatively large number of tractors and lorries for the farming areas, but this alone is not enough to achieve the mechanization of agriculture. If it is to be fully mechanized in our country, we shall have to produce large numbers of machines which are capable of ploughing even small plots on steep slopes and of weeding and doing various other farm work with ease

under intensive farming conditions. But our industry cannot yet make all the machines of this type.

Since all difficult and labour-consuming work has not yet been mechanized in the agricultural sector, success in agricultural production depends largely on manpower and particularly on whether or not able-bodied men are available.

At present, however, there are very few able-bodied men in the countryside. This is partly because these people have gone to urban communities and partly because they are away serving in the army, leaving behind mostly old people and women. In a sense, agricultural work can be considered more difficult than coal mining. It will be a different matter when modern techniques are widely introduced in agriculture as in industry, but under the present circumstances it is impossible for the women and old and infirm people to carry out agricultural work satisfactorily.

We must press on the rural technical revolution with dedication, and, at the same time, take positive measures to increase the proportion of able-bodied men in the composition of the rural workforce to 60 to 65 per cent in the next two to three years.

For about three years beginning this year, we must not transfer rural youths to other sectors. Factory workers and even soldiers of the People's Army must not be recruited from the rural communities. It will suffice if the People's Army recruits are drawn from among the factory and office workers rather than from the countryside. The People's Army soldiers who came from the rural areas must be sent back to their homes when they are discharged from the service.

Young and able-bodied men must be thinned out from factories and offices and sent to the countryside.

The present proportion of women in the composition of the county Party committees and the county people's committees is said to be approximately ten per cent. This is too small a figure. Since women account for more than half the total population of our country, the women's proportion in the makeup of the cadres in such offices as the county Party committees or the county people's committees should

really be increased to 50 per cent within the coming two to three years. All the men thus saved should be assigned to the rural communities.

Local industry factories in counties also need not keep many young and able-bodied men. All their men workers except a small number of people capable of driving carts or working boilers should be transferred to the farming areas to replace the infirm and female farmers.

The people who are infirm and are incapable of working properly and those who do not work loyally, amongst those who have been transferred to the countryside from factories and offices so far, should be sent back to their former work. In place of these people, the workplaces concerned should send to the rural areas those men who are physically strong and capable of working well.

In order to strengthen the Party's rural positions, it is important to get the families of those who were killed by the enemy or who fell in battle to settle down in the rural communities.

This question was raised several years ago after our inspection of South Hwanghae Province. When I visited this province the chairman of the management board of the Sowon Cooperative Farm, Pyoksong County, said: "Premier, the ranks of the rural hard core are dwindling gradually. Those comrades who have fought well since immediately after liberation and their sons and daughters are working as cadres in other sectors after their service in the army, and even the small number of girls go away when they are married. If this state of affairs continues, I am afraid the Party's rural positions will crumble. Please send back at least 15 of the hard-core workers who have gone away from here." This suggestion is entirely justified.

The people who took part in agrarian reform and in building the people's government and worked enthusiastically during the movement for agricultural cooperativization have all gone away to other places and strangers are trying to play the role of masters in rural communities. This can be likened to a magpie trying to live in the nest built by a dove's hard work. This situation is not limited to Pyoksong County, South Hwanghae Province. It exists in all other

provinces, cities and counties.

Once I visited Jungsokhwa-ri, Sunan County, South Phyongan Province and talked to a woman who was chairman of the sub-cell of her workteam. Her husband had been chairman of the ri people's committee and had been slaughtered by the enemy during the retreat. If the rural positions are to be strong, the sons and daughters of such a man should have been kept in the countryside. But our officials transferred them to other jobs allegedly for their benefit. The woman's son had been educated in a fishing college and assigned to a rather unimportant job at a county foodstuff factory. So I asked the woman whether it was not a duty to safeguard the ri by carrying forward the cause left off by her deceased husband who had founded the people's committee there and struggled to strengthen the people's government until he was killed by the enemy, to bring her boy home to work there from the foodstuff factory.

No matter how far our industry develops and no matter how large a contingent of the working class grows up in our country, it will be impossible for the working class to carry out its revolutionary cause unless the worker-peasant alliance is strengthened. From the geographical point of view, too, the countryside will be a good base on which we can depend in case of an emergency. Therefore, it is of great importance to strengthen the rural positions from the class point of view. If we build up the 4,000 rural ri throughout the country with the ranks of hard core to make them a strong revolutionary bulwark we shall be able to crush any plots of the class enemies.

We must see to it that all the sons and daughters of those who were killed during the retreat or who fell in battle, the children who are away from the rural communities, return home. It is advisable to send back not only the sons but also the sons-in-law of these patriotic martyrs in cases where there are married daughters. They must be firm in their class standpoints, and as for their intellectual level, they must all have gone through a middle-school or a technical-school education. If such people go back to the countryside, they will be able to pull their weight and play a large role in strengthening the rural positions.

Returning of the children of patriotic martyrs to the countryside should be personally undertaken and implemented thoroughly by the chairmen or the organizational department heads of the county Party committees. The county Party committee chairmen must not take a self-centred attitude in this matter. There is no reason why sending away a few children of the patriotic martyrs from a factory or an office will cause it to cease functioning. If such people in their own counties came from other counties, they should be sent back home.

If the sons and daughters of the patriotic martyrs return home, it will not only strengthen the rural positions of the Party but also improve the living standards of the bereaved families. As some county Party committee chairmen said in their speeches, the families of the patriotic martyrs are not living as well as other people. They are short-handed because their sons and daughters are away serving in the army. In addition to this, these families have to attend meetings and short courses frequently and cannot earn so many work-points as other people do. But it would be impossible to distribute more to the families of the patriotic martyrs who have earned fewer work-points nor would it be necessary to feel sorry that other people earn many work-points.

If we are to raise the living standards of these families, there is no alternative but to send home all their sons and daughters. Thus, if the mothers, their sons, daughters-in-law, daughters and sons-in-law earn work-points, they will receive a greater share of the distribution and their living standards will rise.

The widows of the patriotic martyrs who have no children should be given training and promoted to the job of a postmaster, shopkeeper, or hotel manager of the rural community or to the post of a management official of a local industry factory.

We must take these positive measures to increase the proportion of able-bodied men in the composition of the rural workforce radically and strengthen the rural positions further.

It is important to use the existing manpower rationally in addition to improving the composition of the rural workforce.

For the rational use of manpower, people should first be given jobs

in accordance with their physical aptitude and ability. Women are physically weak compared with men. So hard work should be given to men and easy work to women, as far as possible.

But nowadays it is mostly the women who do farm work and men walk about here and there with briefcases under their arms on the pretext of doing guidance work or are cooped up indoors doing clerical work such as compiling statistics and doing bookkeeping. Wherever I went, I saw only women doing farm work in the fields, one man or two among them at the most. Even when they are both doing farm work, women are given difficult work such as carrying crops and compost or shovelling and men are given comparatively easy work. Women are assigned to crop farming workteams where the work is difficult, and young and able-bodied men to livestock workteams where the work is comparatively easy. Pumping stations and similar facilities are also placed in the care of young and able-bodied men allegedly because technical skill is required. At one time in the past I called in at a pumping station in Misan-dong, Taesong District, Pyongyang, and saw a virile young man looking after a switch. We must do away with such practices.

Difficult and labour-consuming work, carrying in particular, should be done mainly with the help of machines or cattle, and when these are not available, men must undertake such work. Women must be assigned to the work of weeding, transplanting, threshing and other jobs which suit their physical characteristics. The able-bodied men now on livestock workteams should also be replaced by women from farming workteams. Pumping stations should be put in the care of women, and when there is anything wrong with their machines they can get some assistance from men to have them repaired. This is the way to get both men and women to work at full capacity and with great efficiency.

It would also be advisable to appoint women as management officials of cooperative farms as far as possible. In the cooperative farms where women are the chairmen of the management boards, work is done devotedly and successfully, in accordance with the Party's

principles, without waste or dissipation. Both statistical work and bookkeeping should be done by women. Such work is not very difficult at cooperative farms. So women with the knowledge of middle-school or technical-school level will be able to cope with the job if given proper training. You must thoroughly eliminate the mistaken idea that only men are capable of guidance or management, and boldly promote women to cadres.

Without exception everyone who lives in the rural communities, whether he is a full-time Party official or a worker of the League of Socialist Working Youth, must participate in farming work.

One of the important questions in the organization of rural manpower is to provide rest and holidays for the members of the farms. Only when they have good, regular rest can they continue to work in good health and with high efficiency.

Some of our officials pay no attention to the question of rest and vacations for the farm members and simply tell them to work and work because they are under pressure. In particular, these officials pay little attention to the question of rest for the women who have heavy burdens of housekeeping. They send housewives to workplaces early in the morning and send them home late in the evening. Women have to cook evening meals when they return home after work and have to rise early to cook morning meals, so they have little time to sleep. Because they cannot get enough sleep at night they sleep on the edges of fields in the daytime. Going to work at dawn may seem to be doing more work, but in fact it not only leads to no increase in the work done, but tires people needlessly. Letting people work after a good rest is much better in every respect, both in work efficiency and in keeping them in good health, than compelling them to sleep on the edges of fields in the daytime by depriving them of sleep at night. From now on, the farm members should not be sent to work too early in the morning. If unavoidable circumstances compel them to go to work at dawn, they should be sent home early in the evening.

It is necessary to organize rest and vacations for the farm members properly, taking into consideration the seasonal character of farm

work. Rest should not be organized in the transplanting season when there is the greatest demand for labour. But in other seasons each workteam or subworkteam should organize at least three days of rest a month for each member in turn. In addition to this regular rest, a fourteen-day vacation should be given a farmer in winter when the busy farming seasons are over, like the vacation given to a factory or office worker.

In connection with farmers' recreation, I would like to mention how to spend the *chusok* and *tano* festivals. It is a custom from ancient times that our people visit their forefathers' tombs on the day of *chusok* and enjoy the day of *tano*. It would be impossible to abolish this long-established custom in a day or two. We are going to have *chusok* and *tano* observed as festivals just as they used to be. These festivals should be marked as holidays, but the Sundays immediately before or after them should be designated as workdays instead.

Furthermore, meetings and short courses in country areas should be organized sensibly lest they interfere with agricultural production. In the rural communities meetings should be held intensively in winter and the rainy season, during a relative lull in farm work, rather than in the busy farming seasons such as transplanting, weeding and harvesting. In other words, no meetings with the exception of Party general meetings and Party committee meetings, and no short courses, should be organized in the months of May, June, July, September and October. Reading sessions, too, should be held briefly in the farming seasons.

There will be no big problems if you dispense with meetings and short courses in the high farming seasons. In these seasons you must concentrate every effort on farm work, instead of calling large crowds together, so as to increase production.

Another task is to implement correctly the socialist principle of distribution in the countryside so as to stimulate farmers to greater productive enthusiasm.

I have already emphasized this matter at the time of guidance at Chongsan-ri. But cooperative farms still do not give distribution

properly in accordance with the quality and quantity of the work done. This dampens the productive enthusiasm of farmers and hampers the achievement of results which would otherwise have been possible. The cooperative farms must rectify the shortcoming in remunerating the farmers as soon as possible and thoroughly implement the socialist principle of distribution.

It is most important not to give distribution to loafers. At the moment even idlers are given distribution without discrimination, allegedly because they have to be provided with a livelihood. This is why loafers appear who attempt to live at the expense of others. From now on, there should be a strict system which permits no one, whoever he may be, to share in distribution unless he earns the prescribed work-points. Only the patriotic martyrs' families, who have no children or supporters and are incapable of working properly, should be provided with a livelihood by cooperative farms.

The management officials of cooperative farms must also participate directly in farming and earn the obligatory work-points. Only when they take part in labour can they discover the problems of the masses of the farmers and the problems at work sites, and promptly work out measures to solve them.

For the correct implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to the quality and quantity of the work done, the cooperative farms must assess and calculate the work-points mainly on the basis of the work of crop farming. Currently, the same work-points are allotted both to the difficult work of ploughing and the easy work of fencing somebody's house. This irregularity in the assessment of work-points must be corrected as soon as possible. More work-points should be given for difficult work, particularly important and difficult work such as ploughing, transplanting and weeding, than are given to other work.

It would be advisable to introduce a new sub-workteam management system in addition to the existing workteam premium system, so as to give a strong stimulus to the farmers' productive enthusiasm.

The experience with the sub-workteam management system on the

cooperative farms in Usi County, Jagang Province and in Kangwon Province this year proves that this is an excellent system. As a result of its introduction in Kangwon Province, the farmers' productive zeal greatly increased and they grew unusually good crops.

Of course, the workteam premium system will be a good one if it is properly run, but the way you are doing it now is not yielding great advantages. The major shortcoming in the running of this system is that too high a target is set under the plan. In fact, few of the workteams receive premiums, with the result that the farmers do not expect a great deal from the workteam premium system.

In view of the qualifications of our management officials and the ideological level of our farmers, it would be more reasonable to organize work and assess the work-points within the smaller unit of a sub-workteam than the larger unit of a workteam.

Some people have suggested the introduction of the cost-accounting system, with the workteam as an independent unit, but such a system will produce a number of anomalies. First of all, it will interfere with the technical revolution. If they are to farm successfully, they will have to carry out irrigation, mechanization and electrification and use water, tractors and electricity in an integral and effective way. We have enlarged the cooperative farms through their merger with ri as a unit for the purpose of facilitating the rural technical revolution. But if we were to adopt the workteam cost-accounting system, it would amount to fragmentizing each cooperative farm into several small farms with a village as a unit just as they were in the past. We will still have to go a long way to carry out all the tasks of the rural technical revolution. So there is no need to adopt the workteam cost-accounting system and hold up the technical revolution. Nor would it be possible to run such a system properly since there are differences, for instance, in land fertility and irrigation conditions between the workteams of a cooperative farm. Besides, the introduction of this system might give rise to a tendency to selfishness among workteams, which would result in indifference to the work of the cooperative farm as a whole. All this shows that it is inadvisable to adopt the workteam cost-accounting

system in general, though it may be allowed somewhere where it proves necessary on an experimental basis. I am of the opinion that the sub-workteam management system is the most rational under the present situation in our countryside.

How should the sub-workteam management system be put into effect?

Under the system we have in mind, a certain area of land, a definite number of farmers, cattle, and various kinds of farm implements will be fixed for each sub-workteam, the standard per-hectare yield will be defined for the sub-workteam under the state plan, and the work-points of its members will be assessed according to the implementation of the norm. The most important thing in this regard is the proper definition of the standard per-hectare yield for each sub-workteam. It should be determined correctly plot by plot by taking into consideration the differences in the soil qualities of the fields cultivated by each sub-workteam and various other factors rather than by dividing the state plan equally amongst them. On this basis, the work-points of the sub-workteam for the standard yield should be assessed, and the work-points to be added or subtracted should be defined for yields which are over or below the standard. The total work-points earned by a sub-workteam should be divided among its members according to the work done by each of them.

This system will encourage farmers to develop the fields in a responsible manner, to weed well and participate in all farm work with greater interest. Since the accounting system is effective on a farm basis, the sub-workteam management system will not interfere at all with the technical revolution such as irrigation, mechanization and electrification undertaken under a unified plan. It can be said that the sub-workteam management system is an effective method of encouraging the farmers to do their day-to-day farm work, which is beyond specific organization and control by the cooperative farm management officials or the workteam leaders, willingly and efficiently.

Another important subject in the introduction of the sub-workteam

management system is to define the size of a sub-workteam rationally. Some people suggest 15 persons and others 20 persons as the preferable size. But it would not do to lay down a uniform size; the size should be determined to suit the specific conditions of each cooperative farm. It can be larger in some part of the country and a little smaller in another part. Because agricultural production involves different work processes, a sub-workteam will have to have the people necessary for all jobs in order to perform its production tasks.

When this system is in force, the workteam leader will only have to organize the supply of irrigation water and the distribution of farm machinery and that kind of thing among the sub-workteams, instead of running about counting the work-points every day and organizing work as he does now.

After this, the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee and the Agricultural Commission have to draft tentative standard regulations for the operation of the sub-workteam management system by discussing the matter with the chairmen of the county Party committees and with wide sections of the masses and must then send the regulations to the cooperative farms.

4) ON IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT OF LAND AND OTHER MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND ON THE WIDESPREAD INTRODUCTION OF ADVANCED FARMING TECHNIQUES

Proper management of land and farm machinery is one of the basic tasks in the operation of cooperative farms.

Cooperative farms should, first of all, take good care of land. Land is the basic means of agricultural production. No matter how many farm machines you may have, you cannot do farming without land. Good land management is all the more important in our country with a limited area of arable land which is infertile.

But at the moment much of the land is washed away by floods and

lost by landslides every year because of inefficient conservation. There are also many practices of wasting land.

We must take good care of the land and prevent every inch of it from being lost or wasted. The best method of soil conservation is to plant trees with a vigorous growth, like willows, or build stonework where a river is likely to overflow or a landslide might occur. In mountainous areas you have to build many terraced fields to prevent the loss of land through landslides.

In addition, the practice of wasting land should be eliminated. Farmland should not be used indiscriminately as building sites. Factories should be built at the foot of mountains or on infertile land which is unfit for cultivation. At the moment, however, land management officials give irresponsible permission to build factories anywhere. They even allow the building of factories on fertile vegetable fields.

The same can be said of rural construction. It would be preferable to build rural housing at the foot of mountains to form villages each of 20 to 30 houses rather than to build them on flat land in large numbers. In this way land will be utilized sensibly, land development will be facilitated, and the villages sheltered by foliage will be placed amongst attractive scenery with fresh air and in favourable conditions even in time of war.

From now on, we must strongly combat imprudent encroachment on farmland and establish a strict system and order which does not permit an unjustifiable use of land.

We must carry on land development and its improvement properly, along with efficient land management. Good land development will make a lot of new land available and also facilitate mechanization. And if you work hard to improve land by putting on new soil, you will be able to raise crop yields considerably.

Agricultural workers must also take good care of water. At present, canals are not in good condition and this causes a great wastage of water. Irrigation administration offices should improve canals and make sure of the storing of water in rice fields and prevent even a

single drop of water from flowing away wastefully.

Good care and effective use of tractors and other farm machinery is very important in the development of agriculture.

With the progress of the rural technical revolution, the number of tractors, their trailer implements and other farm machinery is growing rapidly. But these will be useless if they are not managed and used properly, no matter how many of them are supplied.

At present, the technical management of farm machinery is neglected. Farm machine stations are not doing repair and maintenance on these machines quickly, nor are they trying hard to raise their utilization rate. This shows that the officials of farm machine stations do not make great enough efforts to serve the farmers.

In future, the officials of farm machine stations must carry out regular technical maintenance and periodical repairs in a responsible way, clearly aware that if tractors and trailer implements go out of order and stop working, it will delay mechanized farming to a certain extent and greatly hinder farm work. Thus, they will widen the scope of mechanized farming and improve its quality not only to ease the farmers' difficult work but to increase the agricultural output.

There are shortcomings in the use of tractors, and these are mainly due to the fact that tractor operations are planned by the farm machine stations. That is why the tractor operation plans sent to cooperative farms do not dovetail with their plans and the tractor drivers are not willing to work loyally. They try to haul loads when farmers urgently need to use tractors for harrowing rice fields; they sometimes plough up the fields in autumn even before the harvested crops have been removed.

In order to eliminate such practices, the cooperative farms must, from now on, give the tractor operation plans and work instructions, and the tractor drivers must obey them without any reserve. It is natural that the tractor drivers obey the farms' plans and instructions since they are supposed to serve these farms. Tractor drivers should be made to get a part of their pay from the state and most of it from the cooperative farms in the form of distribution according to the work-points they

have earned at the farms, just as the farm members do. This will enable the cooperative farms to use tractors rationally as required by agricultural production and make the tractor drivers work for the farms with greater loyalty.

I think it is now high time that tractor operation fees were lowered a little. The current work fees were set in those days when there was competition with the rich farmers in the fees for the hire of their work cattle and in particular when we had a small number of tractors which were used exclusively in ploughing. Now the situation is different. Agriculture has all been brought under the cooperative economy, and moreover the number of tractors has grown, and the kinds and range of their work have increased greatly. A tractor has now become the most important tool of production, and it plays a decisive role in agricultural production. Under these circumstances, if the cooperative farms are to be encouraged to use tractors widely, the work fees will have to be lowered considerably. The Agricultural Commission and the Cabinet must quickly take measures to settle this matter.

Not only tractors, but animal-drawn farm machines and small farm implements should be well looked after. In our country, 60 to 65 per cent of the total area under cultivation still depends on animal-drawn machines, tractors not being available. So the animal-drawn machines should be repaired rapidly and taken good care of and used more effectively. In addition, hoes, sickles and other small implements must be provided in sufficient quantities and kept in good order.

To proceed, the materials necessary for the rural economy must be supplied at the right time and used effectively.

Unlike industry, agricultural production is seasonal. In spring, sowing must be done as soon as the frozen earth thaws and seedlings must be bedded out in due season. In summer, weeding should be done before the fields are overgrown, and in autumn the crops should be harvested on ripening. If farm work gets behindhand, the year's crops will fail.

The same applies to fertilizing the fields and applying chemicals. If you apply fertilizer, for instance, ten days later than the proper time, it

will be far less effective than usual. Fertilizer applied too late might turn out to be utterly useless.

In spite of the seasonal character of agricultural production, agricultural officials often fail to supply the necessary materials to cooperative farms in good time, or they frequently do it much later than the season when these supplies have to be used. The county cooperative farm management committees must correct this defect and supply, at the right time, fertilizer, agricultural chemicals, materials for use in cold-bed framing and spare parts for the repair of farm machinery and for equipping pumping facilities, which are indispensable for agricultural production. In my opinion it would be advisable for the material supply agencies to undertake the direct supply of fertilizer, agricultural chemicals and similar things, and for the county cooperative farm management committees to supply the other materials, in order to ensure the satisfactory supply of the materials required by the cooperative farms.

Officials in the agricultural sector must not only manage the means of production like land and farm machinery well, but must pay great attention to the introduction of advanced farming techniques.

If they do farm work by rule of thumb without scientific estimates, cooperative farms will never be able to get high yields, however good the machines and however fertile the land they have. The main reason for the failure to increase the per-hectare yields is that technical guidance is inefficient.

At the moment, cooperative farms are not careful enough about the selection and storage of seeds and also make no great effort to increase the area planted to rice seedlings grown in cold beds. In many cases they bed out the seedlings too late, weed carelessly, and apply fertilizer without taking the particular features of soil and crops into consideration. Worse still, some rice fields suffer from leakage of water and others are so cold as to hamper the growth of rice, but people hardly think of spreading additional soil or taking other necessary measures. Non-paddy fields would drain well if furrows were made in the direction of the flow of water, but these are made at random, so that

the stagnant water badly affects the crop yields. All this is caused by the negligence of the county cooperative farm management committees that are responsible for the technical guidance of agricultural production.

These committees should examine in detail their shortcomings in the introduction of advanced farming techniques in previous years and take measures to rectify them, so that next year they will unfailingly ensure the provision of scientific technical guidance in all farm work ranging from the selection and storage of seeds to harvesting and threshing.

5) ON IMPROVING THE DIRECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF COOPERATIVE FARMS

In order to solve all problems correctly, including those of rural manpower administration, technical management and material supply, it is necessary to direct and manage the cooperative farms better.

First of all, the county cooperative farm management committees must radically improve their own work and direct cooperative farms by the industrial method.

If the committees are to function satisfactorily, senior officials must have a clear understanding of the essence of the industrial method of guidance. Several years have passed since the establishment of these committees, and their officials are highly enthusiastic, but they cannot yet direct the cooperative farms by the industrial method. It seems that this is because they do not clearly know the nature of this method.

If it is to give efficient guidance to the cooperative farms by the industrial method, the county cooperative farm management committee must build up its staff of technicians and specialists in crop farming, livestock farming, chemistry, soil, irrigation, bookkeeping and other branches. And then, a group of technicians of different specialities should go to a given cooperative farm and teach the management workers and farm members in detail what seeds should be

sown and when in terms of the local soil and weather conditions, how water should be taken care of, in which direction livestock farming should be developed, and what are the shortcomings in bookkeeping and how it should be improved. This method of guidance should be applied to every one of the cooperative farms.

If you send a few instructors to a cooperative farm when something has to be done in a hurry, as you do now, and allow them to order people around day and night, just as the former taskmasters did, you will never be able to solve any problems.

The county cooperative farm management committee is an establishment of agricultural leadership which directs and assists the cooperative farms by drawing on its own force of technical guidance and by holding under its direct control the state agricultural institutions and enterprises in the county, such as the farm machine stations, irrigation administration offices, farm machine factories and material supply centres. In spite of this, officials of this committee and those of the state agricultural institutions and enterprises are not very interested in the cooperative economy, wanting to be responsible only for the state sector of the economy. This state of affairs is mainly due to the fact that these officials get their regular pay and are provided with their livelihood just so long as they come to work, regardless of the farming results at the cooperative farms.

It seems necessary to institute measures to encourage these officials to have material interest in agricultural production with the members of cooperative farms. I think it advisable to introduce a system something like a cost-accounting system on a county basis, by which the officials of the county cooperative farm management committee and those of the state agricultural institutions and enterprises under its authority receive a set pay when the cooperative farms in the county have carried out the production plan, and get either more or less pay than the set wages when the plan has been surpassed or when the result falls short of the mark. To be specific, it is desirable that these officials should not be given the set monthly wages, but enough money to draw food rations and then the remainder of their set wages will be paid at

the end of the year or they will receive more or less pay, in accordance with the degree of fulfilment of the production plan at the cooperative farms which they serve. In this way the rate of fulfilment of the production plan by the cooperative farms can be graded as higher than 100 per cent, 75 to 100 per cent or lower than 75 per cent, or as high, middle and low. Anyhow, the grades should not be too finely drawn; three to four grades would be advisable. The assessment should involve the fulfilment of both the production plan and the assignment of economization.

Calculation of payment should be made on this criterion also for the officials of the farm machine stations, irrigation administration offices and the material supply centres, to say nothing of those of the county cooperative farm management committees. This will stimulate the officials of the county cooperative farm management committees to make greater efforts to direct agricultural production responsibly, and the workers of state agricultural institutions and enterprises to strive to plough fields better, supply water and different kinds of materials adequately and in good time and carry out the repair and maintenance of machines regularly.

We must see to it that the democratic principle is correctly implemented in the management of the cooperative farms in addition to improving the industrial method of guidance given by the county cooperative farm management committee.

A cooperative farm belongs to the collective economy organized on the principle of voluntary participation in the interests of the farmers. So we can say that the active encouragement of the farmers to creativity and ingenuity through the implementation of the democratic principle is the prime mover for the development of the work of the cooperative farm.

The characteristics of agricultural production show that there can be no further agricultural development unless the farmers work willingly. Unlike industry, agriculture involves the handling of living objects such as crops and domestic animals which require a higher sense of responsibility and careful attention from the farmers. Unlike industrial

labour, which is conducted collectively within confined areas, agricultural work is carried out over widely dispersed areas. The quality of industrial labour can be evaluated immediately by the quality of the products which are turned out daily and hourly. But whether farm work was done well or badly can be correctly assessed only after the crops have been harvested at the end of the year. Therefore, unless farmers work willingly and with a high sense of responsibility anywhere and at any time, farming will not be successful.

It will be a different matter when modern mechanical techniques are used in agriculture as widely as in industry on the strength of the rural technical revolution and when the ideology of the farmers has been completely remoulded. But every possible step must be taken to give full scope to the creativity and ingenuity of the farmers in their work for the joint economy under the present circumstances where they do not have sufficient collective spirit and have to do a great deal of manual work. Of course, it is important in this regard to implement the socialist principle of distribution correctly according to the quality and quantity of the work done. But this alone is not enough. Education and organizing activities to increase the farmers' willingness and enthusiasm must be given priority. In other words, we must strengthen education in collectivism among the farmers and at the same time give full play to democracy in farm management according to the rules of the cooperative farms.

However, the rules of cooperative farms and democracy for the farming masses are often violated at present. The rules stipulate that the chairman of the farm management board be elected at the farm's general meeting every year or two and that the elected chairman make periodic reports on his work to the farm members. This will ensure the election of the chairman from among the people who work hard in the interests of the farm members and will keep him under the control of the farming masses to discourage him from being dishonest and bureaucratic.

Nowadays, the chairman of the management board is often

appointed by the higher authorities in violation of the rules. Even when he is elected, the higher authorities nominate the candidate and conduct the election in a superficial way, regardless of whether he is liked by the farm members or not. It would be a good thing for the Party organization to discuss the matter so as to nominate a person who enjoys the trust of the farm members and to get him elected, but it would be impossible to elect a good man to the chairmanship if the farm members were told to elect someone against their wishes.

Since chairmen of management boards are appointed by the higher authorities, instead of being elected by the farm members according to their own wishes, some of these chairmen fawn upon their county Party committee chairmen or county cooperative farm management committee chairmen and do not work devotedly, instead of living under the control of the masses of the farmers. Elected management boards do not make regular reports on their work to the farm members. Some of their chairmen do not feel themselves responsible, even when they have made a bad job of their farm work because of their bad planning. They are brazen enough to convert the property of the farm into their own.

The undemocratic state of affairs at cooperative farms also finds expression in the attitude of the farmers who lack the awareness of their being masters of the cooperative farms and are ignorant of their duties and apathetic in their work. Farmers should know their own duties, the year's tasks of their farms, workteams and sub-workteams, the cash income and expenditure of the farms, and the merits and shortcomings in the activities of the management boards. On this basis, they must perform their duties with a high sense of responsibility, criticise the defects, if any, in the work of the management boards in order to get them corrected, and take pleasure in success, with an attitude befitting masters.

At present, our farmers are lacking in this attitude. They do not know their duties comprehensively and they lack the consciousness that they are masters of their farms. I felt this at every place I visited—in Changsong County, North Phyongan Province, in Sukchon County,

South Phyongan Province, and also in South Hwanghae Province. When they are asked about the work of their farms, most of the farm members answer that they do not know it and that the chairmen of management boards or workteam leaders know it. Even amongst management officials, only bookkeepers are clear about the settlement account and distribution, for instance. Farm members say nothing, as though they were onlookers, even when the work of their farms goes wrong. If democracy fails to such an extent among farm members, it will be impossible for the cooperative economy to develop further.

From now on, the rules of the cooperative farms must be observed to the letter in all their activities so as to give full scope to democracy among the farm members. The management boards should be re-elected every year or every two years in accordance with the desire of the farm members. In this way, the people who enjoy high prestige among the masses of the farm members and are devoted to the work of their farms will be elected to the management boards.

The elected management boards must make periodic reports on their work to the farm members. In particular, financial discipline must be tightened to prevent encroachment on communal property, and the management of the farms' financial affairs should be announced to the farm members every month.

The broad masses of the farm members must be encouraged to participate in all management activities ranging from the planning of production and finances to the allocation and organization of labour, technical and equipment management, and the settlement account and distribution, so that their creative opinions can be heard. On this basis, all farm members should work in a responsible manner with the attitude of genuine masters of the cooperative farms.

Next, the rural communities have to carry out a detailed review of the implementation of the instructions given at Chongsan-ri.

The comrades who participate in the work of guidance now must give their first attention to ensuring that the Chongsanri review is most effectively done in the Chongsanri spirit and by the Chongsanri method, by correcting their present practice of carrying out this

review in a slipshod manner.

The Chongsanri review should be done in such a way as to sum up, item by item, all the basic problems arising in cooperative farm management and in the lives of the farmers—whether efforts were concentrated in farming, whether the rural working population settled down, whether they overcame the waste of manpower, whether there were any loafers in the countryside, how they introduced cold-bed rice seedlings, whether crops were distributed on the principle of planting the right crop on the right soil, whether crops were sown at the right time and weeded well, whether the supply of materials was satisfactory, whether machinery was repaired regularly, and whether the farmers were adequately provided with food grain and vegetables. If mistakes are revealed in this process, you should take measures to improve work, persuading them to correct these mistakes, and encouraging them on their merits. This kind of review should be made at both the ri level and the workteam level.

In this way, you will ensure that all units and all branches of the rural economy adhere to the Chongsanri spirit and method and implement them to the last detail.

2. ON INDUSTRY, CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSPORT

1) ON PUTTING INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION ON A REGULAR BASIS

Great success has been achieved in our industrial development during the postwar years. Thanks to the correct policy of the Party and the devoted endeavours of our people, our country rehabilitated its devastated industry, which surpassed its prewar level in just three years after the war. The foundations for industrialization were laid in the

subsequent period of the Five-Year Plan, and full-scale industrialization is now under way.

In this period, modern coal mines and other mines, power stations, metallurgical works, chemical plants and light industry factories have been built to form powerful centres of heavy and light industry. Industrial production in our country continues to grow at a high rate. Last year it increased by 17 per cent, and this year it is expected to grow by 18 to 19 per cent.

With the development of industry, the people's living standards are improving steadily. Nowadays it can be seen that the people in the streets are all in good winter clothes, and many women wear sweaters or jackets. Although the supply of food is still inadequate because of the low grain output in the agricultural sector, the people suffer no great hardship. The food problem is not so serious that people have to go hungry now; we just do not have food in reserve.

But it is clear to everyone that the people's living standards are not commensurate with our great achievements in industrial construction. There is no doubt that the supply of fabrics for clothing is not adequate; consumer goods are in short supply, and the value of industrial output per worker is not high when compared with the capital resources which have been built up. This means that there are shortcomings in industrial management and that our industrial potential has not been fully developed.

We have built many large factories, but we are not working them at full capacity, nor are we increasing their productivity, although we could do so. According to the First Vice-Premier's recent report to the Cabinet, industrial products worth a billion *won* which we could have produced have not been turned out every year because of the failure to make effective use of our industrial potential. This is not an exaggerated figure at all. If we increase the output value by a billion *won* through an effective use of the existing industrial potential, that alone will be enough almost to double the wages of factory and office workers. This one example clearly shows that we are not further improving the people's living standards because of the failure to use

the existing industrial assets as we should, not because of the lack of these assets.

Production fluctuations are the biggest defect in our industry. So the greatest reserve for a higher industrial output lies explicitly in putting production on a regular basis.

This question is not being raised for the first time today. Our Party has already emphasized this problem for several years now and has taken various essential measures. But, in spite of our efforts, the problem has not been solved. So today I should like to go a little further into details on why production fluctuates.

Industrial production is not proceeding on a regular basis mainly because the power and mining industries, above all, are not going ahead of other industries and because the supply of power and raw materials needed for the manufacturing industries is unsatisfactory.

Carbide is not produced because of the shortage of electric power; pulp and fibre are not manufactured because of the shortage of timber, and iron works and smelters are not working properly because of the shortage of ore. The low output of carbide and different kinds of metals is a handicap to the chemical and machine-building industries.

The electric furnaces of the Kangson Steel Plant could not work because of the power shortage in spring, and now they are not working because of the shortage of granulated iron. We have built a large factory to produce caustic soda which is indispensable for the chemical and paper industries, but the factory is not producing as it should, sometimes because of the salt shortage, sometimes because of the power shortage, and because of the mercury shortage when there is a satisfactory supply of electricity and salt.

As you see, many factories and enterprises are not operating at full capacity because of the power shortage when they are supplied with raw materials, and because of the raw-material shortage when power is available. The main reason is that the power and mining industries are not going ahead of other industries. The backwardness of these industries is the cause of problems in the primary-goods processing industries such as the iron, refining and carbide industries, and the

difficulties experienced in these industries are, in turn, the cause of the holdups in the secondary-goods processing industries such as the machine-building and light industries. In the final analysis all industries are unable to operate normally.

Another reason for uneven production is the structural defects of our industry.

We have built the skeleton of our industry, but we have not yet put flesh on it. Industry has the main structure, but not the contingent components. For this reason it is not working properly. Likening industry to a human being, this is as though it lacked a hand, a foot, an ear, or a nose, which makes a man into a cripple.

For example, open-hearth furnace No. 6 has been built at the Hwanghae Iron Works, but it is not working properly because a loading machine is not available. This is something like a man without a hand. It is obvious that a handless man cannot work properly. Again, this iron works has built a coke oven but has not provided coal-washing equipment, so that the precious imported coking coal is wasted, and the required quality of coke cannot be guaranteed. Although they have a large supply of scrap iron, they are not producing steel smoothly because they have no crusher.

The machine-building industry, too, has many gaps in its structure. It has tractor and automobile factories, but no machine parts factories. So tractors and automobiles are immobilized after running for some time because spare parts are not available. It has a large number of lathes, but few drilling machines, gear cutters or grinding machines, so that there is a shortage of equipment as a whole although some of the equipment is standing idle.

These deficiencies in the equipment of our factories are mainly due to the fact that we, while building many factories on our own in a short space of time, were as yet unable to manufacture some of the equipment or could not afford to import the necessary equipment because of the restricted circumstances of the country. And some things were overlooked because of ignorance on the part of our officials. The light knitwear factory, for instance, was imported at great

cost, but the preliminary treatment process was overlooked. The Academy of Agricultural Sciences imported an electron microscope without all the necessary parts, so it is not being used.

Production problems are also related to inefficient cooperative production.

It is difficult to manufacture at one factory all the different kinds of machine parts necessary for an automobile, tractor, excavator or other complex machine. Therefore, some of these have to be manufactured in other enterprises with their cooperation.

The important thing in cooperative production is that the participants should strictly observe the discipline of cooperative production with a high sense of responsibility. If any of the participating enterprises fails to produce the required parts by the set time in violation of discipline, the factory which is to turn out the finished machine cannot work on a regular basis.

In spite of this, some factories and enterprises which do not have a clear understanding of the importance of cooperative production ignore this production and neglect the discipline of cooperation on the grounds that the monetary value of the cooperative output is small. Such a practice greatly hinders production.

Another reason for irregular production is that construction is spread out and forces are dispersed, instead of concentrated efforts being made to make full use of the existing production facilities.

Our Party has always emphasized the need to concentrate on making the maximum use of existing equipment by building up the repair and power-supply shops of the factories and enterprises, giving priority to the production of spare parts and testing and repairing equipment thoroughly. But economic leadership officials continue to spread construction and disperse forces without meeting the requirement of the Party, with the result that they are preventing both construction and production from proceeding properly.

Last year officials of the Chongjin Steel Plant said that the use of raw pellets in furnaces would enable them to produce 500,000 tons of granulated iron without difficulty. So we told them to try this, if it

would produce such a good result.

They should have introduced the raw pellets while carrying out the main task of production on a regular basis. But they put aside the regular operation of the existing equipment and even diverted the main part of the work force to the introduction of raw pellets. The repair and power-supply shop was also preoccupied with the manufacture of the machines necessary for the use of raw pellets, without producing spare parts for the existing equipment. Even the manager of this plant and the chairman of the city Party committee spent nearly all their time on this project. This being the case, the main work of production was greatly impeded, without achieving the desired results from the introduction of raw pellets. Last year the Chongjin Steel Plant produced 190,000 tons of granulated iron, but they say that this year they will be unable to produce more than 170,000 tons. In the event, they have lost their domestic pig while hunting for a wild boar. If these officials had concentrated their efforts on keeping normal production going they could have produced 200,000 tons of granulated iron without difficulty this year.

Production difficulties are also influenced by the inefficiency of transport.

At present, a large amount of industrial goods has been manufactured, but the failure to transport it quickly interferes with production. There are quantities of coal at the mines, but they are not carried away because of the shortage of transport equipment. In consequence, many enterprises are in difficulties because of a shortage of coal, and coal mines have their own problems on account of the large stockpile. Since the storage of coal over a long period causes spontaneous combustion, some of the coal mines have to tell the farmers in the neighbouring villages to take it away free. In addition, the chemical industry is not receiving salt which is in urgent demand, because of the shortage of transport, although there are dumps of salt at the salt fields.

The strain on transport is due, first of all, to the fact that enterprises fail to carry out their production plans punctually—daily and monthly. Because goods are not produced according to the plan, it comes about

that there are no loads to be transported even when the means of transport are available and that there is a shortage of transport when a large volume of goods is produced simultaneously.

Back shipment or reshipment due to inefficient transport organization is also a major cause of the strain on transport. There are very many cases of back shipment; for instance, timber produced in North Hamgyong Province is taken to Jagang Province and the timber produced in Jagang Province is shipped to North Hamgyong Province; bean oil produced in Sakju is carried away to other places and the edible oil for the people of Sakju is brought in from elsewhere.

Because coal is not screened, a large amount of dirt is transported. It is said that thousands of wagonloads of dirt have been hauled in a year from the Joyang Coal Mine alone. From this it is possible to imagine how much unnecessary transport is on the move at this moment.

When there is a strain on transport, economic leadership officials ought to take measures to screen coal to eliminate the transport of dirt as well as finding ways to prevent back shipment. But they are not thinking constructively about such problems.

There are unavoidable reasons for the difficulties experienced in industrial production, but most of them can be eliminated if our leadership officials study the Party's policy deeply and work hard to carry it out.

The Party's policy on normalizing production is explicit, and the measures taken by the Party in each period are all correct. The problem is that senior officials do not have the ability to manage the economy and are not enthusiastic enough to carry out the Party's policy.

Evidently our senior officials' level of economic management is not meeting the requirement of the developing situation. Ministers, vice-ministers and management bureau chiefs still do not know how to see the whole picture of the nation's economic affairs, and the level of their qualifications is not high enough for them to carry out the skilful management of our economy which has grown in size. Their failure to implement the Party's policy correctly is mainly due to their incompetence.

Some ministers seem to think they have been appointed because they are very capable, but they are mistaken. They are ministers because they are trusted by the Party, not because they are qualified. Ministers, vice-ministers and all other senior officials must always study humbly and strive to work as required by the Party, deeply aware of the heavy responsibilities entrusted to them.

Some people behave arrogantly and work carelessly, reluctant to learn because they assume that they are perfect men. As I said at the general Party meeting of the State Planning Commission, if a planner moves his pencil astray and writes down a wrong figure he can cause a great deal of confusion in the economic work of the whole country. However, officials of this commission do their work negligently without studying it carefully. In consequence, serious shortcomings are being revealed in planning. The raw material shortage and back shipment, for example, are all caused by incorrect planning.

Not only the officials of the State Planning Commission, but also ministers and other economic leadership workers are to blame for this. Commanders ought to know how to plan battles correctly by calculating what can be done and how much and what to begin with. Some officials in charge of economic affairs, lacking such qualities, cannot plan properly, but they are as conceited as if they know everything.

Our leadership officials have not yet got rid of their bureaucratic and departmentalist work attitude. Some ministers do not go over their plans, not even the specifications of goods to be ordered from abroad although the Party instructed them to examine such specifications in person. I wonder when our ministers have become such high-handed gentry as to neglect their own duties.

Party organizations and Party workers, too, are to blame for the economic management officials not correcting their mistaken work attitude. Some of these Party organizations and workers wield Party authority, taking administrative affairs upon themselves or waiting on administrative events, rather than organizing Party members and the masses in carrying out Party policy, supervising whether it is being

implemented correctly or not. Party organizations at all levels must improve Party work still further and guide and control all economic officials so that they acquire a higher sense of responsibility and leadership for economic management.

Party organizations at all echelons should make our present industrial situation known to the cadres and Party members so that all these people feel distressed when they find things going wrong, and strive to correct them.

The ideological mobilization of workers alone is not enough to ensure normal industrial production. It has to be combined with positive economic and technical measures to put production on a regular basis.

First of all, we must get the mining and power industries going well ahead of other industries.

Unless the mining industry, the first process of production, is given priority, it will be impossible to normalize industrial production; nor shall we be able to develop the nation's economy as a whole. Therefore, our Party has, for a long time, emphasized the need to develop this industry as a matter of priority and has adopted many decisions on this subject. In the year before last, the Party Central Committee summoned officials of the metal and coal mining industries and had a meeting, and the Cabinet held a meeting of officials from the timber industry. Party organizations and the workers in charge of economic affairs should have made determined efforts to carry out the Party's policy on developing the mining industry.

But they only quoted the slogan that the mining industry should be developed ahead of others, and issued orders to this effect without organizing practical work. Shouting slogans and indulging in empty words will not develop this industry. Detailed organization is imperative.

If we are to develop the mining industry, we must develop geological prospecting in preference to other sectors and strenuously forge ahead with the technical revolution and scientific research work.

First of all, the mining industry must give definite priority to

geological prospecting.

This is a law which governs this industry. If you are to mine the underground resources, you must first know where the deposits are and in what quantities. You cannot get ore or coal by blindly digging anywhere.

The situation now is such that we cannot develop the mining industry any further because geological prospecting has slowed down because it has not been the subject of preferential development in the past. Geological prospecting is most backward in the production of nonferrous metal ores, and then in the coal industry. Officials in the nonferrous mining industry still tend to look around for high grade ores by guesswork, instead of thinking about geological prospecting.

At many metal and coal mines they are digging pits indiscriminately, supposedly to give priority to heading excavation, without geological prospecting. So they are not achieving appropriate results. They are particularly disregarding detailed prospecting. Because they do heading excavation without detailed prospecting they dig useless pits, wasting much labour and materials, or they often excavate many kilometres to build large pits even when there are ore deposits nearby which can be mined easily. This kind of practice also causes difficulties in pumping air into pits and bringing the ore to the surface.

In future, you must keep preliminary, detailed and service prospectings going ahead to confirm the deposits to be mined not only in the coming year or two but for five to ten years so that the mining industry can develop along a planned course.

To improve geological prospecting, it is necessary to organize the ranks of prospectors well and provide them with the equipment which they require.

When we were drafting the Five-Year Plan, we proposed increasing the number of prospectors to 50,000 or 80,000 in order to develop the mining industry under a farsighted programme. But it is still only a little more than 40,000.

The necessary prospecting equipment has not been provided in sufficient quantity. Prospecting calls for drilling to be done in many

places, and this cannot be done manually. Although the drills of 100-metre capacity and 200-metre capacity which were under manufacture were serviceable, the machine industry abandoned their production and made none during the last three years, with the excuse that they were going to produce better ones.

We must thoroughly eradicate such an irresponsible attitude and ensure that the ranks of prospectors are increased and that an adequate amount of prospecting equipment is provided, in conformity with the Party's policy.

Prospecting workers ought to be selected from among the people who are ideologically sound and faithful. If prospectors just travel about with their kits from one mountain to another, indiscriminately drilling here and there, solely for the purpose of getting paid, it will be to no avail, however many recruits we give them. Prospecting will be successful only when all prospectors have a high degree of political awareness and ideological readiness to work loyally for the sake of the Party and the people. Party organizations should select good prospectors to augment their ranks and educate them continuously.

The Party instituted the job of deputy company commander for political affairs in this sector like the one in the People's Army, for the purpose of intensifying political work. The political workers in charge of prospectors should intensify political work among these people to teach all of them to become sound and faithful Party fighters.

Second, we must effectively promote the technical revolution in the mining industry.

The technical revolution is necessary in all economic sectors, and this is particularly urgent in the coal and metal mines where work is difficult and labour-consuming.

In order to step up the technical revolution in this industry it is necessary, first of all, for the machine industry to increase the production of mining machinery, because it is still short of equipment, both in volume and variety. Rock drills, for example, are required in many varieties. Drills of both large and small calibres are needed, as are those for hard and soft drilling. As you see, even with a machine of

the same kind, various sizes are required according to the type of work to be done. Only then will work proceed efficiently. Not only drills, but loading machines must be produced in larger numbers.

Excavators, bulldozers and heavy-duty lorries should be supplied in larger numbers to develop open-cast mining. As much iron ore as we want can be produced if we have these machines since our iron ore mines are mostly open-cast. But we are not producing excavators in quantity for them so that the mines cannot strip ahead, which in turn makes it impossible to produce iron ore properly. I think it advisable that in the name of the Party Central Committee we should once more call on the workers of the Ragwon Machine Factory, who have worked well since the war, to produce large numbers of four-cubic-metre and one-cubic-metre excavators. Sizes of lorries to be manufactured should be increased gradually. And we should make sure of the production of 50 ten-ton lorries this year and 100 to 150 next year.

The ore-dressing capacity will have to be increased as well as that of heading excavation and cutting. As I said on my visit to the Komdok Mine, we must increase our ore-dressing capacity in order to extract metal from even low-quality ores. Many mines are hoping to hit high-quality mineral veins rather than increase their ore-dressing capacity. This is a mistaken attitude. Of course, it is a good thing to produce high-quality ores. But it is a speculative practice to search always for high-quality ores. We must prepare ore-dressing plants in such a way as to be able to work on both high and low quality ores.

In order to achieve energetic progress in the technical revolution in the mining industry the workers' technical and skill levels should also be raised. Officials of this industry assume that the technical revolution will proceed well as long as they have good machinery. They are mistaken. If the men's technical and skill levels are low, the machines they are allocated, no matter how good, will be useless. So we must raise the question of improving these levels as an important task of the technical revolution and give earnest consideration to this matter.

Third, scientific research work should be intensified in this industry.

At present, our officials do not have adequate scientific knowledge of coal and metal mining. It is widely known throughout the world that our country is rich in mineral resources. But we are not producing ore in large quantities nor are we making effective use of the ore we have produced because of inadequate exploration of these resources and because of our neglect of research into their use.

Without developed science and technology it is impossible to know what one has in one's own country, to make effective use of the mined ore and even to avoid being humiliated by others.

We must radically improve scientific research in mining. In this way we shall be able to develop our rich resources actively, dress the mined ore well and use it effectively without waste, turning to account even the smoke emitted in the process of refining.

These are the three basic policies which the Party proposes in order to develop the mining industry.

This sector must also pay close attention to labour administration. The number of surface workers should be reduced and that of underground workers increased. Many people are working outside the pits at present, and their proportion must be reduced to 30 per cent, increasing the proportion of underground workers to 70 per cent. There must be equal numbers of heading excavators and cutters within the pits, and heading excavation must be given definite priority.

The timber industry should be developed, along with metal and coal mining.

The timber situation in our country today is very strained. This is due mainly to the fact that our senior officials did not work properly.

Our country is rich in forest resources. If our officials organize and direct the work of the timber industry properly, it will not be very difficult to produce four to five million cubic metres of timber a year. The problem is that they do not pay proper attention to the development of this industry and do not organize the necessary work.

Senior officials of Ryanggang Province are not very interested in the development of the timber industry. In fact, the Party instituted Ryanggang Province in order to develop this industry and it occupies the

most important position in the economy of this province. The grain output is lower than that of a single county, Yonan County, South Hwanghae Province. In contrast, the timber industry is of tremendous significance to economic progress not only in Ryanggang Province but in the whole country. Senior officials of Party, government and economic bodies in this province ought to have given their main attention to the development of the timber industry. But they did not do so. They have not shown concern for the living conditions of lumbermen in the remote mountains, even neglecting the supply of their non-staple food. It is not by chance that at the moment young and able-bodied men are reluctant to go to work in the timber production district.

This is also the situation in Jagang Province. In this province other industries account for a large proportion of its economy, but the timber industry is no less important. In this province this industry holds a place second only to that of Ryanggang Province in our country. But the senior officials of Party and economic bodies here also ignore the guidance of the timber industry. We must thoroughly eliminate this attitude and give the industry its due attention.

The most important factor in developing the timber industry is to introduce the method of cutting trees in rotation.

The outdated hand-to-mouth habit of cutting trees at random in the old-time felling grounds has not yet been eliminated. If you work in such a way that you cut a tree here this year and another there next year, you will not be able to create forest resources in a planned manner, nor will you be able to increase the timber output. Because trees are cut here and there at random, it is hardly possible to build railways which, in turn, makes it difficult to carry away the cut trees in good time with the result that they are left to rot. And because cutting grounds are moved before hardly a year has passed, the lumbermen cannot settle down nor can their children receive proper education. If we are to correct this state of affairs, we must adopt the rotation system in accordance with the policy proposed by the Party.

The rotation system means felling trees in several forests in turn according to a plan. Rotation cycles may vary from 15 years to 25 or 30

years according to the economic age to which each tree can grow.

For the adoption of this system it is first necessary to make a careful survey of the timber resources. Unlike geological prospecting, the survey of forest resources does not require specialists nor special equipment. All that is needed is for several workers and technicians to go into woodlands, mark off the trees which can be cut, and calculate the possible yield.

Another important factor in the introduction of the rotation method is to fell trees in a planned manner. Trees must be cut by thinning out full-grown ones and leaving young ones untouched. If trees were cleared off including those in the midst of growth, rotation cutting would be impossible and no timber resources could be created. Land management workers should exercise strict supervision and control to prevent the cutting of young trees. But they must not forbid the cutting of full-grown trees under the pretext of protecting forests. If full-grown trees are left to themselves, they become hollow and are useless. Full-grown trees should be cut without restraint.

In order to ensure rotation cutting, it is also necessary to carry on afforestation according to a plan. If you only cut trees without replanting them, mountains will be denuded in a short time.

Tree planting is not too difficult a job. In 1957 farmers in Changsong County, North Phyongan Province, planted two-year-old larch trees on bare mountains and these have now become thick forests; in four to five years good timber can be produced from there.

Saplings to be planted in mountains need not be many years old. Although those for street trees must be six to seven years old, two-year-old saplings will grow well in the mountains. Saplings of this kind are available in whatever quantity we need. We must undertake afforestation in a movement involving all the people and increase forest resources according to a plan.

The forestry industry must use facilities and equipment more effectively.

It has a large amount of equipment, but these machines are not used properly because of the failure to repair them quickly on account of the

shortage of spare parts. Machine factories must increase the output of spare parts for this industry. The Anju Tractor Parts Factory now under construction by the Agricultural Commission should be finished quickly so that it can supply spares not only to agriculture but also to the forestry industry.

If equipment is to be used more effectively, the workers must also raise their technical and skill levels. At the moment their expertise is very low; tractor drivers and mechanical saw operators do not know much about their machines. Anyone can drive ox-drawn sledges, but it is impossible to operate modern machines without a certain degree of technical knowledge and skill. The fact that tractors and other modern machines in the forest industry break down or become useless after short use has something to do with the low operational efficiency of the workers. Forestry workers must make unceasing efforts to improve their technical expertise.

This is a task for every worker, including those who have been educated at the driver-training centre. Officials of the forestry industry send tractors and drivers who were trained at the training centre into forests and leave them there on the blind assumption that they will be good at driving. But they must not be left alone.

In the army tank drivers are mostly good at driving, but they are given continuous training on the job so that they will be able to fight well under any battle conditions. Just as they do in the army, so in forestry, too, the drivers and operators should be summoned and given short courses and training in the intervals of work so that all of them will be skilful drivers and operators. At the same time, enthusiasm for taking good care of the equipment should be cultivated steadily among them.

Forestry officials must give deep thought to developing lumbermen's villages under a farsighted plan and to providing them with a settled life.

Now that the rotation method is going to be introduced, lumbermen's villages should be well built and centrally located in relation to the felling grounds. Even if their work sites are moved,

things should be arranged in such a way as to enable the workers to go to work from their homes. If their work sites have to be a little far away from their villages, bus services should be made available as far as possible to ease travel to and from their work. When they have to stay in hostels because the occasion demands it, they should be sent home on Saturdays, for rest. In this way, these people who are engaged in lumbering all their lives will be provided with conditions for comfortable home lives.

It is important for the forestry industry to increase the timber output and also the rate of extraction at sawmills. The present rates of output at sawmills are only 69 per cent in the Ministry of Forestry, 62 per cent in the Ministry of Building-Materials Industry, and 50 per cent in other establishments. Just a small change in the teeth of saws will save hundreds of thousands of cubic metres of lumber, but our officials do not do this, reducing a large quantity of lumber to sawdust. The sawmills under the Ministry of Forestry and all other establishments which handle timber should increase the rate of lumber output to at least 70 per cent. For this purpose, the saws need to be made thinner and lumbering should be done sensibly to increase the rate of output.

Scrap wood from lumbering should be made into wood-shaving boards or wood-fibre boards. The movement to produce these items was talked about a great deal for some time but it has now been abandoned. This movement must be recommenced. If you organize it well you will save 1.5 to 1.8 million cubic metres of timber.

We must also develop wood chemistry. We should build a pilot plant to obtain alcohol and various pharmaceuticals from sawdust and start experimental production. We must not try to build a large chemical plant like the ones in Hungnam, but a small one similar to a local industry factory at first, and then expand it gradually in accordance with the results of experiments.

If we are to normalize production in the manufacturing industries we must develop the power industry as well as the mining industry.

Without giving priority to the production of electricity it would be impossible to develop industry. This is particularly true of our country

which has many industrial sectors using large amounts of electric power.

Only when the power industry takes the lead can we increase the production of carbide and soda, and then mass-produce fertilizers, vinyl chloride, vinalon and various other chemical goods including chemical fibre. Moreover, a satisfactory supply of electric power can ensure regular steel production which, in turn, is a guarantee for the normal operation of machine factories. Without electric power it would be impossible to work all other industrial sectors which are equipped with modern machinery. So we must always pay detailed attention to the development of the power industry.

In order to develop this industry, we must concentrate on the power stations now under construction and in particular speed up the construction of the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant.

As you all know, the principal defect in our power industry is that it is biased in favour of hydroelectric power stations. These can work at full capacity only when there is a good rainfall to fill their reservoirs, but not otherwise. So it is impossible to ward off seasonal fluctuations in power generation by depending solely on hydroelectric power stations. During the last two years there has been a smaller amount of rainfall than usual. This caused the failure to fulfil the plan of power generation, which greatly hampered industrial production.

In view of this situation, the Fourth Congress of our Party proposed the task of constructing thermal power plants during the Seven-Year Plan, as a step towards overcoming the seasonal character of power generation. The Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant is one project of this kind now under construction by the decision of the Party congress.

When completed, this power plant will play a big role in overcoming the seasonal limitation of electricity production and in easing the strained power situation. It will have a capacity of 500,000 kw. The total capacity of the Suphung Power Station is 700,000 kw, but our share is only 350,000 kw. Besides, the Suphung Power Station operates 6,000 hours a year, whereas the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant will work as many as 7,000 hours. So it will give us more electricity than the other. In

spite of its great importance, the construction of the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant is not making good progress, and the estimated date of its inauguration is being delayed.

Delay in this construction is due to two reasons. One is that the building workers lack the sense of responsibility and do not concentrate their efforts, and the other is that the imported equipment and materials are of low quality. The problem of low-quality equipment and materials will be settled by the government through diplomatic channels, and the building workers must exert all their efforts to speed up construction work. The Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee and the Party organizations of the construction establishments must ensure that the building workers have a higher sense of responsibility and concentrate their efforts on the construction of the thermal power plant so as to speed it up energetically.

Putting flesh on our industry is another important problem which we must solve through decisive measures.

All leading officials must not only think of building more big new factories, but concentrate their efforts on perfecting the factories which have been constructed, by adding flesh to their skeletons and supplying them with everything which is necessary, in order to equip them completely so that they can work at full capacity.

The Hwanghae Iron Works, for instance, must provide loaders for open-hearth furnaces and set up coal-washing facilities and crushers to work the major equipment at full capacity. Other factories should also do similar things by adding, for instance, arms, ears and even minor elements wherever necessary. From next year on, we must be able to guarantee the mass production of medium and small equipment through intensive efforts to complete, piece by piece, the equipment of the factories we have built.

In the light and machine-building industrial sectors they must try hard to manufacture what is necessary to make up for their shortcomings by their own efforts. If we are to build big factories to produce even the smallest items, it will take us a very long time. Such things will have to be produced little by little on a small scale.

In the light industry sector, particularly, the work of equipping medium and small chemical plants should be widely organized. When the Party first raised this matter many people did not think much of it, but experience shows that the Party's policy is correct. According to the report of the First Vice-Premier on his recent inspection of Hamhung, the medium and small chemical plants are all working well on a regular basis. This is excellent. Taking advantage of this success, we must construct many more such factories.

In the machine-building industry, too, they should provide small rolling machines to produce rolled goods or structural steel and various other steels of different sizes to meet their own needs, which are not too great. The enterprises under the General Bureau of Precision-Machine Industry of the Cabinet have been doing this since the Kanggye conference. It will not do just to sit and wait for the construction of big rolling mills. They must always try to manufacture whatever they can to meet their own needs. Tools and other metal goods and chemicals should be produced by providing medium and small mills rather than building more large factories.

The problem of joint production in the machine-building industry, which is a constant source of trouble, can be solved by building medium and small machine factories.

Large enterprises do not perform the tasks of cooperative production because the officials of these enterprises do not clearly understand its importance and are not very interested in the implementation of the cooperative production plan. From the point of view of monetary value, regular production accounts for the lion's share of the total output value from an enterprise, whereas cooperative production represents a very small percentage. So the enterprise concentrates on the big thing rather than the small one, no matter how hard it is urged to produce the goods for other enterprises under the terms of cooperation.

In order to solve this problem, it is necessary to tighten discipline in this respect and, at the same time, take measures to organize medium and small factories specializing in the production of machine parts. If

we set up factories which specialize in making carburettors for lorries and tractors or other machine parts, for example, we shall not have to worry about any failure to carry out the tasks of cooperative production. Moreover, it would be easy to manage such factories since they are specialized and also to raise the expertise of the workers and improve the quality of the products speedily.

As I have told the Minister of Machine Industry more than once, there is no need to continue to build large machine factories only. When we build big factories in future, we must also build medium and small ones at the same time. At the moment, it is urgent to build small factories to be operated in conjunction with the big ones which we have already built. We must organize many specialist machine factories, each equipped with 10 to 20 or 30 machines at the most, and operated by 100 to 200 workers. Such factories need not have casting shops and pressing shops. They should be given only the task of processing cast and pressed goods which are supplied from other large factories.

At the moment the shortage of bolts and nuts is causing difficulties. This problem could have been solved already had we organized a factory to produce them. If we build specialized machine-part factories, we need no longer import bearings and a number of other machine parts which are being imported now. We are even importing some of the items which are now in production at home, and if we organize work properly we could manufacture many of the machine parts which are now imported, for ourselves. If we produce these items locally we shall be able to save a great deal of foreign currency and also eliminate production problems caused by the delay in the supply of machine parts. In many cases tractors, for instance, cannot be assembled completely at the moment because of the lack of bearings or something like that, although the other parts have been manufactured.

The production of machine parts at specialist medium and small factories may introduce transport problems, but you need not worry about that. There will be no large problem because our country is not

very big geographically and the weight of machine parts is not too great.

The construction of specialist factories will not be finished within a year or two. So we must launch a rigorous struggle to ensure that the cooperating enterprises strictly observe the discipline of cooperative production with greater responsibility.

We must use existing buildings as far as possible for the time being rather than construct new ones for the establishment of medium and small chemical plants or machine factories. I think it advisable to merge those local industry factories which depend on the central authorities for materials or which do not work properly on account of the raw material shortage, to save buildings for the setting-up of these plants or factories. Many of the textile mills could be merged. Since the local industry factories even have their own heating systems, the only thing we need is to get the machines installed to start production at once.

We must organize the medium and small factories on a large scale just as we established local industry in 1958, as a decisive measure to solve the problem of improving the quality of light-industrial goods and the problem of cooperative production in the machine industry.

We must concentrate on using the existing equipment more effectively through its timely testing and repair and the preferential production of spare parts, while fleshing out the skeleton of industry.

The most important point in this regard is to increase the role of the repair and power-supply shops. These workshops should concentrate on the production of the spare parts needed for the repair of the equipment in their own factories. If they have surplus capacity, that will be a different matter, but otherwise they should regard it as an iron rule not to distract themselves with other jobs.

Another requirement for putting production on a normal basis is to solve the transport problem.

The first thing we must do to solve this problem is to plan transport carefully and eliminate back shipment or reshipment. All Party organizations and economic officials must put their minds to

eliminating the practice of back shipment completely.

Second, the production of locomotives and freight wagons must be increased.

It is important to increase the locomotive repair capacity and maintain and repair them well in order to keep them serviceable for a long time. In addition, electric locomotives must be produced in large numbers. Because we do not have enough of them we are compelled to use steam engines to pull wagons even on the electrified sections of the railways. The inadequate tractive power of steam engines is a cause of delays in transport and also results in the waste of a great deal of coal. It is a serious mistake to use steam engines fed with expensive coal on the electrified lines on which we used a large amount of copper. We must quickly increase the production of electric locomotives to replace the steam engines on the electrified lines and then these can be moved to other railway sections.

The Pyongyang Electric Locomotive Factory must produce 26 electric engines this year and 30 next year. We must also make certain of the production of a large number of 60-ton capacity wagons. These heavy-duty wagons will double the present haulage capacity. We must see to it that steel and timber are supplied to the Wonsan Railway Factory as a matter of priority in order to produce a large number of 60-ton wagons even if we have to postpone other construction for a little while.

Third, the work of railway bureaus has to be directed efficiently. These bureaus are seriously affected by selfishness; there is a strong tendency among them to shirk their responsibility to transport goods by shifting it on to one another. Party organizations must uncompromisingly combat this tendency.

Fourth, loading and unloading have to be efficiently mechanized.

It is impossible to increase freight turnover no matter how many locomotives and wagons you have, unless loading and unloading are done quickly. If we are to increase the utilization rate of rolling stock and reduce the turnaround time of wagons, we must mechanize loading and unloading as soon as possible.

Officials of the Ministry of Railways suggest that we build more railways and lay double tracks between Pyongyang and Wonsan, but railway construction is not easy. They must abandon the idea of building new railways next year, but ease the strain on the railways instead by implementing the policy I have outlined.

The railways must pay attention to improving the passenger service and taking better care of passengers.

At the moment, passenger coaches are very congested. For example, for a coach which can accommodate 80 people they sell many more tickets than there are seats. Worse still, some people even steal rides without tickets, so that things are confused and congested in the coach beyond description, with some people sitting in their seats and others standing. It is different with urban buses on a short distance service, but railway trains which are used for a long distance service must not be so congested and disorderly.

The railways must provide their passengers with suitable facilities by organizing more passenger trains or even by adding one or two coaches to each freight train. To do this will require more coaches, which can be manufactured. The Party has already decided on producing 100 passenger coaches a year. Manufacturing them is not a very difficult job. If you have sheet iron, timber and paint, you can make as many as you want. Are we not able to afford to supply enough sheet iron to make 100 cars, however short of it our country might be? The demands for timber and paint can also be met. We can also supply the plastic sheet necessary for the covering of the passenger seats.

If officials of the Ministry of Railways and the State Planning Commission had been enthusiastic enough to provide the people with a convenient passenger service, they could have already increased the production of passenger coaches and improved the service considerably. Lacking the spirit to serve the people, they have not even raised this problem until today. We must solve it very soon.

These days people everywhere suggest that we should build large hotels, but if the railways provide a satisfactory passenger service, many of the travellers will dispense with staying at hotels and then

there will be no need to build large ones. By the way, institutions and enterprises must not send more people on official journeys to different parts of the country than necessary. Most of these people travel about to ensure the supply of equipment and materials which, if included in the supply plan, will be sent on production even if they do not take the trouble of going to get them. The large number of people on official journeys causes the shortage of hotel accommodation and adds to the strain on the railway passenger service. The supply of materials should be improved so as to cut down the number of people travelling on official trips significantly.

2) ON IMPROVING LABOUR ADMINISTRATION AND INTENSIFYING THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ECONOMIC USE OF HEAT, ELECTRIC POWER, RAW MATERIALS AND OTHER NECESSITIES

During past years we have severely restricted and reduced nonproductive labour and continually transferred it to the productive sector. But there is still a great deal of non-productive labour. I am of the opinion that in future we shall also have to continue to reduce service and management labour and direct the manpower saved in this way to the productive sector. In addition, men engaged in light work should be replaced by women. We must also manage manpower well, tighten up work discipline and, in particular, put an end to unauthorized absenteeism.

There should be a more strenuous attempt to increase the output value per head of the industrial population. This question was pointed out in concrete terms in the report and decision of the 10th Plenary Meeting of the 4th Party Central Committee, so you had better refer to them.

At present, our fuel and power situation is hard-pressed. Therefore, it is very important to intensify our efforts to economize in electric

power and coal. We must uncompromisingly combat the waste of heat and electric energy in all economic sectors, and the industries which use a large amount of electric energy and coal, in particular, must work harder to lower the norms of material consumption per unit of output.

Of course, it is necessary to encourage people to use electricity and coal economically at home to cultivate the idea of thrift, but it does not solve the big problem of saving electric energy and coal. The rate of their use in homes does not account for much.

The greatest reserve in this matter is to be found in the metallurgical, chemical and other industries and factories and enterprises which use a large amount of heat and electricity.

The question of using these forms of energy economically was dealt with in detail in the report and decision of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the 4th Party Central Committee, so I will not speak of it at length. Here, I should like to emphasize only that if our senior officials attend to this matter and organize the necessary work, the rate of consumption will be lowered considerably.

Let me take a few examples. The carbide industry is one of those which use the largest amount of electricity in our country. The rate of power consumption per unit of output in this industry has not decreased but has continually risen in recent years. So I asked the officials concerned at the recent consultative meeting of the chemical industry workers if they could not lower the rate of power consumption. They answered that it could be lowered considerably if they received a supply of Ungok coal and crushed limestone. They said that power consumption was lower when Ungok coal was used than when other coals with a higher sulphur content were used. The Ungok Coal Mine has deposits of tens of millions of tons as well as a stockpile of 30,000 tons awaiting transport. If the officials in charge of economic affairs give any consideration at all to this matter, they will be able to arrange for the supply of as much Ungok coal as required to carbide factories. But they do not do such easy work; they send Ungok coal elsewhere and supply other kinds of coal to the carbide factories, which wastes electric power. In future, Ungok coal must be supplied to

the carbide factories, not to other sectors. The Sudong County Party Committee, South Hamgyong Province, must strictly control this matter.

With a little effort limestone can be crushed without difficulty before it is supplied instead of supplying it in large pieces.

If senior officials are even a little concerned about economy, coke can also be used much more economically. As I was told when I consulted technicians, if well-screened chestnut-size ore is fed to a furnace, that alone is enough to lower the rate of coke consumption to a considerable degree. If they get down to the task with resolution, senior officials will not find it very difficult to get the mines to screen their ore well or to get the iron works to arrange ore storage.

At present, the mines do not screen their ore before shipment, nor do the iron works do it, carelessly leaving it lying here and there before it is fed to the furnaces in a mixture of ore dust and lumps, with the obvious result that too much coke is used. We import coking coal every year at a great expenditure of foreign currency, but we use nearly twice as much coke for every ton of pig iron produced as they do in other countries. In the spirit of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the 4th Party Central Committee, the Party organizations at all levels must mobilize senior officials and Party members in a forceful campaign to improve the management of heat and electric energy at all enterprises.

There is also a great deal of waste in the use of steel, timber, cement and various other raw materials and necessities.

The main cause of the waste of steel is that the required sizes are not supplied. The range of steel sizes now in production at our metallurgical works falls far short of requirements and even these are not produced in the right types and on time. The supply agencies, too, do not try to provide the products according to size. In consequence, thick rounds are supplied to those who have to use thin rounds, and thick plates to those who demand sheet steel which leads to a great deal of wastage.

We must strenuously combat this practice. Iron and steel works must increase the variety of steel sizes and produce them punctually,

and the material supply agencies must supply the required sizes to the enterprises. We should make an accurate assessment of the domestic demands for the various types and standards of steel and their quantity and, on this basis, plan and organize its production and supply. This is the way to eliminate waste.

The enterprises which use steel should take steps to equip themselves with small rolling mills. Our country has only a few steel works and their rolling equipment is insufficient. In these circumstances, it would be impossible to produce and supply all the steel of thousands of different standards as required. So machine factories and construction sites should arrange small rolling or drawing-out machines to process steel supplies which are not to the required size.

There are many shortcomings in the use of timber as well. Our timber output is by no means small. The timber output per head of the population is also very high. But there is a shortage because much of it is wasted.

A great amount of timber is lost at sawmills on account of the low rate of lumber output, and much of it is also wasted in its use. At the moment, the users do not order standard lumber nor does the timber industry supply the required sizes. It is obvious that the practice of counting timber by cubic metres in its production and supply, instead of specifying the standard required, results in its waste.

We must estimate the use of timber correctly and tighten control to do away with wasteful practices. As in the case of steel, lumber should also be produced and supplied in accordance with the required standards. Packing things with planks when boards serve the same purpose, using thick beams where thin ones are required or using lumber which can be dispensed with, and all other wasteful practices should be abandoned. In addition, used packing and molding planks ought to be recovered for further use.

Much cement is also wasted at present. It is said that hundreds of thousands of tons of it are being wasted simply because of its being blown away through the chimneys and air holes at the cement factories

or when it is being transported loose. Much of it is also wasted because of careless designing, violations of the norms of consumption per unit of structure, sub-standard construction or reconstruction on the part of the building industry.

In order to put an end to the wastage of cement it is necessary for the cement factories to take measures to repair and keep their equipment in good condition and so prevent cement from being blown away. Cement should also be packed for transport, and where it is used in large quantities bulk transport must be employed, using special purpose wagons and tank trucks.

At construction sites, workers must try harder to use cement and various other building materials economically.

At present, there are many instances of the wastage of raw materials, fuel and other goods in different sectors of the national economy. This is precisely the main reason why we cannot improve the people's living standard in spite of the powerful economic foundations we have laid. If we wipe out waste, use goods economically, and manage all aspects of our economic life adroitly, we shall be able to lower commodity prices and raise the wages of the working people considerably.

But our workers are careless both in production and construction and waste large quantities of materials. Most of the executives in charge of economic affairs including the ministers, chiefs of management bureaus and managers only request the supply of materials but do not check on their use nor do they try to use them economically. Some senior officials do not even know how much timber, for instance, is used for a particular purpose in their own sectors. So it is impossible to talk about its economic use. However solid an economic basis we may have, and however much we may produce, it is not possible for us to make good progress if we manage the economy in such a careless fashion.

We must mobilize the whole Party and all the people in the campaign to eliminate these wasteful practices and use manpower, materials and funds economically. Officials must, first of all, correct

their mistaken ideological viewpoints which are expressed in their careless management of the nation's economic life. Officials in the economic sphere must acquire the habit of making accurate estimates in economic management, checking on the use of manpower, materials and funds one by one and using them most economically and effectively. In order to do away with waste, we must also improve planning and management, accelerate technical progress and arouse the entire Party membership and all the working people to the struggle for economy. Mere slogans about saving will get you nowhere. This campaign proposed by the Party can be successful only when we do political and organizing work substantially and take detailed economic and technical measures.

3) ON IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIGHT-INDUSTRIAL GOODS, DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY AND IMPROVING THE PROCESSING OF SEAFOOD

The demands for light-industrial goods are steadily growing with the increase in the working people's incomes and the improvement in their living standards. To satisfy these demands, we must continue to develop light industry and increase the output of various high-quality consumer goods.

At present, we are not meeting the people's requirements mainly because of the lack of variety and low quality of consumer goods, although it is partly due to their low output.

Let us take fabrics, for example. The annual production of our fabrics runs to 270 million metres. This is enough to supply 15 to 20 metres to every member of the population, even ignoring the fabrics for industrial use and other purposes. If the fabrics are durable and attractive, the present production will meet the needs of our people. But our textile mills are not yet producing durable and beautiful

fabrics, and this is why these fall short of the needs and are not good enough to dress the people becomingly.

The total output of shoes is also not small, but they are not varied in size nor are they durable and good-looking, so that they fall short of the people's needs. Footwear, as well as clothes and headgear, is an important element in the appearance of the people. However well a man is dressed, he will not look smart unless he wears good shoes.

We must work hard to improve the quality of light-industrial goods and increase their variety and so bring about a radical change in this sector in the next year or two.

The most important thing in this regard is that officials should have a higher sense of responsibility.

If the officials in the light industry sector had worked with the attitude of masters who are responsible for the people's livelihood, they would have already achieved no small success in improving the quality of light-industrial goods and increasing their variety. But this problem has not yet been solved because of the careless work attitude of the officials who are heedless of the people's needs. Officials in light industry should reflect upon their work in the past years and clearly realize what inconvenience the people have suffered because of their irresponsible attitude.

Party workers in light industry should do widespread political work to increase the workers' enthusiasm for production and their sense of responsibility. In addition, it would be advisable to encourage the consumers to send letters calling on the producers to improve the quality of their products. Suppose a letter is addressed in the name of a Party member of a certain cooperative farm to the Party members of the Sinuiju Shoe Factory, a letter asking them to produce lots of high-quality shoes, then it will greatly affect the Party members and other workers at the factory.

It seems that the low quality of light-industrial goods can also be explained by inefficient organization of production.

At present, there is only one big shoe factory, at Sinuiju, in our country. This factory has several thousand workers and its output is

high enough to meet most of the national demand.

There are some irrational results of the concentration of shoe production in one enterprise. The fact that the factory is too large causes difficulties in its management and in the detailed organization of production. In addition, if production does not proceed smoothly in this, the only large shoe factory, the whole country suffers from a shortage of shoes. And the most serious anomaly is that the factory does not receive any stimulus to improve the quality of its products. This single large factory has no opposition which could foster a competitive spirit nor does it have any form of stimulation.

If we had established different shoe factories, each with 200 to 300 workers, in many parts of the country and got them to engage in specialized production, then it would have eased factory management, helped production of shoes of different shapes and sizes to meet the demand at all times, and led to an improvement in the quality of products through competition between these factories.

In those sectors where production is not concentrated in one factory but widely dispersed, it proceeds comparatively smoothly. Ceramic factories, for instance, were set up in many places. They are improving the quality of ceramics and increasing their outputs, competing with one another and sharing one another's experience. This is a valuable lesson we have learned in economic management.

From now on, we must pay close attention to the rational organization of production in developing light industry. We have no alternative but to keep the existing ones as they are, but we must not build new light industry factories too large; we must distribute factories of the same type in different places and get them to do specialized work.

If we are to improve the quality of light-industrial goods, we must also make production processes perfect.

The quality of fabrics is not guaranteed because of a deficiency in their preliminary or later treatment or dyeing. We must correct this shortcoming as soon as possible, and organize these treatment and dyeing processes and equip the mills so that textiles can undergo all

the necessary processes.

Not only the textile industry but all other branches of light industry must perfect their production processes step by step.

An important problem which requires an urgent solution in light industry is the mass production of winter clothes for the people. This has not yet been solved properly. It is one of the most serious defects in our light industry.

From next year on, we must work hard to produce overcoats, cotton-wadded clothes, woolen sweaters, jackets and similar items in larger quantities and to provide women, students and children in particular with good-quality winter clothing. We must also show concern for the mass production of winter shoes, headgear, and women's shawls.

The practice of raising the prices of light-industrial goods without consideration should be strictly prohibited. In a socialist society it is a law of economic development that production and technology make steady progress and that the people's living standards rise in an orderly way. We must develop technology to lower production costs and raise the quality of products so that first-rate goods can be supplied to the people at low prices.

We must continue to devote our attention to developing local industry, along with centrally-run light industry.

The output from the light industry factories under central authority alone is not enough to satisfy the rapidly growing demands of the people. While making sure of increased production at those factories, we must see to it that the local industry factories produce various kinds of high-quality goods in larger quantities.

It is of importance in developing local industry, first, to make this industry serve to improve the farmers' living standards and, second, to let it organize production mainly through the processing of locally available raw materials.

The local industry factories ought to purchase and process industrial crops, oil crops, domestic animal products and various sideline products from the farmers so as to increase their cash incomes

and produce a variety of consumer goods for them.

Local industries must pay special attention to the creation of their own solid raw-material bases.

We set up local industry for the purpose of increasing the production of foodstuffs and different kinds of consumer goods through the widespread use of raw materials which are available locally. If they do not depend on such raw materials, the local industry factories have no significance as such.

The Party has emphasized more than once that all such factories should create their own raw-material bases. In accordance with the policy discussed at the Changsong joint conference, the state even adopted a decision that each county should put aside approximately 200 hectares of land for its local industry factories for the production of raw materials such as different kinds of industrial crops and oil crops. If this land had been well cultivated an adequate amount of raw materials could have been produced for the factories. But most of the counties have not implemented this decision properly.

As a result of the local industry officials' neglect of the efforts to tap the sources of locally available raw materials and to implement the Party decision on creating raw-material bases, some local industry factories are now being fed with raw materials supplied by the state. County wood-processing factories, for example, depend in many cases on the supply of timber from the state in the production of furniture, although there are large sources of timber in their own counties.

Local industry officials must abandon the idea of depending on raw materials from the state and ensure the development of this industry with locally available raw materials. Locally-run textile mills must use salvaged cotton and rags or plant their own fibre crops for the production of fabrics. Fibre from wild plants and scraps of cloth can be used to weave coarse fabrics for overcoats for the rural children, and rabbit fur can be purchased to produce yarn to knit sweaters and jackets.

The locally-run wood-processing factories must organize production by actively mobilizing the sources of timber in their own counties. Poplar, oak, black walnut and other good trees suitable for

furniture grow in most of our counties. If farmers cut these trees in winter and sell them to county wood-processing factories, they will earn a great deal of money, and the factories will be able to produce wardrobes, pantry chests, desks and other kinds of furniture.

From now on, local people's committees should be given authority to get a certain amount of timber cut and used on their own. These committees should allow the farmers to cut large poplars and similar trees in the field and sell them to the county wood-processing factories in winter on the one hand, and on the other they should train people well to refrain from cutting trees in the state forests without permission.

Foodstuff factories should not only try to cultivate oil crops by their own efforts as much as possible but purchase those grown by the farmers in their counties and produce oil. If they plant *amorpha fruticosa* widely, they will obtain good raw material for oil. It thrives on dikes, waysides, slopes and everywhere else, and after three years' growth it yields seeds from which oil can be obtained. From now on, a widespread movement must be initiated to plant this shrub. In addition, plenty of wild fruits should be gathered and processed into different kinds of foodstuffs.

In the counties they should make good use of the 200 hectares of land which is to be allotted to the local industry factories. If this much land is sown to beans or sesame, large quantities of oil can be extracted from the seeds for the people, and if planted to cotton, a great deal of cloth can be produced to make wadded clothes.

Those factories depending on locally available raw materials can reduce the cost of transport and other overhead expenses, so they can produce goods at a much lower cost. Only when they lower production costs can they increase their profits and supply consumer goods to the people at low prices.

The county local industry management committee should improve its role. It has a staff of more than ten persons, but it is not playing a big part in improving the productive activities of local industry factories. The officials of this committee should strive to give direct assistance to

the operation of these factories and develop more raw-material bases in their county.

More housewives' workteams should be organized, over and above the development of local industry.

Our officials think that building factories is the only way to produce goods, but they are mistaken. Simple items of consumer goods and foodstuffs can be produced by housewives' workteams. Jackets and other knitwear, for example, can be readily produced by these workteams if they are supplied with woolen yarn, without building woolen textile mills.

At present, there are many women in urban communities who have not taken jobs. So there are large sources of labour for the organization of housewives' workteams. These workteams will increase household incomes and ensure production even without building nurseries.

We must not only think of building big factories, but organize housewives' workteams in large numbers and supply woolen yarn and other secondary materials for them to produce different kinds of consumer goods.

Developing the fishing industry, the processing of seafood in particular, is of tremendous importance in solving the problem of non-staple food for the people.

We produce 800,000 tons of fish a year, of which more than 300,000 tons are pollack. If we process the fish well and supply them to the people, we will assist them greatly with their diet.

But our officials are not very concerned about fish processing. In winter a large amount of pollack is caught, but dozens of thousands of tons of the catch are spoiled because of the failure to process it speedily. It is a very painful thing to throw away so much caught fish at a time when the people are in need of non-staple foodstuffs.

Fish processing is not difficult at all. If senior officials visit the fishing port in the pollack season, organize work meticulously and help the workers there, wearing aprons and gutting the fish themselves, there will be no reason why they cannot solve the processing problem. Instead of doing these things, they sit in their offices, simply ordering

people to work well. This is why things do not go as they should.

We must initiate a great innovation in fish processing. This year in particular, when even vegetables are in short supply, we must see to it that all the catches are processed, without throwing away even the entrails, and supplied to the people.

In order to improve fish processing, we should take measures for processing at the places of consumption in addition to the large amount of processing at the landing sites. If you try to do it only at the landing sites, you will not be able to cope with the task, particularly in the pollack or anchovy season when the demand for work hands is too great. Processing will have to be organized widely at places where there is large consumption, like urban communities.

Fish processing in towns should be placed in the charge of the provincial light industry commissions. It would be a good idea to deliver some 50,000 tons of pollack to the light industry sector for processing at the locally-run factories.

Pyongyang ought to process approximately 25,000 tons of pollack. In Pyongyang there are the Ryongsong Meat-processing Factory and also a 5,000-ton capacity refrigeration plant which can go into operation very soon if it gets refrigerators and seamless tubes. So they will be able to process 25,000 tons without difficulty, if they freeze some and salt the rest by mobilizing individual housewives and housewives' workteams.

It is also advisable to supply 10,000 tons to Kanggye, 5,000 tons to Hyesan for processing, and approximately 10,000 tons to Sariwon including Songnim's share. In these towns they could salt the pollack on a temporary basis for further processing before they are supplied in small tubs.

Many refrigeration plants should be built in consumption centres to facilitate fish processing.

At present, on account of the shortage of freezing facilities, a large proportion of the fish is salted or dried. But if you do this you will be unable to supply fresh fish to the people, and it will also result in much waste. The present annual catch amounts to hundreds of thousands of

tons, but the figure dwindles to less than half when salted or dried. Frozen fish preserve not only their weight but also their fresh taste.

Since refrigerators, seamless tubes and compressors are all produced in our country, there is no reason why we cannot build refrigeration plants. The Party has long emphasized the need to build these plants, but this problem has not yet been solved. This is entirely because our officials show little concern for the living standards of the people. The officials in charge of economic affairs are locking up state funds by spreading out so many construction projects, but they do not make investments in the construction of refrigeration plants which are indispensable for the people. Even if we have to reduce the construction of other things, we must establish refrigerating facilities without fail. In particular, Pyongyang, the provincial seats, Songnim, Nampho and other places where consumption is large must be provided with these facilities whatever the cost. The construction of refrigeration plants should be included in the state plan, and next year investments should be made in completing the projects for freezing facilities which have been suspended, and in the following year the investments must be increased for building new ones. In addition, seamless tubes and refrigerators have to be provided for those projects which are short of this equipment.

The railways should provide transport for seafood so that it can be processed where it is to be consumed. If it is not transported promptly, seafood goes rotten. The railway workers should transport fish and other seafood as a priority, and carry them direct to the places of consumption. To do this, it is necessary to increase the production of refrigerated wagons and organize shipment carefully. Salt should also be transported speedily.

For the efficient transport and processing of the fish which are landed, it is also necessary to put the wharfs into good condition. Cement should be supplied to the fishing industry to pave the compounds of all fishing ports, and railway lines must be extended to the places where they are needed. The wharfs should also be well provided with equipment to load and unload fish. Only then can

unloading be done quickly when fishing boats arrive so that the fish can be processed on the spot or shipped immediately to be processed at the places where they are to be consumed, according to the circumstances.

If fish are frozen or salted at consumption sites, the inhabitants can be supplied in and out of season. Salted fish can be supplied till May, and the frozen fish during the rest of the year.

A large amount of fish should also be processed by bottling and canning.

If fish are to be bottled, the State Light Industry Commission will have to produce and supply bottles in large numbers—at least ten million of them. At the moment bottle prices are too high. The production cost and the business tax on bottles used for food packing should be lowered. It would be advisable to lower the price of a bottle for packing fish or cider to approximately 5 *jon*.

Bottling and canning require quantities of tinplate. At least 300 tons of tinplate will be needed to make 10 million bottle caps, and much more to manufacture cans. But we still cannot produce tinplate ourselves and have to import it. In future we must produce it on our own. It would be impossible to build a big modern factory at the outset but we could establish small equipment just in large enough quantities to produce even in a handicraft manner several hundred tons of tinplate required for bottling.

We should also make sure of the supply of timber needed for the packing of seafood. The Ministry of Forestry should supply timber on a preferential basis for the production of fibre and then for the packing of seafood. Next year 50,000 cubic metres of timber must be supplied to the fishing industry.

The fishing industry must carry out all these tasks to supply the people with well-processed seafood. Fish should be refrigerated as far as possible and supplied fresh, and part of the catch bottled, canned or salted, but the least quantity should be dried. Of course, shrimp and squid will have to be dried in future, too, but the other fish should be supplied fresh, bottled or canned. This is the way to supply the people

with plenty of delicious fish without waste.

If we organize work well, we can, without question, supply 100 grammes of processed fish per capita each day. Since farmers can raise poultry for themselves and eat eggs, there will be no problem if 50 to 60 grammes of processed seafood are supplied to each of them a day. But at least 100 grammes should be supplied to every person in towns and workers' districts.

An important problem in the supply of seafood is to distribute it equitably among towns, workers' districts and rural communities. To this end, we must establish the commercial network properly and organize the sale of seafood well. At present, all fish are sold through the Commercial Ministry's wholesale agencies and the network of retail shops. This not only involves complex procedures and a high rate of business tax, but results in fish going bad and people finding it impossible to buy them easily.

In future it would be advisable to let the Ministry of Commerce sell part of the seafood and also allow the Ministry of Fisheries to sell it directly to the people. The latter should set up shops at different places to handle direct sales. Such shops should be established in towns and workers' districts where the railway service is available – one each at Kiyang, Kangso, Songnim, Nampho and similar places; and four to five in Pyongyang and in each of the large cities. All these direct sale shops must be provided with refrigerators.

Now that the people's demand for seafood is great, the activities of the commercial network under the Ministry of Commerce should be intensified, in addition to the establishment of the new shops for direct sale. In Pyongyang, for instance, the five shops of this kind will not be able to supply seafood to its citizens to their satisfaction. The Ministry of Commerce should promptly get the delivery of processed seafood from the provincial light industry commissions and sell it widely through the commercial networks. In addition, a wholesale agency will have to be set up in each of the big cities like Pyongyang, so that large amount of fresh fish can be delivered to retail shops.

In this way, we will ensure that the output of fish is increased, and

that their processing and sale will be improved to supply them fairly to the people in and out of season.

4) ON UNDERTAKING CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION IN A CONCENTRATED MANNER

Undertaking capital construction intensively on the order of priority is a consistent policy of our Party. Proceeding with construction in an intensive manner means concentrating manpower, materials and equipment on important projects and finishing them quickly so as to put them into operation as soon as possible so that maximum returns can be obtained from the investments.

But this requirement of the Party is not being met to the full, and irregularities have not been eliminated from construction. Our officials do not think of increasing output through an effective use of the existing equipment and production space; they only try to increase production by building new factories and spread out the construction projects out of subjective desire and without making accurate estimate of the building forces.

At the beginning of this year the Party strictly warned against dispersing construction and even specified the 40 projects on which efforts should be concentrated. But this instruction has not been implemented. The officials in charge of economic affairs planned everything in their minds, saying this is necessary and that is also necessary. In consequence, they have spread out more construction projects than they did last year, instead of overcoming the irregularities. This resulted in the failure to finish even the 40 projects specified at the beginning of the year.

They began too many new projects before the completion of the ones which were already under way, by including in their plan even the ones which have not been completely confirmed scientifically and technologically. As a result, the estimated dates of starting their operation have been delayed, and more and more of the projects are

being left unfinished. This is why a large sum of funds is being locked up.

From next year on, we must thoroughly determine the construction projects within our capabilities on the basis of a scientific calculation of the building forces, and we must carry out the plans in any circumstances, once they have been adopted.

As I said at the general Party meeting of the State Planning Commission, next year's capital construction plan must be drafted in such a way as to finish the projects now under way rather than start new ones. It would be impossible to finish the ones which have now been organized within the coming year or two. So we must choose the most important projects from amongst them and finish them one by one with concentrated efforts.

Next year we will have to concentrate our forces first on the power plant construction projects now underway and on the construction of the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant in particular.

Even now there is a strain on electric power supply, and the situation will be more acute next year. Because of the low rainfall this year, the water levels at the reservoirs of power stations are very low. The water level is much lower than normal at the Suphung Power Station which accounts for the lion's share in the output of electricity in our country. It will become still lower in future. There will be no more rainfall for the present except the expected snowfall in winter and then a little rain next spring, which will not help much towards raising the water levels. So we cannot expect an increase in the output of hydroelectric power stations. The only thing to do is to concentrate on the construction of the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant and put it into operation as soon as possible.

We must accelerate the construction of this power station so that we can produce 400,000 to 500,000 kw of electricity from next year onwards.

The Unbong, Kanggye and Naejungri Power Stations must also be completed quickly.

Next year we should also concentrate on the construction of

fertilizer factories. Increasing the output of fertilizer is the decisive factor in improving agricultural production and achieving the grain production target.

The projects for the Aoji Chemical Factory, the gasification of anthracite at the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, and the urea fertilizer factory, now under construction, should be finished quickly, and the nitrogenous fertilizer factories must be put into operation as soon as possible to carry out next year's production plan without fail.

We must also direct our attention to the construction of the pharmaceutical factory and finish the project quickly.

The power and chemical industries are the sectors on which we must concentrate most of our efforts next year. The other sectors must not undertake new projects except the reconstruction of the blast furnaces of the Kim Chaek Iron Works and the construction of the ore-dressing plants at nonferrous metal mines and an electron tube factory.

It is said that ministries, bureaus and enterprises have suggested to the State Planning Commission and the Cabinet that many construction projects be included in next year's plan under the pretext that all of them are necessary. But these unjustified requests must not be complied with. If these requests are to be met one after another, then we will return to the old practice. Of course, they will all be necessary. But if we disperse our efforts over various projects which are beyond our capabilities then none of them will be completed.

Next year we will have to build some dwellings. On account of the annual increase in the population and families, the housing situation is as strained as ever. So a little housing construction should be undertaken in the urban and rural communities to solve the housing question. An active struggle should be launched to make economical use of steel, timber and cement in housing construction so that more houses can be built with fewer materials.

In future, any construction project without a design or complete scientific and technological justification must not be included in the plan.

In spite of repeated warnings by the Party and prohibition by the law, the practice of starting such construction projects simply because they are necessary still persists. In future such construction must never be tolerated.

3. ON SUPPLY OF MATERIALS AND DISTRIBUTION OF CONSUMER GOODS

As you comrades all know, in a socialist society the supply of products is of great importance. An efficient supply of equipment, raw materials and other necessities is a prerequisite for the steady and rapid development of production. An efficient commerce and smooth distribution of consumer goods to satisfy the needs of the people can contribute to improving their living standards and can also stimulate production.

Supply service, however, is the most inefficient of all our national efforts. The textbook on political economy, too, handles the theory of the supply of materials and of the distribution of goods very poorly, nor does it give a clear explanation of the principles behind these activities. Partly because our officials are not well qualified in the first place, and partly because the textbook on economics does not give a fully theoretical answer to supply work as I said, it cannot proceed smoothly.

We must study and discuss the supply of the means of production and the distribution of consumer goods further so as to evolve a clear economic theory on this matter, and we must also improve practical work in this sector.

In our country goods are produced mainly from two economic sectors. One is the state sector which consists of the enterprises owned by all the people, and the other is the cooperative sector which consists of the cooperative farms and the producers' cooperatives which come

under the category of cooperative ownership.

In addition, goods are produced from the sideline economy of individuals. These products, which are not the means of production but consumer goods, account for a very small proportion of the total output of our society. Sideline products include, for instance, chickens and pigs raised by individuals and vegetables grown in their kitchen gardens.

In a socialist society goods are produced mostly from the state and cooperative economic sectors and a very small portion from the individual sideline economy. All these products, except for those produced and consumed by the cooperative or sideline economies themselves, are distributed for consumption by means of various distributive channels. So it can be said that the major portion of the output has to be delivered from producers to consumers through the process of distribution. Here a large amount of these products are dealt with at the home market and a part of them is exported to foreign markets through trade. In this way, our products primarily meet the domestic demand and then are exchanged on external markets for the goods which we need.

The transfer of products between producers and consumers in the domestic market assumes two forms. One is the turnover of the means of production such as machines, equipment, raw materials and other necessities, and the other is that of the consumer goods for the people.

1) ON SUPPLY OF EQUIPMENT, RAW MATERIALS AND OTHER NECESSITIES

Production requires labour, machines and equipment, raw materials, and other necessities. The supply of materials plays a very important role in the correct distribution of the means of production and in making rational use of them for the development of production.

Because this work is inefficient at the moment we fail to supply enterprises satisfactorily with equipment, raw materials and other

necessities. In particular, our material supply does not play the role of controlling and stimulating the enterprises to economize in materials.

Of course, under our system the transactions in most of the equipment, raw materials and other supplies are conducted among state enterprises in a planned way, according to the system of material supply. But in any event these transactions take the form of commerce. In other words, when a state enterprise receives supplies of raw materials and other necessary items from another enterprise according to a plan, it must pay for them instead of getting them free. So, if the means of production, including raw materials and other supplies, are to be rationally distributed and used, the commercial form should be fully utilized in addition to compiling an accurate supply plan. We have set up the material supply agency and made it a rule to deal in raw materials and other supplies through this agency. The aim of this measure was to improve the supply of these materials.

Our officials in charge of economic affairs, however, are not good at this work. The textbook on political economy simply says that the means of production are excluded from the distribution of commodities and that these are supplied to enterprises in a planned way. But it does not mention anything in specific terms about how these are supplied and by what means. In short, the textbook does not actually deal with the supply of the means of production and, in particular, does not even mention the question of transactions in raw materials and other supplies between state enterprises.

This has resulted in many shortcomings in the supply of materials. When receiving these and other supplies, enterprises do not care at all about their prices or whether the supplies are cheap or expensive. Nobody tries to buy the cheapest possible materials nor does he endeavour to produce things by using materials economically. Enterprises are simply allowed to get more supplies than they need only to stockpile or waste the surplus, and no one cares about it.

Worse still, more often than not, some enterprises keep valuable materials idle in store, while other enterprises have to suspend production because of a shortage of these very materials.

Who is to blame for this state of affairs? Needless to say, it is due to the State Planning Commission which is not efficient in planning the supply of materials. But a more serious problem is that even the need for the supply of raw materials and other necessities in a commercial form in a socialist society has been ignored. To be specific, the operation of the law of value has been ignored, the law which works in form since the delivery of raw materials and other supplies among state enterprises takes place in the form of commercial exchange. As a result, enterprises are not held responsible for the materials which are not used or are wasted because of incorrect supply planning by planning bodies, nor is such a mistake checked anywhere.

I think it is necessary to study and examine this matter. But I do not mean that you comrades should go on a visit to give guidance and reorganize the present system at once. I only raise this problem for your consideration.

In order to rectify this state of affairs, you must first improve the part played by the material supply agencies. If they do a good job, many people need not travel about to get materials, even a small amount of materials will be effectively used by supplying them properly to the enterprises which need them, and the enterprises will not overstock or waste them by obtaining them without an accurate estimate.

At the moment the material supply agencies are not functioning properly. The system used by these organizations seems to have some defects. The inefficiency of these agencies is another cause of the irregular supply of raw materials and other necessities in hand which already fall short of the demands. The material supply agencies should know in detail what is in stock in which enterprises and what has to be supplied to which enterprises and then they should sell materials to those enterprises which need them badly. Because of the failure to do these things properly the possibilities of increased production are not fully used, nor is production given any stimulus.

You ought to know that the means of production such as machines,

equipment, raw materials and other goods produced by factories and other enterprises take the form of commodities when they are delivered from one enterprise to another, although they remain the property of the state. Even between state-owned enterprises raw materials and other supplies should not be turned over free of charge or without prudence nor can this be done. These materials must be sold to those who need them through the medium of supply agencies and must be bought in such quantities as are needed. Here in this process the law of value will operate in form and the price will become an issue. Therefore, even if there is something wrong in the plan, the situation will be put to rights in the course of supply.

Of course, in our society everything is produced, supplied and consumed according to a plan. This is particularly true of production, distribution and consumption under all-people ownership. These are completely planned. But planning everything correctly is by no means easy. We have been running a planned economy for nearly 20 years now and have always emphasized the need to plan objectively, but still our planning is not up to the mark.

Planning for the supply of raw materials and other supplies is no exception. Planners overlook something and include unnecessary items in their supply plans. Where, then, should these defects be brought to light? In the material supply agencies. In other words, these defects should be supplemented or eliminated by the supply agencies in the course of selling and buying these materials.

Even if it is worked out correctly, a material supply plan will not be implemented properly unless actual delivery is conducted correctly. If raw materials and other necessities are supplied gratis according to a plan, in disregard of the commercial form, that is, the form of buying and selling, enterprises may waste them by using them carelessly. Until all our officials and working people have become communists, it is quite probable that such wasteful practices will occur. In fact, this is a common practice in enterprises at the moment, although they are lamenting the shortage of materials.

That is why the supply agencies must improve their role in

supplying raw materials and other necessities and turn the operation of the law of value to full account. They should thus see to it that if an enterprise buys too much of one thing, it will be obliged to give up the idea of buying something else and that if it wastes materials, its management will be seriously affected. Only when these restrictions are applied to the supply of raw materials and other necessities, will the officials of enterprises reckon with the prices of materials and transport expense, value and take better care of them and try to lower the rate of material consumption per unit.

In our country this problem has not been solved properly either in practical work or in the theory of economics. I think this is because our textbook on economics copied things from a foreign counterpart. We must study this problem and solve it without fail.

2) ON SUPPLY OF CONSUMER GOODS

Shortcomings similar to those revealed in the supply of raw materials and other necessities are in evidence in the supply of consumer goods to the public.

We said that socialist commerce and distribution is in essence a supply service for the people. This, of course, is entirely correct.

When we say that socialist trade is a supply service for the people we mean that our trade must serve the improvement of the people's standard of living. This does not imply that we should discard the commercial way and adopt the system of direct supply. In a socialist society, too, the distribution of consumer goods to the public should be effected mainly by selling them to the people through the distribution network.

But in our country now large quantities of daily necessities are delivered to institutions, enterprises and working people through a direct supply system, bypassing the commercial or distribution network.

For example, a large amount of goods is supplied outside the

commercial network under the heading of work protection items. A suit of work clothes, for instance, is supplied to each worker automatically every year. Since this is done indiscriminately for everyone whether or not he has one already, there is much waste and workers do not try to wear it sparingly. Meanwhile, that much less fabric or clothing is available for sale at shops so that the people who need them badly cannot buy them readily, even if they have the money to do so.

Soldiers' uniforms must be issued as obligatory items, instead of being supplied through a commercial channel. But why should the supply of work clothes for workers be treated in the same way? It is preferable that such items are put on sale at shops for enterprises or individual workers. By way of compensation, additional funds can be supplied to enterprises or the wages for workers can be raised. How much additional money, then, should be provided? You should determine how long a suit of work clothes can be used, and then pay enough money to buy it. This will stimulate the enterprises to refrain from supplying new work clothes to the man whose clothes are still serviceable, to ensure that they are mended when they require minor repair and to take various other steps to encourage the men to use them sparingly. The workers, too, will take good care of their work clothes if they know that new ones will not be supplied until the old ones are worn out or if they themselves have to pay for them.

Because a suit of work clothes is supplied to each worker every year without exception, neither enterprises nor workers bother about taking care of them. Work clothes are literally what they mean – clothes to wear during work hours. But some workers attend meetings and walk about the streets in work clothes and they wear them even on holidays or red-letter days.

This is also true of the supply of uniforms to sportsmen or of overalls to medical workers.

Many shortcomings occur in supplying expendable items to administrative and other offices. In planning the supply of these articles, the planners simply allot a prescribed number of pencils and

pen holders and so on to each person indiscriminately. Because pencils and pens are allocated even to those who do not use them, more of these supplies are received than necessary, only to be wasted.

Offices waste large quantities of cloth to cover desks, chairs, windows and so on. I told them not to use table or chair covers, but they still do so.

These office supplies are not only wasted by being issued excessively, but are frequently delivered through other than commercial channels. Even when the commercial network is involved in the supply of these items, office-work institutions take away consumer goods in bulk taking advantage of the system of payment by bill, so that shops have nothing much left for sale to the public.

We must restrict to the minimum the amount of supplies used to furnish administrative and other offices. Only a minimum of the necessary furnishing items must be resupplied when the old ones are worn out and exclusively through the commercial network. To this end, it is necessary to provide a minimum of funds to furnish these offices so as to prevent them from buying goods at random. We must take measures for the strict control of the use of furnishings in institutions either by adjusting the budgetary outlay or by amending the amount of goods authorized for the purpose.

We are now producing a fairly large amount of consumer goods. We turn out 270 million metres of fabrics, for instance, a year. So why do our shops keep small stocks of cloth and other consumer goods? That is because large quantities of goods leak through various supply channels other than the commercial and distributive network.

Of course, it would be necessary to assign certain items for delivery through the direct supply system because there is, as yet, no abundant supply of several kinds of our consumer goods. But, to all intents and purposes, the commercial distribution of consumer goods, not direct supply, is the basic form of supplying them to the working people in a socialist society. At the moment, even those goods which should normally be on sale at shops are directly supplied in our country, and the direct supply system comprises too many channels. This is because

our officials are not clearly aware of the significance and role of socialist commerce and distribution.

From now onwards we must eliminate excessive supply channels and ensure that most consumer goods go through the distributive network. The departments of the Party Central Committee which are in charge of economic affairs must study this problem and the Cabinet, too, must examine it closely to correct the situation. In addition, we must see to it that political economy and commercial science evolve a correct theoretical solution to this problem.

The important thing in improving the distribution of commodities is to allocate them properly. A rational arrangement of the commercial and distributive network and a proper allocation of goods will enable the working people everywhere to buy necessities without inconvenience and will also facilitate a rapid distribution of commodities without loss, so as to promote the process of further production.

But, lacking the Party spirit, the class spirit and the spirit to serve the people, the commercial and distributive workers are doing their job very irresponsibly and many shortcomings are being revealed in their work. On account of the irrational allocation of goods, some kinds are frequently overstocked in one place, whereas the same items are out of stock and are unavailable to the people in another place. At present the state suffers a heavy loss from the overstocking of goods.

Is this overstocking due to a surplus of commodities in our country as a whole? Not in the least. This is because goods are delivered to the people who do not want them, instead of being sent to those who ask for them and also because substandard or unfashionable goods are supplied, if ever these are distributed. In short, this is due to the careless allocation of goods.

Take the supply of shoes as an example. Shops in one district are supplied with only children's shoes, while those in another district get only shoes for adults. What is worse, there are even cases where shoes of the same size or of odd pairs are distributed. This is due to the irresponsible delivery of shoes on the part of the wholesale workers

who do not bother to confirm the contents of the commodities but simply allocate the prescribed number of shoe boxes to different retail shops.

The commodities which are not sold in season become outdated. Who will buy old-fashioned commodities when better new ones are being brought to the market all the time with the development of production? Nevertheless, the commercial workers send only commodities for children to one shop and only those for adults to another. If these are not sold, they move back and forth, hauling the unsold goods. In the process, the commodities are not only damaged to the waste of enormous labour and materials but also become unfashionable and end in remaining unsold.

The commercial executives must correct such an irresponsible work attitude once and for all. Commercial and distributive agencies, in particular the wholesale agencies, must study and make accurate estimates of the demands of the working people in each district and supply in good time the goods urgently demanded by them.

The supply of foodstuffs must be organized more quickly. In this regard, take the supply of vegetables in Pyongyang. In the high season the city gets a daily supply of approximately 500 tons of vegetables. I made an inspection of the city in such a season and found that vegetables were rotting in one corner of the town and that in another housewives were hunting for vegetables because of the short supply. This happened because vegetables were not supplied very quickly and evenly, although it was imperative to do so.

In former days private peddlers did their business differently. They travelled from place to place to sell their articles in every possible way by carrying them in packs and even bringing them as far as their customers' doors lest the wares should go bad if they were not sold. They managed to sell not only vegetables but also bean curds even in the heat of summer before their wares went bad.

The shortcomings nowadays in the supply of goods are totally due to the lack of the spirit on the part of our commercial workers to serve the people and to value the state commodities as their own. Some of the

commercial executives do not care whether or not the people are supplied with vegetables and bean curds. These people think that they have nothing to lose even if commodities go bad, for these belong to the state.

We must radically improve the ideological education of the commercial workers so that all of them will serve the people devotedly and work with a high sense of responsibility and honour.

We must also give them material incentives to spur them on to do their duty. There are drawbacks in giving them these incentives. At present saleswomen are supposed to receive bonuses when they have carried out a plan of sale in terms of monetary value. This being the case, the saleswomen do not try to sell cheap, small articles nor do they order such goods willingly. The result is that combs, pins, buttons and other miscellaneous goods are not widely available. They do not order these things because selling them does not add much to their work results nor does it, therefore, give them any chance of getting bonuses. They simply try to increase their work results by selling only high-priced best sellers such as *Yaksan* silk, silk satin and cotton fabrics. In this way they carry out what they call their plans, and for this reason they get bonuses, although in fact they inconvenience the people.

Nowadays, the small articles which are needed in the everyday lives of the people are neither produced willingly nor are they on sale. In fact, our shops are not well stocked with small articles for daily use nor do they keep many of the essential consumer goods. We must correct these defects.

The bonus system now existing in the commercial and distributive sector is not effective enough to rectify these shortcomings. The workers in this sector should be given a bonus only when they have met the demands of the public through an equitable distribution of large quantities of goods. For this purpose counters should be arranged separately according to the kinds of goods, each being given its sales plan. In cases where it is impossible to arrange separate counters, a sales plan which specifies the number of different kinds of

goods—fabrics, small articles and school things, for instance—to be sold should be given to the shops concerned. If a sales plan is assigned in this way to each counter and to each kind of goods and if the bonus is given according to the fulfilment of the plan, the saleswomen will strive to keep on sale a variety of goods that will meet the needs of every customer.

The commercial and distributive workers ought to pay particular attention to the supply of commodities to the peasants.

With the annual increase in the distribution of grain and cash, the cooperative farmers' standard of living is gradually improving. But they have problems because of the inadequate supply of goods. Neither soy sauce and bean paste which they badly need every day nor fabrics and similar consumer goods are supplied in large enough quantities.

Worse still, the executives of the Ministry of Commerce gave orders to abolish all branch shops without acquainting themselves with the specific situation in the rural areas. Consequently, the farmers living in mountain regions far from county towns had to walk many miles to buy goods. It is easy for the executives in Pyongyang to give such instructions, but such irresponsible instructions are the cause of untold sufferings and inconveniences for the people.

It is not so difficult to run a branch shop in a rural community. You can just designate a suitable room of a farmer's house in which to organize the goods needed by the farmers and let an infirm or old man who is unfit for farm work sell them on consignment. You need not pay him regular wages but only bonuses from time to time according to the sales results. This will not only benefit the farmers in their everyday life but also bring a cash income even to those people who are unfit for farm work.

Rural shops should sell such things as work clothes, school uniforms and other school items, toothbrushes and toothpaste, as well as foodstuffs, which are necessary in the countryside.

It is advisable to open separate shops in county towns to sell different kinds of materials, tools and spare parts which are essential to the farmers in their daily lives. Although there are building-materials

shops now in county towns, farmers can buy almost nothing from them because state institutions buy up everything.

Farmers can obtain neither cement nor timber with which to repair their houses nor can they buy paper to be pasted over doors and floors. They have bought sewing machines from the large sums of money which have been distributed to them, but when these machines break down, they cannot be repaired speedily because of the shortage of spare parts.

In future we shall have to set up separate shops which sell materials and spare parts to farmers while maintaining the state system of supplying materials according to plan through supply agencies. This supply system cannot afford to handle all the small articles needed by the farmers. The proposed separate shops will give them a chance to buy the things they need.

These shops must, above all, sell cement, slaked lime, timber, glass, nails and other building materials. Cement or slaked lime, for instance, should be packed in large and small paper bags so that the farmers can buy what quantities they need. In addition, they should keep nail pullers, pliers, saws and other tools, door-paper, floor-paper, wallpaper, spare parts for sewing machines, bicycles and electric motors, electric bulbs, electric cords, kerosene and kerosene lamps, soles, nails for the repair of shoes and other articles which farmers need.

If the unrestricted sale of such articles is allowed, undesirable practices might occur. But that is nothing to be afraid of. Place a limit on the amount of some important items for sale, and everything will be all right.

Labour needed for the running of these shops should be taken in small quantities from other shops in the counties concerned and also from non-productive establishments like the county physical culture and sports guidance committee.

The state must arrange for the production of large quantities of different kinds of materials and spare parts to meet the demands of the farmers and supply them to the county shops even if it has to reduce a

part of the construction work and the production of other items. For example, you can cut down the manufacture of sewing machines and increase the output of spare parts for these machines. Even the existing sewing machines are not properly used on account of the shortage of spare parts, so it would be of little use to go on producing new ones only.

Now, about the supply of goods by the railways.

Nowadays the supply of commodities in trains is not satisfactory, and passengers find it inconvenient. Fruit, biscuits, cider, cooled syrup and the like are not on sale in trains to a great degree in spite of the large numbers of passengers. In bygone days such things were on sale in the trains, and local specialities were sold in station premises. Pyongyang served its chestnuts, Sinpho its crabs, and Pukchong its apples. But nowadays apples, cider and other things are to be found neither in the compartments nor in the station precincts, so passengers cannot buy them easily.

It is not difficult to make cider and fruit syrup. You can make cider by mixing sugar, carbon dioxide and water and fruit syrup by mixing fruit juice, sugar and water. The vice-chairman of the State Light Industry Commission says that cider cannot be served in trains because of the shortage of bottles which are being redesigned. If so, why not continue to produce the old-style bottles pending a complete switchover? The officials in this sector do not bother to imagine the public inconvenience if they do not supply cider because of a shortage of bottles.

Nor is it difficult to supply fruit to train passengers. Our country abounds in apples, pears, peaches, grapes, chestnuts, plums and other fruits. Five thousand tons will be more than enough for the passengers. We produce over 100,000 tons of apples alone every year, so why cannot we solve these problems? The question depends on the ideological viewpoint of the officials.

Trains can also be supplied with mineral water. Our country has many good mineral springs including those at Kangso, Changsong and Pyokdong. No country in the world is probably so blessed with mineral

water as we are. But we are not supplying this good water to the working people abundantly.

The chief responsibility for the failure to supply commodities on trains should be shared by the officials in the railway sector, although the commercial executives are also to blame. Railway workers not only do not organize the supply of commodities on trains but also refuse to admit commodities into the station premises. This is an example of terrible bureaucratism.

The commercial and railway workers should cooperate in the organization of smooth commodity supply both on the trains and at the stations so as to give better service to the passengers.

To improve the transport of commodities, as well as their allocation, is important.

Even goods which are available often fail to reach the consumers because of transport delays. Transport failures result in the piling up of commodities at factories. This is a loss to the state and causes discomfort to the people who do not receive the supplies.

Take the supply of salt. Salt is not only an industrial raw material but is also an indispensable foodstuff for the people. Therefore, our Party has made sure that salt has never run out of stock. When its output was small, we imported several hundred thousand tons of it for the people. This year there has been a small rainfall, and we have produced large quantities of salt. But commercial workers did not take it away. Because of such an irresponsible work attitude, the people on the salt fields are now worrying about the transport delay and the consumers are short of it. The salt situation is even more serious in mountainous areas where transport is difficult. Under normal conditions, such areas must keep salt supplies in reserve for one or two years. Salt does not go bad. The longer it is in storage, the better it tastes. We must give priority to the transport of the necessities like salt which people cannot do without for even a single day.

But the prompt transport of commodities which are urgently needed by the people is not provided, whereas unnecessary or unreasonable transport is very frequent. For instance, the fish which is landed in

Wonsan is not supplied directly to Popdong but shipped by rail as far as Jihari via Pyongyang, and then by road to Poptong. The distance from Wonsan to Poptong by road is shorter than that from Jihari to Poptong, but this is how transport is organized.

Such frequent cases of unnecessary transport are due mainly to departmentalism which is much in evidence among ministries and bureaus and, in particular, to the careless work attitude of the Ministry of Commerce. The Ministry of Commerce located all district wholesale houses near the railways to do an easy job. Under these circumstances, commodities have to go by a long roundabout route to reach a mountainous area to which there is no access by rail. A small wholesale house should be set up for two to three counties in such a mountainous area and commodities should be delivered to such places by truck.

Unnecessary regulations and systems have to be eliminated in the commercial sector. Commercial executives try to handle everything by recourse to regulations and ministerial orders, instead of trying to improve their work method so as to offer better service to the public. Many of the regulations and systems which have been adopted by the Ministry of Commerce bind subordinates at lower units unreasonably and inconvenience the people.

For example, an order of the Ministry of Finance stipulates that the money for institutions and enterprises to buy musical instruments and sports equipment should be disbursed from their trade-union funds earmarked for cultural activities. But the order of the Ministry of Commerce authorizes the sale of such items only to professional organizations. I think it preferable to repeal the order of the Ministry of Commerce. This ministry need not interfere in this matter of whether such items are sold to institutions, enterprises, professional bodies or individuals. It would be enough for the commercial and distributive establishments to sell them to the people who need them.

The regulations relating to purchase are also very complicated. One can buy what one pleases at shops only when one has a cheque rather than cash. This being the case a piece of paper sealed by a person in

charge of an institution or an enterprise is more valid than notes issued by the Central Bank.

Furthermore, institutions and enterprises buy consumer goods in bulk on payment by bill so that not much is left in stock at shops so as to be available to working people. Working people find it very difficult to obtain bicycles, radios and similar commodities. This is partly because of the short supply of these articles, but the main reason is that institutions and enterprises buy them up.

The state set up the system of payment by bill not only for the purpose of restricting to the minimum the amount of cash held by the institutions and enterprises so as to prevent the money from being stolen or wasted and to limit the volume of currency in circulation and to speed up its circulation, but also as a means of controlling the institutions and enterprises lest they should buy consumer goods at will in shops. In spite of this, commercial and distributive establishments have given priority to payment by bill rather than in cash, with the result that the system of payment by bill makes it easy for the institutions and enterprises to buy consumer goods in large quantities. Consequently, the working people cannot buy articles from shops as they please, even when they have the money.

The term commodity denotes something that is sold for money to anyone without restriction, or something that anyone can buy as he pleases so long as he pays for it. Things which are sold only to specified persons or which are not readily available for money cannot be called commodities in the true sense of the word. Such things should never be put on display in shops. Nowadays, various regulations prevent the things on show in shops from being sold to the working people. All these regulations must be abolished.

Anyone should be able to buy anything he wants at shops if he can pay for it. From now on, the institutions and enterprises should make noncash payment only when they purchase raw and other materials, equipment and various important items through supply agencies. Those who buy consumer goods in shops must pay in cash whether the buyers are institutions, enterprises or individuals. This does not mean

that the institutions and enterprises should be given more cash than now, but that they should be made to buy consumer goods at shops to a lesser extent. The decrees of the Ministries of Finance and Commerce should be amended along these lines.

The unlimited sale of commodity goods may, of course, result in an uneven distribution of some items among individuals. But this is nothing to be afraid of because in our country there are neither capitalists nor private merchants who indulge in speculation. Even if goods are put on sale without restriction, these will not be shipped abroad but will remain in Korea to be used by our own working people. So we must take the plunge and remove all restraint on the sale of commodities, without being afraid of a little uneven distribution, so as to promote public convenience.

All regulations and systems now effective in the commercial and distributive sector must be re-examined to eliminate the unnecessary elements and mistakes.

In order to improve commodity distribution, the Party organizations must strengthen guidance and control of the workers in this sector. Quite a few remnants of outdated ideas still linger in the minds of these people. Lacking the Party spirit, class spirit and the spirit to serve the people, they are doing their job in an irresponsible manner, and it seems that mischief is being worked by some undesirable elements who are entrenched, say, in wholesale houses in particular. This explains why serious shortcomings are still in evidence in this sector in spite of the fact that the Party has been emphasizing the need to improve the distribution of goods.

The Party organizations at all levels, including the Light Industry and Commercial Finance Department of the Party Central Committee, should direct and control the commercial executives and distributive workers more effectively. In particular, we must tighten mass control over them. The county Party committees must neither compromise nor connive at the distortion of the Party's commercial policy by the commercial and distributive workers but must strongly combat it. They must promptly bring the matters relating to higher organizations to the

attention of the provincial Party committee or the Party Central Committee. In addition, they should closely examine even ministerial orders before they implement them.

Comrades who visit lower units on a mission to give them direction must pay great attention to the commercial and distributive sector, and work out effective measures to improve the supply of commodities by fully investigating and studying this matter.

3) ON PROCUREMENT AND THE PEASANT MARKET

Procurement is also a form of dealing. When all the urban and rural economies belong to the public, buying will be unnecessary. Then, it will be enough if we put the products under the control of society as a whole and distribute them under a plan to where they are needed.

Under socialism, purchasing agencies are needed because of the existence, first, of the cooperative economy, second, of the individual sideline economy and, third, of the private ownership of consumer goods by the working people. The products from the cooperative and private sideline economies do not belong to the state. So, if it is to obtain such products, the state must buy them.

Consumer goods owned by individual working people, too, are often brought to the market for secondhand dealing. For instance, a man who has worn a suit of clothes for some time may not wish to wear it any longer. He may want to sell it to obtain some of the money with which to buy a new suit. In the old days there were private secondhand dealers who used to buy such things, but nowadays there is no such thing. Under these circumstances, there is the need to open a shop which deals in secondhand goods.

Procurement as a form of dealing is a job which handles the goods sold and bought according to the free will of the people concerned. A coercive method cannot be permitted in this dealing as it is in the distribution of all other commodities. Our Constitution stipulates that the private ownership of consumer goods is guaranteed. An individual

can sell his own things when he no longer needs them. There can be no law which permits individuals only to buy but not to sell. This applies to the sideline products of individuals. We need not bother whether they eat these things, sell them or make a present of them to anyone or offer them for five *won* or ten *won*. The price can be higher if the demand is great enough. Of course, we must oppose dealing between individuals in food grain, which is prohibited by the state, as well as profiteering by reselling commodities at prices higher than the original. But we need not object to working people selling their own products and belongings to the people who need them. Under our system this will not produce any private merchants or capitalists.

Since procurement is a commercial and distributive activity, the prices of goods which are handled in this dealing should be such as to give some benefits to the cooperative farmers or other producers concerned, and the estimated amount of goods to be purchased should not exceed the amount which the sellers can offer for the market. An unreasonable way of doing things will lead you nowhere. The use of coercive methods in purchasing will dampen the enthusiasm of farmers to produce goods for this purpose.

Why did the farmers refuse to cultivate flax during Japanese imperialist rule? That was because the Japanese took away for a song the flax which the farmers had produced by the sweat of their brows. It is true that national hatred for the Japanese imperialists had affected the farmers' attitude, but they refused because the income from flax cultivation was not enough to recover even the production costs.

In our country both imperialist oppression and the exploiting classes have already been liquidated and the people are the masters of the state. Our state, which represents the interests of the people, should respect public interests and assess the purchasing prices so as to benefit the producer-sellers and encourage them to take an interest in production. This is the price policy of our Party and Government. At the moment, our officials frequently violate the price policy of the Party and the Government on procurement.

I always raise the question of why our farmers are reluctant to

gather chestnuts. This is because they find it easier to earn work-points than to gather chestnuts. This has something to do with the inappropriate assessment of the purchasing prices of chestnuts and with the incorrect evaluation of work-points in the rural communities. I think that if we raise the price of chestnuts a little and improve the assessment of work-points by introducing the sub-workteam management system in the cooperative farms, the problem of gathering chestnuts will be solved.

Our procurement work has many shortcomings both in settling the prices and the methods of procurement. The workers of the procurement agencies are indifferent to the livelihood of the people, of the farmers in particular. This attitude is notable in the purchasing of cereals and other agricultural products.

Our Party always fights for the freedom and happiness of the people. It is trying to build socialism and communism for their well-being. Our procurement is also for the benefit of the farmers and of the people in general. The practice of having upset the farmers by haphazard procurement of cereals is seriously wrong; it has inflicted a grave loss on the Party and the state.

At present there is no difference between planned and free procurement. Planned procurement should, of course, cause no loss to the cooperative farms and their members, but this is all the more true of free procurement which should be settled according to the free will of the farmers. Planned procurement means the state activity of purchasing surplus grain from cooperative farms after the distribution of 400 kgs of provisions to each farm member and 300 kgs to each of his dependents. Free procurement, unlike planned procurement, means buying the cereals saved by farmers from their distributed provisions and brought to market. Cooperative farms are obliged to sell to the state the surplus grain after putting aside the provisions for the farmers and the seed grain for the following year's farming. But it is entirely up to the farmers whether they sell part of their food grain or not. Nevertheless, some purchasing workers deal with free procurement just as they do with planned procurement.

If procurement and food administration workers do their job in a bureaucratic manner, our people may become mean. From the remote past we Koreans have lived in complete harmony with our relatives and neighbours, helping each other. When there was a wedding ceremony at someone's house, for instance, all the villagers came to help and share the joy. When we had delicious food, we always shared it with our neighbours. This is a good thing. It is true that we must not follow the outdated custom of wasting food on a wedding ceremony: we must control its consumption. But we must not make unnecessarily complicated regulations and bind the people in every aspect of their lives to their inconvenience. At present, even visits between relations are regarded unfavourably in some parts of the country, allegedly because such visits involve the waste of food; and even an offer of a gift of a few quarts of rice to one's relation is talked about as something scandalous. A mother who works on a farm will possibly bring with her a few quarts of rice when visiting her daughter who lives in a town. There is no need to be critical of such a thing.

From now on, the purchasing workers should implement the Party's policy of procurement correctly and so promote the well-being of the people. In particular, they should hold fast to the principle of purchasing surplus grain from the farmers. In other words, they must buy the cereals over and above the 400 kgs of provisions reserved for each farmer and 300 kgs for each of his dependents. For this purpose the grain loaned out to farmers in spring and green maize distributed to them in advance must not be counted as part of the 400 kgs of provisions.

But those farmers who have not earned the 400 kgs should not receive all that amount in violation of the socialist principle of distribution. The state must sell food grain to such farmers.

The farmers' sale of the savings from their provisions to buying agencies should be left to their free choice.

The small amount of potatoes or tobacco which are cultivated by workers, office employees and farmers in their kitchen gardens, should be purchased only when there is a surplus. I think it advisable that

tobacco and similar things should be bought only insofar as these can be processed by the state, and the rest should be left to the disposal of the producers. Cotton, too, should be purchased only when there is a surplus.

Our officials seem to think that everything has to be put under state control simply because the socialist economy is a planned economy, but this is wrong. Of course, under our system the state has most of the products under its control and supplies them according to a plan. Control is also necessary because the amount of commodities is not large enough to meet everybody's needs.

Excessive control, however, often brings about undesirable results, if the state has everything under its control and meddles in even trifling matters, it can cause inconvenience to the people and dampen their enthusiasm for production.

Since capitalist ideas still linger in the minds of our people, it is impossible to prevent the manifestation of outdated ideas completely, just by tightening control. In doing away with the remnants of capitalist ideas, it is also important to develop production and turn out a wealth of goods, in addition to intensifying the ideological struggle and control. If we are to wipe out the manifestations of capitalist ideas such as speculation, fraud and profiteering, the state and cooperative economic sectors will have to increase their output. If a large amount of cereals is produced to ensure an adequate supply at low prices, no one will take the trouble to deal in these items on the black market, thus violating the law and deceiving their own conscience. And if factories produce cheap and high-quality chemical fibre in large quantities, people will not take the trouble to buy expensive cotton at the market, with the result that even if some farmers try to sell it at a high price, they will be unable to do so.

The market price of chickens is now falling in Pyongyang. This is because farmers cannot sell chickens at a high price now that the state poultry farms mass-produce chickens and eggs cheaply by the introduction of advanced methods.

Some officials are afraid that capitalism will revive as soon as they

loosen control slightly, but they need not be. Farmers will not become capitalists by selling a few chickens at a slightly increased price, nor will their economy turn capitalistic because they plant some tobacco in their kitchen gardens.

The most important factor in procurement is to refrain from encroaching on the farmers' interests. You must not, on any account, treat procurement like the delivery of grain enforced by the Japanese imperialists during their rule. Purchasing workers must clearly understand that procurement is a form of socialist dealing; they must organize it correctly so as to retain the interest of the farmers and eliminate superfluous control and restriction in this matter.

At present, you do not deal with economic measures in such a way as to stir up the farmers' enthusiasm, so that difficult problems in procurement are not being resolved smoothly. You must make a thorough study of the purchasing methods and prices in order to settle these problems. In this way, procurement will serve to improve the people's standard of living and give a great stimulus to production.

Next, I would like to say a few words on the peasant market.

The peasant market is also a part of the commercial and distributive network. Of course, it is a primitive form of market. The word *jang* (market-Tr.) is neither of socialist nor of capitalist origin. The use of this word dates back to a feudal society. *Jang* came into being with the development of handicrafts in the feudal age. From antiquity Koreans called a merchant *jangsagun* which means a person who does business at a *jang*. Thus, *jang* is a backward form of trade that has its origin in feudal society.

But, since the cooperative economy and individual sideline production exist in our country, it is inevitable that the peasant market exists also, and this is not such a bad thing. Some people seem to consider that the state should even purchase all the sideline products and supply them in a planned way, but they are wrong, and it is not practicable either. As for individual sideline products, the producers should be allowed to consume them and take the surplus to

the market to sell or barter for other goods as they wish. As for the animal products and industrial crops produced by the collective economy of cooperative farms, the greater part should be purchased by the state, but part should be divided among the farmers. Farmers may consume them, or sell them to the purchasing agencies, or take them to the peasant market for sale. The peasants should not be compelled to sell them exclusively to the purchasing agencies, but should be allowed to sell them to whoever they wish. That is the way to stimulate production and increase output and to ease the people's lives.

The textbook of political economy does not deal with the peasant market properly. It only says that the peasant market produces an unfavourable effect on the development of the collective economy and fosters the farmers' petty-bourgeois ideas and selfishness. No clear account is given of why the peasant market is necessary in a socialist society, what role it plays and when it can be phased out. Probably because the textbook treats the matter in this way, there is a tendency to abolish the peasant market. This is wrong.

There is more good than harm in the continued existence of sideline production and the peasant market in a socialist society. We are not yet in a position to produce and supply, through state channels, everything which is necessary for the people's life in sufficient quantities, especially miscellaneous goods for daily use. For instance, our shops do not keep ample stocks of goods such as brooms and calabash-ladles, and non-staple foodstuffs like meat, eggs, and both wild and cultivated sesame. What is wrong with individuals producing these things on the side and selling them at the market? Even though it is a primitive system, it should still be made use of when advanced systems cannot adequately cover everything. If we abolish the sideline production or the peasant market because they have a bad influence on the collective economy and foster the selfishness of the peasants, the people will be unable to buy brooms and such things for use.

When, then, will individual sideline production and the peasant

market disappear? They will disappear only when the country is industrialized, when technology is highly developed, and when all products are plentiful. By that time the cooperative economy as well as the individual sideline economy will be phased out and, in consequence, the peasant market will disappear. For example, if we produce vacuum cleaners in large quantities and supply them cheaply, nobody will make brooms for sale or want to buy them.

Under present circumstances, both the individual sideline production and the peasant market should be left as they are, and facilities should be provided to run them. This will assist the efforts to increase the output of consumer goods for sale to the maximum and so help towards the economic development of the country and the improvement of the people's standard of living.

It is advisable to set up two peasant markets or so in each county. One should be located at the county town and the other at the ri which is the hub of the outlying villages. Holidays for the cooperative farms can be nominated as market days. If peasant markets are run in this way, farmers will go there with chickens, pumpkins, calabash-ladles and the like and sell them in order to buy what they need.

Branch shops which deal in industrial goods should also be organized in peasant markets so that the farmers can buy the goods they need. Purchasing agents should go there on market days, too, and buy the goods which, exceeding demands, the farmers are going to take back home. If they do this the peasant markets will need no other special managers.

The cooperative farms should not prevent their members from going to market. They ought to give their members proper training so that, in the rice-transplanting and other busy farming seasons, the young members do not go to market. But in the off-seasons regular holidays should be given the farm members so that they can relax or go to market.

To conclude, the work of goods distribution needs some corrective and supplementary measures to be taken.

First of all, the supply of the means of production such as raw

materials and other necessities should be put right. It is important here to establish a proper material supply system, improve the role of the material supply agencies and, in particular, make effective use of the law of value in supplying materials.

Meanwhile, we must improve the supply of consumer goods to the people. We have to abolish the system of direct supply which is unnecessary and see that most consumer goods are delivered through the commercial and distributive network. In addition, the flaws in the allocation and transportation of goods must be corrected quickly.

There should be no encroachment on the interests of the farmers in procurement, and the method of procurement ought to be improved and the purchase prices re-examined.

These, in general, are the problems which should be solved in distribution and the subjects of study I propose to you comrades.

4) ON FOOD ADMINISTRATION

In food administration the most important thing is to eliminate the loss sustained in the cleaning process. We must ensure that every single grain of cereal, the product of the farmers' hard work, is used without waste.

But because of faults in the machines at the rice mills, the rate of output in cleaning is low and much of the rice is lost. According to the report from the officials of the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration, at the Pyongyang Rice Mill 25 straw-bags of crushed rice are being recovered a day from the heaps of husks which had been discarded until only recently. Many rice mills still do not try to recover such rice meal. Besides this, a large amount of rice is powdered and blown away during the cleaning process.

Equipping rice mills well in order to prevent losses during cleaning is not a new problem. It was first raised at the time when O Ki Sop was Minister of Procurement and Food Administration. It is not surprising that he did not implement the instructions of the Party because he was

an anti-Party factionalist. He was dismissed in 1957 and even in the years after his dismissal the Party stressed the matter several times, but the rice mills have not yet been re-equipped. This is a serious matter.

We have all the facilities to improve the equipment in the rice mills. There are many machine-building factories and a large number of technicians and skilled workers in our country. A rice-cleaning machine is neither large nor sophisticated. It may be a little difficult to make tanks or warships, but there is no reason why we cannot make rice-cleaning machines and the spare parts for them. In fact, such a simple job as re-equipping the rice mills ourselves is no problem at all. We have experience of having built modern rice mills for foreign countries. The foreigners say that the machines which we have made for them are very good. Why, then, can we not improve the equipment in our own rice mills and raise the output in rice cleaning?

The officials of the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration say that they could not re-equip the rice mills because the grain-processing machine factories which had belonged to them were handed over to the Ministry of Machine Industry. But this is illogical. If they had no machine factory under their ministry, they should have requested the Ministry of Machine Industry to produce machine parts for them, and if that ministry had not complied with this request, they should have brought the issue to the Cabinet or the Party Central Committee for settlement. The officials of the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration made no such suggestion. The point is that they lack the attitude befitting the master of the nation's economic life and therefore do not care about the large amount of grain being wasted.

We must inaugurate a mass movement to improve the facilities at rice mills and prevent losses during cleaning. This movement must involve not only the workers in charge of food administration but also those of the institutions and enterprises in all sectors. The comrades who are going to visit the people at lower echelons to direct them must also begin by solving this question. Therefore, they should ensure that, during the one and a half months from now on, all the rice mills are

completely repaired and maintained, that all their shortages are made up and that the necessary machine parts are provided.

In order to continue to satisfy the needs of the rice mills for machine parts in future, we must ensure that each province builds a rice-cleaning machine parts production centre. Provinces may tackle this task by converting one of the workshops of their existing machine factories into a specialized workshop to produce such machine parts or by giving assignments to produce such items to their general machine factories. In addition, mobile repair teams have to be set up and it must become a policy for them to repair rice-cleaning machines without delay and maintain them in good condition.

While equipping the rice mills completely, we must see that the Party strengthens its direction of food administration. The county Party committees and all other Party organizations must inspect the work of all the food administration enterprises and rice mills in particular, and launch an uncompromising ideological campaign against the irresponsible practices of the workers in this sector and temper their Party spirit constantly.

The Party organizations must assign people who are sound and have a strong sense of responsibility to the food administration sector and rice mills. I think it would be a good idea to assign women to this sector. If they are given this job, they will not behave haughtily or dishonestly as men do. Some people say that women cannot do such work because they lack technical skill, but this is not true. The operation of rice-cleaning machines does not require a very high level of technical knowledge. Women can do a technical job quite well if they learn it.

The county Party committees and all other Party organizations must not only build up the ranks of the workers in the food administration establishments and in the rice mills, but also educate them patiently. A possible weakness in this sector can lead to dishonesty, so that we must give constant attention to the education of these workers.

Dishonest behaviour in rice mills is also caused by the fact that county Party committees have not worked properly among the

hard-core elements in the rural communities. If these people are always alert they will be able to prevent dishonest acts. The county Party committees should, therefore, work efficiently among the rural hard-core elements and rouse them to combatting dishonesty in food administration without any compromise.

At present all the rice mills belong to the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration, but it would be advisable to return to the cooperative farms those rice mills which formerly belonged to them. In fact, we put these rice mills under state management because food administration executives suggested more than once that, under the management of the cooperative farms, the rice mills had difficulty in getting supplies of spare parts, were unable to cope with the low rate of output in cleaning and they raised the problem of the difficulty of maintaining unified direction.

But even after their transfer to state management there has been no improvement in the maintenance of these mills nor has there been any rise in the low rate of output in cleaning. Worse still, the workers at these mills tend to behave arrogantly towards the farmers, instead of serving them faithfully. This being the case, it is preferable to return the rice mills to the cooperative farms. This will provide a convenience for the farmers and prevent the rice-mill workers from behaving arrogantly.

We must ensure that a large amount of oil is extracted from rice bran, the by-product of rice mills.

The Party raised this question a long time ago. Once the food administration officials were enthusiastic about extracting oil from rice bran and maize. We supported them and provided them with the machines and equipment which they requested. But now they have calmed down and neither the existing machines to separate maize germs, nor the oil presses are working.

We should express oil from both maize germs and rice bran. Refined rice-bran oil can be eaten by humans or it can be used as a good raw material in soap making.

There are large quantities of rice bran which can be used to

extract oil in our country. The total is said to be at least 40,000 tons. If we use only 35,000 tons, not all of it, for the production of oil, we will be able to solve a big problem. If we make soap or lacquer from this oil, we can save several thousand tons of soy-bean oil and supply it as cooking oil so as to increase the ration per head of the population.

We are going to give a task of extracting 6,000 tons of rice-bran oil next year. The task, if done well, will be quite feasible. At present the cooperative farms feed pigs on rice bran as it is, but it will still be suitable as feed after the oil has been extracted. So the rice bran from both the state-run rice mills and those run by the cooperative farms should be collected for the production of oil.

Next, we should see that the over-complicated regulations in food administration are corrected.

It is true that strict regulations are necessary for food administration but excessive complexity can be the cause of inconvenience to the working people. There are now irrational stipulations in the food administration regulations. For instance, farmers are supposed to bring rice to the county people's committee if they want to exchange it for ration tickets. This is unreasonable. In future this must be dealt with at the management board of the cooperative farm concerned.

There are also many pointless complications in the rules on the use of ration tickets. The present regulations stipulate that a ration ticket can be used only when the bearer is travelling away from his home district. Under this rule and under the present system by which even a noodle restaurant serves only the bearer of the ticket, the citizens of Pyongyang cannot eat noodles at a restaurant in the city. Such absurdities occur because food administration officials make regulations in a bureaucratic manner giving no thought to the lives of the people. Such irrational regulations must be remedied right away.

At the moment food grain is supplied without exception to all the people who have gone to live in the country areas. We need not do this. The state only needs to sell grain to them from the day they arrive there.

4. ON THE PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN TRADE AND FOREIGN CURRENCY

Developing foreign trade is of great importance in our socialist construction. In order to consolidate the country's independent economic foundations and improve the people's living standards we have to export our surplus products to other countries in exchange for the goods which we need.

With the rapid economic development in our country, economic dealings with other countries are quickly expanding and the demand for foreign currency is still increasing. The problems of foreign trade and foreign currency, therefore, are very important for us.

We must earn more foreign currency by developing foreign trade and, at the same time, we must consider its rational and economic use very carefully.

1) ON INCREASING THE SOURCES OF EXPORT IN ORDER TO EARN FOREIGN CURRENCY

The foreign-currency situation in our country is strained. Every year we export goods which are worth hundreds of millions of rubles. It goes without saying that this is no small figure. But when compared with our demand for foreign currency, our earnings do not account for very much.

The strain on foreign currency is due to the fact that some kinds of important raw materials and fuel are not produced in our country.

Crude oil is not yet produced here. As you know, if we are to carry out the technical revolution, mechanization is essential, and this requires large quantities of oil. The operation of a truck or a tractor

requires gasoline or diesel oil. Before the war we used only a few dozen thousand tons of oil a year, but now we use hundreds of thousands of tons.

Our country also does not produce coking coal although it has large deposits of anthracite and lignite. Coke is indispensable to the metallurgical industry. So we import several million tons of it every year.

Crude rubber is another item which is beyond domestic production. Every year we spend a large sum of foreign currency on crude rubber and rubber goods such as tyres. In addition, we have to import tens of thousands of tons of cotton every year because cotton does not grow well in our country. Beside these items, we import light metal, some machines and their spare parts, gauges and the like. Because we have to import those raw materials and fuel which we cannot produce and which are in short supply, we spend a large amount of foreign currency.

Since we import a great deal of oil, coking coal, rubber, cotton and such commodities, we should also export those things which we can sell in large quantities on foreign markets. Big import items must be counterbalanced by big export items. Small export items will not answer the purpose. But our executives try to rake up small export items to cover the large amount of foreign currency which we spend. They sell apples, fish, silk and other high-quality fabrics.

These things are essential for the improvement of our people's standard of living, but they do not earn very much foreign currency. Although we export a large part of our output of apples, fish, canned goods, cloth and the like, we earn only a small sum of foreign currency. This being the case, there is a constant strain on foreign currency and the people's standard of living does not improve quickly.

We must radically improve our methods of trade. How, then, can we do this? We must concentrate our efforts on the production of those goods which are not available in world markets but which can be mass-produced in our country, which can be exported in large quantities so as to bring us a large sum of foreign currency at a time.

We must drastically increase the export of such items of which we have many.

To begin with, we can produce large quantities of magnesia clinker. Our country is very rich in magnesite. We have not yet confirmed the extent of its deposits—whether it is 700 million tons or 1,000 million tons—because adequate prospecting has not yet been carried out, but it is a fact that the deposits are enormous. If this stone is mined and then burned, it becomes magnesia clinker.

This is an excellent fireproof material, so that the countries with developed metal industries all need it. But world sources of magnesite are extremely limited. Therefore, if we do a good job, we shall be able to monopolize the world market in magnesia clinker. Many countries have already asked for it to be exported.

Even under present conditions we can sell 600,000 tons a year. In future we will be able to sell one million tons or even two million tons. The current demand for magnesia clinker on foreign markets is very great and it will increase with the development of the metallurgical industry.

The price of magnesia clinker is very high. One ton can earn 53 rubles and this is enough to buy nearly two tons of fuel oil. Therefore, we should sell 600,000 tons of magnesia clinker a year, and then we can buy one million tons of fuel oil. In future we should export one million tons a year, and then we will be able to earn 53 million rubles of foreign currency from it alone. This sum is more than enough to pay for the coking coal and fuel oil we will import.

That is why I called the mountain with magnesite deposits a “mountain of white gold”. Indeed, we can call it a pile of money, a pile of foreign currency. Since we import such bulk consumption materials as oil and coking coal, we can cope with the problem of expense by exploiting our correspondingly great resources. Selling apples, fabrics and suchlike will lead us nowhere. So we have increased the manpower, laid the railways and taken various other measures for the mining of magnesite. But the amount of magnesia clinker exported is still small.

In our country there are many sources of magnesite and its mining output is also fairly large. If we concentrate our efforts on mining magnesite and intensify scientific research on it, we can produce and sell as much magnesia clinker as we want. What, then, is the reason for the low rate of export? The only reason is the low quality of our magnesia clinker. Our clinker is said to contain a large percentage of silicic acid. A foreign product contains not more than three per cent of silicic acid, but the Korean product exceeds this.

To reduce the percentage of silicic acid contained in magnesia clinker is not an impossible task on any account. It depends on the efforts and work attitude of our executives. Magnesite whose deposits in our country are immeasurable is as precious as foreign crude oil and coking coal or even more precious than they are, but our executives are not concentrating on exploiting it. To export large quantities of magnesia clinker is important for the economic development of our country, but they are not seriously concerned about it. Because they do not have scientific, technological knowledge of this matter nor do they study advanced foreign experience, they still produce magnesia clinker by a primitive, conservative method. The question cannot be solved if they work in a slipshod manner as if they could not care less whether foreign countries buy it or not.

We must work hard to ensure that such a work attitude is corrected and that the silicic acid content of magnesia clinker is drastically reduced. The content of this property must be lowered to, at most, three per cent so that magnesia clinker can be exported not only to socialist but also to capitalist countries.

Knowing that a certain country has succeeded in improving the quality of magnesia clinker by calcining it with diesel oil, we have tried this method, and the result proved the content of silicic acid to be as low as 2.5 per cent. We should adopt this method which has been proved by experience. Even if we assume that 240 kgs of diesel oil is used to calcine one ton of magnesia clinker, it will cost us no more than five rubles of foreign currency. Since magnesia clinker is priced at 53 rubles per ton, we can earn 48 rubles for one ton of it after paying the

five rubles for the diesel oil. So there is not a shadow of doubt that it is profitable to produce good-quality magnesia clinker for export even at the cost of diesel oil.

The current annual foreign demand for our magnesia clinker totals 600,000 tons. But we are exporting only 350,000 tons this year. If we only reduce the silicic acid content, we can sell as much magnesia clinker as we wish and can earn a large amount of foreign currency. And why not do it enthusiastically? We must not begrudge money or equipment to be used on this venture; we must concentrate everything on the project. Next year we must put great effort into it to increase the output of magnesite, to reduce the silicic acid content and to expand the production capacity of magnesia clinker by a large margin. In this way we will guarantee an annual export of 600,000 tons of magnesia clinker. If we cannot carry out the task next year, we must do it by the end of the year after next.

In order to resolve this problem we will have to undertake some necessary construction projects, augment equipment and supply diesel oil. Scientific research work must also be stepped up in this field.

Measures should be taken to use even magnesite powder, rather than discarding it. Other countries calcine and sell the powder which is produced by the crushing process in mining, but we throw it into the water. In the future you must build another revolving kiln to process all the magnesite powder which is thrown away at present.

If we produce and sell 600,000 tons of magnesia clinker, and, eventually, one or two million tons a year, we will solve a very big problem in the economic development of our country. Ministries, management bureaus and relevant Party organizations must concentrate their efforts on tackling this task of strategic importance.

Anthracite is another of our bulk export items. We must mine and export a large amount of anthracite to offset the import of coking coal.

Quite a few countries want our anthracite exports, and we have very large deposits of it. But we are not meeting even the domestic demand, let alone large amounts of exports. If we grapple with the problem of increasing anthracite production and if we use it more economically,

we will be able to meet the domestic demand and export a large surplus amount.

We must devise measures of increasing the output of anthracite, and at the same time ensure its most economic use by encouraging all economic sectors to take good care of heat energy. In this way we shall make sure that millions of tons of anthracite are exported annually without fail.

Cement can also be a major export item. It is cheap, but it can be exported in great volume.

Cambodia, Pakistan and many other countries in Asia are newly-emerging nations, and as such they require a great deal of construction. We can sell cement to these countries. And they are rich in rubber, palm oil and rice which we need. We can sell good-quality cement to them by producing it in large quantities and then we can buy from them what we need.

We must institute a campaign to increase cement production so as to export one million tons a year in future. Since our country has unlimited sources of limestone and large deposits of coal, we are quite confident of doing it.

As you see, the import of major raw materials and fuel requires us to export an equal value of goods which are capable of counterbalancing the imports. In other words, the Party's strategic policy on the problem of foreign currency is to export large quantities of magnesia clinker, anthracite, cement and similar items which are capable of massive domestic production and which are marketable in bulk, so as to cope with the import of crude oil, coking coal, rubber and cotton which are not produced here. This is the way to resolve the problem of foreign currency, speed up the nation's economic progress and improve the people's standard of living.

The export of apples or canned food can neither resolve the problem of foreign currency nor improve the people's living standards. If we export magnesia clinker, anthracite and cement in large quantities we shall be able to earn all the money that is necessary for the import of fuel and raw materials such as petroleum, coking coal and

rubber. Then, we shall be able not only to dispense with the export of apples, fish, canned food and cloth so as to supply them to our people, but also import more goods which we need. We must carry out the policy of solving the problem of foreign currency by counterbalancing big items with big items.

The exportation of machinery and ceramics should also be increased.

Now that we have both metallurgical centres and powerful bases of the machine-building industry in our country, we should export machines as far as possible. I think it would be a good idea to produce a large number of machine tools and export them since these are highly valued abroad and since we have a tradition of producing them. For this purpose we will have to set up workshops or branch factories which exclusively produce export-oriented machine tools.

We must increase the volume of ceramic exports. These are highly priced. This enterprise amounts to selling baked clay. We must produce export-oriented ceramics with the clay which is readily available in our country, to earn the money to import crude oil and other goods which we need.

The export of ceramics has become difficult on account of their quality. Because of their low quality, Korean ceramics are not popular on foreign markets. We must take effective measures to improve their quality as soon as possible.

The export of nonferrous metals should continue to increase. We must increase the output and export of zinc which is lucrative, as well as the production of gold. Gold will be useless if we do not mine it and export it now. If we are to boost the output of nonferrous metals, we must intensify prospecting, organize mining efficiently, and raise the rate of extraction both in dressing and refining.

Mining a greater volume of tungsten is important in earning foreign currency. At the moment we import a great deal of it annually for the production of high-speed steel. There are sources of tungsten in our country. If we will only take the necessary measures, we shall be able to mine it ourselves, rather than import it. Why should we ignore our

potential and import such an expensive metal which no one is willing to sell?

We must ensure that our demand for tungsten can be met with home production in the shortest possible time. For a start, we must see that the construction of the ore-dressing plant at the Kyongsu Mine is finished quickly so as to start producing tungsten. We must at the same time take steps to increase the output of tungsten at the Mannyon Mine.

If only we produce enough tungsten, we can manufacture as much high-speed steel as we want because we have steel. High-speed steel itself is a lucrative source of foreign currency, but if we process it into tools and machines for export, it will be so much the better.

We should step up the volume of iron-ore exports. Because our iron ores are of higher grade than foreign ores we can export as much of them as we are able to mine. We must see to it that the Musan and other iron-ore mines increase the production of ores to be exported.

2) ON THE ECONOMIC USE OF FOREIGN CURRENCY

Using foreign currency most economically is no less important than earning it.

Our senior officials still do not have the idea of saving foreign currency. That is why such practices as importing goods which can easily be produced here, wasting imported materials by careless use, and keeping very expensive imported machines and equipment idle in storage continue. This irresponsible work attitude is a major factor which worsens the nation's foreign-currency situation. We must uncompromisingly combat the manifestations of such an irresponsible work attitude.

We must first put an end to the waste of fuel. Our officials are wasting the fuel which has been imported at the cost of apples, fish, and fabrics which should have been used to clothe and feed our own people. I have given instructions that fuel has to be used sparingly so as to build up reserves, but no one has implemented them properly.

Some time ago I got the Light Industry and Commercial Finance Department of the Party Central Committee to check up on how fuel was being used. According to the inspection report, tractor engines at some farm machine stations were switched on from morning until evening and sometimes even for a few days on end whether they were at work or not. And there were many instances where trucks made empty runs and longer-distance runs than prescribed. A great deal of fuel was being wasted in this way.

At present many trucks are making long-distance journeys. Recently the Ministry of Public Security conducted a nationwide checkup and spotted 503 trucks which had made longer-distance runs than permitted by the state regulations during the period of one and a half days.

The current regulations define the range of a truck run as 20 kilometres. This, of course, seems too short a distance. I think it advisable to amend the regulations in such a way as to permit trucks to run within the range of 100 kilometres. After that violations of the regulations should be strictly dealt with.

In order to economize in the use of fuel, trucks should be made to run with full loads. Chairmen of some cooperative farm management boards are said to travel a distance of many miles by truck on business. It is a serious offense to use a truck of more than two-ton capacity to carry a single person with no other load. We must put an end to such practices once and for all and make sure that all trucks carry capacity loads. This requires the accumulation of the necessary load before it is taken away by truck.

Trucks and tractors need regular repair and maintenance. Many institutions and enterprises use old trucks without repair or keep tractor engines switched on all day long which wastes fuel, because their carburettors do not function properly. We must correct this situation; all defective trucks and tractors ought to be repaired promptly and those vehicles which are beyond repair should be scrapped and replaced with new ones.

There is a great deal of waste in the use of coking coal and other

imported materials, and there are even instances of continuing to import goods which are rarely used. The people in the fishing industry continue to import new nets every year when they already have a large stock of imported ones which are enough for several years' use.

Such a waste of the goods which have been obtained at the cost of precious foreign currency is putting the brake on the rapid improvement of our people's standard of living. We must strongly combat the waste of imported goods and take active measures to save them.

Goods which can be produced locally must not be imported. We must see that production at the existing fibre mills and paper mills is put on a steady basis, so as to reduce the import of fibre and packing paper, and that an active campaign is launched in every sector to use homemade goods where imported goods are now being used.

Imported raw materials must always be processed into high-quality products. At the moment textile mills are weaving jute-like cloth with expensive imported rayon yarn and cotton. The quality of products is low, although in varying degrees, at all other factories which are supplied with imported raw materials. If you are going to produce low-quality goods with imported raw materials, there is no need whatsoever to import them at the expense of so much foreign currency.

The campaign for economy in the use of foreign currency is closely related to the development of agriculture.

We are still importing a fairly large amount of agricultural produce. We must continue to apply great efforts to develop agriculture so as to cut the importation of cereals and other agricultural products drastically.

As I have already spoken about the question of agriculture in general, I am going to re-emphasize only the cultivation of oil crops which largely affect savings of foreign currency.

In order to meet the demand for raw materials for cooking oil by increasing domestic products as far as possible, we must encourage the widespread cultivation of soya beans and rape. Rape can be grown as the crop before foxtail millet in double-cropping. It is cultivated on a

large scale as an oil crop in foreign countries. In our country only Kaesong people plant radish a little as a seed crop before cultivating other crops in spring, but hardly any rape is grown. Cooperative farms should not ignore rape but plant it on a wide scale.

Hemp also deserves to be cultivated over a large area. Its seeds will give us cooking oil and its skin can be used to produce fabrics and clothes and paper as well. Hemp grows well in a cool region, but not in hot places. So it should be widely cultivated in the highlands of Ryanggang, Jagang, North Hamgyong and North Hwanghae Provinces. The northern highland of South Phyongan Province, too, will be suitable for its cultivation. It should not only be planted in fields but also on roadsides or between the rows of other crops of low height.

If we cultivate oil crops like rape and hemp widely, we shall not have to import raw materials for cooking oil for foreign currency.

The next task is to install the imported machines and equipment immediately and use them effectively.

Quite a few of the precious machines and equipment which have cost us large sums of foreign money are kept idle in storage instead of being installed promptly, or they are becoming unserviceable because they are getting rusty and because their parts are being lost on account of careless management. Take the rim plant for instance. Its equipment which was imported three years ago, is still awaiting installation, so that we have to continue to import rims.

In the future we shall continue to import machines and equipment which are essential for the development of our national economy. For example, we have to import a tyre plant. We produce a large number of trucks and tractors, but not tyres. So we import them for foreign currency. Every year we produce thousands of new tractors and trucks which need tyres. If this number is added to the existing ones with worn-out tyres which have to be replaced, our demand for tyres will be enormous. Three sets of tyres are worth one ton of rice. So, if we are to buy 200,000 sets of tyres, it will cost us 70,000 tons of rice. If we import a tyre plant and buy crude rubber from countries like Cambodia, Ceylon and Indonesia, we will be able to produce

good-quality tyres at a cost which is several times lower than the international market price; hence the need to import this factory equipment immediately.

But, if we leave imported machines and equipment unattended as they are now, we shall not only be unable to install this plant, but will inflict a great loss on the state. Both the equipment which has already been imported and that which will be imported should be installed quickly and put into operation.

We must make effective use of the production space in existing factories so as to house newly imported machines and equipment rather than build new factories.

I advised the Chairman of the State Light Industry Commission to stop thinking of constructing new buildings but to use the existing factories to accommodate the imported equipment for light industry. And so the equipment for making confectionary has already been installed in the cornstarch factory. All the other imported equipment can be installed in the same way.

We should also house the equipment for the production of bearings in an existing machine factory rather than think of building a large new factory. In addition, we must take immediate measures to install the equipment for the rim plant.

If we make effective use of the production space in existing factory buildings to install the equipment which has already been imported and which is to be imported in the future, we shall be able to save construction funds and also start production quickly.

3) ON EXTENDING OUR MARKETS ABROAD

There are two markets for our foreign trade. One is the socialist market and the other is the capitalist market.

There are some differences between them.

The advantage of the socialist market is that barter payments are made for exports and imports. So the socialist market does not

necessarily require gold or any other international foreign currency when paying for the goods we import. We only have to export the corresponding value of goods to the other party in compliance with their request. In this case, also, calculations are made by means of currency.

But in the capitalist market gold or dollars or pounds are essential as a means of payment for the goods we purchase. On the other hand, you can buy anything in this market for foreign currency. In the capitalist market you can even buy goods which are not available in the socialist market.

One of the major defects in our foreign trade is that we only go to the socialist market and seldom to the capitalist market.

Our export items are mostly raw materials or products of primary processing and few of them are of secondary or tertiary processing. For instance, we export magnesia clinker, minerals, steel, structural steel and the like in large quantities. Such materials can be purchased only by countries with developed industries. But industrial powers in the capitalist world are not willing to buy our goods except magnesia clinker, which is not available on the world market. The capitalist market also includes industrially underdeveloped countries. These countries cannot afford to buy steel or structural steel which we export because they are not industrially developed.

This situation naturally results in our foreign trade being biased towards the socialist market which is not sufficient to meet all our needs. This is a major weakness in our economic development.

How should we solve this problem? We must make better goods. Only when we radically improve the quality of our commodities can we make inroads into the capitalist market. Money can buy anything there and high-quality goods sell well, regardless of social systems. The US imperialists alone pursue the wicked policy blockading our system.

If we are to build up a brisk trade in the capitalist market we must raise the quality of our goods and produce many items which are in demand there. If we offer high-quality goods which are needed on the

capitalist market, we can sell as much as we have.

We must produce high-quality goods and pack them attractively enough to be admitted to international markets. We must manufacture every single item perfectly so that it can earn a good reputation on foreign markets and win any competition. Those comrades who are now going to direct work at lower echelons should do political work well among workers of the factories which produce export goods.

If we work hard we shall be perfectly able to resolve this problem. Our lathes and some other machine tools, for instance, are not inferior to most others, so we export them in large numbers. Other commodities should also be of high quality, but they are not yet.

We must improve the quality of export goods, so that these will be welcomed not only in socialist but also in capitalist markets. At the moment we trade mostly on the socialist market, and our dealings with the capitalists are not worth mentioning.

According to the Party's policy, we should trade primarily on the socialist market and gradually increase capitalist-market trade transactions.

If we enter the capitalist market, we can buy quantities of necessary raw materials and high-quality goods of different kinds. We can import good raw materials from newly independent countries in particular. If we develop trade relations with Indonesia, for example, we can buy rubber, crude oil, bauxite and good-quality timber which we badly need.

Trade which is biased towards a few countries cannot possibly avoid various limitations. Only when we have trade links with many countries around the world can our trade activities be active and effective, and only then can we obtain different kinds of high-quality goods and contribute to accelerating our economic development and to further improving the people's standard of living.

To make a broad advance into foreign markets, the capitalist market in particular, is of great significance in consolidating the foundations of our independent economy and rapidly improving the people's living standards. The basic way of resolving this problem is to raise the

quality of our manufactured goods and mass-produce the items which are in demand internationally. The Party and state officials, those in charge of economic affairs and all the working people should therefore make strenuous efforts to improve the quality of their products.

5. ON LAND MANAGEMENT AND THE PEOPLE'S MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LIVES

1) ON IMPROVING LAND MANAGEMENT

Effective conservation and management of natural resources and public facilities is of great importance in increasing the wealth and beauty of the country and in improving the people's standard of living. It can be said that even before the establishment of the Ministry of Land Administration the land and its resources were owned, because they all belonged to the state. But no one managed them in a responsible way. For instance, people used forests and rivers, but no one took care of them. The care of land other than farmlands was also nobody's responsibility. The same is true of roads.

The Ministry of Land Administration was set up for the unified control and management of land and resources and, in the provinces and counties, too, departments were established with specific land management functions. Of course many problems in connection with land management have been tackled since these steps were taken.

But land management is still far from satisfactory. We must improve this work radically.

Forests are valuable resources, particularly in our country where mountains account for nearly 80 per cent of our territory. Our Party has long emphasized the need to create, carefully conserve and manage forest resources, and make effective use of mountain areas.

But in some parts of the country forests are not well conserved and

managed. Trees are not planted on mountains according to a plan, nor are the existing ones taken good care of.

Even groves of oil-yielding trees have not been established properly in many places. There are many bare hills which are suitable for this purpose, but I do not know why good forests are felled to plant oil-yielding trees there.

This actually happened in Ryonggang County. Although there are many hills in that county, the good acacias and oaks by the mountain road which leads to Onchon County were all cut down and a signpost of an oil grove was put up as if it were showing off. Even this oil grove which had been planted in such an outrageous manner was not tended properly, so that all of the small Korean pepper bushes withered. You should plant oil-yielding trees properly, if you plant them at all. Such careless work will only do you harm.

This kind of failing is not confined to Ryonggang County. The same can be said of all other cities and counties, though in varying degrees. People in the vicinity of Pyongyang do not plant chestnut trees extensively nor do they tend the existing ones properly. For this reason the long-celebrated Pyongyang chestnuts are gradually becoming unavailable.

We must implement the Party's policy on forest conservation, make every effort to plant oil groves and other productive forests and turn our mountains to good account. Our generation may not benefit from this project, but we must do it willingly for the well-being of the generations to come.

Rivers also need to be taken good care of.

Neglect of river improvement and management has resulted in considerable flood damage every year. There has been no re-embankment work, so dikes give way and flood crop fields even when the rainfall is not heavy. Our forefathers averted flood damages by planting willows and similar trees on the banks of rivers and at the edges of fields. Nowadays, however, even these are neglected, so that the edges of fields are washed away by floods and river-bed profiles are rising gradually. But you cannot possibly cope with the problem of

river silting by rebuilding the banks every year. We should undertake projects for the improvement of even small streams and plant willows on river banks and at the edges of fields so as to prevent flood damage.

Roads must be kept in proper repair, otherwise the transport of goods which increases daily, will be held up.

Road repair does not require much in the way of labour or materials. Counties have many trucks and tractors at their disposal, and they can get these vehicles to carry and spread gravel where necessary whenever they are not being used to carry other loads. If they do this for about a year, each of them will be able to gravel a considerable distance of road, and this will prevent the roads from becoming corrugated. Of course, this will not be feasible in the farming season, but in winter trucks and tractors can do this kind of work without difficulty, but only if counties organize it properly.

Another task is to maintain irrigation canals properly. These are an important means of agricultural production. The irrigation canals which we have built are the precious result of the rural technical revolution, and we can be proud of them before the whole world. These canals required a state investment of hundreds of millions of *won* as well as millions of man-days of labour.

Despite this, these precious irrigation canals are carelessly maintained, so that a great deal of water is wasted. For instance, the Rimwon Reservoir is more than large enough to irrigate the paddy and non-paddy fields at Jangsuwon and those in its vicinity. But much of its water leaks away before it can irrigate the fields because of the mismanagement of the irrigation canals on the part of the senior officials there. Examples of such waste can be seen everywhere. It is a matter of great regret that, because of the waste of the water in reservoirs, crop fields cannot be irrigated in the dry season.

Leaking waterways must all be mended. If cement is not available, the leakage should be patched up at least with clay. Dikes should be turfed and river beds well taken care of. If irrigation canals are maintained properly in this way, the existing reservoirs will be able to irrigate a much wider area of crop fields.

Next, we must take good care of public buildings. Our factories, enterprises, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, nurseries, and other public buildings are the common property of our people and the valuable wealth of the country. But some of our officials neglect the supervision of this valuable property.

We can cite many instances of careless management of school buildings. In some parts of the country they are becoming dilapidated because of the lack of repair work, even though they can be made serviceable if minor repairs are undertaken. It is not because the state does not provide funds for this work. A considerable amount of materials and funds was supplied for the repair of schools and other public buildings, but they were all diverted to other purposes and no repair work was done to school buildings.

Whatever fine school buildings we may erect in large numbers, we cannot cope with the situation if they become unserviceable because of neglect. We must uncompromisingly combat the practice of careless management of schools and other valuable public buildings. In addition, we must take good care of dwelling houses.

Still another task is to tidy up apartment blocks in town. In Pyongyang, for instance, a great deal of construction is in progress but the work of landscaping the immediate surroundings of the buildings is not taking place quickly enough. Some time ago I inspected Kyongsang-dong, Central District, but the back streets were most unsightly.

Because the apartment blocks have not been tidied up properly, both children and adults have to cross muddy passages to enter their houses. So how can they keep their houses clean? A city cannot be clean unless the surroundings of buildings are properly landscaped.

This project will not pose a big manpower problem. Housing construction enterprises and public building construction enterprises often have to suspend work because of the shortage of materials, and on such occasions the city authority can mobilize the work forces of these enterprises in landscaping the surroundings of buildings.

If we are to improve land management, we shall have to make the

necessary budgetary outlay for local authorities as well.

At present cities and counties undertake many construction projects of different kinds which have not been planned. Undertaking unplanned construction in a socialist society constitutes a violation of discipline with regard to planning. All cases of unplanned construction must therefore be severely dealt with.

There is a reason why higher authorities cannot strongly censure nor punish the local authorities for undertaking construction projects which have not been planned, although they are aware of them. An investigation of such projects undertaken by provinces or counties shows that many of them are indispensable, although some of them can be dispensed with. But the budgetary outlay for land management is exclusively at the disposal of the central authorities, and not a penny is allocated to the provinces, cities and counties. Because the central authorities neither make the budgetary outlay for provinces and counties nor do they construct anything for the local authorities, simply prohibiting them from constructing anything which has not been planned, it is no wonder that state regulations are violated.

Formerly budgetary expenses were not exclusively in the hands of the central authorities. The present state of affairs is probably due to the fact that in recent years ministries have issued decrees imprudently and have made regulations as they pleased. When we set up the people's government at the outset, there was something of a local budget. A province had a provincial budget; and a county, a county budget. In the days immediately after liberation even a *ri* had its own budget.

At present, of course, the *ri* does not need a separate budget of its own because the cooperative farm which has been organized with the *ri* as a unit meets its own expenses.

But a province must have a budget of its own for construction. The construction of big factories, enterprises, reservoirs, railways and other large-scale projects will have to be financed from the central budget but projects such as those for the construction of local industry factories, schools, roads, parks, town improvement, and other minor projects would be better financed from the provincial budget.

The national budget need not even include the expenses for the construction of primary schools. Appropriate a certain amount of the funds in the provincial budget for this purpose, and the province concerned will use it for school construction as required by its own situation.

Not only the province but also the county should have a budget of its own. Counties should be provided mainly with repair funds and in addition with a small amount of money for construction so that they can undertake small-scale construction. It would be impossible for the provincial budget to finance even the county projects for the improvement of streams and the construction of small bridges. That is why the counties should have some construction funds, in addition to repair funds.

The provision of such local budgets will enable the chairmen of the provincial, municipal and county people's committees to show their creativity and take the initiative in their work.

In addition, the local authorities ought to be provided with some materials which are required for land management. Not much will be required by the local authorities for this purpose, so the Cabinet meeting should decide on the amount to be supplied. A small amount of cement will meet the needs of the counties. The 4,000 tons of cement which have been supplied to each province should be divided among the counties, at the rate of 200 tons for each. As for timber, each county should be authorized to cut a certain amount from the local forests to meet its needs.

The counties should thus be encouraged to construct better local industry factories for themselves, repair schools and dwelling houses and build attractive bathhouses, barbershops and similar service facilities.

It would also be a good idea to authorize each of the chairmen of the county people's committees to have a work force of approximately 20 persons at his disposal, so that he can organize two-shift operations of barbershops, grocers and the like so as to provide the public with better amenities.

The city and county people's committees should be given a definite amount of money for emergencies. In the course of their work, they may be faced with unexpected problems. A man may be killed in a traffic accident or helpless people may come to ask for assistance. In order to deal with such incidents the city and county people's committees should have some emergency money.

We used formerly to have this system of emergency money. But it has been abolished because some senior officials of cities and counties misused this money by abusing their authority.

Now we must revive the emergency money but its use must be strictly controlled to ensure that it is spent to the correct purpose. In particular, this money must not be spent on entertaining visitors from higher authorities. If a county official wants to treat such a visitor, he had better take him home and share his own meal of rice and pumpkin soup with him rather than misuse state money. If a visitor from higher authorities is served with a chicken at the expense of state money, he will be conscience-stricken and embarrassed. This kind of thing must never be done.

When they have received budgets from the national authorities, each of the provinces, cities and counties must hold a people's assembly session to draw up its land development plan and determine the objects of construction and repair and the order of priority. This will make the local people's assembly interesting and encourage the deputies to these power organs to take an active part in the debate. The representatives will bring to the assembly the matters which are urgent to the people such as suggestions for the repair of bridges and schools, and for the construction of kindergartens. If, instead, the representatives to the local power organ raise their hands a few times at the assembly session before they go home as they do now, they cannot say that they function as deputies.

When budgeting for the provinces, the Cabinet, too, must summon the chairmen of the provincial people's committees to the meeting. These chairmen must express all their opinions before they receive the budgets for their respective provinces.

In future there must be no instances of diverting the money for land management to other purposes.

First of all, repair funds must not be misused. I am told that in some parts of the country housing and school repair funds are spent on the construction of relaxation centres. This is wrong. Of course, it is necessary to build such centres. But the diverting for this purpose of the materials and funds for the repair of dwelling houses and school buildings must be absolutely prohibited. When a relaxation centre is not available, working people can rest at home. But if their houses leak, they cannot live comfortably for even a moment, and if the cold wind drifts into schoolrooms through the windows, pupils cannot study properly.

Construction funds must also be spent exclusively on authorized projects. For instance, the funds for the construction of school buildings must always be spent for that purpose, not for the construction of a camp or other purposes.

To this end, there must be strict discipline which allows nobody to change at will the construction projects discussed and decided at the people's assembly session. This is the way to put an end to the local practice of undertaking projects which are not included in the plan.

It is necessary to allocate architects to the counties. It is said that the architects who had originally been assigned to counties for the job of repairing buildings have been transferred to provinces. But they should be returned to the counties now that the counties are to have their own budgets in connection with land development. A province cannot afford to take charge of the designing of small storehouses for its counties, nor can we allow the counties to construct things without designs. The provinces must first return the architects to the counties, even if they have to have the shortage of architects put right later.

2) ON IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, AND HEALTH AND SANITATION WORK

Great attention should be given to improving education in schools.

The school occupies the most important place in the education of young people and children. Moreover, our cadres are busy with their revolutionary work and most of the parents of the schoolchildren go to work, so they do not have enough time to educate their children regularly at home. For this reason schools have a very heavy responsibility to bear.

If we are to improve school education, we must first build up the ranks of teachers. Only when these are sound and their level of political and ideological qualifications is high can schools correctly implement the Party's educational policy and train the pupils to be competent workers.

To organize the teachers' ranks well is all the more important with regard to primary and middle schools. University students can readily recognize and refute any nonsense which a teacher might talk, since these students are advanced in years and their political level is comparatively high. But the young pupils of the primary and middle schools think that everything their teachers say is true. If, for instance, the daughter of a landlord slips into the ranks of the teachers and tells the innocent pupils that the landlords are good, the pupils might believe her.

The quality of pupils produced by primary, middle and technical schools depends largely on the education given by their teachers. If the teachers train their pupils properly, they will become excellent men, and if not, the pupils may become undisciplined and go astray. Therefore, if they are to give proper school education, all teachers, and particularly those in the primary, middle and technical schools, must be chosen from among competent people with a good origin.

In addition to improving the ranks of the teachers, we must see that they stay in their posts as long as possible. I looked into this matter with a few schools and found that teachers were transferred very often. This state of affairs is affecting the education of pupils to a considerable degree. The educational sector must not transfer teachers frequently: they should be allowed to stay in the same school as long as possible.

To this end, we must refrain from increasing the proportion of women teachers too much. Women teachers are said to account for as much as 90 per cent in some schools, but this seems too high a proportion. If a school has so many women teachers, their transfer is inevitable, for girl teachers marry and the married women will have to go with their husbands if their husbands are transferred to other places.

If a school has too many women teachers it will be impossible to educate the pupils properly. Married women teachers have many responsibilities other than teaching at school. They have to take care of their children and husbands, and manage their housekeeping. They can only teach for several hours a day at school but have not much time to guide the extracurricular activities of their pupils, tutor them individually and visit their homes. But this is not to say that there is no place for women teachers. In future many women teachers should go on teaching also, but not too many of them in each school. I think that 50 to 60 per cent will be the proper proportion of women teachers on the teaching staff of a school.

Teachers should continue to raise their political and practical qualifications.

The main reason for the bad school record of the pupils at many schools is, in the long run, that the qualifications of the teachers are low. The low level of the teachers naturally results in the low quality of education.

The teachers should study harder than anyone else in order to improve their qualifications. If they do this they will become fully versed in their subjects and continually improve the method of teaching.

They should be proficient in the communist moral education of their pupils. Training the schoolchildren and young students, the rising generation, in communist morality is one of the most important tasks of school education. If the youth and children cultivate a noble moral character in their school days, they can be competent builders of socialism when they go out into the world in the future.

But at present the communist moral education is neglected at

schools. Formerly, the League of Socialist Working Youth, too, stressed this question a great deal but these days things have somehow quietened down. We must continue to strengthen the communist moral education of the schoolchildren and young students.

In order to teach pupils effectively the teachers themselves have to set a practical example. In other words, they should teach their pupils by their own example. From old times a teacher has been referred to as the mirror of his pupils. This implies that every movement of the teacher is reflected in the movements of his pupils.

In order to educate their pupils to be communists, the teachers themselves must become excellent communists who are equipped with communist ideology and a high moral character. If a teacher has an ideological or moral defect nobody will respect him or believe him, no matter how excellent his words are.

One of the best ways of teaching pupils is to encourage them to take an active part in social activities. The students of higher technical schools can lecture at places like a people's neighbourhood unit after school. If they do this they will acquire a higher sense of responsibility and get a great deal of stimulus. It is advisable to get the school LSWY organizations to arrange this.

If we are to improve education, we must see that social concern for schools is further increased.

At present the state is in charge of all matters concerned with school management, including even small items, with the result that the parents of pupils and students and cooperative farms simply expect the state to do even the things which they could do for themselves. Of course, the state must assume the main responsibility for school management, but we must ensure that things which can be done by public efforts are done by a mass campaign. Our people have always been deeply interested in the education of their children. If our officials respect this fine tradition and actively enlist the schoolchildren's parents in school affairs it will be a great help, not only in the education of schoolchildren, but also in the management of schools.

We must first solve the problem of clothing the schoolchildren well

by means of a public campaign. In the past some provinces began a campaign to supply the students with overcoats and wadded clothes in winter but they have now abandoned it. We must get it started again. It would be a good idea if local industry factories produced fibre from wild plants and wove fabrics to make overcoats for the schoolchildren. In places where this is impossible, they will have to grow a little cotton to make sure that overcoats or wadded clothes are produced to protect the schoolchildren during winter.

I am told that at present some schools impose the task of obtaining paint, bricks and brooms on their young pupils. This is quite unjustified. Telling the schoolchildren to bring these things, which they do not have at home, is tantamount to compelling them to steal them from construction sites. This will affect the education of schoolchildren very badly. It must not occur again.

If our officials organize work properly, schools can be managed efficiently without imposing such burdens upon the pupils. For instance, a cooperative farm can help a school by allocating some of its cultural funds, if its members decide to do so, because most of them send their children to the school. The problem of providing firewood to the school in winter can also be easily solved if the children's parents devote a rest day to this work.

Schools in urban communities, too, can get a great deal of help in their management if they work properly among the parents and correctly mobilize public efforts. But they must refrain from imposing too heavy burdens upon them.

County Party committees should control school education more effectively.

The senior officials of county Party committees must inspect schools regularly to get a detailed picture of how the political and ideological levels and the qualifications of the teachers are being raised, how the work of improving the record of the schoolchildren is going on, how moral education is being given, and similar matters. They should help the schools to solve their problems quickly. I think it would be advisable for the county Party committee chairmen to visit

schools at least five or six times a year and have consultative meetings with the teachers on the problems which arise in their educational work.

It appears that some officials of the county Party committee do not visit schools because they are not familiar with school education. They may not be able to give detailed directions to teachers on classwork but they will be able to train them. For example, if they organize a debate or a lecture at a school on the subject of the need for teachers to be neat in appearance and to acquire a fine moral character, they will give assistance to the school in its work.

The county Party committees should ensure that teachers are accorded preferential treatment socially and that they are well taken care of in their everyday lives. Looking after them is not so difficult. If cadres and parents make some effort and show concern for them, the teachers will not have much difficulty in their lives.

The supply of clothes for the teachers ought to be improved. Well-dressed teachers will look dignified in the eyes of the children and can insist that their pupils be dressed neatly. Therefore, even if cadres have to put up with slightly low-quality clothes, the teachers should first be provided with clothes of good quality.

Next, we should intensify the cultural and moral education of the people.

In past years we have achieved many successes in the political and ideological education of the people but there are still many shortcomings in this respect. Some of our people do not know how to observe the basic standards of proper manners, and their low cultural level is in evidence in one way or another.

Take the case of Pyongyang which is said to be a little better than other parts of the country. There are still quite a few people who neither keep their houses clean nor dress themselves neatly. Some people walk about the streets in working or sporting clothes.

Pyongyang is the capital of our country, so its inhabitants should dress themselves cleanly, keep their houses neat and tidy and be well-mannered to prove themselves worthy citizens of the capital.

Only then will Pyongyang become an example to the whole country in the cultural and moral aspects of its people's lives. This is not a new task which was raised only yesterday or today. Why is it, then, that it is not implemented properly? I think it is because our officials rush through cultural and moral education among the people. When told to do it, they pretend to do so for some time, but they soon abandon it.

The neglect of cultural and moral education is not confined to Pyongyang alone. This defect is much more serious in provincial capitals and other cities and counties.

We should carry out cultural and moral education among the people without respite, so that they will all become fine socialist builders who have acquired a high cultural level and noble communist moral qualities.

We must do away with superfluous formalities, which are much in evidence in our lives. Our people consider that a black suit for a bridegroom and a white dress and veil for his bride are essential for a wedding ceremony. This convention is not based on our own national customs. Our ancestors used to wear ceremonial dress and a silk hat and a costume decorated with seven jewels for a wedding.

Wearing a white dress and veil is a custom which originated with Christianity. It was spread by Christians to our country. Not knowing its origin, our people even hire these clothes for the occasion. This is an unnecessary formality. New clothes, decorated with a flower, for each of the couple to be married and a gathering of their relatives and friends is all that is needed to make a wedding ceremony appropriate.

I am not saying this so that you can dictate that a wedding ceremony must follow a certain pattern, or so that you can order that all the old formalities be abolished right away. You have to educate people properly so that they will gradually drop the outdated custom of their own accord.

Next, we should improve the public health service and sanitation work.

Thanks to the Party's correct policy on public health, many successes have been achieved in this work. Many epidemics and

various diseases have been eradicated, and a great advance has also been made in medical treatment.

However, there are still many shortcomings in health and sanitation work. Cleaning is neglected and the campaign to wipe out flies and mosquitoes has been abandoned both in urban and rural communities. Formerly, when a mass campaign was being waged to kill flies, one hardly ever saw a fly, but these days there are flies everywhere.

Prevention work is not being done thoroughly, with the result that various diseases still survive. The Party also gave the task of building a children's ward in every city and county a long time ago, but many counties have still not built them. As a consequence, many children contract diseases.

Some people say that epidemic and other diseases have not yet been exterminated in our country because of inadequate health and sanitary facilities. They are mistaken. The main reason is that senior officials are not seriously concerned about the health of the people and they do not implement our Party's health policy on preventing diseases properly. If they had carried through the Party's public health policy and organized preventive work thoroughly, they could have wiped out many diseases.

At present we cannot afford to construct water works for all our rural communities. No country in the world has piped water in all its rural buildings. If bad water is the cause of diseases, all that you need do is to boil the drinking water. When we fought in the mountains we did not even see piped water, but we did not get ill because we drank boiled water. Our officials must not simply complain of the shortage of water works, but must teach the people to drink boiled water in places where there is no running water laid on.

I should like to mention another thing about public health. Some comrades describe the situation as if the cases of various diseases in our country were now more numerous than before. But this is not true. The diseases have not increased, but various diseases which were formerly unknown have now been identified.

As you all know, there were no medical facilities to speak of in our

country in the past, and when people fell ill they could not afford to consult doctors in hospital, so diseases could not be diagnosed. Thanks to modern medical equipment and free medical care, everyone can now go to hospital for a free medical examination even if he has a slight headache. So diseases can be diagnosed promptly.

Therefore, you need not be frightened because there are different kinds of diseases now in our country. Our task is to combat diseases and prevent them.

3) ON LOOKING AFTER THE PEOPLE IN A RESPONSIBLE MANNER

To stabilize the people's lives and raise their living standards steadily is the most important duty of us communists after the seizure of power. Our revolution and construction of socialism is aimed, in the final analysis, at providing the people with a happy and decent life. Showing unremitting consideration for their material and cultural life is the highest principle of our Party and Government in all their activities.

Under our system the people cannot live for even a moment outside the care of the Party and the state. Today our people entrust themselves to the Party and the state in all aspects of their lives ranging from the problems of food and clothing to the education of their children. All our Party organizations and state bodies should, therefore, pay close attention to the people's living standards and take care of them in a responsible manner.

But our senior officials do not make the effort to look after the people's well-being responsibly. Some of them feel no distress to see the people suffering hardships. They do nothing to solve the people's problems but simply turn to their superiors for assistance even when they themselves can deal with these problems without too much effort.

It is not that we have said very little about the people's living standards or adopted only a few decisions on this matter. Both the

Party Central Committee and the Cabinet have adopted many decisions and we have spoken on this matter at every meeting. Why, then, does this question still remain unsolved? This is because our senior officials lack the Party spirit, class spirit and the spirit to serve the people and because they are very little concerned for the lives of the people.

In the first place, our officials are not interested in the lives of the farmers. When our farmers belonged to the private economy in the past, the state did not assume the full responsibility for their livelihood. Since they ran their own private economies in those days, the farmers themselves were directly responsible both for production and for their own livelihood.

But things are different now. Since the rural economy has been cooperativized, the socialist state must assume the responsibility for the well-being of the farmers as well as the lives of the factory and office workers. This was emphasized a long time ago. It is also dealt with as an important matter in the theses on the socialist rural question.

In spite of this, many of our senior officials are apathetic to rural work and do not look after the farmers in a responsible way because they still have outdated ideas about them.

This is also true of the repair of the farmers' dwelling houses. We have stressed more than once that the Party organizations and cooperative farms must accept the responsibility of repairing their houses. Since we are not in a position to build new houses at once for all the farmers throughout the country, the existing houses should at least be repaired properly for them. Old houses will still be serviceable for some time if their walls are cleanly whitewashed, their earthen verandahs mended, their roofs thatched anew and their surroundings tidied. Because our officials are indifferent to farmers' lives, they neglect this work.

We must work hard to improve the housing conditions for the farmers.

It is important to repair the existing rural houses properly and use them. Housing repairs, except major ones, should be undertaken by farmers themselves rather than the rural construction corps. If our

officials attend to this matter and provide the necessary facilities, the farmers will have no problem in repairing their own houses. For this purpose, we should organize the production of door paper, floor paper, wallpaper, and other minor supplies necessary for the repair of houses. The cooperative farms must arrange for their farmers to have time to repair their houses.

While attending to the repair of the farmers' houses, we must continue to expedite the construction of rural houses.

From next year onwards, we must have a campaign to build modern houses for another 50,000 families in the countryside every year. In this regard the construction of the houses for 40,000 families will be undertaken at state expense and for the remaining 10,000 families by the rural communities themselves.

Since each county has a rural construction corps it will be able to build houses for 200 families without difficulty if it gets social labour assistance and mobilizes some farmers.

In building modern rural houses you must try hard to build serviceable houses and, at the same time, to economize in building materials. In some parts of the country, in the past, every family was provided with two rooms and overlarge storage which was not really necessary. A large family will need two rooms but a small family can manage with one room.

The cooperative farms should pay attention to furnishing not only the houses for their members well, but also their nurseries and kindergartens. Quite a few cooperative farms are using magnificent tile-roofed houses as offices for their management boards but they are not enthusiastic about furnishing nurseries and kindergartens properly. It would be a good idea for the poorly-housed nurseries and kindergartens of the cooperative farms to move into the good houses used by their management boards, and for these management boards to move elsewhere. A board can work in the spare room of an ordinary house.

Barbershops and bathhouses in the rural communities should also be well-furnished and well-operated. We arranged for these facilities

which had belonged to the cooperative farms to be placed in the care of the Ministry of Commerce so that they could serve the farmers better. Since their transfer, however, the commercial establishments have not managed them properly. The cooperative farms should take them back and run them for themselves.

The cooperative farms must equip clubhouses in a cultured way and run them efficiently to ensure that film shows and other entertainments are organized regularly for the farmers. The existing clubhouses should be kept in good repair and use, and in places where there are no clubhouses, school buildings should be used in their place. The state cannot afford to build a new clubhouse right now for each of the 4,000 ri. At present every ri has a school. Therefore, if each rural community makes suitable use of it, there will be no need to build new clubhouses with the consequent great expenditure of funds, materials and labour. If sliding doors are provided between some schoolrooms, these rooms can be used for film shows and meetings simply by opening the doors.

The problem of firewood for the farmers also deserves our attention and action.

If the cooperative farms create forests of firewood by planting acacias and other trees on nearby low hills, the farmers will not worry about firewood. Since acacias grow well and fast anywhere, they can be used as firewood after two or three years of growth. If they are cut they grow again the next year. Approximately 10,000 acacias planted in one hectare will provide enough firewood for five or six households. Cultivating these trees will not be too difficult. If the cooperative farms are given this task they will do it quite easily.

Of course, the state will have to take measures to supply coal or petroleum or whatever else is needed to the counties in the lowlands where there are no low hills at all. But it cannot afford to supply coal to all the farmhouses of our country. Our present coal output is not so high that we can do that, nor can our transport system cope with such a task. So the farmers in those counties which are located in and near mountains must obtain firewood to meet their own needs, instead of expecting to receive coal supplies from the state.

Farmers ought to be supplied with cooking oil, bean paste and soya regularly. The Party Central Committee have discussed how to ensure a regular supply of these foodstuffs on many occasions and have taken the necessary measures. We have established local industry factories in every county, and the main purpose of this was to enable each county to meet the demands of its inhabitants with its own products. As a matter of fact, if the counties organize production efficiently by mobilizing all the locally available raw material resources and set up a proper supply system in accordance with the Party's instructions, they will be well able to meet their own demands for bean paste and soya and even for cooking oil.

But our officials do not organize this work properly. Each county has a foodstuff factory, but not many of our counties are producing and supplying an adequate amount of soya and bean paste to the farmers. In fact, with a view to lightening the burden on the farmers, we arranged for the factories to produce soya and bean paste by purchasing soya beans. But the officials concerned are causing the farmers inconvenience by not organizing work.

Of course, in future those counties whose foodstuff factories are capable of producing an adequate amount of soya and bean paste for their farmers should do it by purchasing soya beans and should also extract cooking oil. But other counties which have not the facilities to do so must refrain from buying beans indiscriminately but should distribute approximately 15 to 20 kilogrammes to each household, so that the farmers can make these foodstuffs for themselves. In this event the output of cooking oil may suffer a little. Nevertheless, the farmers must not run short of bean paste and soya.

Farmers should also be supplied with adequate supplies of vegetables. In some counties farmers still suffer from a shortage of vegetables. The chairmen of Party and people's committees of such counties must clearly realize that they are responsible for this situation.

A plentiful supply of meat will be difficult in our country for some time until the food grain problem is completely solved. But there can be no excuse for the shortage of vegetables, bean paste and soya. The

trouble is that the officials concerned are indifferent to the well-being of the farmers and do not organize such work in a responsible way.

In order to improve the farmers' living standards, you must continue to implement the task of abolishing the tax in kind correctly in accordance with the rural theses. If we are to provide larger incomes for the farmers, we must exempt them from the tax in kind and also take measures to lower the prices of industrial products further in the future.

We must guide the farmers to manage their household affairs properly. If we overlook this, by allowing ourselves to be preoccupied with the task of increasing the incomes of the members of the cooperative farms, their living standards will not improve rapidly.

Some of them are not well-off in spite of the large sum of cash distributed to them because they fail to organize their lives properly. Some farmers, for instance, spend their yearly cash incomes on buying sewing machines which they seldom use, and then they find themselves penniless. Of course, they can buy sewing machines and radios if they can afford them. But those farmers who are not too well-off ought to begin by concentrating on solving the problems of food and clothing successfully.

The Party organizations of the cooperative farms must teach the Party members and the officials of the working people's organizations to take meticulous care of the farmers in the management of their household affairs. The Women's Union organizations, in particular, should intensify the training of rural women so that they will manage their lives assiduously.

Our officials must not only look after the farmers in a responsible way but also pay attention to the well-being of the factory and office workers.

For several years now we have been trying hard to tackle the problem of supplying vegetables and cooking oil regularly to these workers. But there has been no tangible improvement so far.

The question of the supply of vegetables to Pyongyang has also not been completely solved. We have set up many vegetable farms and

built a large *kimchi* factory and vegetable storage in order to supply the Pyongyang citizens with vegetables all the year round. If vegetables are stored or pickled as *kimchi* in their high season so that they can be supplied when they are out of season, the townspeople will not suffer so much from shortages.

We must take decisive measures to ensure a regular supply of vegetables to all the working population.

We must begin by creating a model modern vegetable production centre at the Hwanghae Iron Works, one of the large metallurgical centres in our country. The iron works will be able to manage this task because it has many workers and technicians and a large reserve of various types of equipment and materials.

You need not regard the matter of a model vegetable field as something particularly difficult to achieve. All that you need is to introduce sprinkler irrigation by improving the existing system of irrigating the vegetable fields along their furrows. This project will require steel pipes with which to set up sprinklers at different places. These devices will be able to irrigate all the vegetable fields evenly, just as rain does. This method will also prevent lice from damaging vegetables. Solutions of fertilizer and agricultural chemicals in water can also be applied by this method.

The Hwanghae Iron Works is said to produce only 40 tons of vegetables per hectare at the moment. But the use of this modern irrigation system and proper care in the cultivation of vegetables will increase the yield to 100 tons without difficulty.

It would be advisable for the iron works to develop approximately 100 hectares of modern vegetable fields at several suitable sites. If the iron works cultivates these vegetable fields properly and produces 15,000 tons, each worker will get a vegetable supply of more than one ton a year. The Party and People's Committees of Songnim City, and the Party Committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works should hold a joint meeting to work out detailed measures and then immediately get down to work.

When the Hwanghae Iron Works has set an example in developing

modern vegetable fields, Pyongyang should follow its example and create similar farms in several places, and Tokchon, Chongjin, Hamhung and other cities with large industrial populations should also follow suit.

Measures must also be taken to provide factory and office workers with meat and eggs. If senior officials pay attention to this matter and get factories and other enterprises to organize stock and poultry farming properly, they will be able to produce meat and eggs to meet their own needs. In future the state should make every effort to supply factories and enterprises with mixed feed and provide them with the necessary facilities so that they can do stock and poultry farming for themselves.

Meanwhile, housewives in workers' districts should be encouraged to launch a widespread campaign to plant pumpkins and raise pigs and chickens. At one time the Ministry of Public Health prohibited the keeping of dogs on the grounds that they were a menace to health and the prevention of epidemics. But that was wrong. Of course, many domestic animals pollute the environment to some extent, but they will not be a big obstacle to sanitation and disease prevention if cleaning is done regularly and thoroughly. In future you must not bother the people by using sanitation and so forth as an excuse, but encourage even the workers' districts to raise many chickens and pigs. I am told that the dependents in the workers' district of the Komdok Mine manage sideline production very well. Their experience should be widely copied.

In towns and workers' districts dwelling houses should be allocated rationally.

While inspecting some parts of the country, I have found that dwelling houses had been unwisely allocated by the officials of the city and county people's committees concerned who were indifferent to the living conditions of the people. A large family had been given a small one-room flat, whereas a married couple had been allocated a large multi-room flat. This kind of practice causes inconvenience to people.

As everyone knows, there is a great strain on the housing situation

in towns and workers' districts at the moment. Of course we shall continue to build dwellings but the housing situation may not be satisfactory for the time being. So houses in towns and workers' districts should be allocated sensibly. If existing houses are distributed rationally, the housing shortage can be eased to some degree.

In future petroleum cooking stoves should be introduced in the workers' districts, too, for the convenience of their residents. Because coal is used for cooking in these districts, which means that rooms are heated even in summer, the inhabitants find it hard to endure the heat. If they use petroleum stoves, they will not have to use coal in summer except once in every few days during the rainy season just to lower the humidity in their rooms. This will serve the convenience of the workers and enable them to save a large amount of coal.

We must see that the workers' hostels are furnished and managed properly to ensure hygiene and seamliness. We raised this question a long time ago. But not many of these hostels have been furnished properly.

If they live in bad hostels, the workers cannot relax comfortably nor can they increase work efficiency. If senior officials concerned commit themselves to this task and take care of the workers' hostels just as they do their own houses, they will be able to furnish them in a hygienic and decent manner.

We should attend to the well-being of the officials of the local Party and government bodies, as well as the living conditions of the workers and farmers.

Instructors of the county Party and people's committees and other county-level institutions and some teachers are the lowest paid in our country at present. In fact, these comrades work harder than anybody else, but they receive smaller wages than others. The Party and the state intend to raise the wages of factory and office workers by 25 to 30 per cent as a whole next year, giving priority to the lower-paid people.

If the county Party and people's committees organize a sideline well, this will assist to improve the livelihood of the officials. If we give each county-level institution a small tractor and let it cultivate a

few sideline fields and raise pigs, it will be able to supply some meat on occasions like festivals and solve its problem of non-staple foodstuffs.

Next, I should like to say a few words about the children's lives.

We always say that the children are the future of our country and will carry forward our revolution. We can say that a good upbringing and the proper education of the children, our younger generation, is a very important subject which is related to the future of the revolution. Some officials, however, do not know how to cherish children, and they show little interest in their lives. This attitude is displayed, most of all, in their neglect of the nurseries and kindergartens.

Some people suggest that the nurseries and kindergartens in the rural communities should be supplied with confections for snacks just as those of the state institutions and enterprises are. This is a wrong attitude, which seeks to depend entirely on the state. If the officials concerned give some attention to this matter and make an effort, they will be able to ensure that the rural communities solve the problem of snacks for their nurseries and kindergartens themselves without getting them from the state. If a cooperative farm breeds several goats, it will be able to supply the children regularly with milk. And it will be even better if the milk is mixed with rice flour or chestnut powder and boiled before it is fed to the children. Furthermore, if the farm grows sweet potatoes and stores some of the chestnut harvest and other fruits for its nurseries and kindergartens, it will be able to supply different kinds of snacks for the children throughout the year. Then, the children can eat more delicious and more nutritious snacks than those given by the state.

We should combat the mistaken ideological viewpoint of officials who simply try to depend on the state, instead of doing what they can themselves.

Senior officials should look after not only the nurseries and kindergartens in the rural communities responsibly, but also those in the coal mines, factories and other enterprises.

The children of miners in the nurseries and kindergartens in some

coal-mining areas are said to be shivering with cold in winter because coal is not supplied for them. I investigated the matter and found that the nurseries, kindergartens, schools and hospitals in these areas were supposed to receive fuel from the local people's committees, and that, therefore, the ministry concerned ordered the coal mines not to supply coal to them. I cannot really understand why the ministry issued such an order. How much coal can these nurseries and kindergartens use in winter, if ever they do?

The schools, hospitals and shops in the coal-mining regions, as well as the nurseries and kindergartens, are establishments which serve these coal mines. So the coal mines must supply coal directly to all these institutions and also assume the responsibility of taking care of them in other matters concerning their living conditions. Of course, the coal mines should get payment for the coal supplies and settle accounts correctly with the recipients since they are run by the system of balancing their own income and expenditure.

Not only the coal mines but also those large factories and other enterprises which are a great distance from towns must supply fuel directly to the nurseries, kindergartens, schools and hospitals in their service and take the responsibility of looking after them in other respects. In Taean, for example, there are establishments such as a nursery, kindergarten, school, hospital and so on which serve the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. This plant must assume the responsibility for supplying fuel to all these establishments and helping them in solving their daily problems.

As for similar establishments in cities, there must be a principle under which the appropriate city fuel supply centres assume the responsibility of providing them with fuel as a matter of priority.

We must also see that the supply of goods for children is radically improved.

At present this is not proceeding smoothly. Shops are not adequately stocked with clothes, socks, shoes and toys for children.

I was told that recently the commercial and distributive sector took over the responsibility for the production and supply of such clothes

from the light industry sector. But this is not the solution. It does not matter where these goods are produced. If the goods are supplied as needed there will be no problem. Although the commercial and distributive sector has undertaken the production of children's clothes, things are not going well. Neither the clothes for preschool children nor those for schoolchildren are being produced and supplied satisfactorily.

Parents, too, do not pay enough attention to the matter of bringing up their children. Adults have several suits of fine clothes each, but they do not bother to dress their children decently. They say they do not make good clothes for their children because they play so roughly that their clothes are too quickly worn out. But the truth is that the parents, who still retain the outdated attitude of wanting a carefree life, are indifferent to their children. We must discard such outdated habits and wrong attitudes.

We must bring about a great change in the production of clothes and other goods for children. In future, we must ensure unreservedly that the children's goods account for 35 per cent of the total output of our commodities. In addition, we must lower the prices of all children's goods by approximately 10 per cent compared with those of adults. In this way our children will be supplied with cheap, high-quality goods in greater quantities.

6. ON THE QUESTIONS OF PLANNING, TECHNIQUES AND MANAGEMENT

We have achieved great successes in the course of fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan. Industrial production has continued to increase rapidly; the material and technical foundations of agriculture have been strengthened; and the urban and rural communities have been better built. And the people's living standards have improved, on the whole.

A review of our economic construction shows that there are quite a few shortcomings in spite of our great achievements. I have already analysed and criticised many failings which have been revealed in each sector of the national economy. Our officials must clearly understand the basic cause of these shortcomings. You cannot solve any problem successfully if you fail to find out the basic cause by allowing yourselves to be tangled up in individual problems. Only when you have an answer to the basic problem can you solve all the other problems.

The major shortcoming in our economic construction at the moment is that we have not improved the people's living standards in keeping with the solid economic foundations which we have established.

We have created assets which can provide us with a much better life than now, but we cannot improve our living standards. Our assets are indeed great. We have the bases of heavy and light industries. Our country has reached a high level of per-capita output of major industrial products such as electric power, coal, steel, cement, chemical fertilizer, fabric and the like, as high as that of fairly developed countries. Agriculture, too, has been equipped with large irrigation facilities and a considerable number of tractors and other farm machines. But our people's standard of living is still low in the light of such economic foundations.

Of course, there are some unavoidable reasons. We have laid the economic foundations on the ruins in a short period since the end of the war, so it requires some time to perfect them and make full use of them. Also, our people were so poor in the past that their standard of living, in spite of tangible improvement, has hardly reached the mark we have set. Another fact is that our defence expenditure, which is greater than that of other countries, also affects living standards. But these cannot be the basic reason why the people's standard of living is below the mark.

The problem is that our officials are inefficient in the direction and management of the national economy. In other words, our people are

not well-off because officials do not know how to make effective use of the great assets they have. There can be no other reason why we cannot further improve the people's standard of living since the Party's policy is correct, the masses' enthusiasm is high and we have the assets. Over several years now, our Party has laid stress on the problem of improving the people's standard of living, but the problem has not yet been resolved because our officials have not made a serious effort. Consequently, we are now unable to advance any further unless we improve the direction and management of the national economy radically.

If we continue to try to go ahead without solving this basic problem, our success will be small, the state will lose much, and the people will receive virtually no benefit. We must improve guidance and management of the national economy so as to make full use of the existing assets, even if it takes us two or three years or more to do this, and until then we must not undertake new large-scale economic construction projects.

The most important problems that must be solved in connection with the direction and management of our national economy at present are: first, to improve planning; second, to raise the technical levels; and third, to increase the efficiency of management and operation and run all the country's economic affairs diligently. It can be said that whether or not we rectify the shortcomings in all aspects of economic construction and the people's well-being depends, in the final analysis, on how we solve these three questions. We must, therefore, concentrate on solving the problems of planning, techniques and management.

1) ON IMPROVING PLANNING

We always stress the fact that planning is one of the most important problems in socialist economic construction. Without a plan, it would be impossible to run the economy in a socialist society. A mistake in

planning may result in the waste of a large amount of materials and manpower and even throw a nation's economy into chaos.

In spite of this, planning is inefficient in our country at present. Every year our plan is revised and changed several times, but even this plan is not implemented properly. The shortcomings such as fluctuations in production, a great deal of waste and slow improvement in the people's standard of living are due, above all, to inefficient planning.

The most serious defect in our planning is that our plans are not worked out in detail but in a rough and slipshod manner. They lack both scientific calculation and detail. They do not cover the details in all sectors of the national economy. They only include the figures on large items, such as, for instance, the number of tons of ore, steel, cement or the quantity of trucks, tractors, and so on, but they do not include the details such as the number of bolts and gears.

We have had a general idea that the major shortcoming in our planning is that our plans lack detail, and our current inspection of many places has confirmed this truth. At the moment the goods which are not itemized for state planning are not included in plans, and detailed prospecting is not introduced in the mining industry; nor are details handled in designing, either. The lack of detailed planning is the cause of the low rate of equipment utilization and the cause of inefficiency in production and construction.

Until now the State Planning Commission and the Cabinet have supplied only those materials which are specified for state planning, and no others. But they have simply ordered subordinate authorities to do this or that. Take the tractor production plan for instance. In giving the assignment to produce 5,000 tractors, they planned the supply of such specific materials as sheet and other steel, but not the supply of such items as screws, valves and bearings which are not specified for state planning. Officials of the State Planning Commission do not include screws and bearings in its plan, regarding them as trivial items, but the tractor factory cannot complete its products because of the shortage of such small items.

At present the materials which are not specified for state planning are supposed to be planned by the ministries which produce them, but this seems illogical. These ministries will plan and produce the goods which are required to meet their own demands, but they may be reluctant to do so for other ministries, regarding it as a nuisance. In fact, ministries' plans for the production of the goods which are not specified for state planning are something of a moral plan. A moral plan implies that it may or may not be implemented at one's discretion. For such unspecified goods neither the State Planning Commission nor the ministries are to be held responsible. In the event no one is responsible for such items.

The shortage of items like bolts and nuts which are simple to manufacture, is entirely due to the absence of the planner who is in charge of this matter. The Ministry of Machine Industry is given an assignment to produce bolts and nuts only in terms of gross output by tons, not specifying their number and sizes, so that the ministry tries to manufacture items which can easily make up the weight. In consequence, some kinds of items are overproduced while other kinds are underproduced or are not produced at all, and bolts and nuts are always in short supply.

The capacity of a machine factory is also estimated simply in terms of the total number of its cutting machines without counting the number of types, and then the order is given it to make so many tons of machinery. The result is that the factory fails to carry out the plan or turns out only crude products when it does fulfil its plan.

In transport, too, the plan includes only the shipment of large items, ignoring the small ones, so that executives in the transport sector are reluctant to ship small items of materials and machine parts on the excuse that these are not authorized by the plan.

The state of the equipment of rice mills, too, could have been different from what it is if production had been organized by specifying the types and numbers of machine parts to be manufactured as well as the production deadline, and which factories were to perform the task, instead of simply shouting slogans. But only slogans have

been shouted, to the effect that rice mills should be maintained properly and that the rate of output in polishing rice should be increased. So this job could not have been done properly.

Inefficient planning is also mainly responsible for the failure of the mining industry to go ahead of other sectors and for the shortcomings in capital construction.

If the mining industry is to develop, prospecting—not only preliminary prospecting, but detailed and service prospecting—must all be done ahead of other work. But detailed prospecting is not planned, though some preliminary surveys are made. That is why heading excavation fails to strike veins, wasting a great deal of labour but producing nothing. If you are to make a workable capital construction plan, you must draw it up in detail after a careful estimate of the possibilities of supplying materials for the project and of making the necessary machines and equipment. But you do not do this. So even when a construction project is almost completely finished, its operation is delayed for months simply because several valves or several metres of cable are not available.

This lack of a detailed plan may develop among officials a bad habit of shirking responsibility and of shifting difficult jobs onto the shoulders of other people.

In a word, our planning at the moment is not advancing as required by our developing economy. A plan—be it a production plan or a construction plan—which does not correctly estimate in detail the possibility of obtaining the supply of materials cannot be called a plan in the true sense of the word. Strictly speaking, none of the plans which we have so far worked out are plans; these are mere control figures. We must thoroughly correct the shortcomings in our planning.

The socialist economy requires that there should always be a proper balance, not only between different sectors but also within each of these sectors, and that all economic activities should be dovetailed in detail. A unified plan to ensure the supply of materials is particularly essential. This requires that the materials which have not so far been treated as items for state planning must, in future, be included in the plan.

There are tens of thousands of such items, so it will be a problem to plan them all. Officials of the State Planning Commission say that they cannot plan such items because, if they include such trivial things in the state plan, they will have to amend the state law frequently. But this cannot be accepted as an excuse. They can amend the regulations so as to permit changes in the minor items in the plan, though not the major ones. Officials of the State Planning Commission probably say this because they have seen foreigners do likewise, but we must correct anything that does not suit our country, whatever foreign experiences are.

To plan even minor items is, of course, rather complicated, but I think it is by no means impossible. If a ministry can do it, why not the State Planning Commission? According to our experience, it is not so difficult to compile some big figures, nor can these figures alone be a means to run the socialist economy. What is important is to plan correctly both the major items and the minor ones—the so-called trivial things.

We must plan everything including the items which have so far been omitted from state planning, even if we have to increase the planning staff if this is needed. If the State Planning Commission summons long-serving technicians who are familiar with their factory situations to discuss the matter, one technician from each small factory and two or three from each big factory, the commission will be able to understand all the needs of each of these factories in terms of items and amounts and all the items and amounts which each of these factories can supply to other factories and enterprises. If the State Planning Commission holds discussions with these technicians like this, it can plan the items which were excluded from its functions.

It is better, though a little more complicated, to work out a perfect plan than have a plan with many gaps in it and get a large number of people to search for materials or suffer the suspension of production because of the shortage of bearings, for instance. I think it advisable to plan all items including those hitherto unspecified minor items even if we have to reduce the staffs of administrative and managerial bodies

and assign the manpower saved in this way to the factories to make up for the factory technicians who will be called to participate in the discussion of plans. Only when we take such bold measures and introduce detailed planning can the problem be resolved.

Planning for the mining industry, too, must never be done in such a way as to order a mine to produce a certain amount of ore according to the distance of heading excavation which the mine has performed. The planners must know whether the mine has carried out detailed prospecting or not. If the mine has not done so, the planners must give the mine a small assignment. The same can be said of a construction plan. A construction plan must be drawn up on the basis of well-made designs and of the detailed estimate of the availability of building materials.

In short, our planning should be detailed and perfect so that it accords with Party policy and objective reality and ensures a proper balance of the national economy as a whole and meshes together all sectors and enterprises down to the last detail.

If planning is to be efficient, the planning bodies must be strengthened.

Planning bodies are what the operations bureau is to the army. Just as victory in a battle depends on whether or not the operations bureau plans the battle well, so success in economic construction depends largely on how the planning bodies plan the national economy. Therefore, if we are to improve economic management and further promote socialist construction, we must pay attention to strengthening the planning bodies at all levels. In order to work out a correct national economic plan not only the State Planning Commission but also the planning departments of ministries and bureaus, the planning commissions in provinces, cities and counties and the planning departments of institutions and enterprises must all work efficiently. We must, therefore, strengthen all these planning bodies and departments.

Just as the operations bureau of the army is staffed with the most dependable, loyal and competent soldiers, the planning bodies must also have the best personnel. Some people try to recruit only university

graduates or specialists in planned economics for the planning bodies, but they must not do so. It is true that people with such qualifications are good, but one need not necessarily be a university graduate to master a planning job. To be a good planner means, after all, to implement the Party's policy on planning thoroughly. A man who, though not a university graduate, has a strong Party spirit and an indomitable fighting will to carry through the Party line can be an excellent planning worker. Specialized knowledge is something that can be learned and a man of strong Party spirit can learn it quickly. So all Party organizations must staff the planning bodies and departments with men of strong Party spirit and loyalty.

At the same time, the planning workers should be tirelessly educated to accept the decisions and directives of the Party and the Government unconditionally and to carry them through to the end. If they work halfheartedly thinking that it is enough to earn a living, they cannot draw up accurate plans, and they will do grave harm to the state. The Party organizations concerned must pay daily attention to fostering amongst them an attitude befitting masters of the country's economic life, to increasing their sense of responsibility and to improving their political and practical qualifications.

2) ON IMPROVING OUR TECHNICAL LEVEL

Today, we proudly tell the world that we construct factories, make machinery and equipment and manage our enterprises by our own efforts. Of course, this pride on the part of our officials is not unjustified. In spite of the devastation, lack of experience in economic construction, the serious shortage of technicians and specialists—in spite of all these difficulties—we have built the economic foundations which we see today by working and struggling hard. In any event we can stand on our own feet. In the meantime, a large number of technicians and specialists have been trained, and their qualifications have improved considerably.

But we must never overestimate our technical level. Quite a few of the factories and enterprises of our own design and construction do not run as they should. The same is true of the machinery and equipment. Much of it is clumsy, costly, apt to break down or fails to work properly. Moreover, the quality of our light industrial goods is not high either. There are also many shortcomings in the management of the factories and other enterprises, although we operate all of them ourselves. All this shows that our technical level is not high.

Unless we raise this level, we shall be unable to achieve good results, even if we make an attempt at large-scale economic construction and a rapid advance. If we ignore our present technical level and contemplate too big a venture, it will be tantamount to an attempt to feed a toothless baby with soya beans. I believe that our officials ought to refrain from overestimating their technical ability, frankly admit what they cannot make, and then make only what they can. They must improve their technical qualifications and concentrate on making full use of the existing assets rather than undertaking too many new projects which they do not carry out well.

We must rapidly develop mechanical engineering, electronics and other spheres of technology. As I have already mentioned at the conference of scientists, these are our most backward technological branches. This technological backwardness is a handicap to the smooth operation of the anthracite gasification factory, and to capacity operation of the vinalon and other chemical fibre factories. In spite of this, our officials do not work hard to develop technology. No tangible advance has been made in this field since the Party Central Committee set out the task of raising the level of technology. The officials in charge of economic affairs, scientists and technicians should discard such halfhearted attitudes and seriously endeavour to achieve rapid technological progress.

Technology is also required to improve the quality of products and to lower the norms of material consumption per unit of output. But our officials do not try hard to raise their technical ability; they produce a few prototype products for exhibition and console

themselves by saying that the level of our industrial development is high. When they work like this, how can we expect them to improve the quality of products and lower the norms of material consumption per unit of output?

We must work hard to solve difficult technical problems in all fields of the national economy. We must concentrate on the technical problems which demand urgent solutions for the development of our national economy at the moment—including the technical problems of augmenting and perfecting factories and ensuring regular production, the technical measures to raise the rate of equipment utilization and lower the norms of material consumption per unit of output, and technical problems in improving the quality of consumer goods and increasing their variety. The scientists and technicians must study harder to improve their qualifications and make devoted efforts to promote the country's technological progress.

All the working people must intensify the struggle to acquire new techniques and continue to raise their technical levels and their skills. The officials who direct economic affairs must themselves learn technical expertise by unremitting efforts and, at the same time, organize the efforts to solve the technical problems which await solution efficiently.

In this way we will raise our general technical standard, successfully carry out our immediate economic tasks and continue to accelerate socialist construction.

3) ON IMPROVING MANAGEMENT AND RUNNING THE NATION'S ECONOMIC LIFE ADROITLY

One of the most serious shortcomings in economic construction is that our officials in the posts of leadership lack the ability to perform their duties, and that they do not know how to run the national economy adroitly.

Some of our senior officials are not ideologically well prepared to

work with devotion for the Party, for the working class and for the people and to run the national economy in an orderly way, in the spirit of the Party, of the working class and of the people. In other words, they are not yet well-qualified communists.

Some of our officials are now infected with a chronic disease of perfunctoriness which is expressed in their careless and slapdash manner of work. Careless planning, spreading out construction projects in disorder and wasting a great deal of materials are all manifestations of their perfunctory work attitude.

We must eliminate this outlook which results in a slipshod management of the national economy. Without finding a drastic remedy for this evil, it will not be possible for us to move one step forward.

In addition to getting the officials to work responsibly in a way befitting masters with a strong Party spirit, class spirit and people-oriented spirit, it is important to improve their qualifications and increase their ability.

The scale of our national economy is much larger now than it used to be, its technical equipment is stronger and the relations among its different sectors are more complicated. The simple experience of the past alone is not enough to manage this large and complicated economy properly. The developed economy requires competent directors and more efficient leadership and management.

If they are to manage the economy properly and run the nation's economic life correctly, our officials must know the laws of the socialist economy and the principles of its management. But many of those who are in charge of economic affairs do not know them well. Since they clearly understand neither the laws by which the socialist economy develops nor the essence of the Party's economic policy, they cannot but work haphazardly, by rule of thumb. In many cases, our officials work in such a way as to ignore and contradict economic laws.

For example, they raised the prices of some consumer goods arbitrarily in an attempt to collect the state revenue. To ensure financial incomes by increasing production and intensifying the

campaign for economy is a principle. If you violate this principle and raise the prices of goods, you will bring hardship to the people and also badly affect the industrial enterprises in their efforts to lower production costs. The aim of production in a socialist society is to meet the demand of the people to the maximum. Goods which are so expensive that people cannot buy them are useless, in whatever quantities they are produced.

The Taean work system has not been properly introduced in many sectors of the national economy, and this also has something to do with the low level of the qualifications of officials. Of course, the fact that our officials are not highly enthusiastic is a problem, but the bigger problem is that they understand neither the theory of socialist economics nor the essence of the Taean system. So they do not know how to manage enterprises, nor can they estimate correctly what is beneficial and what is harmful to the state. A lack of ability and a lukewarm attitude to make economic estimates are most serious weaknesses of our senior officials who are in charge of economic affairs. These weaknesses must be eliminated.

The officials who direct economic operations must work harder so as to increase their knowledge of the theory of socialist economics radically. All our officials who direct economic affairs must have a stronger Party spirit, class spirit and people-oriented spirit, and must strictly adhere to the mass line in economic management. They must also make untiring efforts to manage the economy scientifically and rationally in accordance with the laws of the socialist economy and the principles of its management.

The ministers and other senior officials must acquire a habit of studying and analysing work in a complete way. If they deal with affairs on the spur of the moment by allowing themselves to be absorbed in the daily routine of individual events instead, they will be unable to judge whether the whole work situation is progressing in line with Party policy or not, nor will they be able to recognize the basic shortcomings in their work. Senior officials must analyse the whole situation in their sectors at least once a quarter, promptly correct the

defects which have been revealed, and always lead their work in the correct direction.

4) ON SOME PROBLEMS WHICH DESERVE ATTENTION IN PLANNING FOR NEXT YEAR

As I have already said, the basic direction of the industrial sector next year is to put production on a steady basis.

Next year a prearranged target which specifies an estimated increase in the industrial output in terms of percentage must not be the basis of planning. It does not matter whether the plan estimates only one percent increase or just the same level as this year. What matters is not to increase the figure but to make every single item of goods properly and to manage the economy meticulously.

Some people may consider it a manifestation of weakness to draw up a small plan, but that is not so.

People at lower units, if given a small plan, might, of course, tend to work apathetically or move backward, but such a deviation can be overcome through ideological work. We must see that they concentrate on producing steadily instead of giving them a small plan.

A matter which deserves our primary attention in working out the plan for next year is to make an accurate estimate of the possible output from the existing capacity. Since we know our production capacity and since this year's actual output is clear, it is not difficult to put together the plan figures on this basis. Then we must calculate which part can be increased and to what extent. Lastly, we must determine how much capital construction we can undertake. This is the way to work out a realistic plan.

If, instead, you plan a production figure on the basis of a planned equipment capacity which is to be increased, you will commit a subjective error in planning. Planning production beyond the existing capacity of equipment must always be done when the equipment has actually been augmented. If you have a false tooth put in, you will have

a greater capacity to chew and, therefore, you can plan that much greater production; if you have put another hand to your equipment, you can increase your production plan as much as the extra hand can work.

Until now we have planned our production on the basis of an estimated increase in the capacity of our equipment, even though we were not sure whether the equipment would get flesh or a wen. That was why our plans could not be correct and were not feasible.

The work of putting flesh on our industrial equipment must be done step by step. We must not try to do it in a single year. At the moment we cannot afford it. One job can take us one year, another three years, and still another five years because it will take several good years for the detailed plans we are now going to introduce to take effect, even when they are correct. You cannot possibly expect that everything will be planned in detail at once.

Not only is correct and detailed planning difficult, but also our officials' technical qualifications are inadequate, so that they might add not flesh, but a bone or a wen which is totally useless. We must ensure that, through a careful technical study, the right flesh is put on the right place. So you must not think of finishing this in a single year or even two.

The work of fleshing out our industry also requires an order of priority. If a tooth is badly needed, the tooth must be put in first; if a nose is urgently required, the nose must have priority; and if a hand is important, then the hand must come first. We do not have enough doctors to cope with all these tasks at once. Even though our factory equipment is augmented, it would be useless unless those who are in charge of it handle it properly and make effective use of it. We must, therefore, see that our industry is augmented methodically in order of priority and in accordance with our ability and that our officials and workers are properly trained in the management and operation of the machinery.

If we put flesh on the existing factories, raise our technical level and improve management and produce at a steady rate, we shall be able to increase output, without building new factories, and further improve

the people's standard of living.

In order to formulate an accurate plan for next year it is advisable to compile the figures on the basis of the existing production capacity, and then organize several groups of people, each headed by a Vice-Premier, and let them go straight to major industrial areas and thoroughly examine the matter of putting flesh on the factories. They should clearly determine what items will have to be imported and which can be made here, and then give annual tasks of augmenting metallurgical works, chemical fibre mills, fertilizer factories and other major factories. After that we should decide what new buildings we can construct, in accordance with the capacity of the machine industry and the availability of materials.

In agriculture, too, the plan for next year should be drawn up so as to make the fullest use of the land, irrigation facilities and farm machinery.

We must not think of completing the river improvement projects in a single year or two, either. If they put too much efforts into these projects, the farmers cannot concentrate on farm work, and the plan for increased agricultural output might suffer. So they ought not to undertake many irrigation and large river improvement projects, but should begin with simple schemes such as anti-erosion work on small streams and fields.

A detailed estimate and full preparations are necessary for a river improvement project. Before work is begun, the amount of rainfall in the area concerned and the maximum volume of water in the river must be measured and a survey and a design must be prepared. If you mobilize farmers, without these detailed calculations and preparations, and let them drive in stakes, stretch straw ropes and dig waterways, the river may be damaged by flood in the rainy season and cause great loss. On one occasion people in South Phyongan Province dug waterways without any survey and design, and the result was that many of the dikes which had been built by the sweat of the farmers' brows gave way or became useless.

The agricultural plan must include the construction of tractor repair

centres. It must also consider the matter of allocating an adequate number of technicians for this work. If we are to use tractors effectively, we must increase the production of trailers. Because tractors are used in the countryside mainly for ploughing and hauling loads, trailers are indispensable.

Rural manpower must be used rationally. Chairmen of the management boards of cooperative farms are wasting a great amount of labour by mobilizing it at random without any plan or calculation. Chairmen of county cooperative farm management committees also think that they can use rural manpower as they wish. They must thoroughly correct such a mistaken idea.

You must realize that it is not a retreat but an advance to map out this year's plan in detail and in accordance with our capacity. You must not try to increase the figure by planning in a perfunctory and careless manner; you must do everything excellently as well as substantially. Only then can we further consolidate our economic foundations and improve the people's standard of living still higher.

7. ON THE WORK OF THE COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

The county people's committee is the householder of the county, responsible for its whole economic life. And as a family economy only prospers if its head does his job properly, so a county's economic affairs will only prosper when its head, the county people's committee, does its job well.

The basic duty of this committee is, in short, to look after the well-being of the people and manage state property in the county. It must defend its people's rights, protect their lives and property, and show the utmost concern for their well-being. It should also protect and take care of all state and public property in the county.

In view of its position and duties, improving the work of the county people's committee assumes great importance.

1) ON IMPROVING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE AS AN ORGAN OF POWER

The county people's committee must, first of all, perform its functions well and play its full part as an organ of power.

It is a true organ of people's power; elected by the people, it represents their will. Therefore, it has the right and duty to exercise control over all civil service establishments, enterprises and the people in the county.

At present the county people's committees are failing to fulfil their functions as organs of power. Many committee chairmen seek to use their powers negligently without discharging their obligations. Because of this county people's committees have lost their prestige, so the organs of power are losing their grip in the local areas.

Some chairmen even ask for special privileges in buying railway tickets. That is certainly the height of folly. Though the chairmen of a county people's committee has no special privileges of this kind, if he did his job properly he would scarcely find it difficult to buy a ticket in his own county.

The station staff will surely not ignore the chairman who has always cared about their lives, had their houses repaired and supplied them with supplements to their diet and the like. But if he wants to assert his authority as chairman only when he needs a ticket, showing no interests in the station at other times, the railway personnel will not know him by sight and, even if they do, they will most likely look the other way out of hostility.

At present the county people's committee enjoys little prestige in the rural areas, either. I have heard that since the county cooperative farm management committees were formed, people in farm villages

are unwilling to comply with instructions from the county people's committee. This, too, is largely due to the failure of this committee to do its job in the countryside. It is true that matters may be a trifle more difficult than before because the cooperative farm chairman is also chairman of the ri people's committee. But if the county people's committee makes good use of its power there should be no real problem.

If a cooperative farm chairman, for example, concentrates on production, ignoring the people's well-being, and even fails to follow instructions from the county people's committee, the chairman of that committee should call a meeting of the county people's assembly or people's committee and criticise him severely. The cooperative farm chairman will then learn respect for the organ of power and be brought to his senses.

But without exercising his right in this way, a county people's committee chairman will merely complain that he is not obeyed and the people's committees will lack dignity.

In this connection, some county people's committee chairmen have proposed that the county cooperative farm management committee and local industry management committee should be placed under the county people's committee. They are wrong. Those committees neither can, nor should, be subordinate to the county people's committee.

The cooperative farm management committee and the local industry management committee are not administrative bodies but combined enterprises that are directly responsible for organizing production. Although called a management committee, the county cooperative farm management committee is actually an agricultural enterprise guiding the county's cooperative farms by industrial methods. It is the budding shoot of the combined farm that will be formed in the future through the amalgamation of all cooperative farms in the county. At present counties have many cooperative farms, based on cooperative property, but when cooperative property becomes public property in the rural areas, all the cooperative farms in a county will merge into a single combined farm. And then the county

cooperative farm management committee will take over the leadership of the combined farm.

The county cooperative farm management committee is nothing short of a large factory in terms of business operations. Both manage their own production and take orders from their senior organizations in carrying out their production activities. Factories obey their ministries and the county cooperative farm management committee obeys the provincial rural economy committee. In a nutshell, both are enterprises that run production for which they take responsibility.

Though both are enterprises, no county people's committee chairman has asked to have control over big factories, yet he requests that the county cooperative farm management committee and county local industry management committee should be subordinated to him. This makes it clear that our officials have not yet fully understood the Party's intentions in setting up the county cooperative farm management committee, and also that the county people's committee has not freed itself from the days when farm villages were the main objects of its care.

If the cooperative farm management committee were subordinated to the county people's committee, it would become completely impossible to guide the rural economy by industrial methods. Even now it is a serious fault that the management committee is still working in an administrative manner, and if this committee is subordinated to the county people's committee, the administrative tendency could increase further.

On all accounts the county people's committee should fulfil its functions well and play its full part as an organ of power. It has the full right to exercise control over farm villages, factories and enterprises, even without having the cooperative farm and local industry management committees subordinated to it. Although these management committees and all factories and enterprises in the county obey their own superior organizations in matters of production, administratively they must all obey the county people's committee, the local organ of power. It is unnecessary to go to the length of

subordinating the county cooperative farm management committee to the county people's committee. When the latter does its duty faithfully and does not abuse its rights, all problems can be solved.

Of course, the fault does not lie with the county people's committee alone. The county cooperative farm management committee is also to blame. Cooperative farm management committees in some counties have already been criticised many times for taking it upon themselves to act like rural organs of power. Of course, county people's committees are at fault if they do not do their job properly, but county cooperative farm management committees are also in the wrong if they behave like organs of power in the rural areas. Forming a county cooperative farm management committee does not mean the transfer of power in the county to it.

The people's committee alone has the authority to exercise power in town or country, so that the cooperative farm management committee and all other civil service institutions and enterprises in the county must be subject to the control of the county organ of power. Everyone, including chairmen of cooperative farms or the chairman of the county cooperative farm management committee, is in duty bound to report his work to the county people's committee, the organ of power, and to submit to its control.

Although it is because of its own shortcomings that the county people's committee lacks prestige and that it fails as an organ of power, the main fault lies with the county Party committee which fails to give it effective guidance. Whereas the county Party committee's failing used to be that it trailed along behind the government body, it now rides astride it and acts for it. This is a serious mistake. The county Party committee should neither drag at the tail of the administrative body nor act for it.

The county Party committee should at all times direct the county people's committee in its work. Only if this is done well, will both the county Party and county people's committees succeed in their work.

For a start, the county Party committee must help the county people's committee maintain its authority so that it can play its proper

role as an organ of power. County Party committee chairmen must give due prominence and lend support to county people's committee chairmen in all matters and must sincerely help them to work independently. Suppose a county has received 200 tons of cement from the state for building. The county Party committee chairman should call a meeting of its standing committee to discuss the matter and decide how the projects should be handled before the county people's committee chairman is assigned the task of organizing and proceeding with the projects. Then the people's committee chairman should call a meeting of the county people's assembly or the county people's committee to discuss the projects and to plan the work in detail in accordance with the resolution of the standing committee of the county Party committee, and then get the work started without delay. Now the county Party committee should mobilize Party organizations and the masses to give active help in carrying out the county people's committee's decisions.

While guiding and helping the county people's committee to perform its proper functions, the county Party committee should combat any tendency to disobey the county people's committee's control.

In particular the county Party committee should oppose the practice of ignoring the county people's committee's instructions in the countryside, and exercise strict control over the county cooperative farm management committee to prevent it from usurping power in the rural areas over the head of the county people's committee.

And so, when the county Party committee sets the right course and the county people's committee as the organ of power does its job with dignity, county affairs will run smoothly.

2) ON IMPROVING THE COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE'S METHODS OF WORK

If the county people's committee is to function properly it must radically improve its work methods to suit the new conditions.

In the past the committee mainly had to deal with private farmers. But now that these people have all joined cooperatives, its work is concerned with enterprises rather than private farmers. In other words, the county people's committee has to deal today with state-run factories and enterprises, with the local industry factories and cooperative farms in its county and with the organized masses who work there.

Because the county people's committee's sphere of work has changed, it obviously has to change its methods as well.

However, the personnel of the county people's committee have not yet rid themselves of the handicraft method they used in the past when dealing with private farmers. Some county people's committee officials, for example, browbeat the peasants to build roads when they are in the midst of transplanting young rice shoots. To build roads in the busy farming season is ill-advised, over and above which it is quite wrong to mobilize peasants only to build roads—factory and office workers should also help.

Today all our peasants are members of cooperative farms and their activities are organized. In the sense that they are also organized masses, the farmers are similar to factory workers. Like the workers, they should not be mobilized at will.

Now the county people's committee does not work with individuals but with enterprises and with the organized masses. It cannot expect success so long as it continues to use the handicraft method adopted in the past for working with private peasants. Dealing with enterprises engaged in planned production and with the organized masses, it is essential that its own activities be organized and planned.

For a start, the county people's committee should regularly hold meetings and also call meetings of the county people's assembly to discuss the vital tasks that face their county, and then put the decisions into effect. When important matters come up for discussion at county people's assembly meetings, factory and other enterprise managers and cooperative farm chairmen may be allowed to attend to be given assignments. The decisions made at county people's assembly and people's committee meetings are binding on all civil service

organizations, all enterprises and all officials in the county. The county people's committee must always exercise supervision, give guidance and check that these decisions are carried out correctly.

Of course, this does not mean that the county people's committee can only assign tasks to factories or cooperative farms through the people's assembly. If there are problems to be solved, the committee can at any time give out assignments, either directly or at consultative meetings of the workers concerned. As an organ of power, it has only to conduct its work in an organized manner and to a plan.

The task of building roads, for example, should not be simply imposed on peasants who are busy transplanting rice; a detailed plan should be worked out first and then a meeting called of factory and other enterprise managers and of chairmen of cooperative farms to assign the tasks. After allocating a section to be built by each enterprise and setting the time limit for it, the county people's committee has only to supervise and encourage them to complete the work.

Indeed, if the committee organizes and plans its work in this manner, it will be much easier than it was when it had to deal with private farmers. However, because its work is unorganized and haphazard, its authority is not respected and its task becomes more difficult.

It is said that at present the county people's committee is finding it hard to borrow motor vehicles and tractors and the like from the county cooperative farm management committee and from factories and enterprises even when it really needs them. This is also due to its failure to do its job properly as an organ of power. These motor vehicles and tractors do not belong to individuals; they are all state property and there is no reason why the county people's committee, an organ of power, should not use them. Of course, it is rather difficult to borrow tractors in a very busy season on the farms. But in winter, for instance, it is possible to mobilize as many as are wanted for county work—a county cooperative farm management committee should readily make them available to the county people's committee.

But county people's committee officials should not ask for them thoughtlessly at just any time. Motor vehicles and tractors should only

be mobilized under a detailed plan which does not interfere with production. And while it is using them the county people's committee must pay for the fuel under the relevant heading in their budget.

It is advisable to organize things to get the factory and enterprise managers involved in people's committee work. This will encourage them to take an interest in people's committee work and accept administrative instructions willingly. For example, factory managers in the county can be appointed as chairmen of workers' district or county seat people's committees. Things may well run smoothly where the factory manager also acts as chairman of the workers' district people's committee, with a vice-chairman who handles the routine work. He will then become concerned about living conditions in the district in his capacity as people's committee chairman, as well as assuming his managerial responsibility for the workers. And this will help the county people's committee work with factories and enterprises much more easily. Since the manager will have to attend frequent meetings called by the county people's committee, he will inevitably take a greater interest in the committee's work and if he does not willingly act upon committee instructions, he can be taken to task at the meetings.

If the status of a county people's committee is to be improved, unnecessary rules and regulations in the county must be abolished and complex apparatus pruned.

At present there are many useless rules and regulations which hamper the county people's committee in its work. This reduces creative initiative in its activities. In my opinion, you would be well advised to examine all the rules and regulations in the county and cut out those which interfere with the work of the committee.

In the rural areas there are also many rules and regulations which are detrimental to the peasants. As I have already mentioned, the regulations concerning procurement do not seem very good. You ought to check on all such things and revise or abolish them where needed.

Different systems of working for state officials and for peasants in the countryside are utterly unjustified. While farmers work day and night without resting even on Sundays in the busy farming season,

personnel in state establishments, living in the very same rural areas, only work eight hours a day and have every Sunday off. A man who was himself a farmer yesterday now works only eight hours a day and is supplied with provisions from the moment that he is employed by a state organ. This is the position of those who work at village rice mills. When the rice mills belonged to the cooperative farms, their employees worked like farmers, but after the mills were transferred to the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration, they only work eight hours a day and they do not even appear on Sundays, although there is a veritable mountain of work to be done. By degrees this difference in working systems must be eliminated everywhere in the countryside.

The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee intends to adopt a decision on eliminating all unnecessary rules and regulations in the county and in farm villages after putting together the opinions expressed at the consultative meeting of county Party committee chairmen. And an unremitting battle has to be waged against reviving rules and regulations which reduce creative initiative in the county and cause inconveniences to the peasants.

The administrative apparatus of institutions at the county level must also be re-examined and pruned where necessary and everything which is superfluous must be eliminated. The structure of the people's committee and some other organs at county level is too complex. The setup of some administrative establishments in the county needs some pruning, whereas in other departments where the need is imperative—such as of design and repair work—the staff should be slightly increased.

At present the county has a large number of committees—physical culture and sports guidance committee, sanitation guidance committee, accident prevention committee, recruitment committee, editorial committee for broadcasting, committee for recommendation of candidates for admission to higher educational institutions, food registration committee, property inventory and registration committee, and so on. I think it would be wise to abolish all these committees. Indeed, as county agencies these committees are utterly useless.

Supposing some problem arises about sanitary work, all that is needed is for the county people's committee's health service department and organizations of the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Women's Union to discuss the matter and to take steps to deal with it. There is no need to have a sanitation guidance committee. And when a county has its own broadcasting station, is there a need for an editorial committee for broadcasting? This is also true of all the other committees. Even if they are abolished in the county, work will go on perfectly well if the relevant departments of the people's committee and other county agencies and social organizations operate properly.

Furthermore, ministries and other central bodies should improve their work methods in order to increase the role of the county people's committee.

Nowadays many ministries are failing to help the lower units; they tend rather to annoy people at lower levels by issuing piles of useless orders and directives. Because ministries work in this manner, we have too many people issuing instructions and too few to do the actual work. If all that the ministries do is issue orders and give commands, they might as well not exist at all. It would be better to abolish them altogether and transfer their senior staff to the counties to work for Party or people's committees there, thus building up more than 200 counties well.

For ministries to help the lower units, their officials must visit them frequently. When they want statistics or materials, they should personally go out and get them, instead of sitting in their offices and demanding them from subordinate bodies. The state has given senior ministry officials cars and it pays their travelling expenses to enable them to make frequent visits to the lower units. Only if they go out, will they understand the real situation, meet their subordinates frequently, lighten their burdens and help them to do their work well.

While giving efficient assistance to subordinate officials, ministries should also refrain from obstructing their activities. Because ministries issue random ordinances and directives and so on to the lower units

without considering the prevailing situation, the leading cadres in the counties can barely move, encumbered as they are by a vast variety of miscellaneous regulations. Ministries should re-examine all the regulations, decisions and instructions they have issued and withdraw all those which are unsuitable.

The best possible conditions should be provided for cadres at lower levels to work independently. This is essential if they are to show initiative and efficiency in their work. People must not be fettered by a mass of regulations, they must all be encouraged to use their intelligence, study their work tirelessly and work positively to implement Party and Government policies.

Furthermore, we must continue to study the question of increasing the part the county people's committee can play. I think it will be good if in future we organize demonstration lectures for county people's committee chairmen on how to handle the committee work. If officials from above go out personally to a county and teach the people's committee there how to work with factories, enterprises and the cooperative farm management committee, how to cope with administrative work including labour administration in the county and how to exercise its power, so that examples are created and propagated to all counties, this will be very helpful.

8. ON PARTY WORK

1) ON PROPERLY COMBINING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND DEVELOPING THE HABIT OF CARRYING PARTY POLICIES THROUGH TO THE END

An important revolutionary task the Marxist-Leninist party in power must carry out is economic construction. Only when this is

successful is it possible to increase the nation's might, secure the material conditions for consolidating and developing the successes already achieved in the revolution and steadily improve the people's standard of living. That is why our Party makes every effort to promote economic construction to the maximum.

One of the most important problems in the successful advancement of socialist economic construction is to combine political and economic activities judiciously.

Party organizational and political work must be closely combined with economic work; the latter should be supported by the former. In other words, in fulfilling economic tasks Party work should under all circumstances be organizational and political work to explain the Party's economic policy time and again to its members and the masses, mobilize them in carrying out economic tasks, check up on their implementation, remedy shortcomings promptly and push the Party's economic policy through to the end.

It is our Party's consistent policy to combine political and economic activities in the right way, keeping political work in the forefront. Although we have spoken a great deal about this and taken a number of measures, this problem has not been solved satisfactorily. Some Party committees do not conduct the good organizational and political work aimed at backing up the implementation of economic tasks, and even when they attend to certain political work, they do it in isolation from economic work in many cases. Thus, giving political work precedence over all other work remains, in fact, an empty slogan; political and economic activities proceed separately without being related to each other.

Let me cite a few examples. Our Party has, for a long time, suggested giving priority to the mining industry. For the correct implementation of this task, Party organizations in this industry and all other spheres related to it should go into action and mobilize their members and the masses so as to make an intensive study of their duties and strive to fulfil the task. Party organizations in the mining industry should build up prospectors' corps and give precedence to

prospecting and, at the same time, conduct organizational and political work to increase the output of ore and coal; those in the engineering industry have to organize a campaign to turn out larger quantities of efficient machinery for the mining industry; and those in railway transport have to attend to organizational and political work to move ore and coal speedily. But our officials simply chant the slogans “Let us keep prospecting ahead of other work!” and “Let us carry on the technical revolution in the mining industry!”, instead of actually doing this political and organizational work.

Take the case of increased grain production. Party organizations in all branches related to agriculture are indolent in their endeavours to ensure a larger yield of grain and even those in the agricultural sector do not take concrete measures to organize and mobilize people for the fulfilment of this task.

Our Party put forward very clearly the line of socialist economic construction and economic policies for industry, agriculture, transport and other areas of the national economy. There is no doubt that if only we implement the Party’s line and policies for economic construction correctly, all economic branches of our country will develop proportionately and rapidly. However, since Party organizations fail to control the Party’s economic policies and conduct proper political work in economic affairs, Party policies are not carried through, nor are greater successes achieved in economic construction.

If Party organizational and political work is to guarantee economic affairs effectively, Party workers should first learn to judge all matters from the Party and political points of view. If the Party’s policies are not implemented well, management officials have to study what administrative measures are needed to solve this problem and technical personnel must consider what technical steps are required. However, Party workers must conduct their work from Party and political standpoints. In other words, ministers, management bureau directors, managers and chief engineers should solve complex problems mainly by administrative and technical methods, whereas Party workers should discover the main cause of any unsatisfactory work and take

measures to remove it by Party methods, and guarantee economic activities through organizational and political work. In this way, only when economic and Party officials view matters in a different light and seek a solution from different angles, will an integral whole be formed and these problems solved comprehensively and things proceed well.

But our Party officials view questions not from a Party viewpoint, from a political angle, but from just the same stand as administrative workers or technical personnel. The reports I heard from factory Party committee chairmen on the results of their work do not analyse matters from a political viewpoint, referring to what the political and ideological levels of officials are and what merits and failings have been found in rousing Party organizations to action. Instead they mention only administrative and technical problems, describing the state of machinery and equipment and how matters stand with supplies of raw materials. Because Party chairmen deal with things like these, it is difficult, even in the case of a factory Party meeting, to distinguish whether it is a Party or an administrative meeting. The topics discussed by Party members at such a meeting are those which should be submitted to a consultative meeting of technical personnel or a meeting of the management. If they talk at a Party meeting as though they were addressing an administrative meeting discussing practical matters, what is the use of holding a separate Party meeting?

A poor combination of Party organizational and political work with economic affairs is closely related to the fact that Party committees fail to maintain their proper role as the helmsman.

Many Party committees still do not know how to take the helm in directing administrative and economic activities. Since factory Party committees take administrative affairs upon themselves instead of playing the role of helmsman, it is said that managers cannot run management affairs without the approval of Party committee chairmen and even the distribution of houses requires the approval of factory Party committees. As a result, some factory and enterprise managers remain in mid air, unable to carry out their function as leaders. They are reluctant to shoulder the responsibility of work, shifting technical

matters onto chief engineers and all important problems of factory management onto Party committee chairmen.

Because of this many factory Party committees act like business management committees and not as organs of political leadership and they remain bodies which wield authority. We defined the Party committee of each factory as its supreme organ of leadership whose purpose is to strengthen collective guidance. We did this so as not to allow the Party to take the place of the administration or wield authority.

The factory Party committee should not concern itself with trivial matters but collectively discuss important questions of management only. When a new task is put forward, the Party committee should first determine through collective discussion how it is to be carried out and give corresponding assignments to the manager, chief engineer and Party committee chairman. After this, combined operations should be conducted effectively.

In the armed forces military affairs and Party work are well combined. In the case of a division, its Party committee meets to discuss and decide a question and, on this basis, the divisional commander performs his part in taking the command, the chief of staff attends to his staff affairs and the political department head does his political work.

Likewise, in a factory, its Party committee, the supreme organ of leadership, discusses and decides on certain questions collectively and then, on this basis, the manager should be made to guide all management affairs as the person in command, the chief engineer should look after technical matters and the Party committee chairman should do Party work. Only then can the factory Party committee work effectively, the activities of the manager and chief engineer be conducted well and, accordingly, all the factory's affairs be managed admirably and in a coordinated manner.

The factory Party committee should act like a mother, conducting political work to guarantee administrative and economic activities by rousing Party organizations and social organizations to vigorous

action. As mothers look after their children, Party officials should always conduct the work with cadres and, at the same time, carefully follow how their assigned tasks are executed and persuade them to remedy their faults at once if they have any.

Administrative and technical personnel and Party workers ought to look at matters from different viewpoints, undertake different tasks and work in coordination. This does not imply that it is not incumbent upon the former two to do political work. Political work should be conducted not only by Party workers but by all other officials. Needless to say, it is true that administrative workers are entrusted by the Party mainly with administrative affairs. But, as they are Party members, they should be aware that they are under an obligation to do political work as well as their administrative work. If there is any difference between administrative personnel and Party workers, it is that the former are given somewhat smaller assignments for political work. Therefore, the manager should do political work, while carrying on management activities, and the chief engineer should conduct it among the technical personnel while giving technical advices. This will enable the manager and chief engineer to discharge their duties with credit.

At present Party committees at all levels fail to combine political and economic work in the correct way. In many cases, they indulge in a shock campaign like administrative workers, instead of assessing matters from a political point of view. The economic departments of the Party Central Committee, too, simply touch this or that but do not look deeply into matters at all; at best, they control production results of a given time.

The economic departments of the Party Central Committee should uphold Party policies and supervise their implementation and must constantly carry on investigations and studies and offer opinions on political measures so that the Party can formulate new policies according to the situation. Take as an illustration the economic department directing trade. This department ought to analyse affairs in its field and correct any defects and, at the same time, always consider

and propose what new steps should be taken for the further development of trade, and endeavour to evolve the theory of the Party's trade policy. But the officials of the relevant department of the Party Central Committee do not work this way and, at most, collect statistics. For this reason our trade still does not adequately fulfil its socialist role.

Not only the Party's economic departments but its Organizational and Information and Publicity Departments ought to give guidance for the correct implementation of economic tasks. In this way both the work of strengthening Party organizations and the work of educating and activating Party members and the masses will be carried on to bring about the maximum acceleration of socialist construction.

If Party committees are to conduct organizational and political work to the utmost effect, they should also take vigorous steps to stimulate the working people's organizations for action. Basically, the Party formulates its policies and propagates them, whereas the state organs and working people's organizations put the Party's policies into action. It is extremely important in Party work, therefore, to activate the working people's organizations, the mass organizations, in the right direction.

At present, however, Party organizations do not show any skill in stimulating activity among the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Women's Union organizations, while the Party committees even take upon themselves the work of the working people's organizations.

Party organizations must not replace the working people's organizations but guide them well so that they perform their role to the full. Of course, when some difficulty arises, Party members should be the first to come forward. But, to take the lead is one thing, and for Party organizations to take the place of the working people's organizations in work is another. Under all circumstances Party organizations must play the leading role with respect to the working people's organizations and Party members must play their role as the vanguard and core among the masses.

Now, all Party committees should acquire the habit of carrying Party policy through to the end. A serious failing of our officials is that they do not complete their task; they leave it half done after only a little effort. When they are given a task, they give up the job they are occupied with. When they are instructed to do another task, then they lay aside what they are doing. When they are told to pay attention to farming they do ignore industry; when they are instructed to manage local industry better, they forget about farming.

Party organizations should make a supreme effort to finish what they have started and to ensure that the Party's policies are thoroughly implemented. The relevant departments of the Party Central Committee, in particular, should always check whether ministries carry out Party policies or not, and they must intensify guidance and supervision of these ministries so that they carry these policies through to the end. When ministries receive a new task and the previous task is left unfinished, they should be encouraged to tackle the new task and to carry on with the uncompleted one. No task should be left unfinished.

2) ON REMOVING THE ADMINISTRATIVE WORK METHOD AND PUTTING THE WORK STYLE OF OFFICIALS TO RIGHTS

In our Party work the administrative work method has not yet been eliminated nor has the old habit of bureaucracy and formalism been broken completely.

Many of our officials merely sit in their offices drafting directives and following the same old work method of dictating to subordinates and urging them on. Bureaucracy and commandism spring from such administrative work method, and so do formalism and subjectivism.

The administrative work method is a defect which is apt to appear in the ruling party. That is true both in view of our work experience in the two decades following liberation and in the light of our study of the experience of some foreign parties.

In the course of underground struggle a bureaucratic, administrative work method never works. In such conditions party workers cannot get people to act unless they make the most careful preparations for the implementation of any task, explain it fully to party members and the masses and encourage them. In cases of illegal activity even when people act conscientiously, their work may have serious consequences if they do not know how to go about it. Therefore, leaders have to teach their subordinates everything in detail until they fully understand it.

In the past, during the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle, we weighed up every possibility and briefed guerrillas in great detail on how to act when being sent out on scouting missions, as well as when they were doing work among the masses. When sending their men to areas behind enemy lines, a company or a regiment would spread out a map and show them exactly where a river was, and where the enemy sentry was and even instructed them how to act at various dangerous points. Given these detailed instructions before they were dispatched, they never failed to fulfil their tasks. But when we looked into the reasons why scouting groups committed blunders on their missions, we found that most of them were caused because the scouts were not given detailed information about the tasks which they had been assigned. This was why at the time we did our utmost to combat the practice of ordering subordinates without teaching them well.

Since we are now in power, nothing serious will happen right away if we do our work in an administrative way to some extent. Therefore, many officials try only to do everything easily in an administrative way. I met a comrade from south Korea. He said our county Party committee chairmen work in a dictatorial way instead of thinking about educating and persuading people. So I told him that his observation was quite justified. In fact, our county Party committee chairmen had no experience of the revolutionary struggle in the past and took part in revolutionary work only after liberation, so they are content just to give orders in an administrative way, without acquiring the method of work with the masses.

Because our officials work in such a way, Party policies have not

been executed properly. It is true that Party work has improved greatly compared with the days when there were factionalists in the Party. Formerly, the Party ideological system was not firmly established among officials and Party policy hardly got across to subordinates, but now the system is established among all officials and Party members, the Party's organizational and ideological unity has been consolidated and its policy conveyed relatively well to the lowest units. However, various problems have yet to be solved in carrying out Party policies.

In many cases, when a new task is set our officials gather people together and merely make a speech before instructing them to carry it out at their workplaces. That is why some people go back to their places not fully aware of the essence of the work or of ways and means to execute it. In this way, the lower units, not clear about the intentions of the Party Central Committee and the methods of implementing the new tasks, carry them out in a slapdash manner, which occasionally leads to a serious situation.

Let me give an example. Without making precise preparations for the extermination of pine caterpillars, a senior land administration official issued random orders to burn them to death. As a result, hills were set ablaze in different places, laying many of them bare. If he was engaged in underground activities in south Korea, he would not do anything like that.

It is the same in Jagang Province where hills were laid bare and fire-fields opened. If this province is to fulfil the Party's instruction to increase grain production, the provincial Party committee chairman himself should understand exactly what the Party has in mind. But, instead of studying the Party policy, he thoughtlessly instructed the county Party committee chairmen to create numerous fire-fields. They in turn told the ri Party committee chairmen to fell trees, even in the forests of economic value. How serious this is!

By nature, the administrative method is alien to our Party's work method. Our Party's traditional work method is based on the mass line. If, immediately after liberation, we had been consistent in carrying out the mass line which had already been developed in the days of the

anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle, there would have been no difficulty.

As I mentioned before, the bureaucratic, administrative work method, which is widespread in our Party, has been dogmatically copied from a foreign country. Many of our officials had no experience of revolutionary struggle and, to make matters worse, they picked up the foreign bureaucratic work method as it was. In consequence, a bureaucratic and formalistic style of work infiltrated our Party, too, and the administrative work method spread widely,

Although we made every effort to break the bureaucratic habit and eliminate the administrative work method, this has not yet been done completely. The Chongsanri method itself is aimed at doing away with the old method of work. Our officials refer constantly to the Chongsanri method, but, in fact, they do not work in accordance with it.

In Party work and all other activities the Chongsanri method should prevail, so completely eliminating the old patterns and outdated methods and implementing work the way the Party should do. We must instruct all officials in detail how to work and explain Party policy to the memberships and the masses fully in order to get them to come forward voluntarily in fulfilling revolutionary tasks.

As well as eliminating the old administrative work method, it is also important to correct our officials' work style.

Only when they acquire revolutionary traits and have a Party style of work can they rally the masses around the Party and bring them to trust, love and follow it. However, some officials whose revolutionary education and training are still inadequate are not yet sincere and modest, which is a defect in their work style. Those who are insufficiently tempered think that they are occupying some government posts of former days. Therefore, if they are promoted to the higher ranks, they first set about having their houses repaired and furnishing their office luxuriously and they behave haughtily, looking down on seniors and the elderly. If such a mistaken attitude continues, they may ignore Party organizations and even attempt to climb above the Party eventually.

Among our officials there are many who abuse Party authority. There are comrades who are accustomed to marking people with political stigmas reproaching them for a lack of allegiance to the Party or labelling them as anti-Party elements. But it is they who lack allegiance to the Party, the working class and the people. This shows that the old evil practice of regarding Party organs as bodies wielding authority still remains.

The Party organ is not a privileged agency. If anyone thinks so, it is, in effect, not a class approach. Party officials must bear in mind that they are not there to wield authority over the people but to fight staunchly for their interests. Party officials should not be in the least interested in what place on the list their names occupy, whether it be the fifth or the tenth, but should carry on their tasks tirelessly, with all their energies, solely in the interests of the Party, the revolution and the people.

If they are modest and work hard, they will naturally be respected by the people and consequently our Party's prestige will be further enhanced. If all our Party officials discharge their duties faithfully, nobody but the enemy will reject our Party's call just as no child forsakes its mother.

3) ON CONDUCTING WORK WITH CADRES WELL AND RAISING OFFICIALS' LEVEL

Proper combination of political and economic work, eradication of the administrative work method, establishment of the Party work method and improvement of work style all depend on the officials' standards. All Party committees should skilfully conduct the work with cadres and make tireless efforts to raise their level.

First of all, they should get to know cadres well. Many Party committees are still inclined to know them only through their personal histories or through written opinions. Since cadres are assessed in such a superficial way, unsuitable people are often to be found in their

ranks. You can never get to know cadres really well from papers alone.

For a correct understanding of cadres, it is necessary to be constantly in touch with the person in question. You should call him in, have a personal talk with him, give him a job to do, and, by eating and working together you should come to know what he is like. You will then become familiar with him automatically and he is likely to talk about his home life, study, work and such like. Only in this way can you truly understand what kind of man he is and form good comradesly ties with him.

While studying the person in question, you should help him if he has any problems and train him at the same time. If he is likely to overdo things and has a tendency to be bureaucratic, you must reason with him, and if he is inexperienced you should give him a suitable book to read. When he finishes the book, you should question him about it and explain anything which you find he has not understood. You should also teach him how to work and pass on your work experience.

Study cadres this way for about a week, and for another week after a lapse of six months or so; then repeat the cycle once more. If you do this just three times, you will be able to acquaint yourself fully with his qualifications, style of work, character, tastes, home affairs and so on. Even afterwards you should keep contact with him. A long, patient study of cadres on such a planned basis is, indeed, the way to understand them.

Party workers should get to know the cadres they deal with through direct, personal contact. Our Party workers meet them now and again, but in many cases I am afraid they deal with them in a bureaucratic way. They should abandon such an outdated method and get close enough to cadres as to become intimate friends with them in order to study them thoroughly.

Of course, the county and provincial Party chairmen cannot get to know all the cadres in their county and province. It is advisable for the provincial Party chairmen to know the county Party chairmen, but they should, naturally, know many more cadres as well.

In order to study all cadres it is necessary to give proper assignments. For example, the county Party chairman should tell the deputy chairmen, department heads and instructors how to know cadres and, classifying cadres in the county according to their posts, should take charge of some of them himself and give other officials similar assignments. He should assign tasks in such a way that a certain person will assume charge of factory managers and chief engineers, another will have ri Party chairmen and cooperative farm chairmen under his charge and a third will take care of workshop managers and Party cell chairmen. After the assignments are given out, each should draw up a plan and study the cadres in his charge one by one, while doing his other work.

As well as gaining a good understanding of cadres, we should raise their qualifications radically.

First of all, ministers, management bureau directors, factory managers, county cooperative farm management committee chairmen and other senior officials of administrative and economic bodies should improve their standards. They are commanding personnel directly responsible for organizing and guiding production. Our Party put large numbers of working people in their care and made them responsible for organizing and guiding the economic construction of socialism, placing a huge amount of materials and equipment at their disposal. Their responsibility is, indeed, heavy and great. But many of our administrative and economic executives are not sufficiently well-prepared to undertake this important responsibility.

The reason for their poor qualifications is partly due to the fact that they have had less experience in the building of socialism, but it is mainly that they had no experience in the management and running of the economy, even though it was capitalistic, in the past. In former days the Japanese did not draw Koreans into factory management nor did they pass on to them the intricacies of technical expertise. Consequently, those occupying the post of minister, management bureau director and manager today have never run even a small factory.

Our cadres, both at the top and below, were mostly trained after our Party's seizure of power following liberation. Therefore, our officials have no reason whatsoever to consider themselves fully qualified just because they hold certain high positions. Those who undertake an important job must study harder and make greater efforts than others to raise their own qualifications.

Our Party emphasized for a long time, the need to improve cadres' standards, but this problem has not yet been solved successfully. The Party's demand that senior personnel should educate their subordinates well and teach them how to work has not been met and the task of raising cadres' levels as a whole is not proceeding smoothly.

First of all, the education of cadres is not conducted properly at the centre. As regards the education of ministers, at best criticism is levelled at them only when the Cabinet sits at a plenary meeting. Criticism once or twice at a meeting cannot suddenly raise the standards of cadres. In fact, some comrades are not a bit worried by criticism directed at them during a Cabinet plenary meeting.

The biggest problem in raising cadres' standards is that of the middle-grade cadres including bureau directors and managers. Only when the level of those who organize and execute the work directly on the spot is high can Party policy be carried out, but this is not the situation at present. This is solely because the economic departments of the Party Central Committee and ministers neglect the education of officials.

Take their present work with factory and enterprise managers. They replace their education with this sort of thing—they summon them to meetings two or three times a year and send them back after scolding them with a few remarks. Because they conduct their training in such a perfunctory manner, factory and enterprise managers and other middle-grade officials do not have a wide grasp of Party policy and scurry about unproductively, not knowing clearly what to do or how to do it.

Whether we can train competent and staunch economic executives or not is a very important matter affecting the fate of state construction.

Our administrative and economic officials are compared to military officers such as company commander, battalion commander, regimental commander, divisional commander or corps commander. In the army the company commander's responsibility is by no means insignificant. He has under him 100 or more soldiers plus enormous amounts of military equipment. If he does his job irresponsibly, he can inflict huge losses on the state. No mention needs to be made of such military cadres as divisional and corps commanders. That is why in the army the education of commanders is regarded as most important. We must endeavour to raise the qualifications of administrative and economic officials by every possible means and actively help them to carry out their work in a responsible manner.

In order to raise the standard of officials it is important, above all, for them to have a profound understanding of Party policy. Because many officials do not study Party policy deeply enough and merely learn certain phrases by heart, they fail to do their job skilfully; moreover, there are many cases where they put the Party's plans into practice in a distorted manner or leave important matters undone. We must resolutely combat the hypocritical practice of studying Party policy for form's sake. All officials have to make a profound study of Party policy and understand its essence and they should always conduct their work strictly in accordance with Party policy.

In order to raise their qualifications it is also important to teach them how to work.

Among our officials there are few who dislike work. The reason why various jobs are not done well lies not in that they idle their time away but in that they are not politically or practically able enough. Since they do not know the method of work, they gain no tangible results despite laboured efforts. And they carry out their tasks by shouting commands and dictating to their subordinates and the masses. This is also due, in most cases, to the fact that they do not know how to work.

Nonetheless, most leading cadres do not think of explaining to their subordinates the method of work or of raising their ability to work and

instead expect that things will run smoothly by passing down copies of decisions or ministry directives. This is fundamentally wrong. For example, the failure to improve the supply service for the workers' welfare cannot be ascribed to the fact that we sent only a few copies of decisions, orders and directives. The point is that our officials do not readily accept the Party's decisions and directives and do not carry them into effect correctly since their qualifications are not up to standard and they do not know how to work.

In teaching the work method to officials and improving their professional acumen the best effect can be obtained by arranging demonstration lectures in line with Party policy. Better than hundreds of lectures, orders or instructions is to create a model unit at one place, use it to educate cadres, to show them the work method and make all units follow its example. This is a traditional work method which we have used since the time of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

When founding the People's Army after liberation our Party also worked by this very method. Even now, in the army the commanders and soldiers are educated by creating a model unit and then following this example throughout all People's Army units.

Our Party has long stressed the necessity for teaching officials the work method and for training them this way, not only in military affairs but in all other work. A long time ago we advised the Chairman of the Heavy Industry Commission to turn a factory in the metal industry into a model and use it to demonstrate the work method to officials.

In fact, if a well-managed factory is set up and cadres are educated through it, that will be more effective than writing a book on industrial management. However well written the book, it is barely understandable and is certainly no better than seeing the actual object.

Also, the method of creating a model at one unit and following its example makes it possible to train large numbers of cadres in a short period. Suppose the Hwanghae Iron Works is built up so as to become a model for the management of metallurgical plants, then all officials working in the metal industry can be educated through it and, in

particular, excellent cadres proficient in management can be trained in large numbers there. Thus, a workshop head will be able to serve as manager and a workteam leader as workshop head and a worker will be able to work as workteam leader. If we send good people there as reserves, we shall be capable of training a continuous stream of well-qualified managers and workshop heads and if we send them to other metallurgical plants we shall be able to spread the example of the Hwanghae Iron Works swiftly throughout the country. It is true that if a person who worked as workshop head at that iron works is sent as manager of another enterprise, he will manage and run the enterprise by the same methods he saw and learned when he was there. This is precisely what we call a live school. If we work like this, we can bring about a satisfactory solution not only to the problem of cadres' education but also to the problem of training reserve cadres.

However, our leading officials do not yet train cadres in this way. Although we have pointed out many times that managers do not make dormitories functional, none of the ministries shows the managers how to equip them properly. If senior personnel in the ministries, as instructed by the Party, go to an enterprise and help its officials to set up a comfortable dormitory and then summon managers of factories and enterprises and their deputy managers for welfare services and explain to them in detail how to furnish dormitories, why cannot they have well-appointed dormitories? But our officials do not do this. Instead they sit in their ministry offices, issuing ministry ordinances and directives on improving welfare supply service.

At present it is said, some managers do not read ministry ordinances carefully, dismissing them as nothing special. The ministry ordinances and directives which the officials at the lower units do not read are useless, no matter how many copies are sent. If we are to improve our work decisively, we must teach our subordinates sound working methods.

In addition to administrative and economic officials, Party workers should also raise their qualifications still higher.

Above all, we must improve the standards of county and provincial

Party chairmen and other leading personnel. The county Party chairmen's standards at present are low. From their reports made at the Party Central Committee, too, I can see that their capabilities are still far below those required for discharging their responsibility as master of a county.

In order to improve their standards, the provincial Party committee or the Party Central Committee ought to tell them how to work. Sending them to the Central Party School or to the Academy of Marxism-Leninism is not enough. In point of fact, because the teachers of these schools are not sufficiently well-versed in Party policy and the Party work method, they cannot give the students clear information. Even though education is conducted along the right lines to a certain degree, no complicated problems arising in practice can ever be solved with only the knowledge acquired at school.

We should explain matters to the county Party chairmen in detail so that they can easily solve all problems arising in practice. For this reason the chairmen of the provincial Party committees and department directors of the Party Central Committee should keep in constant contact with them.

Meanwhile, consultative meetings or plenary meetings should be called to train cadres through discussion of practical problems. I think the recent consultative meeting of county Party chairmen offered them a very good opportunity to improve their qualifications.

So that they can improve their standards quickly, the county Party chairmen themselves should study hard. They should regard study as an important revolutionary task and take time off to read many books. The Party should provide them with good material so that they can study well. Nowadays, some county Party chairmen seem to be disinclined even to read the newspapers. This is no good. When they study all the newspaper editorials and articles, they can understand the Party's plans and learn something.

Only when county Party chairmen keep in touch with cadres and meet often with Party members so as to learn the facts thoroughly and raise their own political and professional qualifications, can they do

their job well without committing errors.

Not only county Party chairmen but provincial Party chairmen should also improve their standards.

The provincial Party chairman is in charge of an area accounting for one-thirteenth of our territory. A minister has charge of a special field of work. For example, the Minister of Commerce is responsible only for domestic commerce. But the provincial Party chairman directs all aspects of work in his province. Therefore, his job can be considered more important and difficult than that of a minister.

Do our provincial Party chairmen fulfil this important responsibility? They do not. They ought to get each job finished in order but they rush around, getting things mixed up and skipping over important jobs that should be done at any cost. This is due mainly to their method of work but partly because of their poor qualifications. The reason why provincial Party chairmen do not give their county Party chairmen explicit instructions is also connected, in no small measure, with the former's standard of knowledge.

At present, however, the Party Central Committee does not train provincial Party chairmen properly. Of course, in the past they summoned provincial Party chairmen many times and had talks with them, showed them the work method and told them about internal and external political problems or military affairs at that precise moment. But this is not enough. Properly speaking, if they are to give explicit instructions to provincial Party chairmen they should sit together with them for days and receive reports from them on one thing after another, offer criticism on any faults they might have, and explain to them how to correct any troubles which might have arisen. But they do not do this. In many cases they simply thought the provincial Party chairmen knew everything quite well and informed them only of their tasks before dismissing them. Because they returned after hearing so much and no more, provincial Party chairmen could overlook something without getting a full understanding of what was meant. In the circumstances they could make no progress nor could they exert a good influence on the county Party chairmen. In future we must make every

effort to instruct the provincial Party chairmen.

We should improve the qualifications of senior Party workers and at the same time have instructors well prepared. This is a point which we stressed when we guided the work of the Kangso County Party Committee.

The qualifications of the instructors of provincial or county Party committees are still very poor. So long as they remain inexperienced, they cannot advance their work and, moreover, they may sometimes create great confusion in work.

Previously, when he went to visit lower units, a certain official merely found fault with his subordinates instead of helping them to make headway in their work and returned with a long list of errors. And then, making much ado about cadres' minor shortcomings, he tried to censure innocent people. When he spoke such nonsense at the Political Committee, we criticised him severely. Even now, we often hear absurd remarks. Those comrades who are not proficient in their work and are lacking in education tell us about the situation occasionally as if a big spy group were about to do something underhanded. Then, when we look into the matter carefully, it turns out that they are making a fuss about nothing.

Even Party instructors, if lacking in professional acumen and culture, may overstate a fact in this way and misrepresent it. Therefore, you must always analyse the instructors' reports carefully and train them constantly so that they can judge matters correctly for themselves.

We must educate the county Party instructors so well that their standards will be as high as the present level of county Party chairmen. True, county Party chairmen's standards are not so high now, but when the instructors' standards are brought up to that level they will be quite able to deal with matters on the spot for county Party chairmen. In the county Party committee work with instructors is best done mainly by the county Party vice-chairmen or organizational department directors.

In the Party Central Committee work with section chiefs and instructors should also be done well. When they are not out on an

official trip, you should let them discuss Party policy every day and continue to train them, summing up the results of their work.

It is most important in improving the qualifications of the officials of Party organs at all levels to educate them effectively in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Party policy. At present some comrades seem to think that someone does not need special training because he graduated from the Central Party School. They are mistaken. He cannot be a walking dictionary just because he has attended the school. He appears to know things, but actually the opposite may be true; he may know how to interpret Marx's propositions in book form but may not be aware of Party policy in which they are applied to our conditions, still less how to apply Marxism-Leninism, just as one can understand the Chinese character *ji* or earth when it is put right beneath the character *chon* or heaven but cannot when it is placed under another Chinese character. Therefore, those who finish the school should also be tirelessly educated.

It is especially important to educate officials to be proficient in Party policy. However good he may be at learning Marx's propositions by heart, a person cannot carry out his work, if he is ignorant of Party policy. Our Party's policy is something of a yardstick for all activities. Therefore, leading cadres should explain Party policy to the instructors all the time and give them lectures on the subject. In this way they will ensure that all instructors have a good understanding of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and have a thoroughgoing knowledge of our Party's policy.

In order to raise the instructors' standards, it is also necessary to receive reports on the progress of their work and sum up its results occasionally. It is a great defect at present that cadres do not examine and review the instructors' work in good time. This is neglected by the Party Central Committee in the first place. Even when the instructors return from their work at lower levels the economic departments of the Party Central Committee do not sum up the results carefully and so no substantial progress is made despite several years of work.

When instructors return from an official trip, senior cadres should

hear from them in detail what kind of problem was encountered and how it was settled and then they should analyse and appraise what was good and what was wrong. After such a review they should continue to educate and prepare them and, when a new task arises, send them out for guidance, again showing them specific ways of tackling it.

While training officials through their work, we should send them to school.

In the past some comrades, pleading pressure of work, badly neglected the systematic education of cadres. In consequence, a considerable number of comrades, good as their origin is, fail to work well because they lack ability. Unless we educate officials systematically, we cannot make further progress.

We must send all cadres in office to school, without exception, on a planned basis. In order to achieve this we had better establish a principle that the posts of those sent to school should not be left vacant but others should be appointed in their place. We mean to have a reserve of students, so to speak. When this is done, all officials can go to school in turn. Suppose two instructors of a county Party committee enter school, their posts can be filled by those who have already finished school, and when those sent to school this time return after finishing the course, still others can be sent to attend school. If we continue to do this for several years, we will be able to get all the instructors of that county Party committee to receive training.

By educating and training officials carefully in this way we shall ensure that a Party Central Committee instructor can work well with county Party chairmen, and that a section chief of the Party Central Committee can fulfil the duty of the provincial Party chairman. And the instructor of the provincial Party committee should be able to work efficiently with the vice-chairman of the county Party committee and the instructor of the county Party committee should be able to undertake the duty of the ri Party committee chairman. By this means we shall train them to serve as the limbs, ears and eyes of the leadership personnel and to carry out their revolutionary tasks with credit.

Next, we should work diligently with cadres who have made errors.

Some comrades do not think of educating and using them but try to expel them on the turn. An analysis of the makeup of those dismissed from their posts shows that there are few who have been criticised or punished many times. In general, they committed an error once before their dismissal. When some embezzlement cases are discovered among cadres or evidence of their depravity is produced after an investigation, many comrades dismiss them immediately. We must not deal with officials in this off-hand manner.

Needless to say, we cannot compromise with those who take a stand against our Party or have some connections with our enemies or engage in hostile activities. We must hit them mercilessly. But, as for those who are guilty of other faults, we must not regard them as utterly useless.

To err is human. If they remained motionless like Buddha, it would be a different thing, but is it possible that those who engage in revolutionary work commit no mistake while in their work? Practically none of the cadres who took part in the revolutionary struggle from the pre-liberation period have spent their days free from any error. They have all developed to be staunch revolutionaries in the course of their fighting while being criticised a great deal and sometimes punished.

You can have no clear idea of how difficult it was for us to win over a single comrade when we were engaged in underground activity or guerrilla struggle. Because we felt keenly that our comrades were precious, we truly valued and loved them and when any one of them made a mistake our hearts were torn and we took great pains to have his defects rectified.

But our officials of today have, for the most part, grown up in the midst of lawful struggle following liberation, so they do not fully know how valuable cadres are. If someone commits the slightest error, many of our comrades try to solve the question by simply dismissing him instead of thinking of ways to educate and use him. Our comrades say our Party is a mother party, but in actual fact our Party workers' care for people is far removed from a mother's affection for her children.

For this reason, subordinates fear their superiors and are unwilling to tell them frankly about their own faults even though they have some.

Most of the errors committed by our officials at present are not political but moral excesses or misappropriations; these can be easily rectified if only good education is given. If education on one occasion is not enough, then a second time, and if this is still insufficient, try three or four times. If you educate them untiringly like this, you will have their defects remedied in the end.

We must, therefore, educate officials beforehand lest they should commit errors. At the same time, we should refrain from dismissing those officials who have made mistakes and educate them perseveringly, giving them personal advice, criticizing them at meetings or punishing them if necessary.

4) ON IMPROVING THE WORK OF COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEES

Now the county Party chairmen say that they find it very hard to work. This may be ascribed to two reasons. One is that the provincial Party committee or the Party Central Committee keeps dictating to county Party chairmen so that they cannot do their work properly and the other is that county Party chairmen themselves fail to organize their work well.

First of all, the method of work must be corrected at the upper levels so that the county Party chairmen can work on their own initiative according to the yearly work programme.

In order to enable the county Party chairmen to work on their own, we should summon them once a year to review their work in the previous period and tell them how to conduct their future work. This is not the kind of thing which must be done only by the Party Central Committee. The provincial Party committee can also do it. At the time when the provincial Party committee calls county Party chairmen to sum up the results of their work, the Party Central Committee should

prepare lecture plans for its officials to use for guidance when they visit each province to help the provincial Party chairmen. And where the results of their work are reviewed directly at the Party Central Committee, there is no need for the provincial Party committee to sum them up again.

It is no use holding such a meeting in a formalistic way. No effect will be produced if it just adopts a decision following one person's smooth report and the speeches of several others before it breaks up. Even if it lasts for days, the meeting should have detailed discussions so that all comrades will know specifically how to work before they leave. As we have done on this occasion, it is necessary to receive from county Party chairmen the reports on the work in all spheres such as inner-Party work, economic affairs, the activities of working people's organizations, educational and cultural work, military affairs and public security work and explain to them in detail what is wrong and what else has to be done in accordance with each problem. Since the basic directions for work have already been specified for the respective spheres, it will be enough to point out mistakes or the things which remain to be done.

After the summing-up of work results, it is necessary to visit the county and give active help to the county Party committee in accordance with the Chongsanri method. Instead of separate guidance by each department, the staff members of the organizational department, the information and publicity department and other departments should all be brought into action and a group should be formed to give guidance under a unified plan. This guidance group should examine by means of detailed analysis what defects the county Party committee has in its work and whether it has fulfilled the tasks assigned by the senior authority and it should help the officials of the county Party committee down to the very last detail.

After guidance the merits and failings of each department of the county Party committee should be circulated among all counties. Then other county Party committees, upon seeing this circular, will also review their work and endeavour to correct their own shortcomings.

If Party work is conducted this way in the province or at the centre, county Party chairmen will be able to do their work well, without being so hard-pressed.

At present work is not carried out by this method. The provincial Party committee or the Party Central Committee does sum up the results of its work, but its departments dictate to the lower units at will and summon their officials to various meetings. So county Party chairmen are compelled to run here and there, finding no time to get deeply involved in their work.

Clear directions for work are indicated at plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee and specific work methods are shown in the *Party Work Reader*; what else, then, needs incessant orders? In the guidance of the county, the defects we pointed out long ago at the Kangso County Party Committee meeting are continually appearing as they used to do. The provincial Party committee and the Party Central Committee must change such outdated methods of guidance completely.

From now on, the provincial Party committees and the departments of the Party Central Committee should only notify the lower units of any new matters each time they arise. Suppose a change has taken place in the situation at home or abroad or new tasks have been discussed at a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, it will only be necessary to give instructions on relevant measures.

To improve the work of the county Party committees the work method of their chairmen should also be altered. The reason why these committees' work does not proceed smoothly lies not only in the fact that the superior bodies dictate to them in a bureaucratic way, but also in the fact that there are many shortcomings in the work method of county Party chairmen themselves.

At present many county Party chairmen do not know how to work by the Party method but work in an administrative way. They fail to draw up a detailed plan for carrying out the tasks in hand but just scurry around, getting everything mixed up. Some county Party chairmen say they have no time even to read the newspapers. This is not because

they have so much work to do, but because they do not know how to organize work well. They must change this wrong method of work.

If Party work is to be done properly, exact assignments should be given to set everyone in motion. It is one of the most important principles in our Party's work to turn the whole Party into a living organization by rousing its 1.6 million members to action in the way one person can activate ten people, the ten a hundred and the hundred a thousand.

County Party chairmen should not take on every job alone, but draw county Party workers and all other cadres in the county into their activities. A county Party chairman has only seven to eight cadres to deal with, at the most, including the chairman of the county people's committee, the chairman of the county cooperative farm management committee, the chairman of the county local industry management committee and the chief in charge of county public security affairs. If he gives them assignments and makes it a rule to receive reports from them at fixed intervals, things can be done in good order. When a new task is raised, it will do to telephone the head of the organ concerned or call him in to give him the task and tell him to report on its execution by a certain date. A certain county Party chairman, it is said, goes around trying to obtain a water-pump. Why does the county Party chairman need to undertake such a job?

County Party chairmen must play a guiding role better than anybody else in directing administrative and economic affairs. Many of them are so immersed in administrative and economic work, they do not stand at the helm. If farming fails, they do not try to spur on the officials of the cooperative farm management committees but swagger about like taskmasters, shouting: "Do the rice transplanting quickly," "Do the harvesting quickly."

Since they take administrative and economic work upon themselves, instead of engaging in Party work, county Party chairmen cannot but be kept busy. Because they do not work by the Party method, they cannot make progress and, moreover, others do not attend to Party work either, simply following their example by rushing around.

A county Party chairman must leave all administrative and economic work to the personnel concerned and organize and encourage the officials of administrative and economic bodies properly so that they can carry out their assigned tasks successfully. In the case of farm work, he should ensure that the officials of the cooperative farm management committee assume the entire responsibility for timely sowing and timely harvesting. The success of work in this field can be easily judged in the course of work with cadres. For example, when he talks with ri Party committee chairmen about various matters and asks them about the farming situation, the chairman can understand everything. If something is found to be wrong, he can immediately tell the management committee chairman in order to have it corrected.

Once he assigns a task, he should not sit back idly, simply because his job is to guide, but he should check from time to time on how it is being done and encourage its completion. This alone will keep officials on their toes, without slackening in their work.

Only when county Party chairmen give out proper assignments and direct administrative and economic affairs correctly, will they be able to do Party work more positively, help to conduct administrative and economic work well and gain time to study. At present county Party chairmen are busy doing nothing, with the result that they even fail to give effective guidance to Party cells. Since our officials work this way, many Party members in the rural areas are not fully aware of their duties as Party members. To make all Party organizations into living ones, each of their members should be encouraged to act conscientiously and energetically, aware of his duty.

After the assignment of tasks, county Party chairmen should meet and talk to cadres and Party members, go to ri and attend Party cell meetings to teach the ri Party chairmen or Party cell chairmen in detail how to work. It is advisable to take county Party instructors with them to ri to show them the method of work.

It is no easy matter to guide and help Party cell chairmen in their work. If they are to play their part properly, they should learn to give

assignments to scores of Party members and make them act correctly and should also know how to bind various sections of the masses around the Party. It is impossible to bring them up to this level only by getting them to participate in a few meetings.

In order to raise the standards of Party cell chairmen, it is necessary to teach them the work method in detail; for this one needs to stay with them for about a week, attending cell meetings and watching them assign tasks to Party members or work with the masses.

And to give proper guidance in the work of their subordinates, county Party chairmen themselves should have experience in work of all kinds. For instance, if it is information work, they should have a try at writing and organize a reading party. At present county Party chairmen are reluctant to arrange a reading party, regarding it as a triviality. This is wrong. Only when they join in reading parties from time to time and read newspapers attentively can they discover what has gone amiss and offer an opinion to the officials concerned. County Party chairmen should become accustomed to doing anything, however trifling. Then they will understand the difficulties and shortcomings of those who have undertaken that job.

The work method of county Party chairmen should be improved and, at the same time, the habit of formalism in the work of the county Party committee should be broken.

Formalistic conventions are still manifest to a considerable extent in this work. County Party committees divide jobs among officials automatically, stereotyping them in the process.

When we were engaged in the revolutionary struggle we worked well without stereotypes. Though we had only a few people at that time, we did all sorts of work. Yet, since our county Party committees allocate jobs to many persons, they draw the line of responsibility between themselves, saying: "This is my job and that is yours."

From now onwards, the county Party committee must not divide jobs unnecessarily among many people. The work with people who have returned or the work for the training of reserve cadres should not be left to one person but be done by all.

County Party instructors should not be kept in the county office but be made to take charge of ri to gain all-round experience. They should be allowed to go out to ri to ascertain the trends among people of all levels and encouraged to conduct both organizational and ideological work. The county Party chairmen should make arrangements for this and inform the instructors of all details of the work method such as how to do the work with returned persons, what education to give the cadres of south Korean origin and how to work with the masses who have diverse backgrounds.

When all county Party instructors go to work in ri, the county Party committee will be able to get a constant understanding of the prevailing conditions in ri and, accordingly, its work will proceed smoothly.

In Pongsan County, North Hwanghae Province, there are 23 ri and they say that the organizational department of the county Party committee is staffed with 22 instructors. If each instructor is placed in charge of a ri, then one ri remains, and the department head may as well assume charge of that. If one instructor works only for about a year in charge of one ri, he will be able to read the situation in a given ri like the palm of his hand. He will be able to understand all cadres in ri and the ideological mood of the people. The work of the county Party officials should be organized this way.

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I have so far spoken a great deal about many problems. Since I have touched on various matters and criticised you also, you may be at a loss what to do and how you should do it. So I should like to review what I have talked above and, on this basis, set out in short, the economic tasks for next year and the rule of conduct which senior officials must keep in performing these tasks.

I think that the tasks facing the economic field next year can be summarized in ten as follows.

First, the whole Party must concentrate on agriculture and

inaugurate a campaign to produce 500 kgs of grain more per hectare, that is, one million tons in all. In 1961, the year following our guidance in Chongsan-ri, we achieved great success in the campaign to produce one million tons more grain, and so we will have to initiate another campaign for this.

Second, all factories and enterprises must put their production on a regular basis to give full scope to their production capacities and, further, to manufacture goods in greater quantities.

Third, every effort must be made to give explicit priority to the extractive industries such as coal, general mining and forestry.

Fourth, a campaign to use less foreign currency and to earn more of it must be launched in a movement involving the whole Party, the whole state and all the people.

Fifth, scattered construction projects must be reorganized and the projects must be carried out in an intensive way on a priority basis. The work of putting flesh on the skeleton of industrial establishments which are not yet fully equipped must be accelerated so that they will start production quickly. And the existing industrial enterprises must be directed to ensure production more effectively. In particular, efforts must be concentrated on construction in the chemical and electricity industries; you must not forget that more fertilizer means more rice and must put your greatest efforts into the building of fertilizer factories.

Sixth, the existing equipment and capacities must be used to the fullest so that transport by railways, vessels and lorries can be organized effectively.

Seventh, the quality of products must be radically improved and a drive for increased production and the practice of economy must be strengthened in all fields so that material reserves can be created and thorough preparations be made to cope with a possible war.

Eighth, the technical revolution must be continuously promoted and manpower administration has to be improved. Various measures for making rational use of manpower must be taken—to reduce the nonproductive work force and allocate it to productive fields; to send as many people working outside the pits as possible into the pits to

work; to cut down the auxiliary labour force and increase the number of those who engage in production; to dispatch young men to rural communities; and to organize housewives' workteams on a big scale so as to draw them into productive activity in larger numbers.

Ninth, material supply agencies must improve their work radically to ensure the smooth supply of materials. Commodity distribution must be effectively organized so as to satisfy the demands of the population for consumer goods.

Tenth, land management must be improved—to protect forests; to put roads and rivers in good order; to repair houses and public establishments; and to keep streets and villages clean and tidy.

Now I should like to dwell on the ten points which senior officials must adhere to in their direction of economic affairs.

First, Party, state and economic officials must remember that they are the fighters of the Party, the vanguard of the working class and the faithful servants of the people, and they must dedicate their all to the struggle for the interests of the Party, the working class and the people. In a word, they must increase their Party, working-class and people-oriented spirit.

Second, Party, state and economic officials must acquire the revolutionary habit of implementing the Party's policies accurately to the end, instead of distorting them or giving up their implementation halfway.

Third, Party, state and economic officials must bear full responsibility for their work, must combat the practices of undertaking work in a slipshod manner and must acquire the style of organizing and examining work repeatedly.

Fourth, Party, state and economic officials must do away with formalism, commandism and administrative methods of work whereby they force their subordinates to do work out of subjective desire, and must give priority to political work so as to encourage everybody.

Fifth, all senior officials must strictly observe state laws and regulations and fight against disorderly and undisciplined practices of violating them recklessly.

Sixth, Party, state and economic officials must put an end to a narrow-minded attitude of looking at only one aspect of work, not the other and of considering only immediate interests, not distant ones. They must vehemently oppose provincialism and departmentalism.

Seventh, Party, state and economic officials must look after every aspect of the country's economic life, in order to save grain, cloth, iron, brick and money as much as possible, to consolidate the foundations of an independent national economy and to raise the people's standard of living.

Eighth, all Party officials and economic executives must bring into fuller play their revolutionary spirit of studying while working and of working while studying, so as to acquire the theories of socialist economy and improve their political, theoretical, technical and practical levels.

Ninth, all state and economic officials must draw up accurate plans and organize production rationally by relying firmly on socialist economic laws, and must make continued innovations and an uninterrupted advance to develop the productive forces steadily and satisfy the people's ever-growing material and cultural requirements.

Tenth, all Party, state and economic officials must resolutely oppose revisionism and dogmatism, establish Juche in the ideological area and maintain the principles of independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-reliant defence in guarding the nation.

I do not think that these two ten major tasks, that is, 20 tasks comprise everything. If shortcomings arise in the course of work you will have to make them up in the second half of next year.

In conclusion, I should like to mention a few points to which those who participate in the current direction of cities and counties must pay attention.

On the authority of the Party Central Committee, you are entrusted with a duty to help the city, county, ri, factory or enterprise work. You must deeply recognize this honour and responsibility and make every effort to discharge your duty faithfully.

The sole aim of your guidance is to help and teach city or county officials to work properly. So you must not push yourselves forward to decide everything, but give prominence to your subordinates as far as possible and sincerely help them do their own work successfully. If you take city or county affairs upon yourselves they may go on smoothly to some extent during your guidance, but once you return they will retrogress again.

You must never behave haughtily, as persons who have come from the central authority. If you put on airs, saying, “I have come from the Party Central Committee” or “I am a vice-minister” out in the cities or counties, local officials will have no time to do any work, because they have to come and greet you. Then you will not become helpers for their work but rather trouble-makers.

When you visit the cities and counties, all of you, regardless of whether you are a minister or vice-minister, must obey the decisions of city and county Party committees and do your work as instructors of these committees.

You must always lead a frugal life, mix with the masses and live with them, educating and learning from them. This is also vital for your own tempering.

You will not succeed if you try to improve industry, agriculture, commerce, education and public health at once, from a selfish motive, on the pretext of strengthening city and county work. If you seek to find solutions to all problems at the same time, you may not solve any one of them properly. Therefore, you must carefully decide the order of priority in your work and concentrate your efforts on the most important field. In the meantime, you must endeavour to bolster up other areas step by step.

Those who are going to counties must, first of all, take measures for the development of agriculture and concentrate their efforts on the campaign to increase production by 500 kgs of grain per hectare next year. There is a great deal of work to do in rural areas. At present the settlement of accounts and distribution of grains are in full swing and farmers are busy in their preparations for next year’s farming. It is

advisable, therefore, that you put emphasis on agriculture and, at the same time, pay attention to public health, education and commerce.

Those who are going to cities must direct their main efforts to fulfilling next year's national economic plans at factories and enterprises, while helping them in other matters.

You must never cease to study during your guidance. Unless you study you are unable to give proper direction. You should make a deep study of Party decisions, *Party Work Reader*, the outlines of guidance work and the like, and study various materials which are beneficial to work. Our officials now neglect their studying on the plea of being busy; but you must set an example in establishing the habit of studying thoroughly.

If you help and direct your subordinates properly for one year, changes will be brought about in city and county work.

I am convinced that you will work well before returning so as to live up to the Party's expectations.

ON PRODUCING GOOD DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Talk to Film Workers

December 16, 1965

At present our documentary films are popular in foreign countries. Socialist countries and newly independent countries, in particular, take a great interest in these films and ask for many of them. Chongryon workers and other Korean compatriots in Japan also ask us to send them many films.

In the last few years many good documentary films have been produced in our country.

The documentary film *Long Live the Banner of the Republic* is an excellent piece. The more I see it, the better it becomes. It can be regarded as a masterpiece.

This film is a historic work recording the ten-year-long postwar struggle of our Party and people who have, through hard work, built the socialist paradise which we see today, on the debris of war. It vividly portrays our people who came out in mass for reconstruction, in response to the Party's call. The film is all the more impressive because it includes the *Song of Reconstruction* and other songs which the working people used to sing at that time.

The filming of this piece is also good. Historical facts are presented correctly, the people's struggle is graphically shown and pictures are clear. The editing is also praiseworthy. It shows today's developed reality in contrast with the devastation of the past so that the audience

can clearly understand the achievements of our struggle.

If those who took part in postwar reconstruction see this film they will be deeply moved. It is also valuable historical material for the education of the rising generation.

The colour documentary film *Bumper Crop* can be described as a great epic rather than a simple documentary. This film is an eulogy to the era of Chollima which faithfully shows the realities of our countryside where the Chongsanri spirit flourishes. *Bumper Crop* is a good piece which shows the inspiring and effervescent state of our country today, while correctly reflecting what the masses would like to see and hear.

The documentary film *The Conference of Victors* is also a good piece which manages to condense a large number of subjects into a few reels in chronological order.

The documentary film *Chollima* is good in content and also technically. The scene which shows workers relaxing after work is pleasing and the mess hall in a factory compound is excellently filmed. A factory mess hall like this is unlikely to be found in capitalist countries. The capitalists who are fanatical about exploiting workers cannot provide them with such fine facilities. The removal of workers to new houses is also a delightful scene.

The documentary film *The New Song on the Tongno River* is as good as *Long Live the Banner of the Republic*. Pictures are agreeable, the editing is good and, above all, the filming is excellent.

The documentary film *Golden Mountain* accurately depicts the working people's struggle to carry out the Party policy on developing local industry, while the documentary film *Good Health Is Valuable for the Country* exactly explains the Party's requirement to encourage mass physical culture.

There are also many other fine documentaries.

However, there are too few to sing the praises of the era of our Workers' Party and reflect the seething reality of our country today.

Documentary films are of great significance in visual information work. Fine documentaries will become valuable historical material.

But, because we did not film a lot of material in prewar and wartime years and in the postwar reconstruction days, we now have little available for the visual education of the people on the subject of our Party's history of struggle. From now onwards we should put the production of good documentaries on a systematic basis.

First of all, we ought to produce an excellent documentary film *New Korea*, which will show every aspect of our country.

There are some documentaries which present our country, but they have shortcomings. The documentary film *Along the East Coast* only explores Mts. Kumgang and Chilbo and other beautiful scenic spots, but does not show towns, factories, enterprises and cooperative farms in different sectors of the national economy on that coast. It is, of course, necessary to film scenic beauties in showing our country. However, only when we show industry, agriculture, education, culture and all other sectors in our films will we be able to demonstrate what our country is really like. Just filming scenery in a naturalistic way cannot present a clear picture of what it is like.

There are some documentaries dealing with the rural areas of our country and the lives of our workers, but they are fragmentary and cannot show our country in all its aspects. Some time ago, therefore, we assigned the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee the task of producing the documentary film *New Korea* which will give a complete representation of our country.

It is necessary to make this documentary into an excellent film. At present many people, including some cadres, in fact, do not know our country well. Cases occur in which some officials even suggest that we import items which are being manufactured here because they do not know what our products are. In order to educate our cadres and people and prepare historical material for the education of the coming generations, there must be a documentary which shows every aspect of our country. Such a film is also needed to introduce our country to foreigners. Therefore, you should make a good film on the basis of a well-written screenplay and according to a proper shooting plan.

The documentary film *New Korea* should deal with the geography,

population, area and natural resources of our country and give publicity to the fact that it is now divided into the north and the south by the US imperialists and that this artificial division hampers its rapid development.

Summarizing the administrative section of our country first, the film should feature Pyongyang and provincial seats including Sinuiju and Sariwon, as well as other important cities and counties such as Nampho, Sinpho and Rajin County.

Then the film should show our national economy, sector by sector.

It will be appropriate to start with our power industry. It should give the number of hydroelectric and thermal power stations and the total generating capacity before showing the Suphung, Jangjingang, Kanggye Youth and other big power stations in turn. It should also explain in detail the network of transmission and distribution lines.

When showing the coal-mining industry, the film should introduce our country's large coal mines one by one as well as small- and medium-sized mines.

The section dealing with the ferrous metal industry should first spotlight the large iron ore mines such as the Musan and Unryul Mines, showing cutting operations, mining equipment and ore-dressing plants. This should be followed by scenes of steel and pig iron production and rolling processes as seen at the Hwanghae and Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Kangson and Songjin Steel Plants and other ferrous metallurgical works.

The section on the nonferrous metal industry should show typical gold mines and other mines extracting lead, zinc, magnesite, and so on, as well as large smelteries.

The building-materials industry section should introduce big building-materials production centres such as cement, glass and plywood factories.

The film should also give a good representation of our machine-building industry.

The segment on the timber industry ought to cover big forestry stations, clearly showing felling and rafting operations as well as the

stockpiling and transporting of timber.

When dealing with the chemical industry you should show factories which produce chemical fibre, chemical fertilizer, medical supplies, pigments and dyestuffs, and you must include even small- and medium-sized chemical factories.

When handling light industry, the film should portray the centrally-run factories in the textile, footwear, consumer goods, ceramics and foodstuff industries, as well as typical local industry factories.

The part dealing with the fishing industry must give a good representation of big fishing grounds, fish processing factories, cold-storage facilities, and similar things.

The agricultural section of the film must show mountains and fields where all kinds of fruits and crops are flourishing, as well as irrigation facilities. It should comprehensively cover all agricultural production in our country, including livestock farming and fruit growing. The cameras must also film large state farms, county-unit integrated farms, and other cooperative farms in the plains, the intermediate zones and the mountainous regions. It would also be a good idea to introduce farm machine stations and other enterprises which serve agriculture.

The film should outline our transport system, and show railway, road and water transport, indicating the main railways and big harbours.

The documentary film *New Korea* should include education, culture and public health as well.

The education section should focus on large universities, typical technical schools and scientific research institutes, while the public health section should show large hospitals and other important public health establishments and model nurseries and kindergartens. In addition, the film should touch on such cultural establishments as cinemas, theatres, museums and libraries.

In short, this documentary ought to cover all the sectors of our national economy. When dealing with factories and enterprises, both external and internal views should be shown and each of their

production processes should be explained. The film should, therefore, be made in such a way that every spectator will know everything about our country. If the film is to cover such a vast range, the number of reels may be very great. This will make it impossible for people to see the whole film in one day. It should, therefore, be divided into many parts so that people can pick whichever part they wish to see.

The documentary film *New Korea* will play the role of an encyclopedia on our country and become an excellent visual aid. It will serve as a fine textbook on politics, the economy and geography of our country and form precious historical material to be handed down to posterity.

The production of this film is aimed mainly at educating our cadres and people. When it is complete we must make many copies to send to the provinces and screen them first for the secondary school pupils.

An abridged edition of this documentary should be made separately to introduce and explain our country to foreigners. It would be advisable to split it into two parts so that it will run for about two hours. The shortened version should show typical factories and enterprises in different sectors of the national economy in turn and explain that there are many small- and medium-sized factories in local areas. This film can be screened in cinemas. It would be advisable to make the abridged version in colour and the full documentary film in black and white.

Production of this film is an enormous work. We must allocate an extra budget for this purpose. It must be a fine creation, even if it is fairly expensive.

We should also produce films which are needed to educate people so that they will manage the economic life of the country with great care.

The efficient management of the nation's economic life is one of the most urgent problems which confront us today. Therefore, we gave due emphasis to this problem at the consultative meeting of the chairmen of provincial, city and county Party committees and the 12th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee held some time ago, and we stressed it also in the report delivered at the 20th

anniversary celebration of the foundation of the Workers' Party of Korea.

At present there are many examples of managing economic life in a slipshod manner, from the household to the nation.

Sawmills, for instance, are wasting a lot of valuable timber because they use thick circular saws. In pulp mills, too, they strip trees of their bark cutting off some of the timber as well. If they made wood-shaving boards by compressing sawdust or odd pieces of lumber, it would be a good source of timber. However, nobody organizes this sort of work. According to even a liberal estimate it is said that the amount of timber now being wasted is enough to build modern rural dwellings for 110,000 families.

The waste of steel, cement, and thermal and electric power is much in evidence. I have been told that if every household used briquettes, instead of coal dust, we could save 140,000 tons of coal in Pyongyang alone and a million tons throughout the country. If the coal saved in this way were sent to the country areas we would be able to send the rice straw, which the farmers use as fuel, to industry as a raw material. But, great quantities of valuable coal are being wasted because of the careless management of economic life.

Inefficient water conservation in the country areas causes a prodigious waste of water, and there are many examples of oil being wasted by tractors because their engines are kept running even when they do not work. A great deal of rice is lost and wasted because threshing is done haphazardly and the hulling output is low.

There is a great tendency to fritter away paper in printing houses and civil service offices. Wasteful practices are found everywhere.

We can see many examples of improper care being taken of schools, hospitals, houses and equipment, which renders precious state property useless.

At present our country is producing a wide variety of things, carrying on many construction projects, and the output per head of population has increased to a considerable degree, but raw materials and other items are always in short supply and the people's living

standards do not improve rapidly. The main reason is that the economic life of the country is managed carelessly. It is important to produce and build more, but it is no less important to use sparingly what has already been produced and built and to take good care of it. If people waste valuable materials by handling the nation's economy in a casual manner and do not take good care of their dwellings, then, no matter how much we might produce and build, it would be to no purpose.

We should strive to do away with such practices as soon as possible and manage the economic life of the country methodically and carefully in all fields. "Let us handle the nation's economy carefully!" This is the slogan of our Party today.

The cinema plays a great part in educating people so that they will stop waste and manage their economic life well. Film workers must produce many pieces about preventing waste and taking scrupulous care in production, management, home life and all other areas and thus contribute actively to educating the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism.

Although it is necessary to produce feature films showing the meticulous management of the country's economic life, you should begin with documentary films. The Scientific Film Studio makes a few films of this kind, but this will not be enough to deal with the matter. The Documentary Film Studio should get down to the job and produce scores of films relating to the country's economic life quickly.

You do not need to make full-length films; one or two reels will do.

You should discover factories and enterprises which manage the economic life well or go out to help them set an example in this respect. If you show the comparison between the positive and the negative in managing economic life, while at the same time clearly depicting how great a loss waste is to the state, it will provide a powerful stimulus for the working people.

Let me take the example of producing a film about using briquettes. You will be able to include in the film: how clean and convenient it is to use briquettes; how much coal can be saved when briquettes are

used and how much rice straw can be conserved if the coal saved is sent to the rural areas; how much pulp and paper can be produced with that amount of rice straw and how much cloth can be woven from the pulp; and also how much nitrogen and potash can be obtained if rice straw is left to break down into compost.

This film can easily be produced in newsreel form under the title, *Let's Manage the Economic Life Skilfully*. Even if you have to reduce the number of feature films, you must produce many documentaries on the economic life, once you have written good scripts and edited their content well.

We should ensure that many such films are produced and shown compulsorily in cinemas and theatres, and that these films are screened before the delivery of lectures.

By making such serious efforts over several years, we should eradicate wasteful practices and establish a habit of managing the economic life carefully and assiduously in all sectors and at all units.

Newsreels should be produced rapidly and this applies especially to the films about big celebrations held in our country which should be made immediately and shown on the screen.

In future the proportion of colour film used in the production of documentaries should be increased. If there is insufficient film you must even reduce the production of colour feature movies to achieve this increase. Documentaries which deal with functions of national significance, in particular, should be made in colour.

Commentaries on documentary films are full of words adopted from Chinese and words of foreign origin. These words must be replaced by our own Korean words as far as possible so that working people can fully understand the narrative.

LET US PRODUCE MORE FILMS WHICH ARE PROFOUND AND RICH IN CONTENT

Speech to Scenarists and Producers

February 4, 1966

Many famous writers and producers who have long been engaged in creative activity in the cinema are gathered here today. I should like to take this opportunity to talk about some problems arising in the development of our cinema industry.

Thanks to your positive efforts and the efforts of all film artists, great success has been attained in the field of the cinema. At present our cinema art has developed to a very high level, when compared with the days immediately after liberation when the first feature film *My Home* was produced. However, we should not rest content with this. We have a great deal more work to do in the future than we have already done.

We have carried out the revolution only in one half of the country, and the south Korean people are still groaning under US imperialist colonial rule. Until we have driven the US imperialists out of south Korea and reunified the country, not only Korean communists but also conscientious nationalists cannot say that they have fulfilled their duty.

It is by no means easy to force the US imperialists to withdraw from south Korea and liberate the people. The revolution there is more complicated and difficult than those in other countries.

US imperialism, which occupies south Korea, is the ringleader of

world imperialism. They keep their troops, tens of thousands strong, stationed in south Korea and do not intend to leave.

The south Korean people who are the masters and in charge of the south Korean revolution, are at a very low level of revolutionary consciousness.

In the past the Japanese imperialists carried on pernicious anti-communist propaganda among the people, with the result that many of them had mistaken ideas about communism. Under these circumstances, communists in south Korea should have waged the revolutionary struggle skilfully after liberation and given the people a “good smack” of communism, but they could not do so. Because of the harmful actions of Pak Hon Yong and other anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements, the south Korean people were unable to obtain a proper understanding of revolution and communism even after liberation. The Pak Hon Yong clique said that they were making revolution in south Korea, but in fact they brought disunity to the revolutionary ranks and finally committed the unpardonable crime of undermining the revolution.

Because of the repressive intrigues of the US imperialists and south Korean reactionaries and the sabotage of anti-Party elements and counter-revolutionaries, the revolutionary organizations formed in south Korea after liberation were all destroyed, and most of the few revolutionaries who survived came over to the northern half of Korea. This was little short of the complete disintegration of the revolutionary forces in south Korea. That was why I went so far as to say after the war that the south Korean revolution began afresh from then.

Since the Japanese imperialists conducted pernicious anti-communist propaganda before liberation and, in addition, in south Korea, communists could not give a “good smack” of communism after liberation but perpetrated only evil deeds, quite a few people did not have a correct understanding of communism.

The practice of idolizing the United States is fairly prevalent amongst the south Korean people. Because the US imperialists who occupied their part of the country after liberation brought grain and

provided dollars to it under the cloak of “aid”, many south Korean people think that America supported their existence and helped them, without knowing of its evil intention which is concealed by “aid”.

Meanwhile, many of them are longing for the northern half, but they do not fully comprehend the advantages of its socialist system. At present the south Korean people are not fully aware of the truth that if they are to eliminate all the sources of their miseries and become really prosperous, they must crush the US imperialists and their stooges and overthrow the reactionary social system of south Korea.

In this situation, for the sake of the south Korean revolution we should, first of all, awaken the south Korean people including the youth in a revolutionary way and train hard cores who are fully imbued with the revolutionary world outlook.

The masters of the south Korean revolution are the south Korean people. This revolution will be successful only when they become awakened and turn out in the revolutionary struggle. Of course, the people in the northern half of the country should help them in their struggle. But they cannot take their place. On every account the south Korean revolution has to be carried out by the south Korean people as its masters. Therefore, we should afford the youth and other people there a clear understanding of the superiority of the socialist system and the reactionary nature of the capitalist system and show them conclusively that as long as the anti-popular social system is kept intact in south Korea, they cannot fundamentally improve their position. By so doing we should inspire them to come out courageously in the struggle against the US imperialists and their lackeys. This is more important than anything else.

For success in the south Korean revolution, the revolutionary hard cores capable of skilfully leading this conflict will have to emerge from among the south Korean people and its leadership has to be built up. Even if south Korea has only scores of revolutionaries who are fully imbued with the revolutionary outlook on the world, they will, I think, be able to increase the revolutionary forces rapidly. Revolutionary leaders neither fall from heaven nor appear in a single day. They come

from among the masses through the struggle and grow up amidst the struggle. Therefore, awakening the broad sections of south Korean people to rouse them to the mass struggle presents itself as the most urgent task at present for carrying out that revolution.

In order to do this and reunify the country, we must also build socialism in the north successfully.

Successful socialist construction in the north will enable us to strengthen our revolutionary forces in all spheres of politics, the economy, culture and military affairs still further and actively help the south Korean people in their revolutionary conflict.

The successful implementation of socialist construction in the northern half of the country is also necessary to demonstrate the advantages of socialism to the south Korean people. In order to induce them to come out for the revolution, there has to be a definite target to aim for. If we build socialism well in the northern half of Korea and show them how good socialist society is, they will rise up more forcefully in the revolutionary struggle.

Socialist society is a society where all people are equally prosperous, free from exploitation and oppression. Conditions in the northern half of Korea eloquently prove it. Of course, we cannot yet say that our people are enjoying a prosperous life, but their living standards are incomparably higher than they used to be. Today in the north nobody is suffering from hunger, or is in rags, but everyone is working and studying as much as they wish. Our people are extremely proud of the socialist system established in this part of the country.

What is the state of south Korea now? It is reported that some people there have been frozen to death, although it is not so cold at present. This shows that because they have been ill-clad and starved at their worst, they can hardly stand the slight cold. Though it is colder in the northern half of Korea than in south Korea, there is not, and there cannot be, a single person who dies from the cold or hunger.

If the south Korean people see the realities in the north with their own eyes, they will all undoubtedly support our socialist system. This is exactly the reason why the US imperialists and the south Korean

puppet clique are persistently opposed to our proposal for opening the door between the north and the south. If this door opens and free travel is allowed, the south Korean people will realize that the socialist system in the north is solely a system for the people and, accordingly, correctly understand the reactionary nature of south Korea's social system.

We have built the happy society which we see today on the debris in a little over ten years since the war. After the struggle of another ten years or so, our people will be better off and then the difference between the northern half of Korea and the southern half will become even more extreme. The more obvious this difference is, the more quickly the south Korean people will be roused.

Successful socialist construction in the northern half of Korea is also necessary both to restore the devastated economy of south Korea and boost the impoverished people's standard of living rapidly, after the country is reunified.

If we lay solid economic foundations for the country from now onwards it will not be so difficult to rehabilitate the economy of the south after reunification. We have experience in the rehabilitation of a devastated economy and in construction work, as well as the technical knowledge to do it. We experienced difficulties in the past because we had to manage everything while learning step by step, but now we have rich experiences and techniques. So, if we have to carry out reconstruction in the south in the future, we shall be able to complete in three or five years what we have done in ten years in the north.

In order to implement the south Korean revolution and reunify the country, we must next strengthen solidarity with the international revolutionary forces.

If we are to defeat US imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism, it is necessary to reinforce the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces of the world and cement solidarity with them. We should unite not only with the peoples of socialist countries but also with those of all countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for national independence and freedom, and actively support

and encourage them in their struggle. If the revolutionary forces and progressive people throughout the world fight on in steadfast unity, they will not fail to crush US imperialism, even though it makes a show of power.

In order to carry out the revolution in south Korea and accomplish the historic cause of national reunification, we should, in short, fulfil three tasks to consolidate the revolutionary forces in the south, to build socialism creditably in the north and to strengthen solidarity with the world revolutionary forces. Through their creative activities, writers and artists must contribute to performing these three revolutionary tasks. They should produce works aimed at educating the south Korean people and works which will encourage the people in the northern half of Korea to undertake socialist construction better and which will also contribute to strengthening solidarity with the international revolutionary forces.

We always say that literature and art play a very important role in awakening the masses of the people in a revolutionary way. The impact of revolutionary literary and art works is enormous, especially on young people who are very susceptible and have a strong sense of justice.

As regards the patriotic young people who set out on the road of revolution in the past, many of them grew up into staunch revolutionaries, after starting by reading revolutionary books. Sympathizing with the revolutionary and progressive ideas of literary works and seeing social inequality, people are gradually awakened and turn out in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the old society. Many world-famous communists began by reading revolutionary books.

Our writers and artists have to produce a greater number of revolutionary works rich in ideological content and of high artistic value, which will help to educate the people in the north and south of Korea in the revolutionary spirit. Special attention should be paid to film production.

In many respects the cinema is superior to other forms of literature

and art. Plays or a chorus of 3,000 people, for instance, can be performed only on theatre stages so the number of people who can see them is limited. Films, however, can be screened anywhere, both in towns and villages, and can be shown simultaneously throughout the country. The cinema is also easy to understand. In this respect we can say that the cinema is the most popular and mobile art form.

The Party's expectations for the cinema are very great and so is the people's demand. Today our people want more revolutionary films of high artistic value. However, our cinema fails to live up to the expectations of the Party and the people.

The main defect of our films at present is the lack of depth in their content. The cinema should help the spectators shape their revolutionary outlook on the world and inspire them with determination to work like revolutionary heroes. It ought to teach people to acquire a revolutionary outlook on the world, and stimulate them to feel indignation for the enemy and come out for struggle with revolutionary purposefulness. But such works are few.

In future we must produce good films based on themes of our Party's revolutionary traditions.

Education in the revolutionary traditions occupies a very important place in the revolutionary education of working people. In getting people to know what revolution is, why it must be carried out, and how to make it, there is no more powerful method than to educate them by making use of notable incidents showing how revolutionaries waged their conflicts in the past.

Therefore, writing good books with our Party's revolutionary traditions as the theme is of great importance in awakening the south Korean youth and other people to revolutionary consciousness. Literary and art works based on these themes are badly needed for educating the people in the north who are building socialism as well as for instilling the revolutionary will into the minds of the rising generation who are growing up happily under the care of the Party.

Many films dealing with the revolutionary traditions have recently been produced, and this is very good. But these have a shortcoming in

that they concentrate on form and are rather lacking in content.

The films which you have produced on these subjects only show many scenes of guerrillas marching in the depths of a snowstorm or fighting battles, but they fail to show in detail the processes by which heroes formulated their revolutionary outlook on the world. If need be, you can include one or two scenes of hard marches or battles in the film. However, some films show long, tedious scenes of machine-gun fire, attacks on the enemy from ambush, the blasting of a railway bridge and so on. It is obvious that guerrilla warfare involves many hardships and difficult marches, so what is the point of repeatedly showing scenes of marching through snowstorms? This also applies to battle scenes. Everyone knows that the guerrilla army had to fight the enemy whenever they made contact with him, and that guerrillas were always brave in battle. And it stands to reason that if Japanese imperialists were shot, they fell down. There is no need, therefore, to dwell on this obvious fact. Scenes of gunfight or of Japanese imperialists tumbling down and dropping their swords may win the approval of children, but they do not make any particular impression on adults. In fact, films filled with scenes of this kind would give rise to boredom and after seeing them people would only get the impression that anti-Japanese guerrillas had a hard time of it and fought many battles.

When the cinema shows the inner world of revolutionaries and their noble personalities, that is to say, how they develop a correct understanding of revolution and take part in the revolutionary struggle and how they fight on overcoming all hardships, it can contribute to the formation of the people's revolutionary world outlook. If it only dwells on scenes of hard marches and battles, it will not particularly help them in shaping their revolutionary world view.

If the cinema is to impress people and help them strengthen their revolutionary resolve, it must first give a true and vivid portrayal of the episodes it is dealing with, as well as the process of the heroes' formation of the revolutionary world outlook.

Not by generalization, but through the depiction of their lives, the

cinema should explain how heroes come to acquire a revolutionary consciousness and by what process they gradually intensify it, and give details on the need for them to do revolutionary work. At the same time, films must show how revolutionaries ought to live and fight, by presenting a typical example, and they must teach the methods of revolutionary struggle from different angles. In this way, everyone who has seen the film should be made to remember for a long time the feelings which it aroused, be given a great deal to think about and have a desire and resolve to work for the revolution.

The films which deal with the revolutionary traditions do not describe in depth how people come to form the world outlook, mainly because scenarists themselves are not filled with the revolutionary outlook on the world. If they do not acquire this for themselves, writers cannot produce revolutionary works. For this reason they must be even more tireless in their efforts to cultivate it.

A man cannot easily become a revolutionary of his own accord. He can mature into a revolutionary only after many vicissitudes, and only through such a process can he form the revolutionary world viewpoint. To attain this, writers must either undergo revolutionary ordeals themselves or see many cases where others have done so; but most of them have grown up happily in the northern half of Korea since liberation. Needless to say, the democratic and socialist revolutions carried out in this part of the country after liberation, the three-year long Fatherland Liberation War and postwar reconstruction were also very hard struggles. However, you were not able to take the opportunity to cultivate a strong revolutionary will through activities in the enemy rear, underground work or the hard-fought armed struggle.

The revolutionary world outlook is steadily perfected through the practice of revolution and construction, and people undergo training and their determination grows stronger in the struggle. Writers and artists have to study harder and must work determinedly to arm themselves with the revolutionary world outlook.

In this respect it can be said that the recently produced film *The Story of a Detachment Commander* is comparatively good. It shows,

more deeply than any previous films, the processes by which heroes grow into revolutionaries and the development of their revolutionary consciousness. The motives of the hero, Ho Chol Man, for turning out in the revolutionary struggle are clearly explained, and the scenes which show Hye Yong, the heroine, overcoming many difficulties in her search for the revolutionary ranks are also good. The detachment commander's different ways of training Hye Yong so that she can be sent on clandestine activities are vividly described. It is a good thing that different methods of guerrilla training are realistically shown in the film. I think it depicts guerrilla life comparatively well. It has a fair smack of guerrillas. More good films of this kind should be produced.

Another major reason why films dealing with the revolutionary traditions are superficial in content is the attempt to show the whole course of the anti-Japanese armed struggle in a single film.

Films with themes of revolutionary traditions bear extravagant titles such as *The Era of a Storm* or *A Revolutionary Family*, but their contents are not one-hundredth part as good as their titles. Because scenarists attempt to contain the whole history of the revolutionary struggle in one film under a grandiose title it cannot be as successful as it should be. How can anyone describe the 15-year long course of the anti-Japanese armed struggle from its start to the liberation of the motherland in a few pages of a scenario or in several reels of film?

We are not against the production of masterpieces. However, it is not easy to cover the whole history of the revolutionary struggle in one film. Of course, we do not believe that it is beyond the power of the cinema to represent the revolutionary history or the biography of a revolutionary. Seeing the works you have produced so far, however, we could scarcely say that this attempt has succeeded.

On the grounds that you are producing a work on the subject of the revolutionary traditions, you should not use a pompous title and try to write the biography of a person or the whole of his struggle from its inception to final victory. If scenarios are written in a biographical style or in a chronological form, they are neither interesting nor impressive because the stories of films all follow the same pattern. You

should write both major and minor pieces. You are quite able to produce an excellent work which deals with even a part of the anti-Japanese armed struggle or with one event during the course of it. Good works can be produced on different features—the struggle to strengthen revolutionary unity among comrades in the guerrilla ranks; an unyielding struggle against the enemy, overcoming numerous hardships; operations to cause chaos among the enemy; work underground, and so on.

Even a major revolutionary epic cannot show everything which is needed for people to form the revolutionary outlook on the world. It is much better to explore the depths of even a single subject, than to touch on one thing after another superficially. You must show the underground struggle in detail in one film, revolutionary comradeship in another and the problem of uniting the masses in still another. In this way you should treat every subject in depth, by dealing with each in one film so that they will be a substantial help to people in developing their revolutionary consciousness.

If you will just make the effort, you will be able to discover as many stirring facts as you want, which can be used as material for films.

When we were fighting in east Manchuria, there lived in a guerrilla base an eight-year-old girl named Kim Kum Sun. One day she went home to see her mother and was arrested by the enemy. Making light of the little girl, Japanese imperialists coaxed and threatened her in many different ways, in an attempt to wrest the secret of the guerrilla base from her, but she kept silent to the end. At the execution ground Japanese imperialist gendarmes cajoled her saying that if she would disclose the secret they would release her, but she cursed them, spitting in their faces and died a heroic death.

This courageous deed of an eight-year-old girl who had fought stubbornly until she was shot to death by the enemy, shocked the people very much. Following this incident, many young people in that locality joined the guerrilla army. If this story, although fragmentary, is well represented in a film, it will move people deeply.

The feature film *The Whole Family Turned Out* produced some

time ago, seems to be about Comrade O Jung Hwa's family, and it is quite good. But it would have been better if you had made a more detailed study of the facts before making the film.

Comrade O Jung Hwa not only fought well himself, but also provided his family with a revolutionary education. Under his influence many of his family joined the guerrilla army. Comrade O Jung Hup whom you know well was even a regimental commander in the guerrilla army, a younger brother fought in north Manchuria as a detachment political commissar before being killed, and yet another brother was an orderly when we were on the expedition to north Manchuria. There are many others of his family who fought in guerrilla units. Because Comrade O Jung Hwa trained his family well to observe revolutionary discipline and keep secrets, there was not one instance in which even a trifling secret leaked out of his home. We visited his home on several occasions, and could immediately feel the revolutionary atmosphere of the family.

In my opinion, this kind of incident can be turned into a good film, if you describe in depth various aspects of the process of the revolutionary awakening of a family.

Now I should like to touch on the production of good films dealing with the Fatherland Liberation War.

In making films on this subject there is also a tendency to try to cover the whole period of the war from its start to victory. It is not easy to deal with the whole course of this war in a single film. Because you try to show the whole course of the war from beginning to end, it is difficult to collect data or to produce films. You can obtain as much material as you want, if you will just write works on individual subjects, instead of aiming at a chronological development.

If you produce films based on the fact that the soldiers of the People's Army and people fought bravely in spite of diverse hardships during the temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War, they will be good educational material. You ought to produce films: about the small unit which inflicted a telling blow on the enemy, while operating behind the enemy lines during this temporary retreat; telling

the moving story of a soldier who, separated from his unit by force of circumstance, rallied comrades in the enemy rear to fight bravely, without losing faith, until meeting our readvancing units; and on stories about underground activities or the guerrilla conflict in the enemy-occupied areas. Only then will people be able to fight bravely without losing their courage if another war breaks out and they are left behind the enemy lines.

In war there may be changes of fortune, advances and retreats. The war history shows that most of wars involved both advance and retreat. We must, therefore, teach the people and People's Army soldiers different methods of fighting so that, remembering what they have seen in films or read in novels, they can fight if they are suddenly confronted by unexpected situations.

Even now it grieves me to think that many people were killed during the temporary retreat because we had neglected to give them revolutionary education before the war.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we defended guerrilla bases from the attacks of the Japanese imperialists for four to five years. If, in the prewar days, we had established Juche thoroughly in ideological work and trained the Party members and working people properly in the revolutionary traditions, so teaching them how to form a guerrilla base and how a small unit operates in the mountains, as well as awakening them to revolutionary consciousness, so many people would not have been killed by the enemy during the temporary retreat.

Our retreat lasted for only 40 days. The people behind enemy lines could have survived for that time, if only they had taken to the mountains in groups of 20 or so, each carrying an axe and some two *mal* of rice with him. But, because the flunkeyists who had slipped into the Party had not taught Party members and working people the revolutionary traditions of our Party, many people were massacred by the enemy, while staying where they were, not knowing what to do. We must prevent the recurrence of such terrible events and for this reason you must produce many films which show the struggle of the People's Army soldiers and people during the Fatherland Liberation War.

Recently the People's Army Drama Theatre staged *A Company behind Enemy Lines*, a play about the struggle of a company in the enemy rear, and I have been told that it is good. The feature film *Namgang Village Women* which shows the strong fighting will of people on the home front and the spirit of unity between the army and the people which was displayed during the Fatherland Liberation War, and the feature film *A Thousand-ri Journey* which tells the moving story of a woman who retreated driving her sheep before her, are both good pieces. You should produce more works of this kind. You should also produce a film which describes the struggle of guerrillas on Mt. Kuwol as well as films about small-unit operations and underground activities behind enemy lines. Even a simple matter, if represented on a high artistic level, will be of great assistance in teaching people.

Because we suggested that epics should be filmed, some writers are trying to compose grand works. But a masterpiece does not necessarily have to deal with a massive subject. Even a simple subject can be made into a masterpiece, if it is dealt with in depth and in sufficient detail.

As regards the films which have been produced so far based on themes of the Fatherland Liberation War, these generally include many battle scenes in which tanks advance, guns roar, and Yankees fall down dead, as they try to climb like a swarm of ants. Of course, it is necessary to have a few scenes of this kind, for the purpose of explaining the mass heroism of our valiant People's Army soldiers and the ignominious defeat of the US imperialists who were showing off their military power, but, too many battle scenes make the film uninteresting. Instead of just showing such scenes, it would be better to concentrate well on one small subject, so as to touch the people's hearts.

In films about military matters generals appear frequently on the screen, a practice which must be corrected. It is unnecessary to show a general in every film. The appearance of such a character is not so good for the education of the people. The feature film *Onjong Pass* contains a scene in which a person opens the door of a car for a general to alight. What is the significance of this? It is very embarrassing to

see, and only gives the impression that anyone who works for the revolution will eventually become a high-ranking officer. From now on you should refrain from showing generals in films unless there is a special need to do so. It is better to show officers of battalion or regimental commander level in the cinema.

The February 8 Film Studio ought to produce many war films, although the Feature Film Studio should also make some.

In addition to this, we should mobilize soldiers for the shooting of war films, and also provide various other necessary conditions.

Next, you have to produce more films based on themes of socialist construction in the northern half of Korea.

The feature film *They Fought This Way* dealing with the tribulations of the Ragwon Machine Factory workers, is good. It is clear and well written, keeping the audience attentive. Those who took the parts of workers in this film performed brilliantly. They are very realistic. The feature films *A Bell Tolls* and *Ok Hwa*, though simple in content, are good works about authentic subjects. The feature film *My Counter* is not bad as far as the theme is concerned, and it is good, because it shows loyal service to the people, but it has some nonsensical and unrealistic scenes, typified by the fact that the heroine changes clothes too often.

Films on socialist construction should also be written realistically, and our people's lives should not be overstated in films. Of course, it is good to show our people who are neatly dressed, in a manner befitting working people in a socialist society. However, it is not necessary to show anyone changing their clothes as frequently as the heroine does in *My Counter*.

There are still few films which describe the working class. You produce many films showing peasants but you are unable to make films about the working class properly. This is because writers and artists are not familiar with the workers' lives and lack experience of them.

Writers and artists should learn about the workers' lives by working in factories. When we say that they should go to factories, we do not

mean that we should get any actual assistance from them in the way of work. In any case, how much factory work could they do? We propose this with the intention of helping them to understand the idea of the working class and their style of work and also to comprehend their mentality while sharing their lives in the factories, as well as getting the writers and actors working-classized. Unlimited loyalty to the Party and the revolution, a high degree of organization and resolution—these are the special qualities in the working-class character.

As we have mentioned on several occasions, during the Fatherland Liberation War a woman Party member of the Ragwon Machine Factory said with confidence that when the war was over, reconstruction would be quite easy, and in the struggle to carry out the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the heroic workers of Kangson turned out 120,000 tons of rolled steel with a blooming mill which had a rated capacity of 60,000 tons and thus brought about a great upsurge in socialist construction. These facts are striking proof of the revolutionary spirit and devotion of the working class and their boundless loyalty to the Party. Writers and artists must mix with the workers to learn their revolutionary spirit and devotion, their loyalty and organization, and revolutionize and working-classize themselves, thereby producing a larger number of good works representing the working class.

Besides these films, you should create works showing the lives of the working people of all levels, including peasants, teachers, scientists and doctors, as well as films aimed at the education of students. You should also produce some about the tractor drivers who play an important role in building the socialist countryside.

Now that our Party regards the problem of managing the economic life of the country carefully as an important task, you should also produce films dealing with this subject. I have already assigned a task of making educational films on the subject of managing the economic life carefully. In addition to these films, you should produce feature films on the same theme. At present there are many instances in which

the valuable assets of the country are managed in a slipshod manner and wasted. However, since our Party's policy puts the main stress on education by positive influence, you should not confine yourselves to criticism of this negative tendency, but should show, in contrast, the positive facts of managing the nation's economy carefully and the negative ones of handling it haphazardly and squandering it so that all the working people will take loving care of the state and people's property. This year you must, without fail, produce good films which will help teach people to look after the national wealth assiduously and carefully.

It is also necessary to make other films which show the struggle against the negative tendency manifested in and out of work as well as films for children.

You should produce films dealing with the struggle of the people in south Korea.

The feature film *The Path to Awakening* which depicted the conflict of young people and students in the south explained the processes of the development of men's revolutionary consciousness and their formation of the revolutionary outlook on the world quite well. In this film the hero is awakened to revolutionary consciousness through undergoing various tribulations, and through such a course men grow into revolutionaries. The film ends with the hero going to the countryside, thus suggesting the continuation of the struggle, which can be said to be a clever device.

Many people fought bravely for the south Korean revolution. You should produce films which make use of the facts about their struggles.

In the films which deal with this subject, it is necessary to describe their miseries a little more clearly. And you must show in somewhat greater detail the fact that the south Korean people in all walks of life, including workers, peasants, youth and students, teachers and intellectuals, take part in the revolutionary struggle.

Next, you should produce an epic which extols our silk-embroidered land of three thousand *ri* and our resourceful people.

I asked you to make such a film several years ago, but you have so

far failed to do so. It seems that you consider its production to be difficult, but you need not do so.

This film should first explain that our country is a golden tapestry of three thousand *ri* with beautiful mountains and rivers, a land abounding in gold and other treasures, and that our people are a resourceful nation with a long history and brilliant cultural traditions. And it should outline our history which demonstrates our people's intelligence and courage.

The film should also tell how an illustrious general, Ulji Mun Dok of Koguryo, repelled at a stroke the millions-strong aggressive army led by Emperor Yang of Sui and thus demonstrated the might of the country throughout the world; a proud story about Admiral Ri Sun Sin who invented turtle-shaped warships and commendably wiped out the Japanese aggressors on the South Sea during the Imjin War; and about the Kabo Peasant War in which the peasants rose bravely in revolt against the cruel plunder and exploitation by feudal rulers so as to save the country from the ruin caused by corrupt feudal bureaucrats. And it should mention that our country has a large number of famous writers, artists and scientists.

In particular, it must proudly sing of the heroic fact that our people crushed the brigandish Japanese imperialists and liberated the country by waging a heroic armed struggle for 15 years and defeated US imperialism which had boasted of being the "most powerful" force in the world, in the three-year-long fierce Fatherland Liberation War. And the film should praise with pride the fact that though our country was devastated through Japanese imperialist aggression and reduced to ashes by the brutal atrocities committed by the US imperialists, who boasted that it would not rise again, even in a hundred years, our people have built the powerful country which it is today, on the debris in a short time of less than ten years. At the same time it should show such events as the Kwangju Student Incident which was fought against the national contempt and oppression of the Japanese imperialists and the October Popular Resistance and the Ryosu Popular Resistance which took place after liberation, against the colonial predatory policy of US imperialism.

If you vividly demonstrate in this way that our people have been astute and courageous from olden times and that nobody can bring them to their knees, it will help eradicate flunkeyism, stimulate national pride and arouse intense patriotism among the people.

The film should show the grievous fact that half of the country is still occupied by the US imperialist aggressors and that the south Korean people are suffering under their yoke, and it must also show our people's ardent desire for national reunification. It ought to emphasize that if all the people in north and south Korea rise in unshakable unity, they will not fail to drive out the US imperialists.

The film should particularly stress that, as long as we have the seasoned Marxist-Leninist Party, the indestructible revolutionary government, and the people united closely behind them, our victory is unquestionable. And it should express the hope that, if the country is reunified, our people will lead a happy life in the silk-embroidered land of three thousand *ri* with fertile fields and rich natural resources and that our homeland will prosper for ever.

You must ensure that after seeing this film everyone, whether in the north or in the south, will take pride in the fact that no country in the world is better than his country and that he is a Korean, will resolve to love his beautiful land more ardently, and will have the fighting spirit and courage to combat the enemy at once, rifle in hand. To put it briefly, socialist patriotism should be the principal idea and theme of this film.

It would be a good idea to call this film *The Silk-embroidered Land of Three Thousand ri*. You must develop a plan and take great pains to write an excellent scenario.

Of course, it will not be so easy to portray these historical events and profound ideas logically. But, if writers and artists pool their resources and wisdom, it will certainly be possible. Some comrades seem to be worried that the film will not be done well, but they do not need to worry. If you fail, you have only to be criticised in order to put it right. We always say that those who are afraid of criticism cannot develop. You should not be timid even before you start, but should attack the work boldly.

It will be all right if the film is a little long, because it is a big work. However, you should not divide it into two parts, but film it as a whole in fifteen or sixteen reels. This may seem to some people to be somewhat lengthy, but they will not be bored if the story is exciting. The film must, therefore, tell the story in an exciting way right from the start and then proceed entertainingly.

This film should include many songs and must be made as an epic. For this reason it is important to compose good songs. Since the subject of the work is the heroism and patriotism of our people, their firm confidence in victory and indomitable fighting spirit, songs must also be robust, martial, hopeful and cheerful. If the story develops in harmony with the melodies while the screen shows the valiant and clear-sighted struggles of our forefathers combined with the beautiful scenery of our country, I think that the film will be a good one.

While I have occasion to speak about songs, I should like to touch briefly on the need for composing a large number of people-oriented, revolutionary songs.

Our composers write many songs for professional artists, but do not produce songs which people enjoy singing. As a result, there are many for performers to sing on the stage, but few for the broad sections of the people to sing.

Songs must also contribute to the education of the people in the same way as other forms of art. Today, when strenuous efforts are being made for socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, literature and art are faced with the important task of teaching working people socialist patriotism so that they will earnestly love the socialist system, take loving care of state and social property and work devotedly for the building of socialism. In keeping with this task, musicians should compose songs about affection for the socialist system and the care of state property, songs about love of labour and about managing the economic life of the country. In this way they must encourage everyone—old and young, women and children—to sing them joyously.

If you are to get the broad masses of the people to enjoy singing

songs, their tunes must be simple. The revolutionary songs we composed during the anti-Japanese armed struggle were enjoyed not only by guerrillas but also by everyone in the guerrilla bases—old men, youngsters and children. Even now everybody sings these songs. This is because they are not only revolutionary in content but easy to sing, and the more the people sing them, the more cheerful and courageous they become. Only when the melody of a song is easy can it be popularized and win the affection of many people. *Mungyong Pass* is a good song, but it is not widely sung by the people because it is difficult to sing. The recently composed song *O the South Sea*, too, may sound good when it is sung by professional artists on the stage, but it is difficult for the people to sing. It cannot be expected that a song like this will be widely sung among the south Korean people.

Some people consider that only difficult songs have a high artistic value. This is wrong. Like other art forms, music is for the sake of the people, so we can say that only those songs which win their affection are good pieces and works of a high artistic standard.

However, this does not mean that you should stop composing songs for professional performers. What we say is that you ought to compose some for the professionals to sing on the stage and, at the same time, produce a great number which the masses of the people can sing happily.

If a song is to win popularity, it should correctly portray their lives and sentiments. It is only when a song has an easy tune and truthfully reflects the life and feelings of the people that they will like it and enjoy singing it. A song which bears no relation to real life is quite useless.

Immediately after liberation *May Day Song*, *The Song of Election*, *The Song of Sex Equality* and many other fine songs were produced and the people liked to sing them. Among recently produced songs, those like *Pochonbo*, *the Land of Glory*, *My Country* and *We Are the Happiest* have tuneful and easy melodies and skilfully express our people's happy and cheerful feelings, so the people like them, singing merrily at all times. But there are very few such songs at present.

Most recent songs are difficult and stiff and are not cheerful. Worse still, because of their similarity to each other, we cannot tell one song from another. People work in different fields and their experiences in life differ, so how can songs which express their feelings be identical? Songs for adults should not be the same as those for children, and songs sung at work must be different from those sung during leisure hours. In addition, songs which housewives sing while cooking in the kitchen should have their own special qualities. Nevertheless, there are very few songs now which express the feelings of people in different walks of life, and even those are not very good. This shows that our musical art lacks the people-oriented spirit and that musicians still fail to mix with the people, only moving around them.

In order to make our music an art which really serves the people, composers should really get to know what conditions are and produce many revolutionary songs which the masses of the people need and can sing with pleasure. As long as they remain cooped up in a room without becoming involved in what is happening, they cannot produce songs which are suited to the sentiments of our people. In order to write genuinely revolutionary and people-oriented music, composers must look closely at what is going on around them.

The brisk activities of our country are themselves poems and songs. Our people, freed from all kinds of exploitation and oppression for ever, are enjoying a worthwhile life free from any worries. Thanks to the creative labour of the working people, our country's appearance is changing every day and the people's living standards are improving. In the past, landlords acted haughtily because each had a tile-roofed house and some fruit trees, but now modern houses stand in rows everywhere in our country areas and trees heavily laden with fruit cover all high and low hills. This is the way things are in our country and this is what our people's life is today. How can these facts not arouse your poetical feelings and inspire you to write cheerful tunes?

Whenever I go through Changsong Pass, I get a particular feeling. When I see the modern houses standing in rows at the foot of the mountain covered with fruit trees and the paddy fields stretching out in

front of the village through which a brook meanders, I get the feeling that I should like to work there and become cheerful. Places like this are not limited only to Changsong. It is possible to see this glowing reality everywhere in our country. If writers and artists see things from the people's point of view and become deeply involved in today's seething realities, they will be able to create many good songs which will be very popular.

At present our situation calls for a greater number of revolutionary and people-oriented pieces of music. Because many modern dwellings have been built, there should be songs about maintaining them carefully; and because many orchards have been planted, there should be songs about tending them responsibly. We need songs about both managing the economic affairs of the country well and taking the greatest care of state property as well as songs about defending and loving our socialist system.

It would be advisable to write new war songs, also. To this end, composers should experience military drill and marching, while living amongst soldiers. I think that if they go through army life for about two years in this way, they will be able to find melodies which express the feelings of soldiers.

Songs should be born of the facts and reflect real life. Only then can they become a part of the people's life and serve as an inspiration in their struggle and as a means of educating them.

In order to produce films which are profound and rich in content, it is necessary to write good scenarios. Scenarios of good quality are essential to the making of good films.

But at present this poses a problem. The content of scenarios is superficial and their artistic level is low. The shortcomings of the films produced so far have to be ascribed to this low quality. Not only is their content shallow and their artistic level low, but they are not even produced on schedule. The Feature Film Studio is said to have plans to produce more than 20 films this year, but the situation is that scenarios are not yet ready.

We must solve the problem of scenarios without fail. In

construction, good designs have to be produced and kept ahead of building operations. In the same way, in the production of films, the quality of scenarios must be improved and they must be kept ahead of filming. In order to achieve this, the number of scenarists must be increased. At present there are few of them, so scenarios are always in short supply, although they write devotedly. In the circumstances, the quality of scenarios leaves no room for discussion.

It is said that there are only scores of scenarists now, but we need at least 200 to 300 of them. Many writers are necessary for the production of many films and argument over their contents. The number of scenarists must be increased so that each of them will write one film or so during a year. It would suffice if they were to write a lengthy film in two years.

When they write a piece, they should make it a masterpiece through deep thought and proper refinement. This is the only way to make many fine films.

Now to another subject. Some administrative measures should be taken with regard to filming. If we still had one of the war-devastated streets left as it was in Pyongyang, it would have been useful in making films. If we had kept Pochonbo as it was it would have been advantageous both for filming and for the education of rising generations. From now on, although it is somewhat late, we must not allow new houses to be built in the streets of Pochonbo. If any have to be constructed, they should be built in other areas, leaving the old streets intact. And a street in Sinuiju and some county seats in North Hamgyong Province, which still retain their former appearance, should be maintained as they were. It would be advisable not to destroy a few prisons, including the one in Chongjin, which were used under Japanese imperialist rule, although they look rather unsightly. Such measures are necessary, not only for filming, but also for the education of the people and posterity.

I believe that you will, without fail, live up to the Party's expectations of producing a larger number of revolutionary and people-oriented films which are profound and rich in content.

ON IMPROVING THE WORK METHOD OF SENIOR OFFICIALS AND RAISING THEIR LEVEL OF GUIDANCE

**Concluding Speech at the 13th Plenary Meeting
of the Fourth Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

April 1, 1966

We have been holding this plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee for a week. I think this is very good. The fact that the plenary meeting has lasted for several days has enabled us to discuss the agenda fully and also enabled members of the Party Central Committee to learn a great deal. It seems to me a good idea that in future sufficient time should be allowed for the plenary meetings as has happened with this one.

I should like to emphasize some important matters on their own, because many questions were discussed in the report and speeches.

First of all, political work, the work with people, has to be conducted well.

In your speeches at this plenary meeting you spoke mainly of shortcomings such as the violation of the law of value in the management of enterprises, a great deal of waste and the low purchasing power of working people. These are matters which we already knew. In order to learn from our work and to advance further in the future, we must, of course, expose many shortcomings and discuss them. However, the point is not to highlight defects but how to correct them.

With a view to rectifying the shortcomings revealed in economic construction today, it is necessary to improve political work, the work with people.

As you all know, the work with people is basic to Party work. Without doing political work, the work with people, we can neither mobilize the masses nor build socialism and communism. Only by firmly maintaining the principle of giving priority to political work and by strengthening the work with people, can we successfully solve all the problems which arise in the revolution and construction.

To work with people means that one person stirs up ten, ten people a hundred, and a hundred people a thousand, thus mobilizing the entire Party and all the people to carry out the revolutionary tasks. Whenever we had an opportunity we spoke of the need to work skilfully with people and took various measures for that purpose. But this method of work is not fully applied as yet.

In particular, senior officials, including ministers and department directors of the Party Central Committee, neglect political work, the work with people. Many of our ministers say that priority should be given to political work, that the work with people is the first process in all affairs and that personnel administration is most important. But in reality they still stick to an administrative method and work in the manner of a taskmaster. It is, in fact, therefore, an empty assertion that priority should be given to political work.

This can also be said of the work of provincial Party committee chairmen. Each time they came up to the Central Committee, we spend a quarter or half a day telling them about the situation at the start and then the Party policy, the method of Party work and our experience of work. At the same time, we sincerely advise them to do political work, the work with people efficiently, before anything else. Until now, however, none of them has conducted this work well, as required by the Party.

A serious shortcoming of our senior officials is that they work like an administrator or a foreman, going from place to place, while neglecting political work. As a result, even though many officials now rush around, without getting enough sleep at night, they fail to

achieve anything in their work.

This applies to guidance work for the Hwanghae Iron Works. As you all know, this works holds a very important place in the development of our national economy. The works has a large army of more than ten thousand workers. Only when it produces large quantities of iron can we develop the machine-building industry and undertake construction on a large scale. This is why our Party always takes great interest in its guidance of the Hwanghae Iron Works.

The Minister of Metal Industry and many other senior officials of the central authority frequently visit the Hwanghae Iron Works. But they do not give substantial help to the officials there. Once they reach there, they neither have talks with cadres and Party members, nor organize the work to mobilize the workers and technicians, but just check the output figures before they return. So it is obvious that they cannot give much help to the operation of the enterprise.

If the officials coming from the capital for guidance are unable to educate and mobilize workers and technicians, they should teach the senior workers of the enterprise, so that they will carry out political work efficiently. But they have neglected not only the work with workers and technicians but with senior personnel of the enterprise as well.

If the Minister of Metal Industry visits the Hwanghae Iron Works, he will, of course, meet the manager or the chief engineer. But when he meets them, he does not explain the Party's policy, describe the method of work and arrange for them the work to mobilize the masses: instead, his work consists mainly in enquiring into the results of production. In this way he can neither set the operation of the enterprise in the right direction nor can he ensure success in work.

Ministers and other administrative and economic officials of ministries and central organs must also do political work, the work with people. They should work not only with managers and chief engineers of enterprises but with Party committee chairmen and with all officials, technicians and workers.

The Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee

and the Party Committees of North Hwanghae Province and of Songnim are also inadequate in the work with the senior personnel of the Hwanghae Iron Works. It is said that the chairman of the North Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee met the chairman of the Party Committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works only once during the past year. I think, probably the director of the Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee did no better. If they meet the senior worker of the big enterprise such as the Hwanghae Iron Works only once in a year, how can we say that they have conducted political work, the work with people, and how can we expect the work of the enterprise to go smoothly?

I always say that no one in the world is perfect. Even members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee whom we constantly meet, train and criticise make mistakes sometimes. So when they meet and teach the officials of an enterprise once during a year, how can its operation proceed smoothly?

This is also true of the guidance for Nampho. Nampho is a very important city from the political and economic point of view. The city is not far from Pyongyang. Therefore, if officials show even a slight interest, they can often go there to lecture and meet and talk with leading personnel and hard-core elements. But now everyone is reluctant to visit that city. When they do go there, some officials give a round-of-visits-like guidance, travelling about the city by car, without delivering lectures or holding discussions.

The administrative and foreman-style method of work is now found in the activities of the officials who went down to give leadership to provinces, cities and counties. When we sent the members of guidance groups recently, we told them seriously that at lower units they should give priority to political work and put emphasis on the work with people. According to what we have heard, however, some of them take charge of everything and dictate to their subordinates in the administrative way, instead of explaining Party policy to them, describing the work method and solving one problem after another by bringing the masses into action. Since those comrades who went to

lower units for guidance work in the old administrative style neglecting political work, the work with people, they can neither give effective assistance to subordinates nor succeed in work.

Even when they do political work, the work with people, some officials conduct it in a very formalistic manner. They regard it as political work to call their subordinates together in order to hold a number of meetings and deliver lectures, but this is fundamentally wrong. We cannot say that political work has been conducted because a number of meetings and lectures have been held. The work with people aimed at understanding everyone thoroughly and educating and mobilizing them, can never be replaced by meetings or lectures alone. It is a formalistic work method to replace all work by delivering a meaningless and fluent speech before a large audience. This has nothing to do with the traditional method of our Party.

In former days when we were engaged in armed struggle and underground work, we did not, and could not conduct political work, the work with people, in such a manner. Then we met people one by one so as to understand them through straightforward discussions, imbued them with revolutionary consciousness and explained the methods of struggle to them. When a particular problem arose we explained it fully to everyone, discussed with them how to solve it, and encouraged them to become voluntarily involved in carrying out the set tasks.

When general education through meetings or lectures is correctly combined with individual instruction in which we meet one person after another to educate and mobilize them, then political work, the work with people, will be really effective. But our officials still do not follow such a positive method of political work.

Serious consequences result from formalistic work with people, particularly in personnel affairs. Since cadres have not been properly trained or taught detailed methods of work after their appointment, their standard is not generally high. Good, newly-promoted cadres also become slothful and indolent and even commit grave mistakes in the course of time. When they make a mistake without being given constant instruction they are rapidly dismissed. This is a very

dangerous method of work.

If senior officials work among people in a formalistic manner, they cannot achieve success in their work but, as a matter of course, become ignorant of actual conditions at lower units. Finally, even if something goes wrong they cannot correctly analyse, evaluate and solve it. Faced with a trifling or minor problem, they are taken by surprise and make a fuss or exaggerate it. Meanwhile, they overlook important matters to which they ought to pay proper attention.

This is exactly what happened to a senior officer of the General Political Bureau of the People's Army during the past Fatherland liberation War. At that time I assigned him a task of inspecting a division of the People's Army. However, after he had done so he reported that 85 per cent of its soldiers were unreliable. So I seriously criticised him by saying that, in fact, it was not the division but his behaviour which was dangerous.

There was also a similar case in the days when we were waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Saying that 80 to 90 per cent of the guerrillas in east Manchuria were stooges of the enemy, the national chauvinists and factionalists in those days made a great fuss as though something serious had happened. But we did not believe that. We waged a resolute struggle against their divisive tactics and firmly ensured the unity and purity of the revolutionary ranks.

We must be aware of the fact that if political work, the work with people, is neglected, not only will the thinking of senior officials get rusty but the ideological consciousness of the working people might become afflicted. Furthermore, today when our country is divided into north and south and we stand face to face with the US imperialists, the neglect of political work for the working people will allow the infiltration of the ideological influence of the enemy and revive the ideological residue of the past. This is true from the experiences of both our own and other countries.

All this shows that a socialist society cannot even take a step forward without giving priority to political work, the work with people.

There is no need to say that the building of socialism requires us to

raise the material incentives of the working people and also to conduct economic and technical affairs well. In order to succeed in building socialism and communism, however, we should give clear priority to political work and combine it properly with economic and technical affairs; and we must constantly improve the political consciousness and enthusiasm of the working people and combine these correctly with material incentives.

We should firmly uphold the principle of giving precedence to political work and thoroughly apply the revolutionary method of our Party whereby we solve all problems with the main emphasis on work with people.

To this end, senior officials of the central authority should be the first to improve their work methods completely, do political work above all else, and strengthen the work with people.

Ministers should neither rush around investigating production results nor just give orders and instructions as they used to do; but they should work efficiently with people, primarily with the cadres under them. The cadres with whom ministers work at all times are mainly vice-ministers and management bureau chiefs. If a minister works intelligently with them in order to raise their qualifications, tells them the methods of work and induces them to do their work well, he can achieve great success in his work. If he educates and rouses ten management bureau chiefs into action correctly, they will do the same for one hundred managers. This will enable the minister to rouse all his subordinate cadres and industrial enterprises, without even bustling around to visit them himself. Ministers should never fail to adopt this method in their work with people.

Department directors of the Party Central Committee should also work well with deputy directors and section chiefs who are directly under them. The latter should work efficiently with instructors and thus raise their qualifications and teach them the methods of work.

The Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee and other relevant departments should carry on the work with the chairmen of provincial Party committees in an exemplary

way. Only when the chairman and other senior officials of the provincial Party committee have extensive qualifications can they work satisfactorily with the chairmen of city and county Party and people's committees.

If the chairman of the provincial Party committee educates and rouses the chairmen of city and county Party and people's committees in his province properly, they, in their turn, will influence the chairmen of the ri Party committees and the cooperative farm management boards in their counties.

If a system of working with people is established in this way at all units, from higher to lower, the whole Party will be mobilized for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks like a living organism.

In the People's Army, too, the main emphasis should be put on the work with people throughout. It is true that both weaponry and marksmanship are important in the army, but the ideological determination of the soldiers who actually handle the weapons is more important. When this is not firm the reactionary ideas of the enemy can infiltrate and battles cannot be won. It is therefore most important to strengthen political work among the soldiers, thus constantly increasing their level of ideological consciousness.

Political work, the work with people, should be applied creatively to suit specific objects. The levels of men's ideological consciousness and preparedness differ, and so do their status. Therefore, we cannot write down a consistent method of working with people or compile a comprehensive directive. The existing *Party Work Reader* is nothing but a reference book; and it is not a must for all of us nor does it include everything. Work with people should be conducted in various forms and by different methods, in keeping with each person's level of ideological consciousness and with his character.

For success in political work, the work with people, senior officials should be knowledgeable about Party policy and equip themselves firmly with the revolutionary work method of our Party. Unless they themselves improve their politico-theoretical and practical qualifications, they can neither train other people nor accept their good

opinions correctly. Therefore, they must continue to strive to improve their qualifications. Only by doing so will they be able to work skilfully with people and rouse all Party members and working people to action, so as to solve every problem satisfactorily.

Now to another subject. The habit of studying must be thoroughly established among officials.

Our Party shoulders the destiny of our country and people. Whether senior officials of our Party carry out their tasks successfully or not decides the life and death, the rise and fall of our country and people. They ought to realize this clearly and implement their revolutionary tasks assigned by the Party and the people with credit. To this end, all officials, regardless of the sectors they are engaged in, should constantly improve their qualifications and become proficient in their work. Military cadres should be thoroughly acquainted with modern military science and military technique, because they are responsible for the defence of the country. This is the way to frustrate the manoeuvres of the enemy to encroach upon our country and people rapidly. The same thing applies to workers engaged in the economic, educational and cultural fields. Only when people working in every sector of socialist construction are all conversant with their jobs can we speed up the economic and cultural development of the country and improve the people's standard of living. Those who are not familiar with the work in their own sectors cannot serve the country and the people faithfully.

At present, however, our officials are at a low level of efficiency and are ignorant of their own work because they neglect study. If a problem arises some of them are unable to take the proper measures to settle it. This means, in the last analysis, that they are ignorant. In spite of this, they pretend to know everything and do not try to study hard.

From olden times it has been said that Koreans are afflicted with three kinds of pretence: they pretend to be men of great character even when they are paltry fellows; they pretend to have what they do not have; and they pretend to know what they do not know. These afflictions are all bad, but the worst is pretending to know when one is

ignorant. If officials do not study, pretending to know even when they do not, and waste their time, we can neither improve economic management nor develop science and technology. This will, in the end, place a big obstacle in the way of our revolutionary cause.

Our officials, whoever they may be, should be ashamed of their ignorance and should not pretend to know what they do not know. If they are ignorant, they should be frank about the fact and learn with an open mind from now on. When they do not know what a term means, they should ask about it and obtain a clear understanding. If they do not have a good grasp of such a word as “revolution” or “class”, which is in daily use, they should ask what it means until they completely understand. One’s prestige will not be injured because one asks other people what one does not know. As a matter of fact, there is no one who knows everything in this world. Because there is no limit to what one should learn, Lenin said that one should learn, learn and learn.

Some people consider that they need not learn anything further because they graduated from universities or studied in foreign countries in the past. This is a false idea. Even those who graduated from universities or studied in other countries cannot know everything. Moreover, even if they did acquire some learning, not everything that they learned has remained in their memory up until now. This is also true of the graduates of technical colleges or higher technical schools in the days of Japanese imperialist rule. If they claim to be perfect technicians or cadres with considerable knowledge, they are very foolish. The knowledge we gained at institutions of learning is nothing but an asset for further development in the future. If we do not study constantly, even though we graduated from universities, we cannot develop any further, but are more likely to forget what we have already learned and, in that case, we shall be unable to carry out our tasks with credit.

It is not as though the question of improving the qualifications of officials is raised today for the first time. Our Party laid great stress on this matter a long time ago. But our officials only pay lip service to it and, in fact, make no effort to improve themselves. This is why at present they cannot solve many problems arising in socialist

construction or give definite opinions on the problems which call for a technical solution.

The technical qualifications of our officials are still a long way from reaching the standard which would enable them to solve these problems. Technicians with great attainments may be counted on our fingers in our country at present.

The low technical qualifications of our workers are well demonstrated by the question of the gasification of anthracite. They have made a great fuss for a long time, claiming that they would solve this problem, but, in fact, no progress has been made. Last year a great deal of effort was put into this project, even at the cost of cutting back other construction work. Despite this, the project has not yet been completed. Now they say that it seems to be successful when granular coal is used. But this is something we must wait to see. This does not mean, however, that the position is hopeless, but it will still take some time to solve the problem completely.

At present we are not producing chemical fertilizer on a regular basis because of technical problems. It is the same with other things. After the war we built many factories and houses, but there are still many problems which we have failed to solve technically.

We have no cause to relax. Bearing in mind a high sense of responsibility to the Party and the people, our officials should study tirelessly to improve their qualifications. Those who have to master techniques should learn them and those who have to be conversant with social sciences should study hard history, economics, and similar subjects. They should read books, hold group discussions, ask the experts about things which they do not understand, and thus strive to attain an extensive and deep knowledge of their own fields of work. We must unfailingly establish a system to work eight hours, to rest eight hours and to study for at least four of the remaining eight hours, every day.

In future we must take definite measures to establish the study habit among officials. In order to rouse their enthusiasm for study we had intended to set up a state examination system, but after reconsideration it seems not to be a good method. This system is not

only an old one, but when examinations are held the trouble is with the examiners. In the present situation there are many examinees but few examiners who are qualified to test them. So we had better devise another method.

In order to improve the officials' qualifications it is imperative to provide them with favourable study conditions. At present they experience great difficulty because both books and paper are in short supply. Of course, we publish a considerable number of books, newspapers, magazines and so on, but most of them are allocated to institutions, with few of them going to individuals. Therefore, a large number of different books should be published so that everyone can study. From now on, steps should be taken to increase paper output and thus make and supply lots of notebooks and similar items necessary for study.

Now I would like to refer to some problems arising in economic work.

The main difficulties in economic construction at the present stage are the shortage of electric power and the lack of foreign currency. A long spell of dry weather during the past few years has held up the production of electricity, and many factories are not operating normally because of the shortage of electric power. We are also short of foreign currency. Once the questions of electricity and foreign currency are solved we shall be able to complete the Seven-Year Plan successfully and improve the people's standard of living considerably.

At present, however, we cannot increase the generation of electricity even if we asked it of power stations. And nobody brings us foreign currency as a gift. We should solve the problems of electricity and foreign currency ourselves. We should step up the construction of power stations to increase power output and we should fully explore and utilize the sources for exports so as to earn more foreign currency.

The most important matter in economic work at the moment on which we must concentrate, is to redouble our endeavours towards increased production and economy.

Now waste is common everywhere. A great reserve for production

growth lies in an intensified campaign for economy. According to a rough estimate, materials and funds which are equivalent to six months' wages of factory and office workers are now being wasted in various sectors of the national economy. But if an exact calculation is made, the waste may be found to be greater than that. We should step up this campaign and eliminate all sorts of wastes.

Of course, some degree of waste is inevitable. It may even be difficult to put an end to such practices immediately. But we should do all we can to increase production to the maximum and to secure the utmost economy.

Although we have stressed the need to make redoubled efforts to economize for a long time, no success to speak of has been achieved. We should try harder to eliminate waste.

The most important thing in eliminating these practices is to intensify the ideological education of the working people so that they will be voluntarily mobilized for this task. But because this training has not been carried out in depth, they have only just begun to understand the importance of the economy campaign. We must give the working people greater all-round instruction, particularly intensifying their education in socialist patriotism.

A great defect at present is that this education is not carried out at a sufficiently deep level and in close combination with the practice of socialist construction.

Socialist patriotism should not only find expression in hatred of the class enemy encroaching upon the socialist system, but also in the efficient management of the country's precious wealth gained at the cost of the sweat and blood of the people and in its economic use so that it will be used effectively for the prosperity and development of the socialist motherland. Patriotism should be shown in the daily life and work of all working people.

In order to put an end to waste it is necessary to wage an ideological struggle and intensify legal control, while putting the main emphasis on the education of the working people. Instruction should be given first and then an ideological campaign must be mounted. And when

state property is misappropriated and squandered in spite of these measures, legal sanctions have to be applied.

In addition, economic work involves many problems which we have to solve. At present no detailed plans exist in various sectors of the national economy; no radical analysis of factories is made; many mistakes can be found in the fixing of prices; the standard per-unit consumption of materials and work norms are fixed incorrectly; and labour administration as a whole is unsatisfactory.

Even though there are many shortcomings in economic work, you ought not to worry, or be afraid or pessimistic. When we do not know our shortcomings it is dangerous, but now that we understand them clearly, we do not in the least need to fear them. After we get to know our mistakes, we should fight with courage to correct them. We are revolutionaries, so the more difficulties we face, the more we should take courage, and we should find out the way to overcome them.

Senior economic workers should not be discouraged or have any scruples because of some defects in their work but should pull themselves together. They must study how to correct the shortcomings and carry out organizational arrangements meticulously. If all of them set to work with determination and organize things skilfully so as to solve the difficult problems, it will not be hard for them to do so.

In order to find a solution they should not undertake too many projects, but ought to complete them by finishing one project at a time. They cannot completely solve any problems if they become involved in a large number of assorted projects and do a little bit of work on each before abandoning it halfway to commence another, and then abandon that so as to start still another. At present they make a great fuss, claiming that they carry on detailed planning, fix the standard per-unit consumption of materials, reassess wages, and readjust prices. But they should not disperse their activities in this way.

They must first concentrate on the question of detailed planning and solve that. Some officials of the State Planning Commission seem to doubt whether we are able to adopt detailed planning which is beyond the power of other countries. There is no reason why we should be

incapable of doing it just because other countries cannot. And some appear to be undecided, saying that detailed planning requires more than ten thousand indices. But we cannot shrink back just because of that. At present, large quantities of fabrics are produced, but there are few which are suitable for children's clothes. And many tractors and lorries are manufactured, but they are not put into regular operation because of the shortage of parts. All this is due to poor detailed planning.

Even though the planning indices might number scores of thousands, not ten thousand, we have to apply detailed planning.

If this planning is impossible in a day or two because it requires many indices, it should be effected even if it takes one or two months or even a year. If officials of the State Planning Commission cannot do it because they are few in number, people must be selected from factories and enterprises and made to come up to the capital for the purpose. Once a detailed plan is worked out properly in this way, planning will be easy from the following year. This is similar to the task of editing an "encyclopedia": until its first edition is issued, many people are required and a long time will be taken, but once a good one is compiled, it is not difficult to make a few corrections and add new material.

Since detailed planning is a huge and difficult undertaking the State Planning Commission cannot cope with it on its own, no matter how many people are mobilized. It will be successful only when the State Planning Commission and the other planning organs and departments at all levels, including the planning bureaus of ministries and the planning sections of factories and enterprises, are all mobilized.

By nature, the planning departments of ministries or of factories and enterprises are equivalent to sub-workteams or cells of the State Planning Commission. But now this commission and the planning departments of ministries do not unite closely with each other because they are hobbled by departmentalism. As a result, one side tends to impose large production quotas while the other tries to accept only small ones. Meanwhile, one side endeavours to lower the standard per-unit consumption of materials, but the other attempts to increase it.

This relationship must not be tolerated any longer.

In order to achieve detailed planning, the State Planning Commission should be the first to correct its method of work, so as to strengthen ties with the planning organs at all levels; and all planning organs for their part should work from the national standpoint, helping and leading each other forward. Moreover, they ought not to wait for detailed plans to come down from the commission; they should formulate such plans for themselves. Factories and enterprises should also make plans while carrying on production. If technicians and workers at industrial enterprises set about the work, they will be quite capable of working out their detailed plans, since the units of production and the rated capacities of equipment are known and work norms are fixed.

When the problem of detailed planning is solved, we should turn to other problems.

The struggle against waste should also be carried on by using the tactics of finishing one thing at a time. If many things are undertaken at the same time, and none of them is completed, we shall not be able to change the present situation. We should begin with one small item after another and concentrate on it until it is finished.

At present a campaign is being conducted to make and use briquettes. We should finish this first. It is said that 70 per cent of the households which use anthracite have already introduced briquettes. This is a very good thing. We should work hard for another year and introduce briquettes to a hundred per cent. If this is effected, we can save a million tons of coal which, if sent to the country areas, will help to solve a big problem.

The question of jute bags and rice sacks which was raised on this occasion should also be studied and completely settled. Large quantities of grain are now lost because it is transported in straw-bags with many holes. This is an untenable situation. If a great quantity of grain is lost in the course of transport because of our failure to solve the packaging problem, even though the threshing loss is eliminated after all rice-cleaning machines are repaired, we will be unable to put a

complete stop to the waste of grain, and the repair of these machines would be to no avail. I hear that all rice mills are now working properly, but you should reexamine them and, if there is anything which is incomplete, finish it. If the necessary repairs are given up, leaving them unfinished, the former state of affairs will re-assert itself.

If you work by adopting the policy of finishing one thing at a time, starting with minor problems, instead of spreading out your projects but after considering matters carefully, you will certainly achieve success in your efforts to practise economy.

With regard to the problem of improving the enterprise management, we should perfect its method at a selected factory and then see to it that the example is followed in other factories and enterprises throughout the country, in conformity with their particular conditions. It is not necessary to say that the edition of a good book on industrial administration could be very helpful in the running of enterprises. But in order to write this book, it is imperative to make an example of one factory in enterprise management. Only when officials live among workers at factories to create a model in all aspects of management, can they perfect the method of enterprise management and, on this basis, write a good book on industrial administration.

You must not complain about the low level of enterprise management but should quickly establish even a single model enterprise. It would be advisable for the sector of the metallurgical industry, for instance, to make the Hwanghae Iron Works the model for the operation of factories.

If you solve one problem after another in a substantial way, you will be able to settle many complex problems in economic work during the course of several years.

Our economic bodies and senior economic officials should learn from the People's Army. As it trains recruits properly and gets them to behave correctly from the first day of their enrolment, they do not stop at half-measures and they have a good habit of completing whatever difficult task they may be given.

This kind of strict discipline and order is not yet imposed in

economic work, and officials do not settle any single matter completely, wasting time in chronic formalism. We should definitely eliminate these unmethodical and irresponsible practices, establish strict discipline in the fulfilment of economic tasks and acquire the revolutionary habit of doing everything correctly and bringing anything to completion.

In carrying out this year's plan, we must first ensure that people behave responsibly, maintaining rigid discipline and establishing the habit of finishing one thing at a time.

This year's plan is a comparatively small-scale one. But you should not remain inactive without taking any steps on the excuse that the plan is small. Although it is not large, you must not fail to carry it out, both as to quality and on all indices. The drawing up of a small plan this year is aimed at completing it as far as quality is concerned and also at eliminating disorganized and undisciplined practices in its implementation.

A full-scale campaign to improve the quality of products should be waged this year in all sectors of the national economy. The quality of products should be fundamentally improved in the heavy, light, mining and manufacturing industries, and the quality of construction must also be improved. Furthermore, the industrial sector must create all possible conditions for placing production on a normal basis and for bringing about a new upsurge in industrial production in future, such as keeping machines and equipment in good order, obtaining reserves of raw materials, and giving priority to geological prospecting.

Housing construction should be speeded up. The demand for houses is now high, but the building forces and materials are limited. We should, therefore, not build only large houses, as in the past, but should see to it that many small ones are erected between the big ones which have already been built.

This year we should concentrate all our efforts on the rural economy.

Good farming is essential to develop industry, improve the diet of the people and create reserves of provisions to cope with a possible

war. To develop the rural economy is also necessary to turn all farm villages across the country into the bases of victory, in case there is a war in the future.

We should concentrate a great deal of effort on the development of agriculture and overfulfil the grain production plan for this year. This is the way to solve various problems. The grain production plan for this year gives the impression of being rather high, but it is not a bad thing to set a high target and then to struggle for it. All cooperative farms should strive to overfulfil their state assignments and even to fulfil the increased production quotas.

The most important ingredient in increasing agricultural output is to improve the direction of the rural economy.

Our Party is always deeply concerned about increasing agricultural production and improving the farmers' standard of living. Only recently it took a number of measures, such as attaching tractors to cooperative farms, lowering the working fees in respect of farm machinery and exempting farmers from agricultural tax in kind.

No matter what good measures the state takes and how great the benefits it grants, there will be no success if officials fail to give proper guidance. The question depends on how they organize and direct the economic life of farms.

Take the cold-bed rice seedling method for example. Success depends on how it is introduced. This method is advantageous not only because it provides the required period for the growth of rice seedlings, through their early transplantation, but also because it helps to ease the manpower shortage by bedding out seedlings by stages. Therefore, we should accept this method after giving careful consideration to various possibilities. However, if we thoughtlessly apply this method one hundred per cent, we cannot make the best of its superiority, because we have to bed out the rice seedlings all at once, not by stages, which prevents us from alleviating the manpower shortage. Under the present strained manpower situation we should grow rice seedlings in cold beds, dry beds, dry and water beds and water beds in a proper combination so that they will be transplanted stage by stage.

Good direction should be given to the sub-workteam management system.

It is wrong to think that the introduction of this system will make everything run smoothly by itself. It is true that the system is good. But it cannot be successful without efficient guidance. Only when the management board chairmen or workteam leaders of cooperative farms build up sub-workteams and direct them effectively can the sub-workteam management system be properly operated and its superiority be shown to the full. In this context it is necessary for the Agricultural Commission to issue regulations clearly setting out the duties of a sub-workteam leader and particularly of a workteam leader.

It is also foolish to think that things will run smoothly by themselves just because tractors are attached to cooperative farms, and that draught cattle will automatically grow fat because one person is responsible for them. If we do not always work well with tractor drivers or farmers in charge of cattle, we shall be unable to rectify the defects revealed in the past.

On returning home, the chairmen of provincial and county Party committees should get down to work for the solution of the rural questions. They should show initiative and give better guidance in order to improve rural affairs.

Another important thing in developing the rural economy is to increase assistance to the countryside. Officials of institutions and enterprises should concentrate on agricultural production and give active assistance to rural communities. Under their well-formed plans all factories, enterprises, offices and schools should give material, technical and labour assistance to cooperative farms.

An extensive drive for compost production should be conducted, particularly in cities and workers' districts. The chemical fertilizer now being produced cannot satisfy the needs of the rural economy. Therefore, they should put the existing fertilizer factories in good working order and step up the construction of new ones, while, at the same time, producing compost in a mass campaign in cities and workers' districts so as to make up for the insufficient supply of

fertilizer. I have been told that in Pyongyang a campaign to produce 550 kilogrammes of compost at each household is now under way. This is a very good thing. In workers' districts, too, a campaign should be started in which all working people are obliged to install good tanks for liquid manure and produce several hundred kilogrammes of compost each.

The prepared compost should be transported to the countryside at the right time by ox-carts and lorries from cities and workers' districts.

Besides this, there are many problems concerning the giving of assistance to the country areas. For these specific matters, it would be advisable that at the Cabinet plenary meeting to be held following a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee the provincial Party committee chairmen and those comrades who were sent out for guidance work, will express their opinions and take measures before they go back.

It is also important in rural work to direct peasants so that they will organize their lives well.

We must see to it that farmers regulate the consumption of their cereals properly so as not to run out of food in the farming season. Unless they save cereals in the winter when they do not work hard, they cannot work as they should in the farming season of rice transplanting and weeding because of a shortage of food. In the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army we controlled provisions when there was the possibility of a food shortage, even by eating grass, after fixing what quantity we needed to eat each day. Unless the economic life of the country, or of farms or of individual households is carefully organized in this manner, it cannot be trouble-free. We should direct the farmers properly so that they will save a great deal of rice in winter and eat enough and work at capacity in the farming season.

In order to save cereals, it is necessary to encourage farmers to grow vegetables on a wide scale and provide them with soya sauce and bean paste as required. They should be induced to raise plenty of vegetables by turning their kitchen gardens to account and by growing them at the edges of dry fields and similar places.

An extensive campaign to raise vegetables should be started in both towns and villages. At present the plots where vegetables can grow lie fallow or are turned into flower gardens on the pretext of beautifying the towns. Vegetables should be grown on such plots as far as possible.

I think the Women's Union organizations ought to take in hand the leadership of working people so as to organize their life efficiently. In conjunction with the campaign to make and use briquettes, these organizations should organize a campaign for economy in the consumption of cereals and start a drive to build up nurseries. As I stressed at the 12th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, we should ensure that the nurseries in workers' districts or cooperative farms each raise a few goats. Goats eat little but produce a large amount of milk. It would be a good idea to boil goats' milk with a little rice and sugar to make a gruel for children. Salt will do when sugar is not available. If officials give the matter some thought and make an effort, they can improve the people's standard of living without difficulty.

The People's Army should also start a widespread campaign to produce vegetables and meat on their own and lighten the burdens of the state. When I had a talk with families of the officers in Onchon County they said that they would be self-supporting without receiving any vegetables and meat from the state, by growing vegetables and breeding many pigs this year. Since Onchon County has a large area of land, they will achieve this if they exert themselves. It may be difficult for those units in the rear far from the front to plant vegetables, because they are not provided with arable land for the purpose. And yet, they should look for lands, make them fertile and grow even a small amount of vegetables for themselves.

I believe that all senior officials will achieve greater success in carrying out the revolutionary tasks set forth by the Party, by improving their work methods and radically raising their level of guidance, in accordance with the spirit discussed in this plenary meeting.

ON CREATING MANY REVOLUTIONARY AND PEOPLE-ORIENTED SONGS

Talk to Composers

April 30, 1966

Today I wish to deal briefly with the subject of writing many revolutionary and people-oriented songs.

Of the songs which have been written recently, many are for professional artists to sing on the stage but few are for the broad masses of the people. Although there are some people-oriented songs such as *My Country* and *Pochonbo, the Land of Glory*, many others are difficult to sing.

We need revolutionary and people-oriented songs today which the people can sing.

Revolutionary songs are an important ingredient in the ideological education of the people. During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, revolutionary songs played a very important part in training guerrillas and the people in a revolutionary way. Among the songs sung in those days were original ones as well as others which were set to existing tunes. Anti-Japanese guerrillas charged bravely forward to defeat the Japanese imperialists singing revolutionary songs and overcame hardships in the days of arduous march while singing these songs.

To speed up socialist construction in the northern half of Korea today and bring about national reunification at the earliest possible date, it is imperative to intensify class education, training in

revolutionary traditions and instruction in socialist patriotism among the people. In this way we will ensure that all working people will forget neither their past misfortunes when they were ill-treated and oppressed, nor the south Korean people groaning under the suppression of the US imperialists and their stooges; we will also ensure that they will take an active part in the revolutionary struggle and construction work without forgetting the revolution for even a moment. To this end, you should create a large number of people-oriented songs which will positively assist in educating the working people along revolutionary lines so that children, youngsters and old people will all sing them.

However, the songs being written nowadays are difficult to sing, with the result that they are not being spread widely amongst the people and they are, accordingly, not making an active contribution to the revolutionary education of the people.

From now on, artists and musicians must write songs with simple tunes which everyone can sing.

Songs which are easy to sing can spread through the broad masses of the people and will help with their revolutionary education.

You must not write songs which are like the people-oriented songs of the past on the excuse that you are making songs which are easy to sing. Of course, we are not unconditionally opposed to all those songs. They reflect the contemporary phases of past society. The people-oriented songs sung in the days of Japanese imperialist rule can be divided into two groups. One group contains those songs which our people sang mourning the fate of a stateless nation, and the other consists of those songs which the Japanese imperialists composed and spread deliberately to lead the Koreans along the path of corruption and degeneration. The *Song of Nostalgia* and *Song of Punitive Operations in Jiandao* which were sung in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, for instance, are about the grief of a defeated nation; they are not bad. But the song *Janghanmong* is a bad one which dulls people's political consciousness and incites them to decadence and depravity.

In composing people-oriented songs, you must spurn those like the decadent and pessimistic people-oriented songs of the past. If you write a song you should do so in conformity with our people's thinking and emotions and make it easy for them to sing. In other words, you should create songs in a Korean style which our people like and enjoy singing.

Now some officials in the field of music and art seem to think that all songs are good only when the tune ends on a high note, but this is wrong. Of course, this should be done when necessary, but it is an expression of dogmatism to follow other countries blindly, just because they do this.

Nowadays decadent US art has been heedlessly imported into south Korea, coarsening its society, but in no event must we accept the arts of other countries as they stand. If our artists try to sing foreign songs, they must do so after clearly announcing their origins. Our music still retains traces of foreign styles because this art has been unable to shed the influence exerted by the dogmatists such as Pak Chang Ok. And I think it is related in a certain measure to the influence of some composers who studied abroad.

We must never fall into dogmatism, but establish Juche thoroughly in music, too. Our national music must occupy the most important position in this field.

Now in the field of music and art some comrades consider that our national music is not modern, while claiming that all Western music, including ancient music, is modern; but this is wrong. It is not reasonable for them to distinguish Western from national music and claim that the former is modern. Western music should be called Occidental music. And violins, cellos and other Western instruments should also be made to serve our national music.

In this field strenuous attempts must be made to keep our national identity alive both in writing tunes and in playing musical instruments.

It is advisable to introduce many folk tunes when creating people-oriented songs. Existing folk tunes can be sung after new words have been set to them. For example, you can set revolutionary

words to folk tunes of the southern provinces so that the people in the southern half of the country will sing them.

Of course, folk tunes also have some shortcomings. Those of our country have a tender and lyrical appeal, but they are not forceful. So it is easy to use folk tunes when writing national operas such as *The Tale of Chun Hyang*, although it would be difficult to adopt them as they are when composing revolutionary songs. This does not mean, however, that revolutionary songs should be written in such a way that the voice is automatically pitched high.

Revolutionary people-oriented songs should be easy and simple to sing and must be forceful and inspiring. They must not be written in the style of folk songs, nor should they be too formal.

People-oriented songs should not be monotonous, but ought to be full of variety. Songs which amateur artists have been writing and performing are fairly easy to sing, but most of them are similar and monotonous. Songs must not be tedious. There should be different kinds of songs—those to be sung while fighting the enemy and during breaks in marching or work—and dialogues. In other words, there should be songs which inspire people in their exertions, dispel their fatigue and entertain them.

In creating revolutionary songs it is important that the words should be well written so that they are rich in meaning.

As a start, large numbers of revolutionary songs must be written. We have not yet reunified the country nor won victory in the world revolution. These conditions do not allow the youth and working people in the northern half of Korea to sing only about their happy lives. We should compose a large number of songs about combatting US imperialism and Japanese militarism, songs about fighting against landlords and capitalists, and songs about carrying on socialist construction with credit, so that youngsters and working people will sing them.

We need songs about revolutionary struggle as well as lyrical songs about the people's happy lives.

Musicians and composers must write such songs in the right

proportion to those which show the happy lives of the people.

We cannot let our youngsters sing a large number of songs about their happy lives, and only a small proportion of songs about the revolution. This will make them forget south Korea and the revolution. We must ensure that young people sing revolutionary songs on a wider scale.

Words should be poetic yet rich in political content. If the emphasis in people-oriented songs is put only on being happy, people could become pleasure-loving. We must take strict precautions so that this does not happen. As long as imperialism still exists on the earth and the country still remains to be reunified, we cannot by any means tolerate the pursuit of pleasure. Even when singing about happiness, we should sing about the contentment to be found in the worthwhile task of carrying on the revolutionary struggle and construction work.

Large numbers of songs aimed at educating people in socialist patriotism ought to be written. We must ensure that the working people will ardently love the socialist system and strive to consolidate and develop it by singing about this system where everybody is equally prosperous, and free from exploitation and oppression.

The south Korean puppet clique are now talking about “patriotism”, praising Admiral Ri Sun Sin, but this is not patriotism. Our patriotism is fundamentally different from the “patriotism” which the south Korean reactionaries talk about. Ours is socialist patriotism.

Today, there are many instances of working people and officials who fail to carry out the struggle to curb waste and who do not manage the country’s economic affairs carefully; this is because they lack socialist patriotism and the spirit of working for the country and the people. In the past the Japanese imperialists worked our people by coercive methods such as beating them, abusing them and driving them out of employment; but today, in our society, these methods cannot be applied. Therefore, if we do not educate the working people persistently, idleness, laxity and irresponsible behaviour might affect them. We must skilfully carry out educational work among them by various ways and means so that they will work for society and the

people conscientiously and honestly.

A good new song should be composed for the People's Army.

The March of the People's Army which we have sung until now is superficial and the tune is not good. So we think that you ought to write a good replacement.

The People's Army song should be consistent with the idea of defending the socialist gains in the northern half of Korea staunchly and also with the idea of driving out the US imperialist invaders in order to liberate south Korea; and it should be forceful and filled with revolutionary fervour, so that one is inspired to charge the enemy on hearing this song. Why do we say that we like revolutionary songs? It is because when we sing them, we gain courage to forge ahead in spite of all difficulties and in the face of death. The People's Army song should be like this.

The tune of this song should not be like those which are written for performance on the stage. The musical presentation and performance of the tunes to which we have just listened, are done as though they were written for a stage performance; I am not sure if this is the reason why they all sound like songs from a stage show and they are difficult to sing. You must try to write another People's Army song. Composers must go and live with soldiers in units of the People's Army for some months in order to compose it. This is the way to write a good song.

The People's Army is now moving towards producing art which involves the masses instead of only professional artists and this is a good thing.

I think it is a good idea to write songs based on actual events. For instance, you can write songs of comradeship while thinking about patriots imprisoned in south Korea. And in my opinion, you will find good words and tunes if you make songs about the fighters who met their deaths on the scaffold after fighting for the revolution.

You should write a good song about tractor drivers.

If you write this song well and circulate it widely, tractor drivers will treat tractors with greater care and plough the fields better, while singing it.

Our art must be of educational value for the people. It is said that the feature film *The Story of a Detachment Commander* has been well received by audiences recently. There is no doubt that this film has revolutionary spirit, makes its point well, and has great educational value. It shows the process by which young people become revolutionaries, and a love affair is appropriately combined with the basic theme. The theme song of this film is also good. I hear that this song, *We Search for a Way to National Liberation*, is now being widely sung among the people. Films and music are both art, so they should be lyrical. Good films and music which play upon people's emotions can be very influential in instructing the people in a revolutionary way.

If we make and publish many good songs, we shall not only be able to educate our working people along revolutionary lines, but also to achieve great success in demoralizing enemy troops. There is a Chinese legend that in ancient times Zhang Liang discouraged an enemy force which was 3,000 strong by using a bamboo flute. Music has great power to stir people's emotions and attract their attention.

I think that the direction we are now following in developing art is the correct one. In addition I can say that at present our country leads the way in this.

In future we must also continue to develop art on a sound basis. To this end, we should introduce a proper combination of ideological content and artistic value in creating works of art.

When the delegation of a fraternal party which was visiting our country asked me what the revolutionization of art meant, I told them our experience. If emphasis is put only on political quality in the creation of artistic works, the result is not art, but nothing more than a lecture; if, on the other hand, we stress artistic value alone and disregard political quality, ideological content and revolutionary spirit, we will merely be producing something which is naturalistic.

Some time ago we saw a documentary film *Along the East Coast* and criticised it. All that it depicts is our country's landscapes between Mt. Chilbo and Mt. Kumgang. We cannot live only by enjoying

scenery, nor is it of any use just to be proud of our seas and mountains. What a good thing it would be if our country's natural beauties could be suitably shown off in association with examples of the development of industry, agriculture, education, culture and public health. On no account must we allow ourselves to portray nature for its own sake in the creation of art.

All the same, we must not pursue art for art's sake, talking exclusively about artistic values. Art should reflect the time and the social system, and it is valuable only when it shows them correctly. Accordingly, artistic value should also base its standards on the contemporary social system and on people's lives.

You must correctly understand the question of being national in form and socialist in content. Because of a misunderstanding of this subject, some people are now claiming that it is a representative method of socialist realism to include socialist content in old national forms of art, but they must not look at it in that way. If one automatically includes socialist content in outdated national artistic forms, one will merely become a preservationist. There were formerly people in our country who insisted upon the automatic revival of such old forms.

Art as it was in the days when our nobles rode donkeys and wore horse-hair hats does not suit the life style of contemporary youth. Today tractors are running in fields, the whole of society is seething with revolutionary fervour, and everyone is rushing ahead towards communism, but if one recites *sijo* leisurely, whilst playing the komungo in an old-fashioned way, how does this fit in with the emotions of the present? In no way can it conform to today's sentiments.

The art of our epoch should not be too leisurely like that of by-gone days nor should it be frivolous. We must ensure that every song will be composed in such a way as to comply with the feelings of the people of our age.

National forms should also be developed in conformity with the age. New folk songs which have recently been written by our composers are gaining public favour because they correspond to the

feelings of our people today. You must not preserve what is outdated on the pretext of keeping national forms alive, but should develop it in conformity with our era.

To be able to create many revolutionary songs, composers have to be firmly armed with a revolutionary world outlook and examine the existing situation in depth. In addition to this, the broad masses, including members of amateur musical groups in factories and villages, soldiers, pupils, and teachers, should all be drawn into the writing of people-oriented songs. Teachers in rural schools can create good songs showing life in the countryside because they are familiar with conditions there; and soldiers can write fine songs about army life. The song *At a Well* which was composed during the Fatherland Liberation War is still widely sung, even now, because it is people-oriented and depicts life clearly. We should not adopt a principle where only specialists are engaged in creating people-oriented songs but encourage the broad masses to participate in this.

ON CORRECTLY PRESERVING THE NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KOREAN LANGUAGE

Talk to Linguists

May 14, 1966

Today I should like to talk to you briefly about the need to develop our national language further. I have spoken about this before, but I am going to emphasize it again.

As I have often said, our country is situated between China, Japan and the Soviet Union, which are large countries with relatively developed science and technology. In former days this gave rise to flunkeyism towards these countries among our people and in the course of political contacts and economic and cultural exchanges with them large numbers of their words found their way into our country.

During the feudal Ri dynasty flunkeyism towards China prevailed and a wide range of Chinese words was imported. As a result, even now our people use a large vocabulary borrowed from Chinese ideographs. One day I visited a saltern and found that most of the terms used there were of Chinese origin. Besides scientific and technical terms, our ordinary language has also numerous Chinese-style expressions. Typical examples are that at present our officials say *saopsigan* or *kongjaksigan* rather than *ilhanunsigan* to express “work hours” and *ochim* rather than *natjam* to express “siesta”.

Once I visited Guangdong, China, and saw a play. I noticed an analogy between the actors’ pronunciation of Chinese characters and

those of our people. So we can say that many of the Chinese ideographic sounds we pronounce came from the Guangdong region of China.

Following the seizure of our country by the Japanese imperialists, our language was also adulterated by Japanese words to a large extent. That is why our present-day vocabulary contains a considerable number of Japanese-style words, which must be corrected. Many species of apples are also called by Japanese names. The apple our people now call *kukgwang* was named by the Japanese. Probably the apple did not come from Japan. Still, as you see, it has a Japanese name. *Kukgwang* is not the only example. The names of apples such as *uk* and *chuk* were also given by the Japanese.

This is also true of the names of rice species. Now people use the names given by the Japanese, such as *ryugu No.132* and *jungsaengunbangju*.

Even our children who did not live under Japanese imperialism say *uwagi*, *ocha* and *obong* instead of *yangbokjogori*, *cha* and *chaban* to designate a coat, tea and a tray.

After liberation Russian words were introduced to adulterate our language, a process which we checked.

And now, words which are not pure Korean but Chinese-style used by the Korean inhabitants in the Jiandao district of China are infiltrating; the polyglot language used by the south Korean people after liberation, a debasement of Korean with English, Japanese and words of Chinese origin, is creeping in; Japanese-style Korean current among the Koreans in Japan is also coming in with the repatriates from Japan.

Now the Koreans living in Yanbian or northern Jiandao of China say *hwachacham* and *konginkyegup* instead of *jonggojang* and *rodongkyegup* to denote the railway station and the working class, and they coin Chinese-type Korean words which are beyond us. There are about one million Koreans in Jiandao, and the encroachment of their vocabulary does not present a big problem.

The infiltration of Japanese words into our language through

repatriates is not a serious matter either.

The problem lies in the language now being used in south Korea. Newspapers now published in south Korea, for instance, use not only words adopted from English and Japanese but also words of Chinese origin at random which even the Chinese themselves do not use. In fact the situation is such that if the words of Chinese, Japanese and English origin were eliminated from the language used in south Korea, there would be nothing left of our own language except such grammatical particles as *-ul* and *-rul*. Language is a major indication of national character, and now the speech in south Korea has been bastardized by Western, Japanese and Chinese words to such a degree that it does not sound like our mother tongue and the national characteristics of our language are gradually disappearing. This is a really dangerous situation. If it is left unchecked, our national language will be threatened with the danger of extinction.

I once had a talk with a cadre of the Japan Communist Party. He said that at present the Japanese language was also becoming mixed up with foreign languages. In Japan, he said, science is making progress, but it can hardly be boasted of as Japan's own; it is characteristically American. And science itself is capitalized on as a moneymaking means by businessmen. In other words, he said, today's Japanese science is not true science.

So the Japanese entirely copy American ways in the development of science, with the result that English terms flood in to adulterate Japanese, I was told.

A true patriot is a communist. Only communists truly love their mother tongue and endeavour to develop it.

We, the communists, must preserve the national characteristics of our language and develop them further. No Korean with a national conscience, even if he is not a communist, will be happy to see the national characteristics of our language die away. Except the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats, the masses of the people in south Korea, the overwhelming majority of the population, are patriotic-minded people who love our nation and our motherland.

So I believe that they all hope for the development of our national language.

We should replace the words adopted from Chinese ideographs and borrowed words with our correct ones and develop our language systematically.

When our native word and a word borrowed from Chinese ideographs mean one and the same thing, we must adopt the former and discard the latter, removing it from the dictionary. For example, such Chinese ideographic words as *sangjon* (mulberry field) and *sokgyo* (stone bridge) must give way to our native words, namely, *ppongbat* and *toldari*. Even those words coming from Chinese ideographs which are in relatively wide use among the people must be taken out of the dictionary, if we have equivalent words of our own to replace them. For instance, the word *habok* (summer clothes) is in comparatively wide use, but we must eliminate it from the dictionary because we can say *yorumot*. If we eliminate even these words, there may be complaints that we are going too far. But if we do not do so we shall not be able to reduce the number of words borrowed from Chinese ideographs gradually nor shall we be able to develop our correct words. If in the future the people continue to use any of the words which we have eliminated, we can then rehabilitate them.

We must also trace good words in our dialects and use them. Once in the days of our anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle, Comrade An Kil said that the cultural standard in Hamgyong Province was generally lower than that in Seoul but that the province had a richer Korean vocabulary. He asked if it was not nice to say *pulsulgi* rather than *kicha* (steam locomotive). So I jokingly retorted that Hamgyong Province used borrowed words such as *bijiggae* and *koruman* for match and pocket.

The word *pulsulgi* is really fine. Of course, we do not need to replace *kicha* with *pulsulgi*. But if we make a careful survey of our dialects, we shall find excellent words of our own which can be accepted even now.

We must try hard to look for our native words and use them for the

names of places. It sounds more tasteful to do so than to call them by Chinese ideographs pronounced in Korean fashion. For example, if we substitute the Chinese ideographs *jogam* (red rock) for *pulgunbawi*, it sounds very awkward, instead of being better. At present, quite a few places have two names—one in Chinese style and the other in our own. For example, *toldari-gol* (stone-bridge village) is also called by the Chinese ideographic name of *sokgyo-dong*. We must investigate all the purely Korean place-names so that Chinese ideographic names can be dropped as far as possible. We have already told the Academy of Social Science to investigate the place-names, but we do not know how the work is proceeding. Probably, it will be beyond the power of the academy to tackle the task all alone. So it would be a good idea for the Cabinet to adopt a decision or issue an order to make sure of the work. When the purely Korean place-names are all worked out they will have to be put into use. Then all that will be needed is to revise the map accordingly. Administrative districts can also be renamed by a Cabinet decision.

We must not only disinter our native words and put them back into use, but also coin new words from them.

It is true that new words sound a bit awkward at first. But with frequent use they will become familiar. Let me take the example of the appellation *choegoinminhoeui* (the Supreme People's Assembly), though it is a Chinese ideographic name. At first when we put forward this name some people objected, saying that the term *parliament* was used in other countries and that it was, therefore, improper to call the permanent establishment *hoeui* (assembly). But we ignored the objection and put the name into use. At first people thought it awkward to pronounce. But constant use has made it familiar now, hasn't it? When necessary we can also coin other words in the same way.

In my opinion it would be good to rename *kukgwang*, *uk*, *chuk* and other apples after the names of the places where they are grown. After studying where a species of apple is produced in the largest quantity and which is of the best quality, you may rename it *Pukchong*, *Songhwa*, *Nampho* or *Ryonggang*.

We must also change the names of rice species to our own linguistic style.

Some comrades now say that because the present names of apples, rice and the like have become familiar to us, it will be difficult to change them. But we must change them boldly without hesitation. If we should leave even these Japanese names as they are, how could we explain this to posterity? Under the present circumstances when Japanese-styled Chinese ideographic words are used as they are in south Korea, if we take no action our language will really die out. We must boldly change the Japanese-styled Chinese ideographic words.

Our ancestors were once infected with flunkeyism towards great powers, so that they even used Chinese ideographic names for people. It is advisable that from now on our genuine words be used as far as possible in naming babies.

Foreign terms coming in through scientific and cultural exchanges with other countries should be immediately given equivalents in our language. It is the rule that any country will follow in the wake of those countries which are leaders in science and technology. This gives rise to the inflow of words from advanced countries and, accordingly, the appearance of borrowed words. But it is advisable to give our own descriptions to foreign terms when they are first introduced. When the Soviet breeds of pig *large white* and *northern Siberian* were introduced into our country and we obtained a new hybrid by crossing them with our native *junghwa* breed, we named it *Pyongyang-jong*. How nice it sounds! It will also be a good idea to change other foreign words into our own.

In doing this, we must not give too much amplification to technical terms. The National Language Standardizing Commission should exercise strict control over the new terms.

You must not treat all the words borrowed from Chinese ideographs and other borrowed words without discrimination just because they ought to be revised. Even Chinese ideographic words should be left as they are, if they have been firmly accepted by the people and completely established as Korean words. For example, such words as

hakgyo (school) and *pang* (room) could be excluded from the category of Chinese ideographic words and, therefore, they need not be revised. Take the word *popchik* (law) now in wide use. We have no suitable word to replace it right now. This is also true of the word *kaengdo* (level or shaft). Social and natural sciences have many such words, and it is difficult to replace them.

In addition, serious consideration must be given to Chinese ideographic words and our legitimate words when they are synonymous but have different nuances. For instance, the Chinese ideographic word *jihā* (underground) is synonymous with the purely Korean word *ttangsok* and the word *simjang* (heart), with *yomthong*, but they have different nuances. So we have no choice but to leave all of them alone. It would not do to replace the word *jihā-thujaeng* (underground struggle) with *ttangsok-thujaeng* or the sentence *Pyongyang-un nauī simjang* (Pyongyang is dear to my heart) with *Pyongyang-un nauī yomthong*. If all such words of Chinese origin are abolished, there will be chaos in our language. Therefore, even when a genuine word and a word of Chinese origin are synonymous, they must be treated differently where this is warranted.

Military terms can be revised. Following liberation we changed some of them. The command *charyot* (attention!) is a word we initiated. The command *kichok* which was formerly used was a word of Japanese origin. The Independence Army in northeast China also used it. So did Hong Pom Do, and Ri Pom Sok also used it in training the cadets in a military academy. So we replaced *kichok* with *charyot*. Of course, a word of command must be stressed on its last syllable. After liberation we thought of revising all the words of command coming down from the last years of the Ri dynasty and the years of Japanese imperialist rule. But somehow we were not able to do so. At present many words borrowed from Chinese ideographs are in use in the army.

Pangdongmyon (gas mask) is also derived from Chinese ideographs and so are *u* (excellent) and *ryang* (good) which are used in awarding marks. It is preferable that military terms, except those which

are used internationally, be expressed in our own words. This is also the case with military technological terms.

In remaking our vocabulary we must sometimes reckon with the context of word combination. Take the word *ilgi* (weather) for example. When we just want to say *ilgi*, we can dispense with it since it can be replaced with the word *nalssi*, but when we take into account the word combination *ilgiyebo* (weather forecast) and the like, the word *ilgi* must be preserved.

We must lay the groundwork for the development of our language well. We should preserve and develop the national characteristics of our language with Pyongyang as the centre and the speech of Pyongyang as the standard, because Pyongyang is the capital city and the cradle of the revolution where the General Staff of our revolution is and where its strategies and tactics are planned for all political, economic, cultural and military fields. And the term “standard language” must be replaced with another. This term may give rise to misunderstanding as if the Seoul dialect were the standard. So there is no need to use it. It is proper that the language we, the builders of socialism, have developed on the basis of the speech of Pyongyang, the revolutionary capital city, be given a name other than “standard language”.

Though the term “cultured language” is not perfectly suitable, it will, nevertheless, be acceptable.

Furthermore, in order to make our words well polished, newspaper debates should be encouraged. Language, too, needs to go through the appraisal of the masses. Technical terms and the like should also be printed in newspapers two or three times a week; some 15 newly proposed words at a time should be carried in the papers, so that the masses can write critical essays and submit questions about them. The new proposals should be published in both central and local papers. Opposing views should also be fully canvassed. In the newspaper debates it is essential to make all the views which are submitted known to the public so that the wisdom of many people can be enlisted. We must have many newspaper debates, not only to

polish our language well, but also to give wide currency to the revised words among the masses. It is advisable to offer the words for mass criticism, pool good opinions and finally decide on standard words for use.

Pooling the masses' wisdom can produce good results in refining our language. Those words which are difficult to change, like the terms used in the social and technical sciences, should be revised after widespread debate.

The task of revising our vocabulary should not be done hastily, but should be tackled word by word over a long period. It is not possible to change all the words in question all at once in the course of a day or two. If the words handed down over scores or hundreds of years are all changed overnight, people will not accept them and, moreover, those who changed them will scarcely remember all of them and so will be unable to use them all. Since this work has a bearing on the language in daily use among all the people, it is absolutely wrong to tackle it in a hurry out of subjective desire.

You should not try to revise a large number of Chinese ideographic words or borrowed words at a time, but do so gradually and finish one at a time.

To begin with, we should correct the words in daily use. It is said that some 5,000 to 6,000 words are now used in the schools. It is advisable to revise and popularize that number of words first, while preparing the next batch of words to be put into use after these have all been widely accepted. Your draft plan envisages revising and putting into public use 20 thousand words at a time. The number is too large. You would be well-advised to fix the number of words used daily by the people, say, 5,000 or 10,000 and change them first. You must proceed gradually, just as a silkworm eats away a mulberry leaf. Otherwise, there could be great confusion. So you should begin by revising words which are in everyday use.

And as I have mentioned above, military terms should be revised eventually, but it is a little premature now. Their revision should be carried out some day when circumstances allow it. When they are

revised, they should not be included in the dictionary but should be treated separately.

A suitable number of words should be changed according to plan, and then we must ensure that everyone uses them without fail. This necessitates careful modification and the introduction of intelligible words into general use. If you fail to do this and publish difficult words, people will not accept them but will prefer to use the original ones. Therefore, this work must be done very carefully.

A dictionary must be compiled to popularize our authentic words. If a dictionary of some 7,000 to 8,000 words or 10,000 words is produced and published for use as a standard, people will not trouble themselves to consult scholars. But this dictionary has to be printed in limited numbers.

You have suggested the publication of a glossary of technical terms, but these have not yet been confirmed, so you should not publish it for sale at bookstores, but produce a draft and distribute copies only to civil service institutions. In this way, the Party and state organs should be made to use the draft as a standard for some time, so that technical terms are spread by degrees from these organs down to lower units. Technical terms are not coined at the lower units but in the centre, in the Cabinet and ministries, which spread them to subordinate units. Therefore, the draft glossary of technical terms should be used first in civil service organizations for five or six years, or even ten, during which time the terms should be constantly polished and put into wide circulation.

Furthermore, in order to circulate our authentic words among the masses quickly, they should be introduced first of all in the educational field, at elementary schools in particular, and also in the newspapers and on the radio at an early date.

At present elderly people are accustomed to using Chinese ideographic words, so they use them widely in daily speech. Take the Chinese ideographic words *ilsangyongo* (vocabulary of everyday use) for example. Because they are accustomed to them, the old folks prefer these to the regular Korean words *nulssununmal*. In spelling too, they

are used to the old system and so make mistakes.

Therefore, in order to popularize our own words easily we must begin in the schools. Here the teaching of the revised Korean words should begin with the first-grade pupils of the primary school. In this way our legitimate words should all be revived and taught to the children so that they can correct mistakes in the speech of the adults. When old folks say *ochim* for midday nap, children should be able to correct them promptly to say *natjam*. The old people should be made aware that they had been accustomed to the Chinese ideographic words because they had been wrongly taught in the past, and they must endeavour to learn our authentic language and make the best use of new words. And so we have to develop our own vocabulary by discarding the old words and accepting the new ones.

In order to popularize our genuine words quickly, the draft standard vocabulary has to be introduced into school textbooks; as the draft vocabulary agreed upon expands, the words used in the textbooks should be changed every few years. Copies of the draft may also be given to institutions of higher learning for their use as a standard. These must also be supplied to newspapers and radio stations. Then within a few years borrowed words and Chinese ideographic words which the feudal rulers addicted to flunkeyism towards great powers had introduced in the past will be eliminated to some extent.

In the past flunkeyism prevailed among our people, which had a considerable effect not only on our language but also on other sectors of our lives.

In Pyongyang there was once a “Kija mausoleum” which, in the final analysis, was a product of flunkeyism. We eliminated it and erected a pavilion on the spot, so now no one comes to see “Kija”. Similar false legends produced under the influence of flunkeyism should all be removed.

Even now some people retain vestiges of flunkeyism. Certain scientists are not very concerned about research into our own natural resources to develop our industry, but are waiting for a lead from other countries. We should reject flunkeyism and establish Juche in the field

of economic construction, so that we take the path of building an independent economy with our own resources.

In linguistics Juche should be established also, so that our language develops systematically and so that our people feel national pride and self-respect in speaking and writing it.

Until the whole world turns communist people will live divided into nations, and Koreans will live in Korea and continue to speak Korean. Therefore, we should make every effort to preserve and develop our language properly.

As you know, our language is a very harmonious one and its sounds are beautiful. With our pronunciation you can easily get to speak any foreign language. Some people think that those who use borrowed words and words based on Chinese ideographs are learned and eminent men. This idea must be abandoned.

We should teach everyone to think that those who use Chinese ideographic words and borrowed words are devoid of national pride, and that those who speak their own language well are learned men with a high national pride. Through this everyone must be taught to accept the principle that he is intelligent only when he prefers the authentic language of his own country—saying *yorahopsal* (19 years old) rather than *sipguse*. Only then will it be possible to preserve and develop our language and provide posterity with a good foundation so that it will not be lost.

In particular, scholars who translate ancient books should clearly understand that those who make good use of our own words are cultured men.

In their translations of ancient books many Chinese ideographic words are left unchanged. Of course, they are written in our letters, but their style is purely Chinese. Because these words are left untouched, people do not fully understand the translations from ancient books. Our country has a large number of these books. They have all been translated in Chinese style which we shall have to retranslate into our own language. That is why young people are reluctant to read them. Because they do not do so, they are ignorant of national customs and

etiquette. We must not fail to solve this problem.

We should bring ancient stories and novels up-to-date so that people of our times can understand them. If we do not do this but try to make people understand them through teaching them Chinese ideographs, there will be difficulties. I once advised that *The Tale of Chun Hyang* be retranslated in a simple style, with the result that it has now become a little easier to read. All other books should also be simplified. Not only ancient stories and novels but also legends and historical stories should be brought up-to-date so that they are intelligible to our contemporaries. While on the subject of ancient writings, I have one further thing to say. When these works are adapted for the screen or the stage they should not be coarsened. The screen version of the novel *The Tale of Ryangban* is too unrefined and therefore is uninteresting. Originally, this work was dedicated to the class struggle of those days, but vulgarity reduced it to a mere comedy for children.

Ancient books must be translated by those who are well versed in Chinese characters. It would be a good idea to begin a Korean classics course in Kim Il Sung University and admit scores of clever students to learn Chinese characters and literature, too. If a course of four years is too short, it can be extended to six years.

While we restrict the use of words borrowed from Chinese ideographs as far as possible, we must instruct the students in the essential Chinese characters and teach them how to read and write them. Many of them appear in south Korean publications and old documents. If we are to make it possible for people to read them, it is necessary to teach them a certain number of Chinese ideographs.

Even though we do this none of these characters should be allowed to appear in school textbooks in any form. When we are going to dispense with the use of Chinese characters, why should we use them in school textbooks? If textbooks include them, they will look like south Korean ones. If we could not dispense with them, like the Japanese who need to use them in combination with their own letters, that would be another matter. But, if this is not so, there is no need to

use Chinese ideographs in school textbooks.

While reviving and circulating our own words, we should carry out an extensive study to develop our letters.

Our present letters are square-shaped, which causes some difficulty in writing. Being mostly syllabic, they are easy to pronounce. But the form of words is not fixed. It is, therefore, a little difficult to read them, and the slightest slip in writing is taboo. Our letters are not suitable for printing mechanization and they are also difficult to type.

If we are to make writing easy to read, words should be given a fixed form so that they appeal to the eye. While it is true that Chinese characters are not perfect, they have merit in the fact that each of them has a meaning and is attractive to look at. But I do not mean to propose remodelling our letters on the pattern of Chinese characters. We should reform our letters entirely in our own fashion. It will not do to try to introduce the Latin alphabet on the pretext of making our letters easy to read. It is not able to convey all our sounds. In my opinion, it is a good plan to break up our letters and write our alphabet horizontally as far as possible so that our words are easy to type and to understand. Our forefathers, too, took great pains to reform our letters. In the *Collection of Ju Si Gyong's Posthumous Works* I saw an example of breaking up our letters in an attempt to write horizontally. I think that is not bad either. It seems advisable to refine and polish it. Then, when the letters have been redrawn, both the original forms and the new ones should be published, so that people will become familiar with the new letters while not casting off the original ones.

I do not mean, however, to put the remodelled letters into use right now. Ours is a homogeneous nation. Therefore, we must not change our letters before the reunification of the country.

In the past a certain person, thirsty for fame, insisted on an immediate letter reform. What will happen if we change our letters when the north and the south are not yet reunified? When our people belonging to one nation write to each other, they will be unable to understand and our nation will eventually be split. Furthermore, letter reform will greatly hamper the development of science and culture. A

sudden change in the letters will render the literate people illiterate all at once. That was the reason why we opposed a sudden change of letters.

Our science and culture have now made great progress. We are going to put compulsory technical education into effect immediately. This will raise the universal-technical and cultural standards of our working people still further. However high these standards may rise, our letters should not be reformed before the country's reunification.

But this does not mean that research on this subject should be dropped. A plan for this work should be prepared and developed from now and perfected before reunification. When the reformed letters have been elaborated, it will be a good idea to teach them little by little at school. Preparations should thus be made so that when the people's technical and cultural standards rise higher and the country is reunified, our square letters now in use can be abolished and the new, reformed ones put into use immediately. It will not be so long before reunification. It is therefore necessary to make preparations now for letter reform.

While studying the letter reform plan, our linguists must strive to make even our present square letters easy to read. In fact, they are easier to read when placed vertically than when written horizontally. But good research could make them fairly easy to read, even when written this way.

To make our writing easy to read it is important to fix the spacing of words accurately. Too many spacings, as used now, make it difficult to read. Poor spacing will make even a good reader, not to mention a poor one, falter. Poorly spaced articles in newspapers, for example, are hard to read. Let me take the word *illyumunhwa* (human culture) for instance. If we write *illyu* and then *mun* with a space between them, followed by *hwa* on the next line, people will read them *illyu*, *mun*, *hwa*. This is a question. If a report is written in this manner, everyone will have difficulty reading it.

We should improve the spacing in future so that the reading power of people may be increased. As I have said more than once, in the

matter of word spacing we should proceed in the direction of closing up words to some extent. The word *sahoejuui-konsol* (building of socialism), for example, should be closed up. If we space them like *sahoejuui konsol*, reading efficiency will be low. Proper spacing is of great importance in enabling people to read our writings quickly and readily get their meanings. Therefore, it is necessary to correctly define the rules of spacing, teach them to the people properly and space words in publications correctly. Typists should also be efficiently taught how to space words. Otherwise, they will have their own method of typing and each will space words differently. If Chinese characters were used in typing together with our own letters, that would be another matter. But as this is not the case, words should be typed according to the rules and spaced properly so as to be easy to read.

On this subject, the new rules to be adopted seem somewhat better than the ones now in force. Indeed, the new rules may also have some defects. But, when putting them into effect, we should eliminate the defects and bring them to perfection.

It would do well to publish the draft “Rules for the Korean Language” prepared by our linguists. There are two opinions as to fixing the number of letters in the Korean alphabet—either 24 or 40. Before letter reform is introduced, I prefer 40, which is the number now in use.

In order to refine our language and develop it further, more linguists must be trained. In the curricula of the teachers training colleges and the universities of education more hours should be allocated to study of the Korean language and the students should be provided with opportunities to study it extensively. I once saw in the Kang Gon Military Academy that they were helping the cadets in their studies by putting up written material on the walls of the classrooms. In the colleges and universities mentioned above, too, it will be necessary to put written material on the Korean language up on the walls.

The Party expects much of you. You must creditably measure up to the Party’s expectations by making strenuous efforts to preserve our own vocabulary and improve our letters.

ON GUIDING THE WORK OF THE CHILDREN'S UNION PROPERLY

**Talk to Leading Workers of the League
of Socialist Working Youth to Mark the 20th Anniversary
of the Founding of the Korean Children's Union**

June 5, 1966

This joint national rally of organizations of the Korean Children's Union to mark the 20th anniversary of its founding has been arranged quite simply, yet is well-organized in keeping with child psychology. Magnificent and colourful, the display has been quite a success.

You did well to invite parents to attend. They, more than anybody, like to watch their children's performances.

Organized in true KCU fashion, the display has been efficiently run and very pleasant to watch. This greatly helps to cultivate a spirit of organization in the children. If they are trained to march well in such parades, they will grow up to be broad-shouldered and upright.

The review of the KCU was really a splendid sight. The participants did very well considering they had little time for training. Even soldiers need special training for one or two months before appearing on parade. Particularly striking were the column of standard bearers and the ranks of pupils following behind. What a splendid sight the KCU members presented as they marched past smartly, all of them neatly dressed!

The pupils of revolutionary schools seemed to show more enthusiasm than the others. All the pupils of the Mangyongdae

Revolutionary School are good at marching, but the girls among them seemed to stand out.

The small drum band made a fine showing, too. In future large numbers of small drums should be produced so that every school can be supplied with 30 or so, to enable pupils to have regular drum practice.

The art performances of KCU members are also of a high standard. The pupils from the Namsong Middle School in Sinuiju distinguished themselves; this school appears to have fine traditions of art circle activities. However, prominence should not be given to one school only just because it does particularly well. The honour should be shared by many schools. Schools in Haeju, South Hwanghae Province, engage in art circle activities to some extent. For this reason their performance is not bad. Schools in North Hwanghae and North Hamgyong Provinces, however, are lagging behind somewhat in this respect. Help should be given to such schools to improve their art circle activities.

In North Phyongan Province everybody goes in for calisthenics, and this also applies to Sakju County and Nyongbyon County. In Sakju County they do calisthenics not only in the schools but in the factories as well. This is a very good idea. Calisthenics make you tall with straight legs and develop your bodies symmetrically.

The dance on Vietnam presented by Hamhung is also good in its way. Apart from its artistic value, it is a nice production conducive to education in internationalism.

Pyongyang is not as good as North Phyongan Province. As for the chorus *We Are the Happiest*, the arrangement has spoilt the fine original by damaging its flavour. The tune should be sung as it is with slight adaptations in places.

The League of Socialist Working Youth should not expect new creations all the time. It would be advisable to let all provinces contribute one item to the programme of the general performance, even though some of them might have failed in the contest. It is a performance by children, so how can we judge only by its artistic

quality? We are the only audience, so the programme should include one item from each province from now on, even if it takes some two and a half hours. When it is shown to foreigners, you can choose the best pieces if the programme takes too long. It would be a good idea to show this performance to foreigners as well as to the citizens of Pyongyang.

Every school must have a teacher in charge of art circle activities. The state should give musical instruments to schools which distinguish themselves to encourage them to do still better.

The work of the KCU is very important. Effective work by the KCU can be of great help in the education of pupils. When this work goes well, children will not misbehave. It is true that a habit formed in childhood will persist long after. But the saying that the habit acquired at three will continue until eighty does not exactly apply to the present day, because education can break the bad habits of children.

In guiding the life of KCU members it is important to make them dress neatly, attend to their personal hygiene and maintain discipline.

The pupils have been given nice school uniforms, but many of them fail to dress themselves neatly and tidily. We often see pupils carrying their satchels in a slovenly way on their backs or playing mischievous pranks on the streets. This means that KCU discipline is still slack. Children should be taught to keep themselves clean and to observe discipline willingly. Pupils should look neat and tidy, and ought to go to school and return home in file.

In order to keep good discipline among the pupils it is necessary to criticise and to discuss matters seriously at gatherings of the KCU. There must also be a strict campaign about dressing neatly and attending to personal hygiene. It is said that each branch organization of the KCU has one or two pupils who fail to keep themselves tidy, but if they are criticised and given guidance through kind persuasion at meetings, all pupils will begin to take care of themselves well.

Compulsory secondary education is in force in our country now, so everyone is supposed to have completed a course at a secondary school or a higher school. But when we visit factories we find some workers

below the mark with regard to hygiene. This is largely due to the failure to accustom the workers from childhood to clean and sanitary habits.

The KCU should ensure that the children are not only neat and tidy in appearance but also good both at study and at physical culture and sports.

It is of great importance to develop the habit of reading from an early age. If children do not develop this habit in their secondary school days, they will not care about books when they grow up.

While being good scholars, KCU members should also be good at sports in order to build up their bodies. This is of prime importance. At present our children in general are short and rather weak. There are two reasons for this: one is that they are underdeveloped because most of them were born either during the war or in the difficult postwar years, and the other is that they are not interested in physical culture and sports.

Only when KCU members take plenty of physical exercise will they grow taller and physically stronger and fight well against the Yanks when they grow up in the future. Such sports as volleyball, basketball, exercises on the iron bar and wall bars help to increase height. All KCU members should go in for such sports.

They should be encouraged to go in for sports and athletics on a mass scale. However learned he is, a person who is physically weak is good for nothing. We should bring up all children to be knowledgeable and physically strong. These two conditions are essential for them.

Furthermore, pupils must learn to sing, play musical instruments and keep their homes and schools in good order. Study not only means reading but all these things, too.

And rabbits and chickens should be raised in a modest way at school. This is essential to make pupils well-acquainted with the habits of rabbits and fowls and to cultivate a love of labour in them.

Needless to say, this should be done regularly but in a small way so as not to be a burden to the pupils.

Although the schools should give pupils a good education and

physical training and get them accustomed to physical labour, they should not let the children go home too late. When children are late in coming home, it is bad in many ways. The Ministry of General Education should re-examine the education programme and remedy this kind of practice.

When I went to Changsong I learned that the pupils came to school early in the morning and went home late in the evening, so that they had supper some nine hours after lunch. This is not good. The interval between meals should not be longer than five or six hours.

When school is over, the children should be sent home at once. It is advisable not to organize too many activities at school but to send the pupils home as early as possible on ordinary weekdays, and to have them participate in organizational life mainly on Saturday. On Saturday the pupils should be made to attend to the organizational life of the KCU and also to conduct rehearsals at art circles after one or two lessons. On Sunday the pupils should be left to help their parents at home and, if they request it, they should be allowed to come to school to read books or to practise singing, and then be sent home early.

The work of the KCU depends largely on whether its instructors do their job well or not. Therefore, the activities of the KCU instructors are very important, indeed. If the instructor in charge of a branch organization of the KCU is clever all the work of his organization will go off well, and the same will be true of the work of a school organization of the KCU.

The work of the KCU instructor is very interesting and worthwhile for a youth. He ought to read a great deal and be capable of doing everything—singing, playing instruments, doing exercises on the iron bar, and so on. He should keep his school in good order and manage his home life well, too. He should be clean in appearance, always keep himself neat and tidy, and be a model in observing discipline as well.

Let me take the Yaksu Middle School as an example. When I first visited the school, there was only one university graduate among its teachers, and the school had no iron bars or musical instruments to speak of. So I gave instructions to establish a system for the head and

all the teachers to study and to get the school furnished with the necessary facilities for education. The next time I went there I saw both iron bars and musical instruments, but the pupils were strangers to them. So I criticised this strongly as formalism, and told the teachers that they should be the first to go in for sports and athletics and play musical instruments. After that, they say, the teachers trained in the moonlight after sending all the pupils home, until they became proficient enough to teach the children.

If the activities of the KCU are to prosper, the LSWY should pay close attention to training KCU instructors and work with them properly. But it is no use having the KCU instructors alone work well. They should rear the hard cores efficiently so that one person draws ten forward, ten—a hundred, a hundred—a thousand. In other words, the LSWY should educate the KCU instructors, the KCU instructors should educate the KCU branch organization instructors, and the branch organization instructors should work with the KCU hard cores skilfully so that all KCU members behave well.

We, too, have experience in youth work and the work of the Children's Corps. And it is most important that the KCU instructors work well and do good work with the hard cores.

It would be better not to appoint older people to the post of KCU instructor. Older people should be assigned to work in the leading bodies or to studies on the guidance of the KCU. The KCU instructors should be young, and they should be educated and trained properly.

The short course for KCU instructors should be arranged in exactly the same way as the life of KCU members to make them familiar with it at firsthand, and should give them training of various kinds. The school for KCU instructors should be well equipped so that they get sufficient training for two or three months before leaving it. The short course should teach the students in detail by means of demonstrations how to organize extracurricular activities at school, how to form circles and how to conduct work with the pupils. If the KCU instructors are taught by demonstration to do their work in keeping with child psychology, the work of the KCU will certainly proceed successfully.

The LSWY needs to set about and manage KCU work well. Now that education is compulsory, KCU work is easy.

While giving proper guidance in the work of the KCU, we should also do the work of officially commending excellent KCU members well. This year we have awarded Korean Children Honour Prizes to 43 boys and girls, but this appears to be too few. At least one should be commended from each county.

The ranks of primary school teachers need to be strengthened. They are too young at present. Primary school teachers and nurses are mostly girls, but primary school teachers should be mature. The question of their treatment should be re-examined and corrected. But there must be a distinction between skilled and unskilled workers. I think it would be a good idea to increase the pay of primary school teachers with long service. Those who are old hands at teaching could very well be treated on a par with assistant university tutors.

While watching the display today I felt once again that it is necessary to take good photographs of those scenes which are worthy of leaving behind as a historical record. This is essential for the proper education of generations to come.

The material concerning the activities of the children guerrillas put on show at the photographic exhibition on the occasion of the 20th birthday of the KCU is very good and important. Those who are appearing in the records are all good children. Investigation will produce more valuable material. These items should all be unearthed and photographed so that they can be printed in the papers for children and also used to supplement the material of this exhibition which is to be kept open for the purpose of educating children and young people. Photographs and screen versions of the present display should also be taken from various angles as a souvenir.

Because we failed to take photographs as mementoes in the past, we have few good ones. At present other countries, too, use drawings and paintings in information work for lack of photographs. Although some were taken previously, we did not then think of leaving them as historical records. We should naturally have had pictures taken during

the last war. But no one was concerned about organizing this kind of work.

In conclusion, I should like to make some remarks on the matter of changing the environs of the Students and Children's Palace and the Moranbong Stadium. The area in front of the Theatre Attached to the Students and Children's Palace and the parts comprising Somun-dong and Nammun-dong should be changed quickly. This area should be cleared of dwelling houses, and apartments should be built there before a Palace of Labour is erected. The Sungnyong Hall should be used by the Students and Children's Palace as its museum.

The stands at the Moranbong Stadium should be made higher by adding one more section of tiers so that the interior of the stadium cannot be seen from outside. At present the stands are so low that the interior is open to view from the slopes of Moran Hill. This is a defect.

Moreover, the stadium is not used properly. Football training should be carried out elsewhere, and the stadium be used only for matches. The Moranbong Stadium is used at present not only for matches but for training. People go up Moran Hill to watch them and this causes damage to trees and shrubs. The stadium must be better managed in future.

We have spent today very pleasantly as a holiday.

This year will witness 20th anniversary celebrations in many fields. The 20th anniversary of the Law on Sex Equality is also near. It is already more than 20 years since our country was liberated. Nevertheless, we have not yet been able to achieve the reunification of the country. If we had worked more efficiently we would already have achieved this. Let us all struggle more energetically so as to have the children in south Korea, too, participate in the 30th anniversary celebrations of the founding of the KCU.

ON IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL WORK TO REGULARIZE THE MANAGEMENT OF ENTERPRISES

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting to Commemorate
the 20th Anniversary of the Founding
of the University of National Economy**

June 30, 1966

Today I am going to make a few remarks on the question of improving educational work at the University of National Economy, for the better management of the national economy.

The important mission of the University of National Economy is the proper training of the executives who are to direct economic affairs in building socialism. Only when the university provides a good education and produces a large number of persons who are competent in economic management, can they successfully run the factories and enterprises in different sectors of the national economy and speed up the building of socialism.

The socialist economy, which is based on the public ownership of the means of production, is a collective economy and a planned economy. It is run according to a plan by the collective efforts and wisdom of managerial workers and the masses of producers. If we are to manage the socialist economy properly, we have to raise the level of ideological consciousness of managerial personnel and working people so that they can all work with a high degree of awareness and responsibility. In addition, we should establish strict discipline and

order in economic management to induce all officials and working people to work in an orderly manner in accordance with definite regulations. At present, the national economy is very large in scale and production is increasing at a high rate. This fact urgently requires us to place enterprise management on a regular basis.

Regularizing the operations of enterprises by further improving economic management is at present a matter of great importance in the building of a socialist economy in our country.

We have so far registered significant achievements in socialist economic construction, and have also made much progress in managing enterprises. But we are not yet managing the national economy as a whole very well, and there are many shortcomings in the management of enterprises. Some senior officials in charge of economic affairs do not manage enterprises scientifically in accordance with socialist economic laws and, as a result, machinery and equipment are not used effectively, and a great deal of material and manpower are wasted.

There are various reasons why our executives in the economic sector are inefficient in industrial management.

The first is that they had no experience in running factories in the past.

Most factory and enterprise managers and other senior executives in the industrial sector are of worker origin. In the past our workers were employed by the Japanese imperialists and capitalists and forced to do slave labour, subjected to maltreatment and humiliation. So they could not aspire to factory management. Even intellectuals who had the knowledge and technique, to say nothing of workers, merely served the Japanese imperialists, but none of them was allowed to take part in factory management.

Another reason for their low efficiency in industrial management is that they have had no effective practical training in this field.

Our officials who direct economic affairs did not receive systematic practical training in the management of enterprises. Even the graduates of the University of National Economy, quite apart from those who

have not been educated in this university, have had no effective practical training. In the past the university has given its students only a theoretical education by means of a textbook of industrial administration, but no practical training in the details of the management of factories and enterprises. The result is that although many graduates have been produced by this university, they run enterprises inefficiently.

It is true that these graduates have made a great contribution to socialist economic construction, and that the factories and enterprises in different sectors of the national economy are run by their efforts. But we cannot rest content with this. We must improve their qualifications drastically.

To this end, we must make further improvements in the educational work at the University of National Economy.

From now on, this university should intensify the training of the students to familiarize them with the methods of practical industrial management.

This training will enable the students to manage enterprises properly when they work in different economic sectors, in accordance with uniform regulations. The university should train a large number of young people to direct the economic sector, and also give refresher courses to the managers, chief engineers and deputy managers who are already working. In this way all management personnel will be trained to work as required by the regulations which are taught at the University of National Economy, and only then will industrial management be put on a regular basis.

To give a good education to put enterprise management on a regular basis is the most important duty of this university at present.

If it is to perform this duty properly, the university must have the necessary facilities. At present it has neither a textbook on management practice, nor regulations which can serve as a standard in enterprise management; nor has it established a model factory or a laboratory for practical training in this subject. If management workers are trained under such conditions, they will be unable to undertake the

management of enterprises on a proper basis.

You must first draft good regulations for the management of factories and other enterprises.

Without uniform management regulations it is impossible to run enterprises efficiently. It is easy to learn textbook theories on the economy by heart, but you will find it difficult to apply these theories in practice and manage the economy efficiently. Moreover, it is by no means easy to ensure that so many factories and enterprises all over the country are managed on a uniform basis. So there must be regulations which can serve as standards for the management of all enterprises.

At the moment, there is no uniformity in the management of equipment, material, manpower, and other activities of the factories and enterprises. That is why each of the university lecturers who inspected factories and enterprises tells the students different things on one and the same subject. If they teach in this way, the students will not be able to learn correct management methods, and educational work will not help towards the proper administration of enterprises.

To compile good teaching material is of great importance in creating educational facilities for regularizing the control of enterprises. In compiling this material, it is advisable that the principles which develop Party policies and economic theories, be included mainly in the administration textbook, and that matters concerning the running of enterprises be included in the management regulations. If they are correctly drafted, these regulations will serve as a good textbook for education to put the management of enterprises on a regular basis.

How should we draw up these regulations?

No one has ever written about this subject or provided an example. We have to compile new Juche-oriented and scientific regulations in accordance with our Party policy and based on our own practical experience in socialist construction in our country—regulations which will suit the intrinsic nature of the socialist system.

So that they can devise good management regulations, lecturers at this university will have to acquire practical experience as workteam

leaders, workshop managers and factory managers, working as their assistants at factories and enterprises for about six months. Lecturers have read books in their offices but they have no personal experience of the operations of a workteam leader, a workshop manager, or a factory manager, so they themselves are not familiar with such functions and are not proficient in carrying them out. Under the existing circumstances, the teachers are unable to draw up the management regulations and, even if they were able to do so, they could not do so properly. They should go to factories and enterprises to gain firsthand experience of the work done by officials there, collect information which can be used to define norms, discuss it widely, and then draft the regulations. This is the way to compile good regulations.

When they are being drawn up the opinions or the practical work of a few individual workers must not be regarded as the norm. You cannot say that their opinions are always correct and that their ways of doing things are perfect. So their opinions and practices should always be used only as a reference.

The enterprise management regulations must be written with the workteam, the workshop and the enterprise each being treated as a unit.

You should begin with the duties and functions of the workteam, and then those of the workshop, and finally those of the enterprise. You should also describe how to deal with people, how to control technical measures, materials and labour and other matters relating to different aspects of enterprise management.

The regulations ought to be all-embracing and precise in content.

We cannot make separate regulations for each sector of the national economy nor can we draft regulations for a given sector and then impose them upon all other sectors to be implemented to the letter. The management regulations should, therefore, be capable of being applied to the factories and enterprises in all sectors, and at the same time they should specify the procedure to be followed by officials in enterprise management. Industry consists of heavy and light industries, and heavy industry comprises the mining, metallurgical, mechanical engineering, chemical and other industries which all have different

characteristics. But there is no essential difference in the methods of controlling equipment, supplying materials and organizing manpower. So well-drafted regulations can be used in factories and other enterprises in all different sectors.

The regulations should not be bulky but concise and handy so that management workers can carry them with them and refer to them easily.

When the regulations have been drafted, they should be perfected through our own checkup and public discussion.

Another task is to develop a model factory for each sector of the national economy.

If we choose several factories, one for each economic sector, and develop them into model factories and ensure efficient management in accordance with the regulations, these examples can be copied throughout the country, and the University of National Economy will also be able to use them as its practical training centres to teach students efficient methods of enterprise management.

The university has suggested that it should establish laboratories for the study of each sector of the national economy; but the best thing you could do would be to prepare photographs, diagrams and models, but they could not be like real factories. Of course, laboratories would help your practical training, but they alone would not be enough to teach students the proper enterprise management operations. In spite of all the lectures, debates and practice they obtain by various methods at the university, the students would, after graduation, still be unable to work properly unless they had firsthand experience of working in factories in accordance with the management regulations. The best way, therefore, is to develop model factories efficiently and let the students undergo a great deal of practical training there.

Developing model factories and letting others follow their examples is a very effective method of training people. In the years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, to promote united-front action, we admitted to our guerrilla army some Chinese anti-Japanese units which mostly operated in the mountains. Initially they were indisciplined and

ill-mannered. Each cooked his own meals, and when camping they slept in groups of two to three persons of their own choosing. They did not bother to go to a latrine, letting it out wherever they pleased, nor did they wash their faces and hands properly. So how could we expect them to fight, and how could they look like soldiers? For the purpose of training them, we let one of our headquarters units take them along, setting an example for them. When we were to camp overnight, our guerrillas used to dig a well and build washing facilities and latrines after choosing the camping site. They washed their faces and hands every morning and always dressed themselves neatly. Seeing this, the Chinese mountain soldiers gradually realized that this was a good idea. Soon they abandoned their old habits, learned to cook together, to wash themselves and to live in an orderly manner. When they first came to us they did not know how to fight. When they saw Japanese soldiers, they used to shoot at them from a distance and then run away. A machine-gunner from a mountain unit came to me and requested permission to shoot at a distance of 700 to 800 meters from the enemy because his heart trembled when the enemy came closer so that he could not fire the gun. So I showed him the guerrillas shooting the enemy at close range. From then on he gradually grew braver and fought well. This was an explicit object lesson.

An object lesson is also most effective in the training of students. Showing them the real thing in a model factory is much better than explaining it a hundred times in a classroom.

I have already given the task of developing model factories to the officials in charge of the economic departments of the Party Central Committee and of the Cabinet. But they are not implementing the task properly. These officials and the lecturers of the University of National Economy should combine their efforts and develop model factories properly.

It would be a good idea to choose and develop several factories in and around Pyongyang, one from each of the mechanical engineering, metallurgical, light industry, coal mining and all other sectors—the Tae'an Electrical Machinery Plant from the mechanical engineering

sector, the Nampho Smeltery from the nonferrous metal industry, the Pyongyang Textile Mill from the textile industry, the Anju Coal Mine from the coal-mining industry.

It is important that we have a well-developed model factory in the machine industry. This industry is the core of heavy industry. It is the basis of development and technical progress for all sectors of the national economy. But our machine industry is young, and, therefore, the level of mechanical engineering is low and the managerial level of the officials in charge of this sector is not high. If we are to develop this industry rapidly under these conditions, we must develop a model factory in this sector and get all other machine factories to follow its example.

When the model factories have been established, the students should be given a great deal of practical training there.

The main failing of our economic affairs officials is that someone who understands theory lacks experience in the management of factories and someone who is experienced knows nothing about theory. They are not qualified both theoretically and practically, and this is their major weakness. So the University of National Economy must give the students practical training after teaching them economic theories and the management regulations. This is the way to produce competent managers of the economy who are qualified both theoretically and practically.

The managers' course of the university should give at least six months' practice at a model factory after approximately a year of lectures. Students of this course should go to the factory and remain there, getting to know the manager's daily duties during working hours from morning until evening. They should also practise planning production and their own work.

Managers have to know how to draw up monthly, quarterly and yearly plans correctly. Without a plan, the socialist economy will not be able to take even a single step forward. The proportionate and planned development of the economy in a socialist society is a law. Planning is a starting point for all work in managing enterprises and is

a fundamental question which decides enterprise management as a whole. But managers do not know how to plan properly. Some of them do not bother to go over the plans which have been carelessly drafted by their planning department chiefs at their desks. They just sign them and forward them to their ministries. The ministries, too, do not examine these plans in detail. They simply consolidate them and submit them to the State Planning Commission. Because they were carelessly compiled in this way, these plans cannot be carried out properly. Moreover, things which ought to be done are overlooked, while things which should not be done are done, so that the state often suffers a loss. Therefore, the University of National Economy should give proper training to the students of the managers' course on how to plan production correctly and how to examine these plans.

Furthermore, you have to establish good laboratories for the study of each sector of the national economy.

Well laid-out laboratories will facilitate the use of hanging boards, sand tables, models and other visual aids to give more effective training and to help the trainees to understand their lessons better.

The laboratories should have all the attributes of a means of visual instruction and should be suitably equipped for the purpose.

First of all, they should be set up in such a way as to help the students to familiarize themselves with management procedures.

The hanging boards, sand tables and models should be mobile, like the real thing, so that the students can repeat and master management procedures through mock operations in the laboratories. Only in this way will these facilities prove their value as visual aids and give real assistance to the students in their training. Laboratories will be useless if they are laid out like an exhibition hall.

The laboratories should also have facilities which compare the correct and incorrect management of enterprises.

They should be so arranged as to show graphically the importance of managing enterprises in accordance with the regulations as well as the results of such management, and also the consequences of violating the regulations. For example, the machine industry laboratory should

show how to take care of and clean machinery, what the oiling cycles are and what will happen to machinery if oiling is neglected. The heat management laboratory should show the principles by which heating equipment works, how to manage heat energy, what the benefits of careful management are and the evils of careless management. The electric power industry laboratory should show how much electricity can be saved by good administration of electric power, and how much is wasted by careless management.

Laboratories should keep a wide range of information and, in particular, a great deal of material about the positive and negative management of enterprises. This material should be referred to by teachers in their lectures and by students in their study.

Another task is to produce many scientific films.

If effective use is made of them it will enable the students to see our economic development while sitting in their film lecture theatres and add to their knowledge by showing facts clearly. We must therefore give proper consideration to the production and use of scientific films.

We must produce many films which can give an accurate picture of the development of our economy.

At present some officials and students do not even know for certain what factories our country has or how many there are. We should produce dozens of comprehensive scientific films about the mining, metallurgical, chemical and light industries and other sectors of the national economy to give our officials and students the true picture of our economic progress. These films should be made to broaden the students' knowledge and understanding of each sector of our national economy while showing what the different economic sectors are like.

Recently the Documentary Film Studio produced a motion picture dealing with the careful management of the nation's economic life. The film only showed the shortcomings. Films of this kind have no educational value. They should show both the shortcomings and also good examples of managing the economic life with the attitude befitting masters of the country.

Scientific films which deal with the methods of enterprise

management and production processes must conform to the systems and content of the subjects on practical operations and technical subjects. These films should show even those details which cannot be fully dealt with by teaching materials and laboratories. Well-produced films of this kind will be good training aids, and will supplement the subjects dealing with practical operations and technical subjects as well.

The University of National Economy should improve theoretical education as well as practical training.

It is impossible to train the students to be competent to direct the economy unless they are firmly equipped with the Party's policies and economic theories.

At present, some officials in charge of economic affairs often violate objective economic laws in their direction of economic affairs and in enterprise management and fail to perform their revolutionary tasks satisfactorily because they do not have a wide knowledge of economic theories.

Because they have an inadequate training in the laws of the socialist economy and the theory of planning, the workers in the planning sector show a number of shortcomings in their planning work. In particular, they are not correctly implementing our Party's revolutionary mass line and the policy of unified and detailed planning. Some planning workers even consider detailed planning to be impossible and do not make the effort to do it, still clinging to the old method and drawing up plans subjectively and carelessly.

The workers in the agricultural sector are also working out of subjective desire, not clearly understanding the objective economic laws. In recent years senior officials in the agricultural sector ordered farmers to grow soya beans as the main crop. But the farmers did not obey the order because soya beans have a low yield and are cheap. In the long run the farmers knew the law of value better than the officials. Because of their low yield, beans had never been grown as the main crop in our country with its limited area of arable land. Even in North Hamgyong Province, which was said to be good at bean cultivation,

people did not plant them as the main crop, but as an element of inter-cropping in most cases. So it was reasonable that the farmers did not obey the order to plant soya beans as the main crop. If they were going to encourage farmers to do so, they should have raised the per-unit yield of this crop by introducing an advanced method of cultivation or they should have raised its price.

The University of National Economy must further improve theoretical education so as to raise the standards of the officials in charge of economic leadership radically.

This university has a very large amount of work to do in the period ahead. So it must correctly define the order of priority in its work and concentrate its efforts on the main link in the whole chain. For the immediate period ahead, it must concentrate on drafting the regulations for the management of enterprises and on the preparation of other facilities needed to regularize the management of enterprises.

I believe that the entire teaching staff and the students of the University of National Economy will carry out the honourable tasks confronting the university with credit and so make fresh innovations in the training of our cadres.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY

Report to the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea

October 5, 1966

Comrades,

The Korean revolution is a link in the whole chain of world revolution and the revolutionary struggle of the Korean people is closely related to the struggle of the peoples of the whole world for peace and democracy, for national independence and socialism.

The international situation of our revolution is very complex today. The imperialists headed by US imperialism are trying more and more desperately to suppress the growing revolutionary movement of the peoples and are aggravating the international situation to the utmost. Many complicated problems have arisen within the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and there is no unity among the Communist and Workers' Parties. This inevitably creates certain obstacles to the development of the world revolutionary movement and affects the revolution and construction in our country.

We must correctly analyse, properly understand and rightly appraise the present situation and the state of affairs within the international communist movement. We must plan the Party's policies for internal and external activities in conformity with the prevailing situation, and implement them thoroughly. Moreover, we must fully arm all the Party members and the working people ideologically so that they will fight on resolutely for the victory of the revolution, rallied

firmly around the Party whatever the circumstances.

During this conference we will discuss all these questions fully so as to successfully accelerate the revolution and construction in our country and contribute to the advancement of the international communist movement and the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

1. ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Comrades,

In the international arena today, a fierce struggle is going on between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of revolution and the forces of counter-revolution. The socialist forces, the national-liberation movement, the working-class movement and the democratic movement continue to grow on a worldwide scale.

The fierce flames of the liberation struggle are raging particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism is meeting the strong resistance of the peoples and suffering the hardest blows in those areas. The people who have risen in the struggle are winning fresh victories in their revolutionary cause of smashing the old world of imperialism and colonialism and creating a new world.

The growth of the revolutionary forces of the world headed by socialism and the collapse of the colonial system have markedly weakened the forces of imperialism. The internal contradictions of imperialism have become more acute and the discord among the imperialist powers has been aggravated. The imperialists are suffering telling blows from within and without, being driven still deeper into a tight corner.

The revolutionary movement must inevitably experience some vicissitudes in the course of its development, but the general situation continues to develop in favour of socialism and the revolutionary forces and to the detriment of imperialism and the reactionary forces. The victory of socialism and the downfall of imperialism are the main trends of our times which no force can check.

But imperialism will not retire from the arena of history of its own will. The aggressive nature of imperialism cannot change and imperialism still remains a dangerous force. The imperialists are desperately trying to evade their doom through aggression and war.

The aggressive tactics of the imperialists led by US imperialism have become more open in recent years. The US imperialists are perpetrating acts of aggression against socialist countries and independent national states, brutally suppressing the national-liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and disturbing peace in all parts of the world.

Today, the US imperialists are directing the spearhead of aggression to Asia. Introducing more armed forces into South Vietnam in flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, they are carrying out scorched-earth operations to “burn all, kill all and destroy all”. They have already extended their bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the Hanoi and Haiphong areas. This shows that their policy of “escalating the war” in Vietnam has entered a new, dangerous phase. They are now running amuck to spread the flames of war to vast areas of Asia.

The US aggressors, occupying the southern half of our country, are making frantic war preparations; they also occupy Taiwan, a territory of the People’s Republic of China, and continue to commit ignitions against People’s China.

They have revived Japanese militarism in order to use it as the “shock brigade” of their Asian aggression. They have aligned the forces of Japanese militarism with the south Korean puppets and are scheming to rig up a “Northeast Asia military alliance” based on this alignment.

The basic strategy of the US imperialists in their Asian aggression is to blockade and attack the Asian socialist countries, stem the rapid growth of the revolutionary forces and prop up their colonial rule in Asia by concentrating more and more US military forces in this region and mobilizing the forces of Japanese militarism and their satellite countries and puppets. This machination on the part of the US aggressors seriously aggravates the situation in all parts of Asia and gravely endangers world peace in general.

The intensified aggressive acts of the imperialists led by the US imperialists are not signs of their power; on the contrary, they indicate that they are in a more difficult situation. The desperate moves made by the US imperialists in Asia, Africa and Latin America also prove that in these areas the forces of socialism are growing, the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement is going on fiercely and the imperialists' foothold is shaken to its very foundation.

No amount of manoeuvre on the part of the imperialists can check the growing liberation struggle of the peoples or halt the triumphant onward march of socialism. The imperialists will assuredly be thrown out of Asia, Africa and Latin America and will eventually be destroyed by the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. The ultimate triumph of socialism and the complete downfall of imperialism are inevitable. This is an inexorable law of historical development.

All events taking place in the international arena substantiate still more clearly that US imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, the international gendarme, the bulwark of modern colonialism and the most heinous enemy of the people of the whole world.

US imperialism is the No. 1 target in the struggle of the world people. It is the primary task of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties to enlist and concentrate the broad anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against US imperialism. Only by fighting resolutely against it can world peace be safeguarded and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples be crowned with victory.

At the present period the attitude towards US imperialism is a major yardstick by which to judge the position of the Communist and

Workers' Parties. Communists should always hold fast to the principled position of opposing imperialism and US imperialism above all. Particularly today when the US imperialists are expanding their aggression in Vietnam, all the socialist countries should take a still tougher and more relentless attitude towards them. We must never tolerate renunciation of principle and compromise with US imperialism in international affairs.

Socialist countries should not dissolve their anti-imperialist struggle into diplomatic relations with the imperialist states or weaken it, just because they maintain such relations. They must also adhere to the class principle in diplomacy and bring pressure to bear upon US imperialism, exposing and condemning its policy of aggression and war.

It is also wrong only to protest against US imperialism without taking concrete actions to stop its aggression. In particular, one should not put obstacles in the way of the anti-imperialist forces taking practical measures in unison to strike at the US imperialist aggressors. If such an act is committed, it will not only make it impossible to check this aggression, but it will also make the US imperialists more arrogant and violent and, eventually, will encourage their acts of aggression.

It is a principle of the foreign policy of the socialist countries to fight against the imperialist policy of aggression and war and for world peace and security. While fighting to prevent war, however, communists should never fear it, but should resolutely wipe out the aggressors in the event of an armed attack by the imperialists. Only by adhering to the principled stand of opposing imperialism and by fighting resolutely against it, is it possible to check imperialist aggression and defend peace.

Socialist countries should be especially alert to the fact that today the US imperialists, while refraining as far as they can from worsening their relations with big countries, are directing the spearhead of their aggression mainly to Vietnam and trying to swallow up one by one such divided or small countries as Korea, Cuba and East Germany. Attention should also be directed to the possible tactics of the US

imperialists to ease the situation temporarily, or maintain the status quo in Europe in order to concentrate their forces on aggression in Asia.

In this case, the easing of tension on one front does not contribute to improving the general international situation; on the contrary, it provides conditions for the imperialists to intensify aggression on the other front. It accordingly constitutes a greater threat to world peace and security.

In the present situation, the US imperialists should be set back and their forces should be dispersed to the maximum everywhere and on every front of the world—in Asia and Europe, Africa and Latin America and in all countries, big and small—and they should be tied hand and foot everywhere they set foot so that they cannot act recklessly. Only in this way can we succeed in defeating the US imperialists' strategy of destroying the international revolutionary forces, including the socialist countries, one by one, by concentrating their forces in a particular area or country.

Our Party and people will carry on an unflinching battle against the US-led imperialist forces of aggression and strive to unite with all forces opposing US imperialism.

To defend world peace, we must fight not only against US imperialism but also against its allies. Efforts should be intensified particularly against Japanese and West German militarism.

Japanese and West German militarism are being revived rapidly under the active patronage of US imperialism, and Japan and West Germany are once again becoming new hotbeds of war in Asia and Europe. Under these circumstances, the struggle against Japanese and West German militarism must not be neglected.

It is a good thing that the socialist countries are fighting against the militarism of West Germany. Our Party and people are opposed to the revival of West German militarism and its revanchist ambition, and strongly condemn the US imperialists for their criminal act of actively encouraging it. We support the struggle of the German people and the position of the German Democratic Republic against the rearmament of West German militarism.

We must be vigilant for the menace of Japanese militarism in Asia just as we are alert to the menace of West German militarism in Europe. Just as all the socialist countries struggle against US imperialism and its ally, West German militarism, in Europe, so in Asia they should, as a matter of course, fight against US imperialism and its ally, Japanese militarism.

Today Japanese militarism has appeared in Asia as a dangerous aggressive force. The Japanese militarist forces harbour an illusion of realizing their old dream of the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” with the backing of US imperialism. Japan’s Sato government, actively supported by US imperialism, has not only mapped out war plans to invade Korea and other Asian countries, but has already started stretching out its aggressive tentacles to south Korea

In fact, a tripartite military alliance has been formed among US imperialism, the Sato government of Japan and the south Korean puppet clique, through bilateral military agreements. The Sato government is an active accomplice of US imperialism in its aggression in Vietnam and is sending large quantities of war supplies including various kinds of weapons to South Vietnam in compliance with US orders. Japan serves the US imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam as a supply base, a repair station, and a launching point.

At the instigation of the US imperialists, the Sato government pursues a hostile policy towards our country and the other socialist countries in Asia. It is also intensifying its economic and cultural penetration in a number of Asian, African and Latin-American countries under the specious names of “aid”, “joint development” and “economic and technical cooperation”.

The struggle against Japanese militarism is a struggle to defend peace in Asia and the world and is an important part of the battle against US imperialism. All socialist countries should attach importance to the struggle against Japanese militarism and frustrate its aggressive designs by concerted action. In particular, they should absolutely expose and destroy the attempts of Japan’s Sato government

to disorganize the anti-imperialist front under the guise of a “friend” of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples.

It is true that there are certain contradictions between US imperialism and the Japanese ruling circles, and the socialist countries may take advantage of this fact in the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle, when they are aggravated in the future. But we must look at all aspects of US-Japanese relations. Despite their disagreements, US imperialism and Japanese imperialism are bound in an alliance based on a master-and-servant relationship for their common interests in Asian aggression and they are in league with each other politically, economically and militarily. We should not overestimate the contradictions between the United States and Japan and underestimate their alliance in master-and-servant relationship.

We should harbour no illusions about the Japanese ruling circles and should not expect any good from them. To ignore the threat of Japanese militarism and have close ties with the Sato government is, in fact, tantamount to encouraging the overseas expansion of the Japanese ruling circles and consolidating the position of US imperialism in Asia.

Socialist countries may develop economic relations with Japan, but should not bargain with its ruling circles on political matters. Relations with the Sato government should in all circumstances favour the interests of the Japanese people and of the anti-imperialist struggle in general.

Today the Japanese people are fighting against US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital in defence of the security of Japan and world peace. The struggle of the Japanese people constitutes a heavy blow to US imperialist aggression in Asia and to Japanese militarism and contributes to the cause of world peace.

The Korean people emphatically condemn the aggressive schemes of Japanese militarism. The rearmament of Japanese militarism and its aggression against south Korea should be stopped determinedly and the “ROK-Japan treaty” concluded under the manipulation of the US imperialists should be abrogated. Japan should free herself from US

imperialist domination and develop along the path of independence and democracy. The Korean people fully support and express militant solidarity with the Japanese people led by the Communist Party of Japan in their struggle for the complete independence and democratic progress of Japan.

US imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the struggle of the Vietnamese people against it are the focal point of the struggle between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution at the present moment.

US imperialist aggression in Vietnam is not only directed against the people of Vietnam; it is also an aggression against the socialist camp, a challenge to the national-liberation movement and a threat to peace in Asia and the world.

The Vietnamese people have risen as one in the sacred battle to smash US imperialist aggression with determination, to liberate the South, defend the North and reunify the country. They are constantly inflicting serious political and military defeats upon the aggressors, thereby driving US imperialism up against the wall. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has already liberated four-fifths of the territory and two-thirds of the total population, while the North Vietnamese people are successfully repelling the barbarous bombings of US imperialist air pirates. The heroic anti-US, national-salvation struggle of the people of North and South Vietnam affords an example to the people of the whole world who are fighting against imperialism for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, and inspires them immeasurably.

On behalf of this conference, I should like to extend the warmest militant greetings and congratulations to the fraternal people of North and South Vietnam who are achieving brilliant victories and accomplishing heroic feats in their just war of resistance against the US imperialist aggressors.

The Vietnamese people are not only valiantly fighting for the complete liberation and independence of their country, but are also shedding their blood in battle to defend the socialist camp and safeguard peace in Asia and the world.

The attitude one takes towards US imperialist aggression in Vietnam and towards the Vietnamese people's struggle against it, is a criterion showing whether or not one is resolutely opposed to imperialism, and whether or not one actively supports the liberation struggle of the peoples. The attitude towards the Vietnam question is a touchstone that distinguishes the revolutionary position from the opportunist position, proletarian internationalism from national egoism.

All socialist countries and peace-loving people should oppose US imperialist aggression in Vietnam and render every possible support to the people of that country in their righteous war of liberation. Since the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is suffering aggression by the US imperialists, the socialist countries should more resolutely confront and fight them, and support the people of Vietnam in every way. There should be absolutely no hesitation or inaction on this point.

All socialist countries should pool their strength and come to the aid of the fighting Vietnamese people and should foil the aggression of US imperialism against Vietnam by their joint efforts. At present, however, the countries of the socialist camp, because of their differences, are not keeping step with each other in opposing US imperialist aggression and assisting the Vietnamese people. This troubles the fighting people of Vietnam and grieves communists.

Fraternal parties should not merely engage in polemics over the Vietnam question at this time when the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is suffering from US imperialist aggression. It is the Workers' Party of Vietnam which can decide on the Vietnam question. No one has the last say on this question except the Workers' Party of Vietnam. As far as the Vietnam question is concerned, the fraternal parties should always follow the policy of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and support its stand. As regards the aid given by fraternal countries to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, too, only the Workers' Party of Vietnam can correctly judge this issue and fraternal parties should respect its decision.

Today's situation is different from that of yesterday, when the

Soviet Union was pioneering revolution single-handed. Because there were no other socialist countries in the world at that time, the Soviet Union had to obtain everything including arms, by itself. But today, with the existence of a powerful socialist camp, is there any reason why the Vietnamese people should not receive aid from the fraternal socialist countries in their difficult war against the common enemy? The socialist countries are in duty bound to offer aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people are entitled to receive it. If the aid of the socialist countries to the Vietnamese people is used effectively in the battle against the US imperialist aggressors, it will be a very good thing and will never be otherwise. In order to defeat the US imperialists in Vietnam, all fraternal countries should give more aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

We consider that this is the revolutionary stand of opposing US imperialist aggression in Vietnam indeed and the internationalist stand of sincerely helping the Vietnamese people.

This is not the time for the socialist countries to remain inactive, extending nothing but political support to the people of Vietnam. They should take more positive measures to assist the Vietnamese people. In the light of the situation where the US imperialists are extending aggression even to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by bringing in troops of their satellite countries and puppets, every socialist country must send volunteers to Vietnam to defend the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp and safeguard peace in Asia and the world. This is the internationalist duty of the socialist countries to the fraternal people of Vietnam. No one can possibly object if the socialist countries send volunteers to Vietnam.

If all the socialist countries help the Vietnamese people to smash its aggression against Vietnam, US imperialism will decline like the setting sun and the revolutionary movements in all countries of Asia and the rest of the world will make great headway.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people regard US imperialist aggression against Vietnam as one against themselves and they regard the struggle of the Vietnamese people as their own. Our

people will be more resolute in their battle against the common enemy, US imperialism, and will exert every possible effort to support the people of Vietnam. We are ready to send volunteers to join the Vietnamese brothers in their battle whenever the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam requests it.

The only just solution to the Vietnam question is the four-point position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement made by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic fully support this just position of the Vietnamese people.

The US imperialists are now carrying out the fraudulent farce of "peace talks" in an attempt to cover up another plot to escalate the war. No amount of deceptive artifice, however, can conceal US imperialism's squalid aggressive nature. We strongly condemn the US imperialists' conspiracy to extend the war of aggression in Vietnam, and denounce their spurious "peace talks".

The US imperialists must immediately stop all acts of aggression against the people of Vietnam and must get out of South Vietnam without delay, taking their aggressive army, the troops of their satellites and puppets and all their murderous weapons with them. If they continue to act recklessly in disregard of the repeated warnings of the Vietnamese people and the socialist countries and the strong condemnation of the people of the world, they will suffer a still more ignominious defeat. Ultimate victory is on the side of the Vietnamese people who have risen in a righteous cause, and the US imperialist aggressors will face inevitable destruction.

One of the important international questions today is to defend the Cuban revolution. The triumph of the Cuban revolution is the first victory of socialist revolution under the very nose of the United States; it is a continuation of the Great October Revolution in Latin America. It is a historic event that extended the socialist camp to the Western Hemisphere and marked a turning point for the revolutionary movements of Latin America. The Republic of Cuba has become a

revolutionary base in Latin America.

Today, the Cuban people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, are marching firmly ahead in the front line of the anti-imperialist struggle, holding aloft the banner of revolution. The Cuban people are protecting their revolutionary gains and building socialism under difficult conditions, valiantly repulsing the incessant acts of aggression and ignition perpetrated by the US imperialists.

It is a sacred internationalist duty for the countries of the socialist camp and the Latin-American peoples to defend the Cuban revolution. The socialist countries should give wholehearted support to the fraternal Cuban people in their revolutionary cause, safeguard the Cuban revolution and give positive assistance to the socialist construction of Cuba. Communists who consider the interests of the revolution to be the supreme law can never act otherwise in relation to Cuba.

It is quite natural for Cuba to receive aid from the socialist countries, and the fraternal parties and countries should be glad of it. This is demanded by the interests of the Cuban revolution and of revolution in Latin America. We should fully understand the Cuban situation and the position of its Communist Party.

The Communist Party of Cuba knows the Cuban question better than anyone else, and only the Communist Party of Cuba can map out correct policies to suit the situation in Cuba. All socialist countries are in duty bound to respect the policies of the Communist Party of Cuba and support the struggle of the Cuban people. No attempt should be made to bring pressure to bear upon the Communist Party and people of Cuba and split the revolutionary forces of Latin America.

The Workers' Party of Korea has given, and is giving, its full support to the just stand of the Communist Party of Cuba which, under the banner of revolution, is correctly leading the revolution and construction in its country and striving for the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement. Our Party and people resolutely condemn the aggressive moves of the US imperialists against Cuba and firmly support the heroic struggle of the

Cuban people to defend their revolutionary gains and build socialism. We will make every effort in the future, too, to cement our friendship and solidarity with the Communist Party and people of Cuba.

Tremendous revolutionary changes are taking place in the life of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples today. The national-liberation movement of these peoples, along with the revolutionary struggle of the international working class for socialism, is a great revolutionary force of our times and a powerful factor for world peace.

Amidst the unprecedented upsurge of the national-liberation movement, many countries have attained national independence and embarked upon the building of a new life. The peoples in those countries which are still under colonialist oppression are fighting more strenuously for freedom and liberation.

But the imperialists will not leave their colonies without a struggle; they are scheming in every possible way to seize and dominate even one more inch of land. The imperialists suppress the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and carry out subversive activities to wrest newly independent countries away from the anti-imperialist front one by one. While openly resorting to brute force, they attempt to infiltrate into the newly independent countries with "aid" as bait, to meddle in the internal affairs of those countries and unsettle them from within.

In recent years, the US imperialists have intensified their subversive activities and attempts to promote coups d'état against the newly independent states even more. By bribing and whipping up the reactionaries, the US imperialists seek to pit them against the progressive forces and sway certain newly independent countries to the Right. They intrigue in this fashion so as to make those countries suppress their revolutionary forces internally and oppose the socialist countries and disorganize the anti-imperialist forces externally.

Recent developments provide a serious lesson for all communists. They show that the more the revolutionary forces, including the Communist Parties, grow, the more desperately foreign imperialism

and domestic reactionary forces manoeuvre to stifle them. Communists should keep the sharpest vigilance over this and always be ready to counter possible savage repression by the enemy, organizationally and ideologically, strategically and tactically. Revolution is complex and requires a scientific art of leadership. A revolution can emerge victorious only when the line of struggle is scientifically and meticulously laid down and the most appropriate time is chosen to unfold a decisive fight, on the basis of a correct judgment of the revolutionary situation and an exact calculation of the balance of forces between the enemy and oneself. We should engrave on our memories such experiences and lessons of the international revolutionary movement and make good use of them in our own revolutionary struggle.

Much still remains to be done to abolish the imperialist colonial system in Asia, Africa and Latin America and achieve the complete liberation and independence of the peoples. The road of national liberation is a road of arduous struggle. In its course one will encounter the desperate resistance of the imperialists and reactionaries and undergo many hardships and trials.

The attainment of political independence is no more than the initial step towards the ultimate victory of the national-liberation revolution. Peoples who have won independence are confronted with the task of fighting the subversive activities of foreign imperialists and domestic forces of reaction and carrying the cause of national liberation to final completion. For this purpose, the machine of imperialist colonial rule should be destroyed; imperialism and domestic reaction should be deprived of their economic footholds; the revolutionary forces should be strengthened; a progressive socio-political system should be established; and an independent national economy and national culture should be built. Only in this way can the peoples of the newly independent countries eliminate the centuries-old backwardness and poverty left by colonial rule and construct rich and strong, independent and sovereign states.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic

emphatically support the peoples of all newly independent countries in their struggle to consolidate national independence and achieve national prosperity. We shall continue to strive for the promotion of our relations of friendship and cooperation with the newly independent nations.

Our Party and Government consider it an important principle of foreign policy to support the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples against imperialism, for freedom and liberation. The Korean people vehemently condemn the aggressive manoeuvres of the US imperialists against the Laotian people and fully support their struggle for national independence. Our people support the righteous struggle of the Cambodian people against the aggression and intervention of US imperialism and its stooges, for independence, neutrality and territorial integrity. We support the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples in their liberation struggles, and express militant solidarity with them.

We also support the working classes and the toiling masses of the capitalist countries in their revolutionary struggle against exploitation and oppression by capital and for democratic rights and socialism and express firm solidarity with them. Our Party and people will always stand firmly on the side of the peoples battling for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism and will strive to strengthen our solidarity with them.

Comrades, the socialist camp and the international communist movement have been experiencing bitter trials in recent years. Modern revisionism and dogmatism have raised serious obstacles to the development of the international revolutionary movement.

We can achieve the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement and successfully combat imperialism by overcoming Right and “Left” opportunism and defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism has developed and attained its victory in the course of the struggle against Right and “Left” opportunism. As the experience of history shows, various deviations from

Marxism-Leninism emerge in the course of revolution. This is not so surprising. It is fairly inevitable that as long as imperialism exists and the class struggle goes on, Right and “Left” opportunism will appear within the working-class movement as its reflection and a struggle will be waged against them.

Right and “Left” opportunism are bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas appearing in the working-class movement. They distort the revolutionary quintessence of Marxism-Leninism from both extremes and harm the revolution. We must fight against Right and “Left” opportunism on two fronts.

Modern revisionism revises Marxism-Leninism and emasculates its revolutionary quintessence on the pretext of “changed situation” and “creative development”. It rejects the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat; it preaches class collaboration and gives up fighting imperialism. Moreover, modern revisionism spreads illusions about imperialism and in every way obstructs the revolutionary struggle of the peoples for social and national liberation.

It is true that modern revisionism has already suffered a severe blow by the principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and is on the decline. However, this does not mean that it has been destroyed completely. It still remains a great danger to the international communist movement. It finds expression above all in a weak-kneed attitude towards imperialism and a passive approach to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. For this reason, we cannot neglect the struggle against modern revisionism.

We must fight “Left” opportunism as well as modern revisionism. “Left” opportunists fail to take into account changed conditions and dogmatically recite isolated propositions of Marxism-Leninism; they lead people to extremist action under super-revolutionary slogans. They also divorce the Party from the masses, split the revolutionary forces and prevent a concentrated attack on the principal enemy.

When “Left” opportunism is allowed to grow, it may also become as big a danger as modern revisionism to a particular party and to the international communist movement. Without fighting “Left”

opportunism, it is impossible to unite the anti-imperialist forces to wage a successful struggle against imperialism, nor is it possible to combat modern revisionism successfully.

Thus, both modern revisionism and “Left” opportunism create tremendous obstacles to the advancement of the international revolutionary movement. It is wrong to ignore the danger represented by “Left” opportunism under the pretence of opposing modern revisionism, and it is likewise wrong to ignore the danger implicit in modern revisionism for reasons of opposing “Left” opportunism. Unless Right and “Left” opportunism are overcome, it is impossible to lead the revolution and construction correctly in each country, neither is it possible to advance the international revolutionary movement dynamically.

The struggle against Right and “Left” opportunism is closely linked with the battle for the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement. Our Party will fight against Right and “Left” opportunism and, at the same time, uphold the banner of solidarity. We should not commit the “Leftist” error of rejecting solidarity on the plea of fighting opportunism, nor should we commit the Rightist error of giving up the struggle against opportunism on the grounds that we are defending solidarity. Our Party will do all it can to protect the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement, while carrying on an uncompromising struggle against Right and “Left” opportunism.

The socialist camp and the international communist movement are the determining factors in the development of the history of mankind at present. They are the most powerful revolutionary forces of our times which are confronting imperialism and all the forces of reaction. The existence of a united and powerful socialist camp and international communist movement checks the imperialist policy of aggression and war and inspires the revolutionary struggle of peoples the world over.

The imperialists are afraid of the socialist camp and the

international communist movement more than anything else. It is for this reason that they have incessantly perpetrated and are perpetrating armed aggression and subversive activities against the socialist countries. They are now attempting to devour the socialist countries one by one.

Under these circumstances, the most important thing is to defend the socialist camp jointly from imperialist aggression; for this, the socialist camp must stand firmly united as one. However, because of its internal differences, it is not now advancing as a solid block, as a united force. This has a negative influence on the development of the world revolutionary movement and the international situation.

It is the sacred duty of every communist to fight in defence of the socialist camp and its unity. Communists must not tolerate any act which weakens the unity of the socialist camp. Renegades of the revolution must not be drawn into the socialist camp, nor must this or that country be artificially excluded from it. Both positions will undermine it. We cannot allow anyone to destroy it when it was built with the blood of the working classes of the whole world. This is a matter of principle which concerns the destiny of the socialist camp and the future of the international revolutionary movement.

We cannot replace the socialist camp with any community of a different character.

On the other hand, we should oppose the attempt to deny the existence of the socialist camp or to split it and the international communist movement. The division of this camp and this movement and of each party into two cannot be a normal, and still less a desirable, thing. We must seek unity through struggle.

It is deeply to be regretted by communists throughout the whole world that the differences between the fraternal parties have gone so far beyond ideological and theoretical bounds today that they can hardly be settled. But, however serious they may be, the differences between fraternal parties are an internal affair of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Differences among the parties must not be allowed to develop into an organizational split, but must

on all accounts be settled by means of ideological struggle guided by a desire for unity.

No socialist country must be excluded from the socialist camp and the international communist movement. No one should make an exaggerated or distorted appraisal of a fraternal country or party, and consider any of the 13 socialist countries as being outside the socialist camp or the international communist movement. We are of the opinion that utmost prudence should be used in appraising the leadership of a fraternal country or fraternal party.

The relationship between fraternal parties should in no way be identified with the hostile relations we have with imperialism. Even when the leadership of a fraternal party commits an error, communists should offer comradely criticism and help it to return to the right path.

Meanwhile, one should not draw hasty conclusions concerning the character of a fraternal country's society from isolated phenomena that are revealed in one aspect or other of its social life. The character of a given society is determined by the class which holds power, and by the form of ownership of the means of production.

We should see the difference between the socialist and the capitalist countries in the right light. There are fundamental contradictions between the socialist and the capitalist countries which originate from the nature of their social systems. These contradictions exist objectively, independent of anyone's subjective intentions. A given measure taken by the leaders may sharpen or alleviate contradictions between the socialist and the capitalist countries, but as long as the social systems are opposed to each other, these fundamental contradictions between socialism and capitalism cannot disappear.

It is not right to class a fraternal country with the enemy or push it towards the imperialists' side even if it has some negative aspects. Communists can never allow themselves to be carried away by prejudices or subjectivity in their attitude towards fraternal parties and countries.

Our Party considers it necessary to refrain from passing hasty judgements on fraternal parties or fraternal countries in spite of

differences and to take time to examine them in the course of struggle. Meanwhile, it is possible to promote unity with them on condition that they oppose imperialism, support the national-liberation movement and do not interfere in the internal affairs of fraternal parties and countries. We must adopt a positive attitude of criticizing their negative aspects and helping them to rectify them, while appreciating and supporting their positive aspects.

Our Party, with the interests of the international communist movement at heart, believes it beneficial for all socialist countries to continue to advance together in the revolutionary ranks. This will increase the might of the socialist camp and make it possible to strike more forcefully at imperialism.

The socialist camp is in a difficult situation today because of its differences, but its existence is a hard fact of reality. No one can liquidate the socialist camp at will. Even if anyone brought a non-socialist country into the socialist camp, it would not thereby become a socialist country. On the other hand, if anyone artificially excluded a socialist country from the socialist camp it would not cease to be a socialist country.

The socialist camp is an integral whole which is united on a common political and economic basis and knitted together by the same goal of building socialism and communism. The socialist countries make up the socialist camp, all as equal members. If this camp grew by even one more country, it would be a welcome event and would not be a bad development. The final victory of the world revolution will be achieved through the victory of revolution in each country and the expansion of the socialist camp.

Our Party always defends the socialist camp as a whole and is opposed to all attempts to split it. Our Party will continue to unite with all the fraternal parties and countries, while combatting Right and “Left” opportunism. We will go on fighting resolutely to defend the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the revolutionary principles of the

Declaration and Statement of the meetings of representatives of the fraternal parties.

The US imperialists are now taking advantage of the disunity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement to further intensify aggression and plunder everywhere in the world. In particular, they are extending their aggressive war against the Vietnamese people by mobilizing huge armed forces.

It is true that the peace-loving people of all the continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and so on, are now waging extensive campaigns to oppose US imperialist aggression and support the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. But communists cannot rest content with this. We must make sure that the struggle for aiding the Vietnamese people against the aggressive war of US imperialism is organized still further on a worldwide scale, so as to carry it to greater heights. Just as the US imperialists are escalating the war of aggression in Vietnam, so the people of the world should escalate their struggle to oppose US imperialism and aid the Vietnamese people.

Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to achieve joint anti-imperialist action and form an anti-imperialist united front on an international scale.

The achievement of joint anti-imperialist action and an anti-imperialist united front is the most urgent question of principle in the international communist movement today. It is related to the fundamental problems of whether or not the US imperialist policy of aggression and war can be checked, whether or not the socialist camp can be defended, whether or not the national-liberation movement can be stepped up and whether or not world peace and security can be safeguarded.

The attainment of joint anti-imperialist action and an anti-imperialist united front will make it possible to wage a more vigorous campaign to aid the Vietnamese people, frustrate the US imperialist policy of aggression and war and safeguard Asian and world peace. It can also provide conditions for gradually settling the differences between the fraternal parties and restoring the unity of the

socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement, and will make it possible to accelerate the revolutionary movement in all countries more assertively. Joint anti-imperialist action is, therefore, absolutely essential for the good of both the cause of peace and the cause of revolution.

As soon as US imperialism started armed aggression against Vietnam, our Party advocated waging a joint anti-imperialist struggle to make a collective counterattack on the aggressors. A number of other fraternal parties proposed to do the same.

But the joint anti-imperialist struggle has failed to materialize because of the differences within the international communist movement. We consider that the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties must settle this situation and pool their strength in opposing US imperialism and aiding the people of Vietnam in their struggle.

All socialist countries have condemned the US imperialist aggression of Vietnam, and, on a number of occasions, expressed the positions of their parties and states to support the fighting Vietnamese brothers. And they are all giving economic and military aid to the people of Vietnam. The Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries, too, are active in their struggle against the US imperialist war of aggression in support of the Vietnamese people.

We consider, therefore, that despite differences over a number of questions, there is an initial basis for taking joint anti-imperialist action, above all to counter US imperialist aggression in Vietnam and to aid the people of Vietnam. We should not ignore this and should work actively to form an anti-imperialist united front.

Refusal to take joint action against imperialism is not an honest attitude of opposing revisionism and defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, or of contributing to the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement. Nor can it be regarded as a stand of opposing US imperialism and aiding the fighting people of Vietnam.

The basic strategy of the world revolution today is to direct its main

spearhead against US imperialism. We must clearly distinguish a friend who has made an error from a foe. The foe should be attacked, but a friend who has made a mistake should be criticised and led back to the right path. We should in this way join efforts with all our friends and fight the principal enemy.

In the struggle against US imperialism we must strive to take joint action with the Communist and Workers' Parties and democratic social organizations of all countries and the international democratic organizations. Although these organizations may not have the same opinion on different questions, and although their positions may differ from each other and their composition may also be complex, they still have the vast masses under them. In order to enlist still larger masses in the anti-imperialist struggle, communists must not reject joint action with these organizations.

Communists should be aware not only of differences but also of common viewpoints; they should always look at matters from all angles, and refrain from going to extremes. If we fail to take joint action with the Communist and Workers' Parties and democratic social organizations of all countries and the international democratic organizations, the vast masses united under them will drop out of the anti-imperialist front. Without the masses there can be no revolution. Through joint action with these organizations, we can reach their masses, exert revolutionary influence on and mobilize them to take part in the anti-imperialist struggle. Refusing to take joint anti-imperialist action means divorcing oneself from the masses, becoming isolated and, in fact, it will only bring about serious consequences which will undermine the anti-imperialist struggle.

Communists should under no circumstances be narrow-minded. We must rally all anti-imperialist forces and combat imperialism with united efforts. It is a basic principle of the communist strategy and tactics today to win over more allies, even if they are not a consistent and steadfast force, so as to broaden the anti-imperialist front, isolate US imperialism as much as possible and smite it collectively.

The history of the international communist movement knows

many instances of the communists taking joint action with the Right-wing Social-Democrats in the struggle against imperialist wars. The united front policy pursued by communists in the past played an important role in mobilizing the people to the struggle against imperialist wars.

In the historical conditions of today, when the world socialist forces have grown stronger, there are greater possibilities for carrying out joint anti-imperialist action on an international scale. Drawing on the historical experience of the international communist movement, we must exploit even the slightest possibility of waging a powerful joint anti-imperialist struggle.

It has become an international trend of today to condemn the aggressive war of US imperialism in Vietnam and to support the Vietnamese people. Even those who turned to revisionism have found it impossible, in the face of world public opinion, to refuse support to the Vietnamese people. This is a good thing and can never be a bad thing.

Of course, there can be different categories of people among those who oppose US imperialism and support the Vietnamese people. Some, repenting of their past mistakes, may condemn US imperialist aggression and support the Vietnamese people now in order to make up for those mistakes. Others may reluctantly join the anti-imperialist struggle, under pressure from the people of their own country and the peoples throughout the world, although their fundamental position remains unchanged.

But, whatever their motives, it is necessary to enlist all these forces in the joint anti-imperialist struggle. If somebody wants to rectify his past mistakes, at least on the Vietnam question, that is undoubtedly a good thing, a welcome thing. And even if someone reluctantly opposes US imperialism and supports the Vietnamese people, under pressure from the people, that will also be favourable and not inimical to the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is our belief that the more forces are drawn into the joint anti-imperialist struggle, the better it will be. It is necessary to induce

those who shun the anti-imperialist struggle to participate in it and to encourage passive people to become active in the battle.

Also, the joint struggle against US imperialism will draw a more distinct line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. It will be clarified through actual struggle whether one's opposition to US imperialism and one's support of the Vietnamese people is real or counterfeit. Actions are the criterion for telling right from wrong. Opportunism can also be rooted out in the actual revolutionary struggle as well as in the ideological struggle.

In carrying out joint action, communists must always adhere to the principle of uniting while struggling and of struggling while uniting. The joint action we advocate does not mean unconditional unity or unprincipled compromise. What we mean is to take concerted action and combine efforts with the anti-imperialist forces in opposing US imperialism and supporting the Vietnamese people, while abiding by Marxist-Leninist principles. In this way, we should, in the course of the joint struggle, criticise and get rid of the opportunist elements, supporting and encouraging the anti-imperialist aspects.

We consider that joint anti-imperialist action in no way conflicts with the struggle against revisionism. It is, rather, a positive form of struggle against opportunism of all shades. To achieve joint anti-imperialist action and an anti-imperialist united front is a correct policy which makes it possible not only to carry on a successful struggle against imperialism but to bring about the revolutionary awakening of the masses of the people, oppose all kinds of opportunism, and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

It is an urgent task for the communists of the whole world today to adopt and carry out concrete measures for joint action against US imperialism in support of the Vietnamese people.

We deem it necessary for the socialist countries, first of all, to send international volunteers to assist the fighting people of Vietnam. This will be the first step towards the accomplishment of joint anti-imperialist action. Sending international volunteers to Vietnam will be a powerful blow to the US imperialist aggressors and make

them desist from their reckless escalation of the war of aggression in Vietnam.

We should work hard to make sure that the international democratic organizations also take joint anti-imperialist action in their activities. The keynote of these organizations' activities should be to oppose US imperialism and give support to the fighting peoples. Thus, the democratic social organizations in all countries should be made to attain joint anti-imperialist action through the medium of the international democratic organizations, and all the international democratic organizations should join forces and take action together to oppose US imperialism and support the peoples of the fighting countries. Joint anti-imperialist action achieved in this way in the activities of the international democratic organizations will manifest great power.

These measures, however, cannot in themselves fully solve the question of bringing about joint anti-imperialist action and an anti-imperialist united front. The most important thing is to create conditions among the fraternal parties for achieving joint anti-imperialist action. The Communist and Workers' Parties should, first of all, wage a resolute struggle against imperialism and give active support to the revolutionary movements of the peoples, each from its own position. In this process, we should gradually narrow the differences and create an atmosphere conducive to mutual contacts. And when favourable conditions have been created, the fraternal parties can hold a consultative meeting to discuss the question of joint anti-imperialist action in a concrete way.

To work actively in this way to achieve joint anti-imperialist action and an anti-imperialist united front on an international scale, overcoming all difficulties, is, we believe, the way for all fraternal parties to be true to Marxist-Leninist principles and discharge their internationalist duties at the present time.

It is a matter of importance in the international communist movement that the Communist and Workers' Parties maintain their independence. Only when independence is ensured can each party

successfully carry on the revolution in its own country and contribute to the world revolution, and the cohesion of the international communist movement can also be strengthened.

Independence is each party's sacred right which no one is allowed to violate, and each party is in duty bound to respect the independence of other fraternal parties. Respect for independence is a prerequisite and is basic to the unity and cooperation of the fraternal parties. A truly voluntary, solid and comradely unity and cooperation among the fraternal parties is possible only if they all respect each other's independence.

Mutual relations of the fraternal parties should be based on the principles of complete equality, independence, mutual respect, noninterference in each other's internal affairs and comradely cooperation. This norm was defined at the 1957 and 1960 meetings of representatives of the parties of all countries on the basis of the historical experience of the international communist movement, and its correctness has already been confirmed in practice. All Communist and Workers' Parties without exception must strictly observe and faithfully live up to this norm. If it should ever be violated, complicated problems would arise between the fraternal parties, the unity of the international communist movement would be undermined and many difficulties would arise in the path of progress.

In recent years there have been incessant violations of the norm governing the mutual relations of the fraternal parties in the international communist movement. This has given rise to sophisticated problems in this movement and created serious obstacles to the unity of the fraternal parties.

All parties must respect other parties on an equal footing and strive to maintain comradely relations with each other. Among the Communist and Workers' Parties, there can be neither senior nor junior parties, nor a party that leads, nor a party that is led. No party is entitled to a privileged position in the international communist movement.

In the international communist movement there is no international

organization which exercises unified leadership over the activities of the parties of all countries. Times have changed, and the days are gone when the communist movement needed an international centre. Ever since the dissolution of the Third International there has been no “centre” or “hub” in the international communist movement. It is therefore impossible for a “hub” of the revolution to shift from one country to another. It is also impossible for any country to become the “hub of the world revolution” or for any party to become the “leading party” in the international communist movement.

The revolution in each country is being carried out by the efforts of its own people under the leadership of its own party, and on no account by any international “centre” or by the party of another country. Communists accept no “hub” or “centre” whatsoever in the international communist movement, because that would mean giving one party a privileged position. Then that party would occupy a higher position and would be able to give instructions and orders to other parties, which would be compelled to obey and bow down to it. Should such a relationship be allowed to exist among the fraternal parties, it would deprive each party of its independence and even prevent it from carrying on the revolution and construction independently in its own country. This kind of relationship can never be tolerated in the international communist movement.

The Communist and Workers’ Parties, all as equal members of the international communist movement, are contributing jointly to the development of the international revolutionary movement and Marxism-Leninism.

If they are to play the role of the vanguard detachment in the revolution, the Communist and Workers’ Parties must be guided only by Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the most scientific and revolutionary theory tested in practice and the acme of all the progressive ideologies of mankind. It sets out general laws which must be strictly observed in the revolution and construction in all countries.

Each party, applying Marxism-Leninism creatively to the

conditions in its own country, should work out and carry into practice its own guiding theory for revolution and construction. It cannot lead revolution and construction by using the guiding theory of another party.

Each party's guiding theory is valid only within the boundaries of its country. Since prevailing conditions differ from country to country, the guiding theory of the party in a particular country, however excellent, cannot be applied to another country. It is therefore impossible to hold up the guiding theory of the party of one country as being valid for communists of all lands; it must not be imposed upon other parties.

For the Korean communists the only guiding principle is Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of our Party worked out through its creative application to the realities of our country. For us there can be no other guiding ideology.

Communists must under no circumstances be presumptuous or impose their views upon other parties. It is impermissible among the Communist and Workers' Parties for one party to exert pressure on the parties of other countries or interfere in their internal affairs just because they do not obey its will. In the international communist movement today, however, some parties still impose their views and policies upon other parties, bringing pressure to bear upon them and interfering in their internal affairs because they do not accept their views and policies.

The interference of certain fraternal parties in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Japan is one such example. Even if differences exist, a fraternal party should not back up the anti-party factionalists within another party, sow confusion in it and split the democratic movement of another's country. Outside interference has brought great difficulties to the activities of the Communist Party of Japan. Despite all these difficulties, however, it consistently opposes interference in its internal affairs and upholds its independence, and is unwaveringly leading the revolutionary struggle of the Japanese people.

Our Party has also had the bitter experience of interference by great-power chauvinists in its internal affairs. Needless to say, they met with the rejection they deserved. At that time, we, in the interests of the revolution and out of the desire to preserve unity, settled the issue between ourselves, even though it was hard for us to bear. In the future, too, we should oppose all types of interference in our internal affairs and guard against great-power chauvinism.

In the international communist movement there is no party which has a monopoly of the right to draw its own independent conclusions on matters of principle. No party should form arbitrary conclusions on important international issues and force other parties to accept them. Communist and Workers' Parties should discuss matters of common concern and act in accordance with mutually-agreed conclusions. Only then can unity of purpose and action be guaranteed.

Each party should be careful not to fall into subjectivism in dealing with important international issues or in relation to the fraternal parties. Communists must not appraise fraternal parties hastily or harbour prejudices against them because they do not obey them or hold different views. No party must regard fraternal parties as going against Marxism-Leninism just because their positions are different from its own. Moreover, there should be no practice of imperiously attaching various labels to fraternal parties which maintain an independent position.

Certain people now attach the labels of "centrism", "eclecticism", "opportunism", and the like to our Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties. They allege that we are taking the "road of unprincipled compromise" and "straddling two chairs". This is nonsense. We have our own chair. Why should we throw away our own chair and sit down uncomfortably, straddling two chairs belonging to others? We will always sit on our steady Marxist-Leninist chair. Those who accuse us of straddling two chairs when we are sitting on our sturdy chair, are themselves no doubt sitting on a chair which leans either to the left or to the right.

The slanders against our Party merely prove that our Party not only

opposes Right opportunism but is also uncompromising with “Left” opportunism, and firmly adheres only to the principled stand of Marxism-Leninism. We oppose opportunism of all descriptions because we are Marxist-Leninists.

A communist should not act arrogantly and say that whatever he does is right and whatever others do is wrong. It is impermissible to behave like this with comrades fighting for the common cause. Communists may have different opinions on various matters, even though they are all guided by Marxism-Leninism. But even in such cases, they must understand each other, hold sincere consultations and strive for unity. This is the rule of conduct communists must observe.

All communists have their own standpoint and can tell right from wrong. A party cannot be indiscriminately regarded as subscribing to the policies of other parties or as taking the cue from them, just because it has connections with those parties. Regarding others with suspicion is a specific characteristic of great-power chauvinism and sectarianism. Great-power chauvinism and sectarianism suspect others for no reason and like to divide people into different sides. We will not take any “side”. If someone asks us which “side” we are on, we will answer that we are on the “side” of Marxism-Leninism, on the “side” of revolution. Communists should not look at the independent activities of fraternal parties through tinted glasses and should not get too nervous about them.

The activities of all Communist and Workers’ Parties cannot be fitted into any set pattern. The policies of fraternal parties cannot be the same since the existing conditions and revolutionary tasks differ from country to country. The unified line of the international communist movement by no means excludes diversity in the policies of individual parties.

Communists must check great-power chauvinism in the international communist movement. Therefore, all fraternal parties should maintain independence without blindly following anyone, and should reject great-power chauvinism. And all the parties should unite and prevent anyone from ruling over the socialist camp and the

international communist movement, and restrain great-power chauvinism from exerting any influence. If no one accepts and follows great-power chauvinism, no matter who may practise it, it will become impotent and produce no effect. Only when great-power chauvinism disappears can the independence of all parties be firmly assured and relations between the fraternal parties be developed in a healthy way.

Communists must learn to hold fast to their convictions under any circumstances. A communist, if he is a real one, cannot blindly follow in the wake of others, parroting what others say and moving in others' footsteps against his own convictions.

Communists are not engaged in revolution on instructions from anyone or to get into anyone's good graces. Communists make revolution out of their own faith in Marxism-Leninism, for the emancipation of the working class and the working people in their own countries and for the cause of the international working class. It is a noble trait of communists to hold fast to and fight unyieldingly for their own convictions.

The present situation in the international communist movement demands that we maintain our independence and originality more firmly. If we lack these and follow in the steps of others in present-day conditions, we cannot have principle and consistency in our lines and policies. This will not only do enormous harm to our revolution and construction in the long run, but will inflict great damage on the international communist movement.

We never can and never will dance to the tune of others. Based on Marxist-Leninist principles and the realities of our country, we should lay down our lines and policies and implement them by ourselves, thereby advancing our revolution and construction vigorously. In the sphere of international activities, we must also maintain our independent position in accordance with our convictions.

Our Party's independent position is linked closely with the principle of proletarian internationalism. Being internationalists, we categorically reject isolationism and nationalism. We greatly treasure the international solidarity of the working class and value unity and

cooperation with the fraternal parties and countries. We deem it necessary to respect the experience of other parties and learn from each other. What we oppose is the tendency to follow others blindly, without independence, to depend wholly on others without faith in one's own strength and to accept the experience of others totally instead of approaching it critically.

We should continually develop our relations with the fraternal parties and countries on the basis of a correct combination of independence and unity. We maintain that the socialist camp and the international communist movement should unite in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in accordance with the Declaration and Statement of the meetings of representatives of the fraternal parties.

To unite and cooperate on the basis of equality and independence and to maintain independence while consolidating international solidarity is the firm and steady policy consistently followed by our Party in its relations with fraternal parties and countries. This policy not only accords with the interests of the revolution and construction in our country but fully conforms to the interests of the international communist movement. It will help surmount the difficulties existing in this movement at present and achieve genuine unity.

The international developments and the events in the international communist movement in recent years have once again clearly testified to the correctness of the lines and policies of our Party.

All our successes are associated with our Party's line of independence. Thanks to this line of independence, our Party has not deviated either to the Right or to the "Left" in mapping out its lines for internal and external action and has been able to avoid errors on matters of principle.

Today the international prestige of our Party has grown and the international position of our Republic has been consolidated. We have won innumerable friends and sympathizers throughout the world. Our Party's line of independence in the international communist movement is receiving support from more and more fraternal parties. The

achievements scored by our Party in its foreign activities inspire us with legitimate confidence and pride.

As in the past, so in the future too, our Party will continue to adhere to the line of independence in its internal and external activities, safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism against Right and “Left” opportunism, and abide by the principles set out in the Declaration and Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties of all countries. Our Party will strive to defend the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to oppose imperialism and carry the revolution through to the end in close unity with the people of the whole world.

2. ON THE ACCELERATION OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE STRENGTHENING OF OUR REVOLUTIONARY BASE

Comrades,

The greatest national task confronting the Workers’ Party of Korea and the Korean people at the present time is to achieve the reunification of the country and the nationwide triumph of the revolution. To do so, we must, first, push ahead vigorously with revolution and construction in the northern half of Korea where the people have already seized power and are building a new life, and turn it into a powerful base of our revolution. Socialist construction and the growth of revolutionary forces in the northern half of Korea constitute the decisive guarantee for the reunification of our country and the triumph of the Korean revolution as a whole. By mobilizing all the forces of the Party and the people, we must further accelerate socialist construction in the north and build up our revolutionary base more

solidly—politically, economically and militarily.

It is of paramount importance for our revolutionary struggle and construction work today to reorganize the whole work of socialist construction in line with the requirements of the prevailing situation and, especially, to carry on the building of the economy and defences in parallel so as to further increase our nation's defence capacities to cope with the enemy's aggressive manoeuvres. This is the basic strategic line of our Party which we have carried on for several years now in view of the changed situation. In the future too, we must follow this line firmly and consistently and base all our work on it.

How to combine economic construction with the building of national defences is one of the fundamental questions on which the success of the building of socialism and communism depends. We communists should reject all kinds of deviations which may possibly appear in this respect, and settle the matter correctly.

It is wrong not to carry out economic construction properly, concentrating solely on the building up of defences on the grounds that a war could reduce everything to rubble when it breaks out. It is also wrong not to strengthen our defence capabilities adequately, putting the emphasis only on economic construction, because we have been lulled into a mood of pacifism.

Of course, the danger of war will not disappear as long as imperialism remains, and a great deal can be destroyed when a war breaks out. But if essential economic construction is neglected for fear of war and its devastation, it will be impossible to increase the might of the country and improve the people's living standards, and it will be altogether impossible to build socialism and communism before the downfall of imperialism. The danger of war caused by the imperialists and a war of aggression unleashed by them may possibly delay or temporarily interrupt our economic construction, but it can never check our forward march towards socialism and communism.

In the meantime, the people can prevent war and preserve and consolidate peace by waging an energetic struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and war. But if one merely believes

that war will not break out, and fails to build up one's defences properly, it will rather increase the danger of war and make it utterly impossible to protect the revolutionary gains and defend the country and the people against imperialist aggression, let alone build socialism and communism. The possibility of preventing war is no more than a possibility and, as long as imperialism remains, there can be no absolute guarantee of peace and a war may break out at any moment.

We should neither overestimate nor underestimate the danger of war and the effect of its destruction on our socialist construction. Even if there is a growing danger of war, we must continue to press forward with economic construction to make the country rich and strong, to improve the people's living standards and to accelerate our forward march towards socialism and communism, while further increasing our defence potential. As our experience shows, even if a war breaks out and causes great destruction, we can build a new life again, as long as we have the Party, the Government, the people and the country. At the same time, even if war seems unlikely to break out in the immediate future, we must continue to strengthen our defence capabilities and keep ourselves ready to protect our revolutionary gains and defend the country and the people against imperialist aggression, while stepping up economic construction vigorously. It is only when our defence power is invincible and we keep ourselves ready for action that the enemy will not dare challenge us and, if he does start a reckless venture it is only then that we can promptly deliver a crushing blow to the aggressor and defeat him.

Adhering consistently to this principle, our Party assessed the trend of developments at each period and has accordingly carried out economic construction in proper combination with building up the nation's defences.

In recent years our Party has been compelled to direct special attention to increasing our defence capacities still more in the face of intensified aggressive moves by the imperialists. As you comrades all know, the US imperialists provoked the Caribbean crisis against the Republic of Cuba in 1962, thereby challenging the entire socialist

camp and making the international situation extremely tense. After that, they embarked on a still more open aggression in Asia. They provoked the Bac Bo Gulf incident against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, stepped up the war of aggression on a large scale in South Vietnam and further aggravated tensions in Southeast Asia, the Far East and other areas.

To deal with this situation, our Party set forth the line of carrying on economic construction in parallel with defence building at the Fifth Plenary Meeting of its Fourth Central Committee in 1962, and took a number of important measures for further increasing our defence potential while reorganizing economic construction. Subsequent developments have proved that the step taken by our Party was entirely correct. By greatly boosting our defence power through our efforts to carry out the Party's decision, we have become capable of defending the security of our country resolutely even when the imperialists are on the rampage.

Today the aggressive actions of the US imperialists are on the increase and their schemes for expanding the war are becoming more flagrant. The Park Jung Hee clique in south Korea, acting on US imperialist instructions, is not only making active preparations for a new war, but has already joined directly in the US imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam. The situation has grown more tense and the danger of war is increasing in our country and all other areas of Asia.

Under these circumstances, we must continue to press forward with the economic construction of socialism and, at the same time, build up our defences more energetically. We must make our defensive might invincible and make preparations to deal with any surprise attack by the enemy. It is true that this will require the allocations of a great deal of manpower and materials to national defence, and it will inevitably delay the economic development of our country to a certain extent. But we should direct greater efforts to the strengthening of our defence power to perfect the country's defences, even if it calls for some readjustment of the development rate of the national economy. This is in agreement with the fundamental interests of the revolution and

construction in our country at the present stage. It is therefore necessary for us to press ahead steadfastly with both economic construction and defence building along the line set forth by the Party, and we must not neglect either sector.

The economic construction of socialism is an important revolutionary task for us today. Communists struggle to bring freedom and liberation to the people and provide them with a new and happy life. We have already emancipated our people from exploitation and oppression and ensured political liberties and rights to them by carrying out democratic and socialist revolutions in the northern half of the country. By establishing an advanced, socialist system, we have opened up a wide avenue for the development of productive forces and improvement of the people's living standards. Now it is important to increase the people's material well-being by consolidating the triumphant socialist system and bringing its advantages into full play. This calls for the successful building of the economy. When economic construction is carried out successfully, it is possible to attain a high level of development of the productive forces commensurate with socialist society, make the country rich and strong and markedly raise the living standards of the people. And when the foundations of an independent economy are consolidated by the forceful stepping up of economic construction, the political independence and independence of the country can be substantially assured and defence potentials, too, can be strengthened.

The economic construction of socialism in the northern half of Korea is the basic guarantee of increasing the material power of our revolutionary base. It has an enormous significance not only for the happy life of the people in the north but also for the reunification and future prosperity of our country. By steadily increasing the economic power of the northern half of Korea, we can clearly demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system to the people in south Korea and give increasingly powerful support to their revolutionary struggle. The building of a socialist, independent economy in the north is also a valuable asset for the rapid rehabilitation and development of the

economy in south Korea after the reunification of the country.

It is our national and, at the same time, internationalist duty to build the economy successfully in our country. We can fortify the eastern outpost of the socialist camp and help strengthen the might of this camp as a whole only if we increase our own economic strength. Both the vitality of our socialist system and the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist lines and policies of our Party are expressed, in the final analysis, in the practical results of our socialist economic construction. Our struggle for economic construction, therefore, is a struggle to increase the might of the socialist camp and further the development of the international revolutionary movement, a struggle to explode the slanders of the imperialists and reactionaries against the socialist system and demonstrate the true advantages of this system, a struggle to overcome revisionism and dogmatism and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism in the communist movement.

Beginning shortly after liberation, our Party has done everything in its power to consolidate the economic foundations of the country and improve the material and cultural life of the people. After the war we, acting upon the principle of self-reliance, laid the firm foundations of an independent national economy and basically solved the questions of food, clothing and housing for the people. Under the leadership of the Party, our working people have waged a vigorous labour campaign for the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan and achieved fresh successes in socialist economic construction over the past five years. Our heavy industry bases have been reinforced, our light industry has developed still more and the material and technical foundations of agriculture have been strengthened considerably. The towns and villages of our country have been better built and the material well-being and cultural standards of the people have also been improved on the whole. We must continue to press ahead with economic construction dynamically in order to consolidate and develop our economic achievements and carry into effect the magnificent programme of socialist construction set forth at the Fourth Congress of the Party.

The important thing in the socialist economic construction of our

country today is to make effective use of the already-created economic foundations and radically raise the quality of products and construction in all fields. Under the leadership of the Party our people have laid solid bases for production in all fields of the national economy by carrying out a vast amount of construction work, through a heroic struggle and creative labour, for more than ten years since the war. The bases of heavy and light industries and socialist agriculture which we have built have immense productive potential. If we make further changes to and strengthen these economic foundations and make effective use of them, we shall be able to produce much more than we do now. We are now turning out an incomparably greater amount of industrial goods and farm produce than before, and have already attained a fairly high level in the output per head of the population. If we increase the variety of goods and radically improve their quality we can satisfy the demands of the national economy and the population better, even with the present volume of production. To make the most of the economic assets we have already created and to raise quality in production and construction—this is the basic direction of the economic development of our country at the present stage, and it is precisely here that there are vast reserves for the growth of production and improvement of the people's living standards. It is in this basic direction that we must exert our main efforts to mobilize each and every reserve and potential latent in the national economy. Meanwhile, we should continue to carry out new capital construction to expand our economic bases still further.

The essential task in industry is to give priority to the mining and power industries and to add flesh to the dry-bones of industry, to improve technical management and make more technical innovations, thereby normalizing production and raising productive capacity to the highest possible level. In agriculture, grain output has to be increased substantially and, at the same time, all other branches, such as the production of industrial crops and vegetables, livestock breeding and fruit growing, should be further developed by energetically promoting the technical revolution, improving labour administration,

continuously increasing support to the rural areas, and raising the level of management on the cooperative farms. The growing requirements of the national economy for transport must be satisfied in full by rapidly developing railway and other transport services, and the effectiveness of investment must be increased in all fields of the national economy by carrying out capital construction in a concentrated way and on a priority basis. An all-Party, all-people campaign must be initiated in all fields to establish the Taean work system thoroughly and build up economic life diligently. In this way we must make our socialist country richer and stronger, radically improve the material and cultural life of the people, and make preparations for still larger economic construction in the future.

Another important subject in socialist economic construction is to consolidate the economic independence of the country. To build an independent national economy on the principle of self-reliance is a consistent line of our Party. We have already achieved brilliant successes in the implementation of this line. Especially, under the present situation when the aggressive manoeuvres of the imperialists are more open and when complicated problems exist within the socialist camp, it is imperative for us to consolidate the foundations of the independent economy of the country further.

Of course, we will, in the future too, strive to extend and develop economic and technical cooperation with fraternal countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit and of proletarian internationalism. We will develop economic ties and cooperation with the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa, and with all countries which respect our sovereignty and want to trade with us to satisfy each other's economic needs. This cooperation, however, should be effected strictly on the basis of building an independent national economy. Only then can our own economic power be further increased and our cooperation with other countries be conducted effectively.

We must carry out the Party's policy of further strengthening the foundations of an independent national economy thoroughly. We must

strengthen productive branches and enterprises and equip them perfectly, further improve the structure of the national economy, continue to develop small and medium enterprises side by side with large ones, distribute the country's productive forces rationally and, in particular, promote the development of the local economy. It is necessary in all fields to bravely surmount difficulties which arise in the course of progress and successfully solve economic and technical problems by raising technical skill levels and intensifying the campaign for thrift and by displaying a greater revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. In this way we should make our national economy more solid, virile and independent so that we can fully satisfy the material requirements of the state and the people under any circumstances.

While accelerating economic construction to the best of our ability, we must do everything possible to increase the country's defence power.

In order to strengthen our defensive power, it is necessary, first of all, to prepare the People's Army and all the people politically and ideologically.

Our People's Army is a revolutionary army, and so the basic condition for increasing its might lies in arming our soldiers politically and ideologically. The lofty mission and revolutionary spirit of fighting for the freedom and liberation of the people, the comradeship between men and officers, voluntary military discipline and close ties with the people are the characteristics and merits of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary army, which do not exist in any imperialist army of aggression. It is thanks to these political and ideological merits that a revolutionary army is quite capable of defeating an aggressive army far superior both in technique and in numbers. This is proved by the experience of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the Fatherland Liberation War in our country and by the experience of many revolutionary wars in the world.

The basic mission of our People's Army as the direct heirs of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and as the revolutionary armed forces led by the Workers' Party, is to serve the Party and the revolution and

defend their socialist motherland and people. Our People's Army is an army organized with the best sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people; the officers and soldiers are in perfect unity; and the army maintains close bonds of kinship with the people.

The organizations of the Party and the League of Socialist Working Youth in the army should conduct political and ideological work among the soldiers regularly and energetically, thus bringing home to them the lofty mission of the People's Army and arming them firmly with Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party, with socialist patriotism and an indomitable revolutionary spirit. It is necessary in the army to promote the traditional unity between officers and other ranks and between the army and the people and establish iron military discipline. Our military personnel should be taught to have a boundless love for their people, bear a burning hatred against the enemy and display mass heroism and valour in battle. All the soldiers must be raised in this way as revolutionary fighters loyal to the Party, the revolution and the people, and our People's Army should be turned into a match-for-a-hundred army.

At the same time, Party organizations at all levels should pay close attention to the assistance of the People's Army. The People's Army is the army of our Party, and the reliable defender of our country and people. Party organizations should energetically conduct information work and education concerning the People's Army among Party members and working people and actively support the People's Army in every way. All our cadres, Party members and people should love the soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers of the People's Army as if they were their own brothers and genuinely help them. Thus, the men and officers of the People's Army should be able to devote themselves entirely to discharging their military duties without any cares, thanks to the profound affection, support and assistance of the whole Party and all the people. We should make sure that in the event of war, the soldiers and the people unite firmly in a body, as true revolutionary comrades, and fight with single-hearted devotion to

defend the country, sharing the sweet and the bitter, life and death.

We should also ensure that the soldiers and the people do not fall into a pacifistic mood but sharpen their vigilance and remain alert at all times against the aggressive manoeuvres of the enemy and his possible ignition of war. Communists do not want war, but they never fear it. To be afraid of war is a manifestation of bourgeois pacifism and a revisionist ideological trend. We must strictly guard against the appearance of such an ideological virus within our ranks or its infiltration from without. We must prepare the entire army and people to bravely meet and fight any surprise enemy attack without the slightest confusion.

In order to strengthen our defence power it is essential to carry through the military line of our Party on the basis of equipping the army and the people politically and ideologically. Having defined it as the basic content of its military line to make our army a cadre army, modernize it, arm all the people and turn the whole country into a fortress, our Party has exerted tireless efforts to put this line into practice, and has already achieved great success in this respect. In the future, too, we should continue to abide by the Party's military line and implement it thoroughly.

Turning the People's Army into a cadre army and modernizing it constitute important guarantees for building up our army into an invincible armed force. We should steel the People's Army ranks politically, ideologically and in military technique so that in case of an emergency everyone, from the rank and file up to the generals, can undertake and perform the duties of someone of higher rank. This will not only greatly increase the combat capabilities of the People's Army itself, but will also create numerous military cadres and thus rapidly expand our armed forces in case of necessity.

When the political and ideological superiority of a revolutionary army is combined with modern military techniques, it can become a really great force. At present, military science and techniques are developing rapidly throughout the world, and up-to-date arms and military equipment are being used in modern warfare. Our enemies are

equipping themselves with newer and still newer weapons. We must arm our People's Army with modern weapons and technical combat equipment to counter the aggression of our enemies who are armed to the teeth, in conformity with the requirements of modern warfare. We must modernize our weapons by all possible means and make them still more powerful on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. Servicemen should be given strenuous field training so as to enable all of them to handle up-to-date weapons skilfully and to acquire a sufficient mastery of modern military science and techniques.

In modernizing the People's Army and developing military science and techniques we must take into full account the specific conditions in our country which has many mountains and a long coastline. As the experience of the last Fatherland Liberation War clearly shows, if dogmatic errors are committed in the military sphere, it may cause serious harm to national defence. While making every effort to modernize the People's Army, therefore, we must always develop and apply military science and techniques suited to the specific conditions of our country, and use conventional weapons in proper combination with modern ones.

The arming of all the people and the fortification of the whole country constitute the most powerful defence system from the military strategic point of view, a system which is capable of thwarting any enemy attack. This is the way to carry out the mass line of our Party and fully implement the principle of self-defence in national defence. By arming all the people and fortifying the whole land, we can crush the continued subversive activities of the enemy at every step and smash every kind of armed attack by our own efforts. This defence system can be established only on the basis of the political and ideological unity of the people and the solid economic foundations of the country under our socialist system.

We must arm the workers, peasants and all other sections of the people as well as the People's Army and build indestructible defence installations in all parts of the country, both on the front line and in the rear. We should solidly build up the ranks of the Worker-Peasant Red

Guards, intensify their military and political training and see that all cadres and Party members acquire military knowledge and training and study the realities of war. In industry, the Worker-Peasant Red Guardsmen and workers should defend their factories, and in the countryside, the Worker-Peasant Red Guardsmen and peasants should defend their villages; and all the people, holding a weapon in one hand and a hammer or a sickle in the other, should stoutly protect our socialist homeland and continue to build socialism successfully. We should, in this way, convert the whole of our territory into an impregnable fortress so that we can completely destroy the enemies wherever they might invade our country.

Victory in modern warfare depends largely on whether the manpower and material resources needed to carry out the war are available for a long period. We should, therefore, pay particular attention to consolidating the rear. We must especially build up effective zones of military strategic importance, develop the munitions industry and create reserves of essential materials. We should also be prepared in peacetime to place the whole economy on a war footing immediately in the event of an emergency and to carry on production in wartime.

Our Party and people will thus carry out economic construction and build up our defences in parallel in conformity with the requirements of the current situation, and thereby translate into reality the magnificent programme of socialist construction while creditably discharging the duty of defending the country at the same time.

Comrades, revolution and construction are the work of the masses themselves, and they can be carried out successfully only when the broad masses are mobilized under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. Therefore, the most important question in accelerating our socialist construction and fortifying our revolutionary base is to strengthen the Party—the General Staff in the revolution—educate and reform all the people and rally them around the Party; in other words, to build up the ranks of the revolution, politically and ideologically.

Our Party has worked tirelessly to consolidate itself organizationally and ideologically, to awaken the masses and win them over to the side of the revolution in the course of the practical struggle for the revolution and construction, to train all Party members as revolutionaries through the nuclear role of communists steeled in long revolutionary struggle and to equip all the people with the revolutionary spirit with Party members as the nucleus.

As a result, our Party has grown into a seasoned Marxist-Leninist party which is closely knit, with one mind and will and has accumulated a wealth of experience, the Party ranks have gained in scope and strength and a large number of new revolutionaries capable of creditably carrying forward our revolutionary cause have grown up. Our people have been tempered in the fire of battle, and their practical experience of struggle has led them to place infinite trust in the Party and unite solidly around it.

In the northern half of our country, the exploiting classes and all exploiting institutions have already been liquidated and a new socialist system established and, on this basis, the worker-peasant alliance has been consolidated still further and the political and ideological unity of the whole people achieved. In the exploiter society, class antagonism and struggle between the exploiting and the exploited classes, between the ruling and the ruled classes constitute the basis of social relations, but in our society, where the socialist system has triumphed, unity and cooperation among the working class, cooperative farmers and working intellectuals constitute the basis of social relations. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals, for their common socio-economic positions and their common objectives and interests, are united in a comradely way and closely cooperate with each other, working together for the victory of the cause of communism under the leadership of our Party.

The political and ideological unity of the masses of the people—based on the worker-peasant alliance—and their common aspiration and enthusiasm to build socialism and communism under the leadership of the Party are the main driving force for the progress

of our society as well as the decisive factor in speeding up the building of socialism. This unity is also the source of our invincible strength and the foundation of the solidity of our society.

This, of course, does not mean that there are neither hostile elements nor class struggle in our midst. Class struggle continues under socialism, too.

Class struggle under socialism is expressed, above all, in the struggle against the subversive activities of hostile elements worming their way in from without and of the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes and in the struggle against bourgeois and feudal reactionary ideas and their penetration. The enemy makes every attempt to destroy our socialist system and regain its old positions. Although the hostile elements lurking in our midst are very few, we must increase our vigilance of the enemy's subversive tactics and crush them completely. Especially in our situation where the country remains divided and we are directly confronted with the US imperialists, the ringleader of world reaction, it is all the more important to struggle against the enemy's subversive activities, sabotage and ideological infiltration, to which we should always pay particular attention.

Under socialism remnants of outdated ideas also persist in the minds of the working people and the struggle against them is also a manifestation of class struggle in the sense that it is a struggle between working-class and bourgeois ideologies. If we relax the fight against the ideological vestiges of the past, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas could gain ground among the working people, and this would not only create big obstacles in the way of our socialist construction but would easily play into the hands of the enemy in his subversive activities. We must not even slightly slacken the struggle against outworn ideas among the working people but must carry it on vigorously.

The struggle against the vestiges of old ideas, however, is an internal affair of the working people who are advancing hand in hand to realize a common ideal; it is a task arising from the need to educate

and reform all the working people and lead them to a communist society. This problem, therefore, should always be solved by means of persuasion and education unlike suppressing the hostile elements, and in such a way as to serve the purpose of remoulding the people's thinking and further cementing their unity.

We should neither underestimate nor overestimate the danger of surviving outdated ideas. In our society today there are no socio-economic and material conditions for engendering the outdated ideas; the predominant ideology of our working people is the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and communist ideology. It is, therefore, quite possible for us to overcome the vestiges of outmoded ideas by persistent ideological education of the working people.

In building up our revolutionary ranks firmly it is very important to combine properly the work of cementing the unity and cohesion of the masses of the people with the class struggle against the intrigues of hostile elements. A person may commit a "Leftist" error if he emphasizes and overestimates class struggle only, forgetting that the alliance of the working class, peasantry and intellectuals constitutes the basis of social relations under socialism. In that case, one will tend to suspect people, treat innocent persons like hostile elements, divorce the Party from the masses and create an atmosphere of unrest in society. On the other hand, one may commit a Rightist error if one sees only the political and ideological unity of the masses of the people, making it an absolute, oblivious of the fact that hostile elements, ideological survivals from the past and class struggle also continue to exist under socialism. If this were to happen, vigilance against hostile elements could be relaxed, the struggle against outdated ideas could be weakened, the leading role of the Party and the working class could be paralysed and bourgeois influence could spread widely through social life. Both Right and "Left" deviations will, in the long run, make it impossible to clearly distinguish friend from foe and to implement the class and mass lines correctly, and will bring heavy losses to the building of socialism and communism. We should oppose both Right

and “Left” deviations and steadily strengthen the unity and solidarity of the masses of the people, while carrying on the class struggle competently.

Insofar as it affects class relations, the course of building socialism and communism is a process in which the working class, having seized power, transforms society after its own pattern in all spheres of the economy and culture, ideology and morality; that is, a process of working-classization. The historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat not only lies in liquidating the exploiting classes and crushing their resistance but in reshaping all the working people to working-classize them, thus gradually eliminating all class distinctions. In our society, where the exploiting classes have been wiped out and the socialist system has triumphed, an important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to educate and reshape the working people and working-classize the whole of society.

By correctly combining the class line with the mass line, we must isolate and crush the handful of hostile elements and, at the same time, educate and remodel the broad masses to rally them more closely around the Party. We must constantly improve the leading role of the working class and also revolutionize and working-classize the peasants and intellectuals, thus cementing the political and ideological unity of our society still more.

With the progress of socialist construction in our country the ranks of the working class have grown rapidly and the standard of their ideological consciousness and their level of culture and technology have risen higher. Our working class has been doing a good job of carrying out the historical mission of transforming society and shows a high degree of revolutionary zeal and creativity in socialist construction.

It is not by weakening its class leadership or by diffusing itself amongst other sections of the people that the working class obliterates class distinctions. On the contrary, the working class holds fast to its class stand, constantly increases its leading role, remoulds the other sections of the working people on its own pattern and thereby

strengthens its solidarity with them and gradually eliminates all class distinctions. We should, therefore, raise the leading role of the working class and increase its revolutionary influence in all spheres of social life. We should further improve the ideology, organization and culture of the working class and build up its ranks more solidly. In this way we should make our working class a truly revolutionary and cultured class and enable it to perform its role better as the leading class.

The peasantry is the most reliable ally of the working class and one of the main detachments of our revolution. Always devoting deep consideration to the peasant question and pursuing a proper rural policy, our Party has successfully solved this problem. We abolished feudal relationships by carrying out agrarian reform in the countryside shortly after liberation and, in the postwar period, we reorganized individual peasant farming into the socialist collective economy, thereby emancipating the peasants from all kinds of exploitation and oppression and transforming them into socialist working people. Through the democratic and socialist revolutions and through socialist construction, the socio-economic position of our peasants has not only changed fundamentally but a great change has also taken place in their ideological consciousness; their technical and cultural standards have also been raised speedily. On the basis of socialism, the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class has been solidified and the political and labour devotion of the peasants continues to increase.

Our task is to consolidate and develop the successes which we have already achieved in the solution of the rural question and, further, to eliminate all the backwardness of the countryside left over from the exploiter society and obliterate step by step the distinctions between town and country, the class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry. This means working hard for the final solution of the peasant question. Our Party has summed up our achievements and experience in rural work and elucidated the basic principles and specific ways and means for the solution of the rural question under socialism. In accordance with the correct line advanced by the Party,

we should press ahead energetically with the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the rural areas, continuously strengthen the guidance and assistance given to the countryside by the working-class Party and state, and steadily bring cooperative ownership closer to ownership by the whole people, while developing the two forms of ownership in organic combination. Thus, on the basis of equipping agriculture with modern technology as we have done in industry, and of consolidating and developing the socialist system established in the countryside, we should raise the material and cultural life of the peasantry to the level of the working class, further reshape the thinking of the peasants and thus revolutionize and working-classize them still more.

Intellectuals play an important role in the building of a new society. The working class which has seized power can speedily develop science and technology, literature and art and build socialism and communism successfully only when it decisively consolidates the ranks of its own intellectuals.

From the first days of its founding, our Party, taking into consideration the important role of the intellectuals in revolution and construction, has made persistent efforts to educate and reform the old intellectuals, while training a large number of new intellectuals from among the working people. It is true that the old intellectuals come mostly from rich families and served Japanese imperialism and the exploiting classes in the past. But they, as intellectuals of a colonial country, were subjected to national oppression and discrimination by foreign imperialism and, therefore, had a national and democratic revolutionary spirit. Our Party trusted their revolutionary spirit and adopted the line of actively drawing them into the building of a new society, thus transforming them into intellectuals serving the working people. Over the past 20 years our old intellectuals, following the path indicated by the Party, have served the country and the people faithfully and performed great feats in revolution and construction. They have grown into fine socialist intellectuals thanks to the tireless education of the Party and through the trials of arduous revolutionary

struggle. Meanwhile, thanks to the correct policies of our Party on education and on the training of cadres, hundreds of thousands of new intellectuals from the ranks of the working people have been trained, who now serve the revolutionary cause in all the political, economic, cultural and military fields. Thus our Party has remoulded the old intellectuals and brought up new intellectuals and thereby built them into its reliable contingent of intellectuals. All our intellectuals have unlimited faith in the Party, are united firmly around it and display a high degree of zeal and creativity in socialist construction. This testifies to the correctness and brilliant victory of our Party's policy towards intellectuals.

Today we are confronted with the important task of further revolutionizing the intellectuals. To revolutionize and working-classize them means to completely eradicate the residue of outworn ideas remaining in their minds and to equip them with the revolutionary spirit of the working class, with communist ideology, thus turning them into true intellectuals of the working class, into ardent communists.

It is true that traces of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas remain, to a relatively large degree, in the minds of the intellectuals. But it is fundamentally wrong to mistrust, for this reason, the revolutionary spirit of the intellectuals, and, moreover, to distrust our intellectuals who have been remoulded and tested in the flames of struggle. To suspect and reject the intellectuals is a factionalist tendency. To underestimate their role is a tendency to ignore science and technology. Such tendencies have no place in our Party's policy towards the intellectuals.

Our Party trusts its intellectuals, cherishes and loves them and highly appreciates their achievements. The Party will continue to guide and assist intellectuals patiently in their ideological transformation and provide them with all necessary conditions to serve socialist construction better, giving full play to their knowledge and talents. Our intellectuals should take pride in the fact that they are full-fledged soldiers of the Party, fighters of the working class, and should make

every effort to eliminate surviving outdated ideas and learn from the revolutionary spirit, organization and fighting efficiency of the working class. At the same time, the intellectuals, bearing in mind that they serve society chiefly with technique and knowledge, should do everything in their power to master their specialities and improve their scientific and technical qualifications. Our workers and peasants, for their part, should cherish intellectuals and learn scientific knowledge and technique from them with an open mind. Only by doing so can we successfully working-classize the intellectuals and raise the technical and cultural standards of the workers and peasants to the level of engineers and assistant engineers. Only by doing so will it be possible to strengthen the unity of the workers and peasants with the intellectuals, develop creative cooperation between them and thereby further facilitate the economic and cultural construction of the country. We will fully revolutionize and working-classize all intellectuals, old and new, and will always join hands with them in the struggle for the victory of the cause of communism.

In promoting the political and ideological unity of our society, work with people whose social and political records are complicated holds an important place. The social and political composition of the population of our country has become very complex because of the protracted colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, the partition of the country by US imperialism and the enemy's divisive schemes during the Fatherland Liberation War. Faced with this situation, we have to be particularly cautious in our work with various strata of the population.

The immutable principle our Party adheres to in its work with those who have complicated social and political records is that we should appraise each of them, always attaching importance to his present attitude, isolate hostile elements as far as possible and win everyone who is suitable over to the side of the revolution. The social status and thoughts of a man are not unchangeable. Even those who committed crimes against the people in the past may repent of them and reform themselves into good people now, and even those whose social status is complicated may acquire progressive ideas as society advances and their

environment changes. Of course, we must always firmly maintain our class stand in our work with people and must remember that the confirmed reactionary elements from the hostile classes never desist from their subversive schemes. But such hostile elements are very few. Because we trust the masses of the people and are convinced of the superiority of the socialist system, the justice of our cause and the invincible force and authority of our Party, we do not suspect people without reason but believe that everyone can be educated and remoulded except the confirmed reactionaries. So we boldly trust and embrace even those whose social status, backgrounds and past records are complicated and provide them with conditions for doing their work without anxiety if they support our Party and work zealously now. This policy of our Party makes it possible to smash all the divisive manoeuvres of the enemy, win over the masses of the people of all classes and strata to the side of the Party and the revolution, isolate hostile elements still further and leave them no room to manoeuvre. We should maintain this policy in the future also and apply it correctly in practice.

The policy of our Party with regard to the various classes and strata of society is a correct Marxist-Leninist policy based on its class and mass lines and is in full accord with the situation in our country. This is clearly borne out by the fact that though the social composition of our population is complex and we stand in direct confrontation with the enemy, the broad masses of the people are rallied around our Party and their revolutionary zeal and creative activity are always rising. We should continue to implement the Party's class and mass lines thoroughly, so that we can further expand and strengthen our revolutionary ranks and turn the whole of society into one big family closely united in an amicable, cheerful and stimulating atmosphere.

To accelerate the process of working-classization of society and build up the revolutionary ranks solidly, it is necessary to conduct political and ideological work energetically among Party members and the working people. Socialism creates the socio-economic and material conditions for reforming the ideas of the working people and uniting them. However, the ideological transformation and unity of the people

do not come of themselves simply because the socialist system has triumphed and living standards have improved. Only by carrying on ideological work more energetically and patiently in keeping with the progress of socialist construction, can we really educate and reshape the working people and unite them solidly. The complex international and internal situation which we face today and the vast and arduous revolutionary tasks which confront us demand a further intensification of political and ideological work among the masses.

As regards Party members and the working people, we must continue the vigorous promotion of communist education with class education as the main content in combination with education in the revolutionary traditions and decisively intensify education in Marxism-Leninism and in the Party's policies.

The most important thing here is to increase the class consciousness of the working people and imbue them with a hatred for imperialism, landlords and capitalists. This class education should be conducted well particularly for the new generation who have not experienced exploitation and oppression or undergone the ordeals of arduous revolutionary struggle. We should bring home to the working people the aggressive nature of imperialism and the essence of the exploiting classes and the exploiting system so as to induce them to hate imperialism, hate the exploiting classes and system and fight against them obstinately. We should educate Party members and the working people in the class principle so that they can harbour no illusions about the imperialists and hostile classes, maintain sharp revolutionary vigilance against their aggressive schemes and subversion and sabotage and expose and crush them at every step.

In particular, US imperialism and Japanese militarism are the most dangerous forces of aggression directly confronting us and the main target of our struggle. We must instil our working people with more hatred of US imperialism and Japanese militarism and prepare them ideologically to fight resolutely against US and Japanese imperialism at any time.

We have not yet completed the national-liberation revolution

throughout the country—the people in south Korea are still groaning under the oppression of the US imperialists and their stooges. To liberate south Korea and reunify the country is the national duty of the all the Korean people. We must educate the working people of the north in a revolutionary way to fight against US imperialist colonial rule in south Korea, against the renewed aggression of Japanese militarism and for the final accomplishment of the Korean revolution. We should ensure that all our working people always remember the plight of the south Korean people and the task of reunifying the country and devote themselves to all revolutionary struggle and construction with the noble resolution to assist the people in south Korea more actively.

Class education for the working people is class struggle in the ideological field. The struggle against imperialism and the exploiting classes is inseparable from the struggle against their reactionary ideas. If we do not combat the vestiges of the outmoded ideas still in the minds of the working people, it will be impossible to equip them with the working-class ideology, communist ideology. Moreover, the US imperialists and their lackeys are using every conceivable means and method to spread reactionary bourgeois ideology among us and are craftily scheming to use the backward ideological elements among our working people in their subversive activities.

We should, therefore, continue to wage a powerful campaign to prevent the infiltration of reactionary bourgeois ideology and to wipe out the old ideological survivals in the minds of the working people. We must categorically reject the reactionary bourgeois ideology, and the corrupt bourgeois morality and way of life, and oppose selfishness, liberalism and other vestiges of outdated ideas and backward ways. We must tirelessly strive for the triumph of the noble communist ideology and morality, for the establishment of the communist tone of life. We should see to it that all our working people oppose degeneracy and indolence, lead a frugal life, display voluntary zeal in labour, love the collectives and organizations and fight for common prosperity, helping each other along.

Whether or not the communists can lead the revolutionary cause of the working class to victory depends on whether or not they maintain Marxist-Leninist principles and apply them properly in their activities. For the Korean communists and people to carry out the Korean revolution successfully, it is essential to defend and implement the lines and policies of our Party which represent the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist principles to the situation in Korea. Therefore, steeping Party members and the working people in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party is always the central question in our ideological work. Today when the slanders and abuse of the imperialists and world reaction against Marxist-Leninist ideology have become intensified as never before and opportunist ideological trends of all descriptions have appeared within the international communist movement, it is still more important for us to instruct Party members and the working people in Marxism-Leninism and Party policies.

We must further strengthen the study of Marxism-Leninism and Party policies throughout the Party, and must repeatedly explain and propagate the principles of Marxism-Leninism among the masses and bring the lines and policies of our Party home to them. Everyone should regard self-education and ideological training as the first and foremost revolutionary task and tirelessly endeavour to acquire the revolutionary spirit and the essence of Marxism-Leninism, to arm himself firmly with the ideas of our Party, and to make the Party lines and policies his own unshakable conviction. We should, at the same time, lead Party members and the working people so that they fully understand the nature and harmfulness of Right and “Left” opportunism, such as modern revisionism, dogmatism and factionalism and acquaint them with all their manifestations. In this way, we should make sure that all our Party members and working people are totally convinced of the correctness of our Party’s Marxist-Leninist lines and policies, support and defend them determinedly and tight to carry them through to the end. We should make it possible for Party members and the working people to discern

Marxism-Leninism clearly from Right and “Left” opportunism, resolutely oppose opportunism and always adhere to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We must, in particular, oppose factionalism and defend the unity and cohesion of the Party. Through bitter strife our Party rooted out the historical legacy of factionalism, achieved the unity of the communist movement in Korea and established its ideological system throughout the Party. Today our Party is closely knit organizationally and ideologically and all the Party organizations and Party members act with one mind and will. But we must by no means become complacent. Our Party members must always remember the fact that in the past, when the external and internal situation was complex and our revolution was undergoing trials, the anti-Party factionalists lurking within the Party attacked the Party in league with international sectarians. As long as opportunist and great-power chauvinist tendencies exist within the international communist movement, we cannot be certain that a similar attempt will not be made again. And in the present complex situation, waverers may appear within our ranks, too, particularly under sectarian and other opportunist influence from without. We must, therefore, always sharpen our vigilance against sectarianism. We must oppose any divisive manoeuvres and factional activities from within and without, which are designed to cause our Party members to waver and split our ranks, and we must staunchly defend the Marxist-Leninist unity of our Party and strengthen it further.

Only when the whole Party and all the people are firmly armed ideologically and theoretically and are closely united in this way, can they prevent opportunist ideological trends of all shades from infiltrating from outside or from appearing inside and, no matter what wind may blow, they can continue to advance triumphantly, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the seasoned leadership of the Party Central Committee.

The struggle to defend and implement the Marxist-Leninist lines and policies of our Party is closely related to the struggle to oppose servility towards great powers and establish Juche. If a person loses Juche and

falls into flunkeyism, his faculty of independent thinking will be paralysed and, as a result, he will not only be unable to display creativity but, in the end, will even become unable to distinguish right from wrong and he will follow others blindly and be inclined to depend only on others for everything, losing faith in his own strength. Then he may lapse into Right or “Left” opportunism, such as revisionism, dogmatism and factionalism, and do great harm to the revolution and construction.

We must reject all manifestations of flunkeyism towards great powers and root it out completely, and establish Juche more thoroughly and promote the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance in all spheres. We should establish Juche in ideology and continue to abide strictly by the principle of independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-defence in national defence.

Instruction in socialist patriotism occupies a very important place in the ideological education of the working people.

Socialist patriotism is the patriotism of the working class and the working people aspiring to socialism and communism; it combines class consciousness with the spirit of national independence, love for one’s class and social system with that for one’s nation and motherland. The working people, including the working class, make up the overwhelming majority of the nation, and the interests of the nation are inseparable from the interests of the working people. The road of capitalism is the road of exploitation and oppression, the road of dependence and ruin. Only socialism eradicates class exploitation and national oppression and ensures complete independence and prosperity to the nation. This is why the communists who fight for the interests of the working people and for socialism, are the most authentic patriots, and only the working class and the other working people who want class emancipation and socialism can possess true patriotic sentiments,

Our socialist patriotism is based on the socialist system which has abolished exploitation and oppression and brought freedom and happiness to the working people and, hence, it should be manifested, above all, in a love for the socialist system and the working people. We

should bring home to all the working people the superiority of the socialist system established in the northern half of our country so that they can resolutely fight to defend this system and work hard to consolidate and develop it. Every one of the working people should be made to display a high degree of enthusiasm and creativity in socialist construction, deeply aware that his work is an honourable contribution to the consolidation of the socialist system and to the happiness of the working people. All the working people should be educated to value and take good care of state and social property as common assets of the people, to manage the joint economy efficiently and work hard to look after the economic life of the country carefully.

Socialist patriotism finds expression in the love for one's motherland and nation as well as in the love for the socialist system and the working people. Those born in Korea make the revolution and build socialism and communism in Korea. The Korean revolution is the basic duty of Korean communists and people. Away from the Korean nation and Korean soil of three thousand ri, it is impossible to talk about the Korean revolution. Without taking into account the history and traditions of Korea and the sentiments and customs of the Koreans, it is impossible to carry out the Korean revolution successfully. He who does not love his motherland and nation cannot be enthusiastic about the revolution in his country nor can he devote himself to the struggle for its victory. This is why we communists love our country and nation more ardently than anyone else does, why we fight determinedly for national independence and prosperity, treasure our national culture, all the fine legacies and traditions of the nation, and endeavour to carry them forward. Communists oppose all forms of national oppression and inequality and reject national nihilism.

We should encourage national pride and independence among the working people and urge them to fight more resolutely for the complete reunification and independence of the country and for the future prosperity of our nation. Working people should be taught to love the mountains and rivers of their country and their native places and make them more beautiful, to love their language and national

culture and endeavour to develop them further.

Of great importance here is to educate the working people to take a correct attitude to the legacies of our age-old national culture and our time-honoured national traditions. We must not fall into the nihilistic tendency of negating and erasing all things from the past, nor into the restorationist tendency of following them blindly. These tendencies are immense obstacles to creating a new, socialist culture and way of life and to equipping the working people with the idea of socialist patriotism. Only by discarding the outmoded and reactionary elements of our national heritage, and critically absorbing and developing all the progressive and people-oriented elements, can we create and further develop a new, socialist culture and way of life. And only when the working people know a great deal about the present and past of their nation and love the fine traditions and heritages of their nation, will their patriotic feeling be deepened. We should give the working people a correct and adequate education in the long history and culture of our country so that they may value all the splendid traditions and legacies of our nation, cherish its fine manners and customs, inherit and develop them to suit the new, socialist life of today.

The class interests of the working class are in themselves internationalist, and its international solidarity constitutes a guarantee for the triumph of the communist cause. Hence, socialist patriotism rejects all types of chauvinism, including bourgeois nationalism, and is closely linked with proletarian internationalism. Only a person who is infinitely faithful to his country's revolution can remain loyal to the revolutionary cause of the international working class, and only a true internationalist can become a true patriot. The national and international duties of the working class are closely related to each other.

We must equip all the working people more firmly with the ideas of proletarian internationalism, with the spirit of international solidarity with the revolutionary peoples. We must ensure that our Party members and working people continue their efforts to defend the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement, develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the

fraternal parties and countries and strengthen solidarity with the international working class and the progressive people of the whole world. We should educate them to fight for the victory of the revolution in their country and, at the same time, fight for the advancement of the world revolutionary movement and always strongly support and encourage the liberation struggle of oppressed nations and exploited peoples. Our Party members and working people should also be made not only to prize the successes and experience gained in the revolutionary struggle in their country, but also to respect the achievements made by the peoples of other countries in their struggle, and modestly learn from their valuable experience. Thus, we should see that all the people, holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism, under the leadership of our Party, unite with the peoples of the fraternal countries, with the progressive people of all countries and fight for peace and democracy, national independence and for the triumph of the common cause of socialism, supporting, encouraging and learning from each other.

We should also teach the working people the quality of looking forward to the future, in revolutionary optimism.

Ours is the exalted cause of bringing happiness and prosperity not only to the people of our generation but to all future generations; it is the great cause of communism, the ideal of mankind. We must deeply convince all working people of the justice of their cause and the important mission devolving on their generation, so that they will strive with all devotion to bequeath a better life to posterity, for a splendid communist future.

It is particularly important to teach the working people faith in the victory of communism. Imperialism is an old force which has outlived its days and communism is a new force which represents the future of mankind. The road to communism may be beset with innumerable difficulties and obstacles and many vicissitudes, but no force can check the law-governed process of the development of history in which imperialism falls and communism triumphs. Although the imperialists are now stepping up their aggressive manoeuvres and waging a noisy

anti-communist campaign, this is nothing but the frenzy of the doomed. And although the international communist movement is now undergoing serious trials, these are only temporary obstacles to its onward march. This cannot change the laws of the development of history nor extinguish the great idea of communism. On the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and historical facts, we must bring home to the working people the inevitability of the downfall of imperialism and the triumph of communism and the truth of communism. We should thereby ensure that all our working people march forward vigorously with a burning aspiration for and a firm faith in a communist future, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles under all circumstances.

We will energetically conduct political and ideological work among Party members and the working people and thereby arm them more firmly with Marxist-Leninist ideology, communist ideology, and rally them more closely around our Party Central Committee. When we train our Party members to be ardent communist revolutionaries, educate and remould the broad sections of working people in the revolutionary communist spirit and further cement the unity of the Party and the people, our revolutionary ranks will be invincible.

In this way, we will steadily expand and augment the revolutionary ranks, and will thereby further accelerate socialist construction in the northern half of Korea and fortify our revolutionary base as strong as a rock politically, economically and militarily.

3. ON THE SITUATION IN SOUTH KOREA AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE SOUTH KOREAN PEOPLE

Comrades,

For the reunification of our country and the victory of the Korean revolution, it is necessary to strengthen the revolutionary forces and

develop the revolutionary struggle in south Korea while actively promoting the revolution and construction in the northern half of the Republic. Today, in particular, when our revolutionary base has become an invincible force, the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution depends largely on the strengthening of the revolutionary forces in south Korea.

The south Korean revolution is going through grievous trials, confronting the enemy's counter-revolutionary offensive. But the revolutionary forces are growing and the general trend of development is turning against the counter-revolution and in favour of the revolution in south Korea. The main feature of the present situation there is that the US imperialists and their minions are further intensifying their policy of aggression and war through the vicious military fascist dictatorship, and this is creating a new, more serious crisis in the colonial rule of US imperialism.

The basic object of the US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement in south Korea is to reduce it to a military base of aggression for the United States, to turn it into a military appendage. Ever since they first landed in south Korea, the US imperialists have all along pursued the insidious aim of turning south Korea into their colony and using it as a stepping-stone for aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia. In order to attain this objective, they are trying to maintain their colonial domination over south Korea by every possible means.

The US imperialists have deployed tens of thousands of US troops and satellite forces in south Korea and maintain a huge puppet army of more than 600,000 men. They allocate 40 per cent of the total amount of their "aid" to Asia for south Korea, more than 80 per cent of which is spent on the supply of military equipment and the upkeep of the puppet army. They hold real power in south Korea through their military occupation and "aid" and gear all its manpower and material resources to their military purposes. These facts clearly show that the US imperialists attach great strategic importance to south Korea and that their policy of colonial enslavement there entirely serves their war policy.

In recent years the US imperialists, while further stepping up war preparations in south Korea, have set about more actively using it as a military base for aggression and utilizing its military potential in the execution of their war policy. This is related to the fact that US imperialism has directed the spearhead of its aggression against Asia and is intensifying its manoeuvres in this area to stamp out the peoples' fast-growing revolutionary movement and to attack the socialist countries.

In south Korea today the puppet army is growing in numbers and its military equipment is being further modernized, according to the needs of the US imperialist policy of aggression and war. Weapons of mass destruction such as tactical nuclear weapons and guided missiles are being shipped into south Korea continually, military installations are being expanded everywhere and the "war setup" is being intensified throughout south Korea.

The US imperialists and their henchmen are further accelerating the militarization of south Korea's economy to meet the growing military requirements. Since the "military coup", the military expenditure in the budget of the south Korean puppet government has more than doubled and investments in a number of industries of military significance are increasing. Because the economy is becoming more and more militarized in the name of "modernization", some industrial sectors are expanding in south Korea to satisfy military needs; communications, roads, railways and harbour facilities are being expanded and the military-economic potentialities further increased.

Consequently, south Korea has become a huge army camp where large military forces are concentrated and where everything is geared to the US imperialists' war policy.

In order to make more effective use of south Korea for Asian aggression, the US imperialists are scheming to align their south Korean puppets militarily with Japanese and other reactionaries in Asia. It is for this purpose that the long-drawn-out "ROK-Japan talks" were brought to a hurried conclusion, with the fabrication of the criminal "ROK-Japan agreements", under US imperialist

manipulation. Following the conclusion of the “ROK-Japan agreements”, Japanese militarist forces have increased their penetration of south Korea and US imperialist intrigues have also become more open with the aim of setting up a new military alliance in Asia on the basis of the “ROK-Japan treaty”.

These moves by the US imperialists are intended to unleash another war in Korea, using south Korea as an advance base and the Japanese militarist forces as a “shock brigade”, and to make it easy to mobilize south Korea’s military potential for their aggressive war in Asia.

The US imperialists have directly involved south Korea in their war of aggression in Vietnam and are using it as the most important supplier of cannon fodder. On orders from the US imperialists, the south Korean puppets have thrown more troops than any other vassal states—and sooner than any other puppets—into the battlefields of South Vietnam, thus faithfully serving US imperialism in carrying out its aggressive war. Already tens of thousands of south Korea’s puppet troops have been dragged out to the battlefields of South Vietnam to serve as bullet-shields for the US imperialists and as instruments of imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The US imperialists are resorting to a naked military fascist dictatorship to impose their colonial domination and war policy upon the south Korean people. The military fascist dictatorship established in south Korea is a product of the US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement and war, and faithfully serves it. It has assumed an unprecedented ferocious and barbarous character and become a pattern of the vicious fascist rule of imperialism over its colonies.

The chief aim of the fascist policy of the US imperialists and their hirelings is to wipe out all social and political elements which hinder the execution of their colonial rule and war policy. To this end, they have fabricated various evil fascist laws and expanded the machinery of repression on a large scale, thus covering the whole of south Korea with military, police, intelligence and secret service networks and plunging the whole of society into a shocking reign of terror. The main strength of their fascist tyranny is aimed at stamping out all the

people's democratic freedoms and rights and crushing the patriotic, democratic forces. All the progressive political parties, social organizations, and organs of public opinion and the press are the targets of repression, and many revolutionaries and patriotic people are the victims of fascist rule.

The US imperialists and the Park Jung Hee clique are resorting to every available trick to justify their outrageous fascist rule of terrorism, and they are especially using "anti-communism" as a major political and ideological medium. In south Korea "anti-communism" is a "panacea" for the US imperialists and their stooges which "justified" all their criminal acts from suppressing the people and removing political opponents to clamouring about war and encouraging a fratricidal war. In the name of "anti-communism", war clamours are made against the northern half of Korea. And for the same supposed cause the renewed aggression of Japanese militarism against south Korea is tolerated, and many young and middle-aged men are dragged off to the bloody war in South Vietnam.

However, US imperialism and its stooges can never cover up their criminal acts or deceive the masses by shouting "anti-communist". Whatever suppression and trickery they resort to, they cannot curb the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the people in south Korea.

The aggressive and belligerent policy pursued by the US imperialists through the military fascist dictatorship will not strengthen their position in south Korea; on the contrary, it will only aggravate the crisis of their colonial rule still further. The establishment of the military fascist dictatorship itself means that US imperialism and its henchmen have no choice but to rely on bayonets to maintain their domination, and that the colonial rule of US imperialism is tottering in south Korea.

Under the heavy burden of military expenditure resulting from the war policy and under the fascist tyranny, the people in south Korea have been driven to extreme poverty and deprived of all rights. Furthermore, because of Japanese imperialist moves for renewed aggression and the troop shipments to Vietnam, national dignity has

been totally violated and social unrest is mounting daily.

The policies of war and fascism which have brought unbearable hardship and suffering to the people have provoked deeper discontent with US imperialism and its stooges among the south Korean people and aroused strong aspirations for the right to life and democracy and for the country's reunification. At present the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people is gradually being increased and the people are further aroused and steeled in the course of struggle. The broad-based patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea are uniting under the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist banner, while the handful of counter-revolutionary forces is becoming more isolated.

The more the US imperialists intensify their war policy and fascist oppression in south Korea, the greater the discontent and resistance they will encounter from the people, and the faster the collapse of their colonial rule will be.

Comrades, the present situation requires the rapid growth of the revolutionary forces and an acceleration of the national-liberation democratic revolution by every possible means in south Korea.

The basic task of the south Korean revolution is to liquidate US imperialist colonial rule, secure the democratic development of south Korean society and achieve the country's reunification in unity with the socialist forces in the north.

The main target of the south Korean revolution is the US imperialist forces of aggression. The US imperialists have occupied south Korea by force of arms, completely turning it into their colony and military base. They advertise south Korea as an "independent state" and describe themselves as "helpers"; but the real rulers who hold complete power in south Korea are precisely the US aggressors themselves. The so-called "Republic of Korea government" in south Korea is a puppet regime fraudulently established by the US imperialists, and serves as a camouflage for their colonial rule; it is nothing but an instrument which faithfully carries out the US policy of aggression. The US imperialists' occupation and colonial rule over south Korea are the root cause of all the miseries and sufferings of the

south Korean people and the main obstacles to the reunification of our country.

Without driving out the US imperialist aggressor forces from south Korea and smashing their colonial rule, the south Korean people cannot free themselves from colonial slavery, nor can our country be reunified. The south Korean people must wage a persistent struggle to oppose the occupation of south Korea by the US aggressor troops, drive them out and put an end to US imperialist colonial rule.

It is the handful of landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who support and follow the US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement in south Korea. They have forced a life of colonial slavery upon the people in collusion with the US aggressors and actively defend all the despotic and predatory acts of the aggressors. Under the aegis of the US imperialist aggressors they repress and exploit the people; they wield power and wallow in luxury at the cost of the interests of the country and the nation. While fighting the US aggressors, the people in south Korea must combat and overthrow the landlords, the comprador capitalists and the reactionary bureaucrats who serve the US aggressors as their toadies and guides.

The important thing in the struggle of the south Korean people for national independence and the country's reunification is to frustrate the aggressive plans of the forces of Japanese militarism. The Japanese militarists are the sworn enemy of our nation who forced colonial slavery upon the Korean people, destroying and plundering everything beautiful in our country for nearly half a century. The Japanese militarists, rashly dreaming of regaining their old position, are now worming their way into south Korea again and emerging as a dangerous aggressive force with the backing of US imperialism.

All patriotic people in south Korea must wage a decisive struggle to abrogate the criminal "ROK-Japan agreements" and smash the attempt of the forces of Japanese militarism to renew their aggression against south Korea. This struggle is, at the same time, part of the struggle against US imperialist colonial rule.

Only by overthrowing the US imperialist forces of aggression and

their henchmen, can the south Korean people achieve freedom and liberation, and only by smashing the Japanese militarist attempt at renewed aggression can they extricate themselves from the danger of new calamities.

The most pressing tasks facing the south Korean people in their present struggle against the foreign forces of aggression and their lackeys are to frustrate the war policy of US imperialism and its flunkies, to oppose fascist repression and win democratic rights and liberties.

The south Korean people must oppose and foil the manoeuvrings of the US imperialists and their lackeys who are desperately trying to unleash another war by reinforcing their armed forces, introducing weapons of mass destruction and expanding military installations. The south Korean people should frustrate the intrigues of the US imperialists to draw south Korea into an “anti-communist” military alliance and, in particular, should fight against troop shipments to South Vietnam.

The struggle against troop shipments to South Vietnam is a battle to deliver the young and middle-aged and other sections of the people from the quagmire of a criminal war of aggression; it is a struggle to support the Vietnamese people fighting for freedom and liberation and to oppose the US imperialist policy of spreading war in Asia.

Workers, peasants, intellectuals and people of other sections in south Korea should launch a mass campaign against troop shipments to South Vietnam by US imperialism and its lackeys and young and middle-aged south Koreans should particularly be most active in this struggle so as not to be dragged off to the graveyard of South Vietnam. The soldiers and officers of the “National Army” must resolutely refuse to be sent to Vietnam, and those soldiers and officers already there must fight determinedly for their immediate repatriation.

By dragging the “National Army” troops of south Korea into their foul war of aggression, the US imperialists will eventually meet with tougher resistance from the men and officers of the “National Army” and all the people of south Korea, while the Park Jung Hee clique

which drive young and middle-aged south Koreans to their graves in a foreign land on orders from US imperialism are bound to face a stern judgement by the people for their ineffaceable crime.

The military fascist suppression by US imperialism and the Park Jung Hee clique which prevails in south Korea today not only causes untold hardship to the people but also presents grave obstacles to the development of the revolutionary movement in south Korea. There can be no social progress, nor can revolutionary forces grow rapidly or the revolutionary movement advance successfully so long as the political freedom and democratic rights of the people are trampled upon and fascist suppression prevails

The south Korean people should wage a determined fight against fascist suppression and for freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, demonstration and strike, and also for freedom of activity for all political parties and social organizations. The broad masses of south Korea, including the workers, peasants, student youth and intellectuals, must fight for the right to live and the immediate improvement of their living standards, which is their most urgent need.

The struggle for democratic rights and freedoms can triumph only when it develops into a mass struggle embracing all revolutionary forces and all forces opposed to the military fascist dictatorship in south Korea. The people of all walks of life must inaugurate a joint mass struggle by their united efforts to win political freedom and rights. They must, in this way, check and frustrate fascist repression and despotism by US imperialism and its henchmen and overthrow the present military fascist “regime”, the most heinous executor of colonial fascist rule and the most reactionary group of military intelligence agents and terrorists.

The south Korean people should concentrate all their struggle they are waging now on the liquidation of US imperialist colonial rule, the overthrow of the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats and the winning of power. Only when they establish a people’s power representing all classes and strata, can the south Korean people escape from their present cursed plight once and for all,

and attain genuine freedom and liberation.

In order to vanquish the counter-revolution and win victory for the revolution in south Korea, powerful revolutionary forces must be prepared. Unless this is done, it will be impossible to greet the great revolutionary event, nor will it be possible to deal with the counter-revolutionary offensive of the enemy which is his daily routine.

The basic line of the south Korean revolution at the present stage is to preserve the revolutionary forces from enemy suppression and, at the same time, to augment and expand them constantly in preparation for the decisive hour of the revolution.

The revolutionary forces cannot be established spontaneously without a struggle; they can grow in scope and strength only through hard work. The ordeals of struggle will create the leaders and nuclei of the revolution, will awaken the masses of the people and expand the revolutionary forces.

It is very important to lead the mass movement and struggle correctly in accordance with the principles of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics in preparing the revolutionary forces and advancing the revolution. If a struggle is waged recklessly without accurately calculating the balance of forces between friend and foe and without making a serious appraisal of the internal and external situation, it will cause grave damage to the preservation of the revolutionary forces from enemy repression and to their increase, and will eventually lead to a great setback for the revolution. On the other hand, if one does not wage a positive struggle, just waiting for a favourable situation because the revolution is difficult, the revolutionary forces will not grow, nor will it be possible to tide over difficult phases of the revolution. It is necessary to develop the revolutionary movement in south Korea, properly combining different forms and methods of struggle—political and economic, violent and nonviolent, legal and illegal—to suit the existing subjective and objective situations, while guarding against Right and “Left” deviations as already mentioned.

The revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries in south Korea must do their best to augment and expand revolutionary forces through a positive struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys.

The most important thing of all in the preparation of revolutionary forces is to build up a Marxist-Leninist party, the General Staff in the revolution, and form a powerful main force of the revolution by uniting the workers and peasants—the main masses of society—around the party.

The experience of the south Korean revolutionary movement shows that neither the expansion of the revolutionary forces nor the successful progress of the revolutionary movement can be expected unless there is the unified leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party deeply rooted among the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals. Although the struggle of the masses of the people was greatly heightened in south Korea immediately after liberation, it did not result in victory because it lacked the leadership of a party with real revolutionary nuclei. After the war, a favourable situation was created on many occasions, but the masses of the people could not be led to a decisive struggle because there was no unified leadership of a revolutionary party.

It is an urgent requirement of the development of the revolutionary movement in south Korea today to build up a militant, dynamic Marxist-Leninist party and increase its leading role. Revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries there should steadily broaden and strengthen the party ranks through practical struggle against the enemy and, in particular, build up the quality of party organizations with revolutionary nuclei who have been steeled and tested in the struggle. South Korean revolutionary party organizations should become militant detachments of staunch revolutionary fighters who have a firm Marxist-Leninist world outlook, who are prepared to fight to the last in the interests of the people and who will remain true to the revolutionary principles under all ordeals. The leadership core of the party organizations must be formed with competent revolutionaries capable of correctly judging the situation and skilfully leading the

movement according to the strategic and tactical principles of Marxism-Leninism in any complex circumstances. When they become organizations of such stout revolutionary fighters, the party organizations can guide the revolutionary movement with firm conviction, overcoming all difficulties and trials.

A Marxist-Leninist party can improve its leading role and consolidate itself only when it maintains close bonds of kinship with the workers, peasants, and other broad sections of the masses and roots itself deeply in them. To widen and reinforce its mass foundation, the party should unite the workers and peasants in mass organizations and rally them around it. The mass organizations must include the broad masses; they should be democratic organizations which truly defend class interests, and should be lawful organizations in principle. When the workers and peasants are united in these organizations, awakened, and rallied around the party, the south Korean revolution will possess a powerful main force.

For victory to be achieved in the revolution, it is necessary to mobilize all forces interested in the revolution, while building up its main force. Only by winning over all forces which can be won over and uniting them into a single political force is it possible to isolate the counter-revolution completely, ensure the overwhelming superiority of the revolutionary forces and lead the revolution to victory. One of the most important tasks in strengthening the revolutionary forces and advancing the revolutionary struggle is to form a broad anti-US united front for national salvation which includes the patriotic, democratic forces of all classes and strata in south Korea today.

The broad social sections in south—workers, peasants, student youth, intellectuals, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie—are all suffering under US imperialist colonial rule. This constitutes an objective condition for the formation of an anti-US united front for national salvation comprising people of all walks of life who are opposed to US imperialism and its accomplices—landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats.

The revolutionary organizations and the people of south Korea

should do everything in their power to organize a broad united front. The broadest possible cross section of the people should be rallied to carry out joint action under the banner of the anti-US struggle for national salvation, and in particular, under the banner of opposition to the war policy and fascist repression of US imperialism and its lackeys, to troop shipments to Vietnam and the “ROK-Japan treaty”.

In establishing and consolidating the united front, it is essential to maintain the line of concentrating primarily on the united front of the rank and file and achieving, on this basis, a united front on the top level and to develop the joint struggle gradually from lower into higher forms and expand partial coalition to all-round coalition.

The most important question in the formation of the united front in south Korea is to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, the socio-political basis of the united front, and, at the same time, to achieve the coalition of the workers and peasants with the student youth and intellectuals. This is of tremendous significance not only for the immediate formation of the united front and the development of the mass movement but for the future progress of the south Korean revolution as well. Student youth and intellectuals in colonial countries generally have a revolutionary spirit, for they suffer national oppression and contempt. They are sensitive to the trend of the times and quickly reach national consciousness and, accordingly, play an important role in building a bridge between the workers and peasants and the revolutionary movement. The student youth and intellectuals of south Korea have all these characteristics and, in fact, constitute an important force in the struggle against the US imperialist forces of aggression and their lackeys. The south Korean workers and peasants should closely unite with the student youth and intellectuals and always work together to carry out the national-liberation revolution now and to build a new society in the future. The student youth and intellectuals of south Korea should strengthen their fighting ranks still more firmly, without yielding to any repression and persecution by the enemy, and fight to the end for the victory of the cause of revolution, becoming deeply involved with

the workers and peasants and casting in their lot with them.

At present, more than 600,000 young and middle-aged men serve in the “National Army” in south Korea. The absolute majority of the rank and file and the low- and middle-ranking officials come from the working people, including workers and peasants. The “National Army”, however, as an instrument of US colonial rule is forced to aim its guns at the people and nation and is dragged into the aggressive war as colonial mercenaries. The “National Army” must rid itself of this shameful situation and become an army of the people, an army of the nation.

The soldiers and the low- and middle-ranking officers of the “National Army” should not be deceived by US imperialism and its lackeys. The enemies are not their compatriots, parents and brothers, but the US imperialist aggressors and their minions. They should not be used to slaughter their fellow countrymen and repress the people but should make common cause with their parents and brothers, and with the people in the struggle against the foreign aggressors, landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. The “National Army” soldiers and officers must turn their guns on the US imperialists and their stooges.

The south Korean people must make every effort to see that their sons are not involved in the criminal act of betraying the people and the nation but are liberated from the disgraceful status of mercenaries in the service of US imperialist aggression and come over to the side of the people and the nation.

In order to weaken the counter-revolutionary forces and consolidate the revolutionary forces it is very important to induce the “National Army” soldiers and officers to side with the people, the nation and the revolution. The south Korean revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries should concentrate on doing good work within the “National Army”, so as to win over the ranks and the low- and middle-ranking officers to the side of the revolution.

The primary question in all work for isolating the counter-revolution and increasing the revolutionary forces is to

awaken the masses of the people politically and ideologically. Revolution starts with rousing the masses. Unless the masses are awakened, it is impossible to unite them in an organized way or develop the mass movement. There is an increasing necessity to give priority to political and ideological work in the light of the present situation in south Korea where the enemy is intensifying its reactionary ideological offensive with each passing day. The south Korean revolutionary organizations must work hard to raise the class consciousness of the workers and peasants and the national consciousness of the masses of the people and to enlighten and awaken them politically.

It is of paramount importance in awakening the people in south Korea to rid the masses of illusions about the United States and flunkeyism towards it and to root out “anti-communist” ideas. The ideas of reverence and servility towards the United States and “anti-communist” ideas have a long history in south Korea. After the defeat of Japanese imperialism, especially, they were implanted still deeper by the US imperialists and the reactionary, pro-American forces—the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats—who work hand in glove with the US imperialists.

Today, a number of people in south Korea fail to see the aggressive nature of US imperialism, and think that they could not live without US “aid”. The influence of the idea of idolizing the United States and trying to live on its support is a great obstacle to the struggle for national liberation and independence.

To free the south Korean people from the influence of such reactionary ideas, it is necessary, first of all, to expose the US imperialists’ policy of neocolonialism and lay bare their aggressive, predatory nature and the colonial character of south Korean society. It is essential to heighten the consciousness of national identity among the people of south Korea against servility towards the United States, propagate the idea of independence and self-sufficiency against the idea of relying on outside forces, and give wide publicity to the patriotic national traditions of the Korean people against national

nihilism. By this means, the national pride and self-confidence of the people should be encouraged and their love for the country and the nation promoted so that they can fight more valiantly against foreign aggressors.

All this information work among the masses must be conducted in close combination with the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The principles of Marxism-Leninism should be widely propagated among the masses of the people so as to give them a correct understanding of socialism and communism and help the broad masses, including the workers and peasants, to shake off the influence of the “anti-communist” ideas.

In conducting information work of Marxist-Leninist ideology, particular attention must be paid to the proper introduction of the masses of workers and peasants of south Korea to the essence and superiority of the social system in the northern half of Korea. Only when the south Korean people have a correct understanding of the social system in the north, will they cast off prejudice against socialism and communism and accept Marxist-Leninist ideology, and participate actively in the revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary movement will progress rapidly in south Korea if the national and class consciousness of the masses of the people is raised and the broad masses enter the struggle with revolutionary zeal and courage because of the energetic political and ideological work of the revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries.

A revolution, however great it may be, is first started by a small number of pioneers, and then gradually, in such a way as the number of people rallying around them multiplies from one to ten, from ten to a hundred, the broad masses are roused to action, with the eventual result that the revolution emerges victorious. Therefore, so long as competent leading nuclei have been trained, it is possible to awaken and unite the masses and develop the revolutionary movement and—in the end, when a favourable situation is created—lead the people to victory in the decisive battle to crush the enemy. Provided that there are revolutionary nuclei and the revolutionary forces are strengthened, it is

possible to defeat any counter-revolutionary forces with the support of the masses.

The south Korean revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries must steadily increase their ideological and organizational strength in order to hasten the decisive hour of the revolution and overthrow the colonial rule of US imperialism, and must prepare the revolutionary masses for every kind of violent and non-violent struggle.

It is true that the south Korean revolution cannot be easily won and that there is still an arduous road ahead. But no difficulty, no desperate attempt on the part of the enemy, can halt the advance of the revolution in south Korea. In keeping with the law that governs the development of revolution, the revolutionary movement will continue to advance and develop in south Korea and in the course of the struggle the revolutionary ranks will steadily grow in numbers and in strength.

No revolution ever failed once the masses of the people were determined to carry it out and rose as one in a heroic struggle. The south Korean people, in particular, are not alone in their revolutionary struggle; they have a powerful revolutionary base in the north. Our Party and all the people here will do all they can to support the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people and will join hands with them in the resolute battle for the complete liberation of our country and the reunification of the motherland.

When the south Korean revolution emerges victorious, the cause of reunification of our country will be successfully achieved by the united efforts of the socialist forces in north Korea and the patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea.

The reunification of the country is the supreme national task of our people and an urgent question whose solution brooks no further delay. There may be various ways and means for accomplishing the reunification of our country. But, whatever they are, the reunification must always be achieved independently by the Korean people themselves; it can never be otherwise. Korean reunification is an internal affair of the Korean nation; neither the United Nations nor any other outside forces have the right to intervene. The Korean people can

achieve the country's reunification only by their own efforts; neither the United Nations nor any outside forces can bring us a reunified country. To try to achieve reunification by relying on outside forces is a delusion, it will only perpetuate the split of the country and bring about enslavement.

The US imperialists and their menials insist upon reunification under UN supervision, doggedly obstructing the independent reunification of our country. The south Korean puppet clique have recently been complaining that if reunification were to be accomplished right now, south Korea would be in danger of "turning Red", that for the moment it is therefore necessary to "promote real power" to "prevail over communism" and that the question of reunification could be discussed in the "latter half of the 1970s". This proves that they are, in fact, not the least concerned about the reunification of the country, despite their words. Moreover, to "prevail over communism" is nothing but the absurd raving of those who nurse a wild fancy to pluck stars from the sky, and the uproar about the danger of "turning Red" only reveals them in their true colours as traitors to the country and the nation who oppose reunification and try to perpetuate division and keep the south Korean people under the US imperialist yoke of colonial slavery for ever.

It is obvious that the question of our national reunification cannot be solved without the communists, since they have become a solid guiding force in the northern half of the country where all the people have accepted communist ideology and are building a new, happy life under its banner.

The social system to be established in our country after its reunification is a question which, by its very nature, will be decided by the unanimous will of the all the Korean people. If all the people in south Korea want communism like the people in the north, a social system based on that idea will, of course, be established in our reunified country.

Communist ideology is the most progressive ideology which lights up a bright future for mankind. The achievements in socialist

construction scored by the people in the north under the leadership of the communists clearly show what great things can be accomplished for the people, for the prosperity of the nation and the progress and development of the country when communist ideology is taken as the guiding principle. Communist ideology today grips the hearts of hundreds of millions of people on all continents of the globe, inspiring them to take part in the sacred struggle for freedom, liberation and the building of a new society.

When the country is reunified, we shall be able to pool the talents and energies of all the people in north and south Korea and develop the resources in both parts consistently to build a new prosperous Korea, a fine land for the people to live in. When reunified, our country will be a large nation with a population of 40 million, a wealthy and powerful nation which will not need to envy any other country.

All the people in north and south Korea, looking forward to this bright future, are striving to hasten the cause of reunification of our country. Just as US imperialism and its lackeys are unable to obstruct the revolution and construction in the northern half of Korea, so they cannot impede the progress and triumph of the revolutionary movement in south Korea nor block the path ahead of the Korean people in their struggle for reunification.

Our 600,000 compatriots in Japan and all other Korean citizens abroad desire the reunification of their homeland and are fighting to recover a reunified homeland. Whatever repression and persecution the Japanese authorities may resort to, they cannot curb the struggle of our compatriots in Japan for democratic, national rights and the reunification of the motherland; it will only provoke the passionate indignation of the all the Korean people. We scathingly condemn the repression and persecution of our compatriots in Japan by the Japanese authorities and will always give support and encouragement to their just struggle.

The day of reunification of our country is drawing nearer thanks to the glorious struggle waged by the people in north and south Korea under the banner of national salvation against US imperialism and to

the patriotic struggle of the Korean citizens abroad. Sooner or later, the US imperialist aggressors, the inveterate enemy of our people, will be driven out of south Korea; already there are signs of their domination being overthrown.

The US imperialists are now rebuffed and isolated wherever they set foot in the world. Being confronted by the resistance of the revolutionary peoples in Asia and the rest of the world, they are being driven deeper into a corner.

Imperialism appears to be strong but, in fact, it is like a castle built of sand and its collapse is inevitable. This was the case with Hitler and the Japanese imperialists in the past. At present the US imperialists, boasting that they are the “mightiest” in the world, make a show of power, but they, too, are doomed to ruin.

This will also be the fate of the Japanese militarists who are worming their way into south Korea with the backing of US imperialism. The Japanese militarists are historically accustomed to getting “bonanzas” with the help of the big fellows. In the past they conspired with the US and British imperialists and annexed Korea under their patronage, stretched out their claws of aggression to the Asian continent, and, forming an alliance with fascist Germany and Italy, made frenzied efforts to be the “leader” of Asia. But they were defeated in the long run. Watching for a chance to get another “bonanza”, the Japanese militarists are now trying to sneak into south Korea in collusion with the US imperialists, and to realize their old dream of the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere”. But this is a preposterous daydream.

Korea today is not the Korea of yesterday, and today’s Asia is not the Asia of yesterday. If the Japanese militarists again take the road of aggression against Korea and Asia, regardless of the lessons of history, they will perish in their own flames.

No imperialist force on earth can conquer the Korean people and the rest of the Asian peoples.

The imperialist aggressors will inevitably be defeated and our people will emerge victorious; the liberation of the south Korean

people and the cause of national reunification will eventually be attained.

Comrades, the revolutionary cause of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people is a righteous one. The internal and external policies of our Party are correct policies that have applied Marxism-Leninism to reality. Our revolutionary ranks rallied around the Party are invincible and they are being further expanded and strengthened.

The more complex the situation becomes and the more difficult and tremendous tasks we are confronted with, the firmer we will unite our ranks and the more valiantly we will fight along the road we have chosen, with confidence in the justice of our cause and victory.

Our whole Party and all the people, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, will unwaveringly fulfil their national and international duties with credit by continuously waging a vigorous struggle, rallied still more closely around the Party Central Committee.

LET US DEVELOP REVOLUTIONARY FINE ARTS: NATIONAL IN FORM AND SOCIALIST IN CONTENT

**Talk to Workers in the Fine Arts on the Occasion
of the Ninth National Art Exhibition**

October 16, 1966

Many fine works of art are displayed at the Ninth National Art Exhibition. It is very gratifying that our artists have succeeded in representing the arduous but dynamic path of revolution which our Party has traversed and the heroic struggle of our people. They have made great progress not only in the content of their work but also in technique.

Many of the pictures on exhibition are of high quality, particularly the oil entitled *On the Road of Advance* and the Korean brush, ink, and colour paintings *Old Man on the Raktong River* and *Women of Namgang Village*.

Among the people in *On the Road of Advance* there is a small young soldier, an elderly commanding officer and a young nurse. Some are smiling, while the others are serious and preoccupied. They have come a long way through hard battle; but each face is optimistic, expressing unconditional loyalty to our Party and a firm conviction in the victory of the revolution.

Old Man on the Raktong River presents one impressive scene from the Fatherland Liberation War: our People's Army and the masses, united as one force, fight bravely against the enemy. The canvas

portrays exceptionally well both the emotions of an old man helping soldiers of the People's Army, despite the danger, and the determination of those soldiers carrying out their combat mission with acute vigilance and burning hatred for the enemy.

Then there is the *Women of Namgang Village*. How lifelike and full of fighting spirit the picture is! Its characters are the very image of the resourceful, fearless women of Korea who fought at home as heroically as the men at the front, making any sacrifice necessary to win victory in the Fatherland Liberation War. Even the oxen they are driving seem to be filled with spirit.

On the Way to the South and *The Wrath of Sinchon*, are also both fine paintings. The Korean painting, *On the Way to the South*, portrays the traditional unity between army and people well—the People's Army rely on the masses in their fight for the country and the people, and the people, in turn, wholeheartedly support the soldiers of the People's Army and love them as their brothers. *The Wrath of Sinchon*, an oil, vividly represents the indignation of the people, looking over the bloodbath of the enemy and making a grim vow, "We'll take our revenge on those beasts."

There are several fine canvases in the exhibition which graphically show the true nature of the exploiter society; in this way they make an effective contribution to the class education of our younger generation. Among others, *Daughter, At a Mill*, and *The Day When the Daughter Is Sold* are worthy of mention. *Daughter* is an oil which eloquently shows with what wickedness and craftiness the landlords used to torment the peasants. Every detail is painted with great skill: the pitiable looks on the faces of the mother and daughter who are grief-stricken at the forced separation; the crying child and the haughty air of the steward, the landlord's agent. Anyone standing before this canvas is filled with hatred for the classes which exploit them. Our children must be shown many pictures like this. They know very little about traffic in human beings, about the sorrow and humiliation their parents suffered in the past under the oppressive hand of the landlords and capitalists. Show them many pictures of this kind and they will

come to see clearly the true nature of an exploitative society and will be better able to appreciate the happy life they know today under socialism.

You have produced many good canvases. Some deal with the brilliant revolutionary traditions of our glorious anti-Japanese armed struggle, with the proud struggle of our working people actively engaged in socialist construction, and with the happy life of the people under the socialist system we have established in our Republic. Others represent the save-the-nation struggle against US imperialism of the people in the southern half of Korea.

As well as paintings, there are many excellent examples of art for the stage and the cinema, sculpture, industrial art and embroidery.

All this is strong evidence that our fine arts are developing soundly under the correct guidance of our Party. I warmly congratulate all you, literary and art workers of the Party, who have created so many excellent works of art, upholding the Party's literary and artistic policy and struggling energetically to see that it is carried out.

I should like to take this opportunity to speak to you about some problems concerning the continued development of our fine arts.

Our arts must be truly people-oriented ones which respond to the sentiments of our people; they must be revolutionary ones that serve the interests of the Party and the revolution. Therefore, our fine arts must be national in form and socialist in content in every way.

To achieve this end our most essential task is to develop our fine arts on the basis of the splendid national traditions of Korean painting.

Korean painting is an artistic form peculiar to Oriental painting. It is characterized by forcefulness, beauty and elegance. The canvases by An Kyon and Kim Hong Do, Ri dynasty artists, not only reflect life truthfully but show a forceful and beautiful touch. They say that Sol Ko, the celebrated ancient artist, painted pine trees on a wall so realistically that birds outside mistook them for real ones and tried to perch there, flying into the wall and falling down.

Since we have this unique, wonderful form of art, why imitate others? To slight Korean painting and value only Western painting

shows a tendency towards servility and national nihilism.

They say that in imperialist and capitalist countries of the West abstract paintings, which viewers cannot understand, are very much in vogue. We must determinedly prevent this degenerate trend in bourgeois artistic taste from infiltrating the fine arts of our country.

This does not mean, however, that you must only produce Korean paintings from now on, rejecting positive artistic forms from other countries. We should continue to develop oil painting and various printing techniques. Oil can be an excellent medium for art when it is used to portray the lives of our people in simple, clear and delicate brushstrokes which harmonize with Korean sensibility. In other words, in the fine arts as in all other fields, we must thoroughly establish Juche and develop the art of our country on the basis of indigenous forms.

When we say that the development of our fine arts should be based on Korean painting, we do not mean that everything from the past should be imitated in a mechanical, preservationist way. First we must study the art of drawing which is characteristic of Korean painting, noteworthy for its clarity and simplicity, and then develop it to meet the needs of our time. Korean painting is a valuable artistic expression. However, this classical art form has many shortcomings, a major one of which is the lack of colour. Canvases were done mostly in black and white. We must completely overcome this and similar defects in Korean painting in our time, transforming it to suit our contemporary sensibility.

As well as developing and perfecting national forms in Korean art, we should also work actively to transform it into genuinely revolutionary fine art with socialist content.

The most important thing here is the correct choice of subject.

One important component of a work of art should be its power to educate the people in revolutionary consciousness and inspire them to revolutionary struggle. Without this element a work does not really deserve to be called revolutionary art. In the past, Korean painters exclusively depicted nature—beautiful landscapes, attractive birds and animals; they rarely did figurative paintings which showed the daily

life and toil of the people. Such paintings, however skilfully done, cannot touch the hearts of our people or have any educational value today in the midst of our dynamic struggle for revolution and construction. Our painters ought to produce canvases which serve to educate the masses in communism and urge them forward in their efforts to carry on the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction.

Your first task, then, is to create many works of art which present our people's glorious revolutionary struggle. Specifically, you must produce more works depicting the boundless loyalty of the anti-Japanese guerrillas to the revolution, their dedication to the people and country, their firm confidence in victory of the revolution and indomitable fighting spirit, and their lofty sense of revolutionary comradeship. This is very important today in arming our people with our Party's revolutionary ideas. At the same time, more works of fine art representing the immortal exploits of our People's Army and countrymen during the Fatherland Liberation War as well as the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people should be produced. War, however, should not be the only theme. The people's heroic struggle to construct socialism and communism and scenes of their happy life today under the socialist system deserve attention. Our artists should also continue to create many works which expose the true nature of the old, exploiter society.

If you develop the indigenous form of our fine arts and then use it to depict the achievements of the masses in their everyday struggle and stimulating lives, our fine arts will truly become revolutionary. The canvases at the exhibition prove that our painters have worked hard to improve our fine arts. Many paintings in traditional Korean style already show an adequate handling of colour and express different aspects of our people's lives and struggle in a very realistic way. Artists should draw from these positive experiences and persist in their efforts to develop our fine arts.

In addition to painting, fine arts for the cinema and the stage, industrial art, sculpture, embroidery, crafts, and so on, should continue

to be developed on the basis of traditional Korean forms suitable to the emotions and aspirations of builders of socialism.

For our artists to create genuinely people-oriented and revolutionary works of art which are national in form and socialist in content, it is important that they faithfully depict reality in all its variety and in different forms, adhering closely to the method of socialist realism.

The fine arts of capitalist society are based exclusively on subjectivism, formalism and naturalism, divorced from real life; they are removed from the daily lives of the people and fail to win their love. The reverse is true of our fine arts—specifically geared to serve the masses of the people and develop in the midst of their love. Korean artists have an honourable task: to create a large number of works so people-oriented that all our people will return to them again and again, works which portray men and women devoted to the struggle for our revolutionary cause and socialist construction; that is, works which breathe the same air as the masses and march alongside them in the age of revolution.

Workers in the fine arts must necessarily probe the present exciting situation if they are to produce works of high quality which satisfy the Party's demands and win the people's love.

An artist who fails to recognize the vibrant substance of life or understand the thoughts and feelings of the masses can never produce a work of value, no matter how great his artistic talents may be. Such a person is likely to paint pictures which are out of touch with present-day-needs and which falsely beautify and idealize life. Paintings that do not meet the demands of the times will never earn the people's admiration. When art grossly exaggerates reality, no one will believe it. It will fail to have any influence on people.

Artists must go to factories and villages and examine existing conditions. They must work with the workers and peasants and study their lives deeply. Only then can they understand the true feelings and thoughts of the population. Only then can they produce lifelike works of art that will serve our revolution and enjoy the admiration of the people.

We must ensure that many people take part in the creation of our fine arts and that a large reserve of talented artists is trained.

Painting, making objects for industrial art and sculpting are not mysteries limited to a handful of specialists. Workers, peasants and even young people, children and students can do all these things. We should ensure that the broad masses participate actively in the creation of fine arts. We should carefully tend the new buds which grow and give them every possible opportunity for development. The results will be enumerable excellent works of art and a rapid increase in the ranks of our artists. Since painting does not involve physical exertion, I think it would be good to train many women as artists. The state should always be deeply concerned with the systematic training of artists and provide them with all the necessary conditions for their creative activities.

We must effectively organize work to show the excellent product of our fine arts to a wide public. High-quality paintings should appear in illustrated magazines; they should be reproduced extensively in other media and then be sent to factories, enterprises, cooperative farms and to the People's Army, as well as educational and cultural institutions. It is also advisable to exhibit excellent examples of sculpture in our children's palaces, Children's Union camps, clubhouses and other places where children and working people gather.

Furthermore, all the paintings in the National Art Exhibition should be reprinted and made into an album. This is the only way we can preserve our fine arts and refer to any picture easily whenever we need to do so.

I hope you will train yourselves as better Red literary and art workers of the Party and create more and more excellent works of fine art in the future.

ON THE ELIMINATION OF FORMALISM AND BUREAUCRACY IN PARTY WORK AND THE REVOLUTIONIZATION OF OFFICIALS

**Speech to Officials of the Departments of Organizational
Leadership and Information and Publicity,
Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

October 18, 1966

I am going to speak to you comrades about some defects which have been revealed in our Party work and about measures to correct them. Originally I prepared myself to speak to department directors, but it was suggested that it would be better for me to speak to all the officials of the Organizational and Information Departments who are directly engaged in the Party's organizational and ideological work. So I am going to talk to you today.

1. ON THE ELIMINATION OF FORMALISM IN ECONOMIC GUIDANCE BY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

One of the most fundamental defects in Party work today is that the formalistic style of work has not been eliminated amongst our officials.

They are so seriously afflicted with formalism that in their work they only skim over matters rather than going deeply into them. When they deal with a problem, they do not try to understand it in depth, but, instead, simply scratch the surface. In analysing any question, our officials should delve deeply into it and try to understand its substance fully, much as one would cut up a watermelon to confirm whether it is red or white inside. But they do not do so.

For this reason, our officials do not work effectively and do not have a deep understanding of problems, and this is the trouble. In appearance they seem to know everything, but when it comes to making a detailed analysis of a problem they know nothing about it. When investigating a problem somewhere, they simply deal with it superficially; they do not try to dig down into it and understand it thoroughly.

In order to understand a person, also, they should try to study him carefully from various angles. But they do not, and consequently they have no profound understanding of him—whether he is a genuine or false revolutionary and whether he has a good knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Accordingly, in personnel affairs some minor defect is often exaggerated, while a serious issue, to which you ought to pay attention, although it may seem insignificant, is occasionally handled carelessly.

As I said at the last conference with department directors, many defects are being exposed at present in the work of building up the Party's ranks. Officials of the Organizational Department seem to think that our ranks are now pure just because they are made up of people whose personal histories show a worker origin.

This idea is wrong. It is true, of course, that the working class suffered most from capitalist oppression in the past and, accordingly, they have a deeper hatred for capitalism and imperialism and a stronger revolutionary spirit than anybody else. As Marx said, workers have no private property and they have nothing to lose in the revolution but their chains. The working class are selected because they have strong organization and solidarity.

And yet the working class cannot be entirely free from the influence of bourgeois ideology since they, too, have lived in a capitalist society. Nor have their families been members of the working class for generations. In other words, since our working class have not necessarily learned working-class ideology from their grandfathers or great grandfathers, and since they have lived in a bourgeois society, we cannot say that they are entirely free from the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois outlook.

Moreover, many working-class people are former peasants, small and medium-scale entrepreneurs and merchants in our country because the ranks of the working class have grown rapidly as a result of the speedy development of industry within a short time. Those working-class people who are of peasant, merchant or bankrupted minor entrepreneur origin were profoundly influenced by the class position of their parents.

The working class also contains many former casual labourers, besides workers in large iron or steel plants. It is true, of course, that almost all of them suffered oppression as an exploited class in the past. But they are distinguished from each other because they have been influenced by different social circumstances.

It is by no means true that all those of worker status possess strong revolutionary spirit and are endowed with organization, obedience and solidarity. Workers, too, can become true working class only when they are revolutionized; they cannot be revolutionized automatically simply because they have engaged in labour.

For these reasons, you cannot settle the whole question merely by making up our ranks with people of working-class origin. But you think that everything will be arranged by promoting people of worker origin or of worker status on the basis of their personal histories. This is a great weakness in your organizational work. Indeed, all our ranks of cadres are of working-class origin. Therefore, they appear to be quite good but you must know that, in fact, there are still many vestiges of petty-bourgeois ideology in their ranks.

You have not yet done away with formalism in either

organizational work or information activities. Educational networks have now been set up and any matter, once it has been discussed and decided upon by the Party, does go down to lower levels without fail. So you appear to believe that everything is now settled. At present, Information Department officials consider that they have done their job well once they put out *Motivation Worker's Notes* or information outlines. But they have no exact knowledge of how the material gets to Party members and the masses, nor do they take appropriate measures to do this either. If the Information Department has issued *Motivation Worker's Notes*, it should find out whether they are distributed properly to Party members and the masses, whether they suit the level of our Party members, whether they have been correctly understood and things of that kind. Only by doing this can they take prompt measures. But all they do now is to compile and send out *Motivation Worker's Notes* or information outlines in a formalistic manner. So it is impossible for information work to proceed satisfactorily.

In this way, it looks as though everything has been done properly, but, in fact, there is a great deal of formalism left. Because formalism is still deeply rooted in Party work, neither revolutionization nor the Party's organizational work goes well.

For years I have been studying how to eliminate formalism, and I have made various attempts to put things right, but in vain; formalism always remains formalism despite all my efforts.

The formalism which still exists in our Party work has been disseminated over a long period of time by anti-Party factionalists like Ho Ka I and Pak Chang Ok who abused their high Party positions. During that time our revolutionary nuclei, that is, those revolutionary comrades-in-arms who had been tempered amid protracted guerrilla struggles, were absorbed in solving complex problems such as the establishment of people's power and the founding of the armed forces, and had no time for inner-Party work. Taking advantage of this opportunity, those elements, steeped in flunkeyism and dogmatism, introduced bureaucracy and formalism from another country into our Party. The harmful consequences

showed up clearly at the time of the Fatherland Liberation War.

Since then we have inaugurated a campaign to establish Juche against flunkeyism and dogmatism. But it eventually turned into an anti-factional fight against assorted villains such as Pak Hon Yong and Pak Il U. And so we could not root out formalism. At following plenary meetings our attacks were made mainly on dogmatism in the ideological sphere, and the battle against formalism in all our work could not be carried forward satisfactorily, with the result that formalism could not be eliminated. Formalism has thus become a chronic problem amongst our officials.

Just as it is difficult to change a left-hander into a right-hander, so it has become difficult to root out formalism which has now become chronic and habitual. Everybody talks about the necessity for eliminating formalism but in fact they fall back into formalism the moment they turn round.

Now, ministers and many other officials accept instructions from above, agreeing that they are all correct. They all accept instructions in this way and put them down in their notebooks, and pass them on to their people, saying that Comrade Premier has raised such and such important problems and stressed such and such points on this occasion. But they only communicate instructions without carrying them out. That is why policies set forth by the Party are not being translated into action.

Let me cite an example from agriculture. At present, we do not even have an irrigation chart in this branch. So officials have no idea how long the waterways are, where the water leaks, how many years ago the installations were built and when they should be repaired. Nor do they know which paddy-field bed uses more water and which less, or which paddy-field leaks how much water per minute. All they know is the per-hectare consumption of water according to the volume of pumped water and the capacity of the reservoir, which they reckon up on their fingers. I told them a long time ago to control water carefully, but there still has not even been a short course on water control.

It is not only in water control that the Party policy is being carried

out unsatisfactorily in agriculture. The Agricultural Commission has not properly performed a single one of its tasks including land control, land improvement, seed selection and seed cultivation, so emphatically set forth by the Party. A long time ago I told the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee to build seed warehouses and set up seed farms, but the task has not yet been carried out satisfactorily.

This is not only the case with the agricultural branch; the same can be said of other branches.

Why are nonferrous metals not produced in abundance? So that they can be mined in large quantities, you ought to begin with geological prospecting in accordance with Party policy. But you are doing it so badly that the production of nonferrous metals is low.

Our Party has always stressed the necessity for increasing production by making the utmost use of the production space in existing factories, without extending capital construction. But this policy of the Party is also being implemented carelessly.

Look at the way factories under the Ministry of Machine Industry make use of their production space. We can easily understand how negligently they are applying the Party's policies. The Charyongwan Mining Machinery Factory was set up a long time ago. It is located near the highway, and several times, when going to Sinuiju by car, I intended to call in, but I could not for various reasons. Recently I visited the factory for the first time. Upon my arrival, I found that it was a large undertaking, and yet there were only a few machines, and the buildings were almost empty. I asked the manager why he did not accommodate more machine tools in such a big factory so that nuts and bolts could be produced in large quantities. I explained to him that at present other factories ran short of nuts and bolts and had to produce them with multi-purpose lathes, and that with that space this factory could turn out at least three times as much as it was producing now. He replied that he was not sure about the factor of three, but it would be quite possible to double the present production. Now, the Party is very much concerned about the lack of space to accommodate factory

facilities, and it is a very serious matter when factory space is not being fully utilized like this.

This is also the position at the Educational Books Printing Shop. First set up as a machine shop, it was given to the relevant branch because they kept asking for it, saying that they had to print more textbooks for the education of students. But the factory buildings are too large for a textbook print shop, and the space is not fully utilized. Under the circumstances, Pyongyang should have held discussions on the factory area in question and taken measures to use it rationally. Pyongyang has quite a few publishing houses, each of which belongs to a different ministry. It would not be a bad idea to put them together in the big print shop, and turn the buildings now used as publishing houses into small specialized machine shops or local industry factories. Then, the country would also benefit a great deal. The Political Committee received frequent reports about the low utilization rate of the production area at the Educational Books Printing Shop. So one day we went to see for ourselves. And, indeed, barely one-fourth of the production area was being used. In addition, there was neither discipline nor order in the factory.

Our officials do not study Party policies, and formalism has become so habitual with them that they have become mentally dull and tend to tackle any problem in a haphazard manner.

Let me cite another example of how formalistically Pyongyang has handled matters. They were asked to plant pine trees, and did plant them, although reluctantly. When they received the assignment, they should have dug the trees out expertly, planted them carefully and looked after them well. Instead, they dug them out and planted them casually, making use of many vehicles and a great deal of manpower. They did not look after the trees properly, and they all died. If the job was really more than they could handle, they should have planted just as many trees as they could look after, watered them promptly and kept as many alive as possible. What is the use of preserving so many dried-up trees? Senior officials of Pyongyang have killed the trees which were planted at the cost of a great deal of gasoline, labour and

money, and yet they feel no regrets.

This attitude has become such a habit that they now pay no attention if there is a leak somewhere in the city's water supply and they do not worry even when they see expensive steam escaping unchecked. This is really intolerable. How can our officials run the city well and look after the nation's economic affairs carefully if they work this way?

We could quote many more similar examples of our officials working formalistically.

In this way, formalism remains deeply rooted, and Party policies are carried out carelessly in all branches without exception, be it agriculture, industry or city management.

Many shortcomings are to be found in carrying out the Party's economic policies at present, mainly because of the casual guidance to economic work by the Party organizations of all levels, coupled with the formalistic style of work on the part of administrative and management personnel.

See how provincial Party committees do their work. The chief secretaries of provincial Party committees have contracted such a chronic case of formalism that, when they return from the capital, they convene a plenary meeting and make extravagant reports on what the Party Central Committee has set forth this time and how they should act upon it, and they adopt resolutions, and that is the end of the matter.

Formalism in the work of Party organizations is also shown in the course of carrying out the resolutions of the last Party Conference. As you all know, we held the Party Conference some time ago and heard an important report. The present situation is very complicated and requires an intensified struggle. We should carry out economic as well as defence construction successfully since there are only a few years left in the Seven-Year Plan period. And so we should uphold the decisions of the Party Conference, methodically do our organizational work for their execution and eliminate formalism once and for all.

But you are again going to carry out the decisions of the Party Conference in a formalistic way. Perhaps you think it is enough to record the Premier's speech for the people and put it out in pamphlet

form, and you are going to convene provincial Party plenary meetings without even making proper arrangements for studies or discussions on the Party Conference report. So we have asked you not to hold the plenary meetings. Have you found out how many of our Party members and officials correctly understand the content of the Party Conference report and how many have discerned the intentions of the report and have worked out a clear plan to put them into practice? I do not think so. You all just rush around in a great hurry, but that is not the way to work. We should put our officials on the right track before it is too late.

In the work of the Party organizations of North Phyongan Province we can see clearly what serious consequences formalism in the Party work has entailed in socialist economic construction. As I said in my concluding address to the Party Conference, North Phyongan Province produces over 400,000 tons of rice straw every year, but the Sinuiju Pulp Mill came to a standstill because it was not supplied with the 40,000 tons it needed. Ryongchon County alone produces 80,000 tons of straw annually, and it is simply intolerable that a mill is brought to a standstill at this crucial time because 40,000 tons of rice straw are not delivered.

The Sinuiju Pulp Mill does not fail to turn out paper because it runs short of soda. The mill does not consume much soda; it has a long history and does not lack any equipment. The mill has not been properly run so far only because of the failure to supply it with raw materials. The Party organizations of North Phyongan Province were not concerned about the mill, and they did not even conduct adequate information work among the working people of the province to get the necessary raw materials.

I went to North Phyongan Province to have a talk with Party members, cooperative farmers and school teachers. They did not know anything about the fact that the mill could not operate for lack of rice straw. I reminded them that the Party had rid the countryside of landlords to give them land, exempted them from taxes in kind and built modern houses for them free, and I asked them why they were

now so tight-fisted that they would not even supply the mill with rice straw. At this they stood up one after another and said: "Premier! We really didn't know. If we had known, how could we have been miserly about something like rice straw? We would even have given it away." This clearly shows how formalistically the Party organizations of North Phyongan Province have done their political work among the inhabitants of the province.

There is a great deal of formalism also in the work of the Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee.

We are now establishing poultry farms to supply the people with chickens. Before leaving for a rest home to write my report and to take some time off, I called up the senior officials of the Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee and told them to have the poultry farms completed before my return, I came back two months later. Nothing had been done.

This case in itself tells us to what extent formalism has influenced the work of our officials. Formalism has now reached such a point that you do not even care when Party decisions or instructions are not properly carried out.

Proper Party guidance is not given to geological prospecting, either. Now our officials do not even know whether there is a political department instructor in the prospecting branch. This is the situation, and we can well imagine how superficial Party guidance has been in that field. Have the people of the Organizational Department of the Party ever gone out to talk to groups of prospectors and to hear reports on their work? Has the Information Department ever given the workers lectures or short training courses? They have never done so; they just sit in their offices and expect prospecting to proceed smoothly. Prospecting involves separate groups of five to six or even a dozen people who stay in the mountains day and night, and there is no way of knowing whether they are doing their work properly or whether they are making reports about things which they have not actually done.

Because our officials have not eradicated formalism, they see only the surface and not what is below it; they see only one side but not the

other. Consequently, they do not know how or where to find the mistakes.

Their inability to recognize the shortcomings stems mainly from their inadequate understanding of the Party's policies. I always say that Party policy is, metaphorically speaking, something like a yardstick, and you should always think and act with that as a standard. Our officials, however, do not know the Party's policies, so that they cannot do their work efficiently and cannot see when something runs counter to those policies. As for the misuse of factory space, if our officials had a full understanding of Party policy, they would have recognized that it had been violated as soon as they entered the factory and they would have asked why there were only a few machines when the Party had directed them to increase the utilization rate of factory space. But they cannot do that.

Instructors of the Party Organizational and Information Departments should know Party policies through and through. Only then can they promptly discern violations of the policies wherever they go. But since you work without knowing them, we cannot believe that you have studied Party policies deeply enough.

The situation caused by our officials' formalistic style in work has now become extremely grave. Without rooting out formalism, neither socialist construction in the northern half of the country nor the south Korean revolution can succeed. Nor can the cause of national reunification be stepped up.

That is why we are now firmly determined to try to eliminate the remaining traces of formalism in our officials.

Where, then, should we begin to correct the formalistic work style? First of all, officials of the Party Central Committee must thoroughly abandon their formalistic style of work. The Organizational and Information Departments, in particular, are departments which make contact with people and deal with them directly; so they must never commit formalism and should work in all sincerity. As they say, the water downstream can be clean only when the headwaters are clean, and as long as the centre does not eliminate formalism, it cannot

disappear at lower units. Since the centre does not correct the formalistic style of work, it is even affecting production now, so that poor-quality goods are being produced without anyone caring. In the Cabinet, too, everyone, starting with the vice-premiers, should rectify his style of work. Cadres should, therefore, deal with matters in detail, and train themselves to complete any task once they have come to grips with it and must always try to cultivate these habits.

All cadres must analyse every problem closely instead of skimming over it, and when dealing with any subject they should always see both the positive and negative sides of it. They should not exaggerate facts when making a report, but they should not conceal any problem which does exist either. In short, they should handle all problems in good faith, in a thorough way. If it is a watermelon, they should not only cut it up and see if it is red or white inside, or if the seeds are black or white, but should also taste it and really know whether it is sweet or bitter. Having fully grasped the essence of the problem and having found the solution, they should carry it through to the end instead of giving up halfway.

2. ON INTENSIFYING THE IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND REVOLUTIONIZING OFFICIALS

We have already set forth the task of intensifying the ideological revolution in the theses on the socialist rural question, and at the plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee, the problem of revolutionizing the masses of all walks of life has often been emphasized. Also, my report to the last Party Conference raised it as an important task to revolutionize and working-classize the Party members and the working people.

It is an essential requirement of the development of our revolution

that we revolutionize and working-classize Party members and the working people. The process of building socialism and communism is a process of revolutionizing all members of society including workers, peasants and intellectuals. If we satisfactorily solve the problem of ideological revolution, the problem of revolutionizing the masses of all walks of life, we can advance rapidly towards communism; otherwise, we cannot. It is relatively simple to lay the material foundations of socialism, but it is very difficult to remould man's political awareness.

Hence, revolutionizing Party members and the working people is a very important task which we face.

What, then, are the main targets in the struggle to revolutionize people? They are selfishness and individualism which everybody has in his mind. We find egoistic and individualist ideas in people of petty-bourgeois origin, including peasants and intellectuals, and in workers who are not yet revolutionized.

To revolutionize people means to root out egoism, individualism and other bourgeois ideas from their minds and cultivate the communist ideological awareness of giving priority to the interests of the collective, of the whole, rather than to those of the individual. In other words, revolutionization means to transform people into revolutionaries who have the strong will to fight devotedly through fire and water for the Party, for the revolution, for the masses and for the people at the sacrifice of their individual interests.

This is no simple matter. To revolutionize people is an important question of whether they are resolved to devote their lives to the revolution, whether they are determined to subordinate their personal interests to those of their organizations; namely, whether they have the revolutionary world outlook or not.

It is easy to say that you will devote your all to the interests of the revolution, but it is not an easy task to put this into practice.

If you have a strong will, you can overcome any difficulties you might come across. Whether you have a strong or weak will depends on how completely you have established the revolutionary world outlook. There are many people who are voluble talkers, but they

become turncoats in prison, or desert and fall to their knees in battle.

We have seen many such cases. When our anti-Japanese guerrillas were in a very difficult situation, the Japanese imperialists even sent Choe Nam Son to Changchun to appease us, and they scattered handbills and went to all lengths to spread false propaganda. They charged that we “eat horse flesh”, and that “if you follow Kim Il Sung, you will only become Stalin’s scapegoat.” It was then that the chief of staff of our unit deserted us, although he had been engaged in the revolution for a long time.

Indeed, we underwent harsh trials then. I told my comrades-in-arms and those who had guarded me: “We have fought together for over ten years, and we do not know how long we shall have to fight on, but we still have a long way to go. If we want to win independence for the country, we shall have to carry on a protracted struggle. However arduous and protracted the fight, victory will certainly be ours. Any of you can leave us, if you cannot endure hardship, but do not just run away. We are comrades who have been through the mill together fighting in unbearable cold and heat over ten long years, eating only boiled maize. So, at least say goodbye when leaving. Upon my word, we shall not shoot you for leaving.” This is what I said. Then some comrades cried and others said they would share life and death together. So we overcame this grim ordeal. There had formerly been some deserters from our unit, although none had ever shot his commanders when fleeing as was the case with other units. But after that touching event, there were no more desertions and everybody fought well and resolutely. Thus we overcame our difficulty. With a strong will you can endure any adversity.

We have gone through many a storm and stress during nearly 40 years of revolutionary struggle. We have known underground activities as well as guerrilla warfare. Many times we were in such a tight corner that we had to decide whether to further the revolution or to die. Following liberation, too, we had many hard times, such as the period of retreat during the Fatherland Liberation War. But each time we reaffirmed our determination to overcome the ordeals at any cost,

looking back upon the way our revolutionary predecessors had overcome difficulties and carried on the revolution. And our revolutionary will was tempered still more amid the arduous and protracted struggles.

In those difficult days of the retreat, I was encouraged by the solidarity of our comrades. One day, a certain comrade, a People's Army commander, called on me after a hair's-breadth escape from enemy encirclement during the battle to defend Phyongchon. He had been wounded in the arm. Having lunched with him, I ordered him to go to the Hwangcho Pass immediately, not even allowing him to rest overnight.

I told him that the enemy might break through into the Hwangcho Pass and that if we failed to check them there, they could advance as far as Kanggye. Therefore, I asked him to contain the enemy there by all possible means. I told him that since we had no reserves, he would have to use retreating troops plus six tanks there and defend the pass. This comrade had come to us after having a hard time with nothing to eat for days and even with an injured arm. But we ordered him to leave then and there, without even letting him rest overnight, and he set out straight away without saying a word. When they saw this, even the foreigners who were in our country at that time were moved to tears, saying in admiration that they had not realized that we ex-guerrillas were such tough people.

And what a difficult situation we faced when we began the postwar reconstruction! To be honest, we were quite doubtful at first whether we could really undertake rehabilitation since everything had been utterly destroyed. But at this time, too, the encouragement of the masses of the people convinced us that rehabilitation was possible.

During the war, I once visited Ragwon and attended the Party-cell general meeting at the casting shop of the Ragwon Machine Factory. One of the two women Party members boosted my confidence, when she said: "Premier, don't worry. If we win the battle, reconstruction will be quite easy. In two to three years we restored everything the Japanese imperialists had utterly destroyed, and we got along well,

didn't we? When the war is over, we will carry out reconstruction again and be well-off, so don't worry too much." I could not sleep a wink that night. I will never forget what that comrade said throughout my life. On my way back in the car, I thought she was quite right, and I was more firmly convinced that our Party would definitely win victory because we had such a strong-willed working class.

Let me cite another example from the period of the anti-factional struggle. I was on my way to the Kangson Steel Plant. When I set out, I had only intended to give them some assignments, but when I arrived there I found the situation was such that I could not leave right away. The workers told me that they had heard that the big powers were putting pressure on us and that Syngman Rhee was going to attack us again; therefore, they were discouraged and had little enthusiasm for work.

So I called the workers together at a building which had been built as a warehouse, and spoke to them: "We are in a very difficult situation now. The Yankees said that they would invade us again when the azaleas bloom, and they might—that we do not know. People of a certain country have set up their faction here, and those of another country are trying to bring pressure to bear upon us, working hand-in-glove with the former. The factionalism gangs in our country, each with the backing of its foreign masters, oppose the Party. And Syngman Rhee is going to pounce upon us, counting on the help of the United States. Whom can we rely on? Nobody but you. This is how matters stand, and you should not just remain depressed, should you? Since the situation is as difficult as that, you should summon up your courage all the more and attend to your work." We were completely frank with them and told them everything. Then the workers shouted their agreement, and every one of them was resolved to carry out any task, however difficult. They asked me to send them factionalism such as Choe Chang Ik and his like so that they could throw them into their electric furnace. There again we gained strength.

Soon afterwards, on my way to Nampho for the election I stopped briefly at Thaesong-ri in Kangso County. There I met an old woman whose son, a People's Army regimental commander, was said to have

been killed in the war. She was watching the people dancing at a polling place, with her grandson on her back. When she saw me, she said: "Premier, you look very tired, but don't worry too much. The factionalists make absurd accusations about the people's living but everybody is well-off now, and there's nothing to worry about. After all, it's we who will win, and not the factionalist rogues, you see? Don't worry. We support you Premier." Her words encouraged us once again and made us determined to fight the factionalists to the finish.

In such ways, we have always gained strength and confidence from the masses of the people, steeled our revolutionary will and established the revolutionary world outlook more firmly.

In the course of your work, you may encounter difficulties now and then; you may be confronted with various complex problems and may waver from time to time. In such cases, you should always rely on the Party, and stick firmly to the following revolutionary creed: "We have the Party Central Committee; I am a person who fights for the people and am resolved to devote myself to the revolution; I shall always be faithful to the Party, the people and the revolution; I shall never deplore my own death; and I shall never taint my political life even at the cost of my physical life." With such a revolutionary creed, you will be able to overcome any difficulty.

If you act according to this creed, you will not die easily, either. When I was engaged in guerrilla warfare, I used to plunge into the thick of danger, in the teeth of bullets, which could only hit my knapsack and never my body. You can carry on your revolutionary work only when you have such a revolutionary creed.

Revolutionary struggle is not a simple matter. When we started the revolutionary struggle, we thought that we would win in a short time. But in the course of the actual struggle, things turned out quite differently from what we had expected. We were engaged in the youth movement, in underground activities and armed struggles, in all forms of struggle. We have been carrying out the revolution in this way over forty long years now, but it is not over. So we are going to carry the revolution through to the end.

How can we sit idly by when we are deprived of half of the country?

To liberate the southern half of the country is the most important revolutionary task facing our Party. Now the Yankees are being driven into a corner. We must have the resolve to smash the Yankees. I have told corps and divisional commanders of the People's Army that today's youth has never known either the Japanese imperialists or the Americans, so it is up to us to smash the Americans as well as their lackeys and reunify the country before we get old.

The opportunity to reunify the country will definitely come. Whether it will be next year or the year after depends on how we are prepared to greet the great revolutionary event. In order to be fully prepared to meet the country's reunification, without missing this opportunity, it is most important for us all to revolutionize ourselves thoroughly.

You can never revolutionize yourselves only by saying that you know what it means. The problem of revolutionization can be solved only in the course of revolutionary practice.

At present, many of our Party officials are not revolutionized. Chief secretaries of provincial and county Party committees and factory Party committees and ri Party secretaries look upon their present Party positions as if they were government posts in the old society. The job of cell secretary and that of department chief should be considered the same Party assignment. They should by no means be regarded as of higher or lower rank. Whether the Party tells you to work with ten persons or with a hundred, you should do your work equally well, considering it the same Party assignment. To view the position to which you have been appointed by the Party in terms of rank is a wrong ideological standpoint which is fundamentally contrary to the revolutionary ideology of our Party. Chief Party secretaries throw their weight about and abuse their authority now because they have this wrong ideological viewpoint. Why should our Party officials be haughty? There is no reason whatever for us to behave like that. Our Party is a party working for the people; it is a mother party. This should be fully understood.

Practices which are inappropriate to a revolutionary are being revealed in various ways among local as well as central Party officials.

I have been told that central Party personnel, too, are happy when their position goes up but unhappy when it goes down. Position does not matter in carrying out the revolution. A central Party instructor today should be ready to go down even to a cell tomorrow, if so ordered, to carry out the revolution there. Only when central Party officials are revolutionized in this way can they run workplaces smoothly if, out of necessity, they are sent there to become Party-cell secretaries.

But our comrades have no such resolve. That is why one is all smiles when he is promoted to a central Party instructor, and if not, he considers himself in an inferior position.

There are also some central Party officials whose Party, class and people-oriented spirit is not strong enough. They still abuse Party authority, and it should be an important aspect of revolutionization to eliminate such abuses. At present, our officials work haphazardly and abuse Party authority when they visit lower units for guidance.

We are carrying out the revolution in the interests of the masses. The goal our Party fights for is to rally the masses of the people around it and carry out the revolution in order to let them live in peace and prosperity, free from cares. Some comrades, however, do their work carelessly, and this causes the masses to complain frequently about the Party and our system. You must never work in this way.

These shortcomings are not confined to you comrades alone. As has been said in the course of criticism a great deal recently, they are to be found also among some people who had been engaged in the revolution in the past. It is not true that those who took part in the revolutionary struggle are completely revolutionized. No one can be said to have a perfect revolutionary world outlook. If anybody considers himself to be perfectly revolutionized, he is gravely mistaken and he will inevitably commit errors.

You should make persistent efforts to revolutionize yourselves, whether or not you took part in the revolutionary struggle in the past.

We, too, will continue fighting to revolutionize ourselves. We have been traversing the road of the revolution for forty years, but we will have to carry on the revolution a lot longer, and we will have to work

hard at our revolutionization to the end.

Those who carry out the revolution are not special beings. Anyone can carry out the revolution. But he should train himself perseveringly if he wants to advance the revolution farther, no matter who he may be.

The most important things in revolutionization are, first, to rely on the Party and make a firm resolve to be faithful to the revolution, and, second, not to waver in any storm and stress but to be firm in the conviction that you trust only our Party and nothing else. At present, some of our Party members still lack this spirit.

It is a principle of Party work to trust the cadres and judge them through their practical work. However, you should not trust any individual blindly but only rely completely on the Party. You should be on the lookout for any people who act contrary to the decisions and directions of the Party Central Committee, no matter who they are, and should promptly inform the Party Central Committee of such practices. Moreover, you should be thoroughly revolutionized so that you can dedicate your lives to the cause of the Party Central Committee.

At present, some unrevolutionized cadres and Party members reveal many defects. They all say that they will devote themselves to the Party and the revolution, but in fact, they lack Party, class and people-oriented spirit. Some are very selfish, others are greedy for careerism and fame.

Therefore, we need to intensify the struggle for the revolutionization of Party members.

Everyone should be revolutionized and working-classized, of course. Officials working on the Party Central Committee, in particular, should be revolutionized before anybody else and more thoroughly. Provincial officials can be revolutionized only when central Party officials have been revolutionized, county officials only when provincial officials have been revolutionized, and ri officials only when county officials have been revolutionized. Moreover, all Party members and working people can be revolutionized only when the cadres are revolutionized in this way. Revolutionization of central Party officials must be carried out on a higher level than that of the masses. That is, their standards of revolutionization should be higher.

Above all, central Party officials should begin to work earnestly for the elimination of petty-bourgeois ideas, including egoism, liberalism and “individual heroism”, and for the elevation of Party, class and people-oriented spirit. They should thus be fully armed with the idea of faithfully serving the Party, the working class and the people.

I asked all you members of the Organizational and Information Departments, including instructors, to come here today because your departments are the most important. Of course, other departments are also important. But the Organizational and Information Departments play a very important role in revolutionizing people. You officials from these departments should possess the revolutionary qualities of having a very strong revolutionary will, holding the interests of the organization and revolution more dearly than your own private interests, and considering your political lives more important than your physical lives. Only then will you be able to guide the work of revolutionizing Party members and working people.

On the basis of revolutionizing yourselves completely, you must work hard for the revolutionization of all Party members and working people in future. You should not regard the question of revolutionizing the intellectuals or the peasants as simply a matter of eliminating class differences, but discuss the documents of the Party Conference exhaustively and carefully study ways and means to revolutionize people successfully.

3. ON SOME PROPOSALS TO ELIMINATE FORMALISM AND BUREAUCRACY IN PARTY WORK AND REVOLUTIONIZE OFFICIALS

We should not try to eliminate formalism and bureaucracy in Party work and revolutionize officials in a campaign lasting for only one or two days. As I mentioned earlier, during the decades we spent in

revolutionary struggle, we underwent many adversities and people occasionally wavered in the face of hardships. But in the course of the protracted struggle to endure them our revolutionary will grew stronger. If you want to be thoroughly revolutionized, you should also temper yourselves in protracted struggle.

Nor should you ever try to carry out this work by disciplinary methods. I have given a great deal of thought to the possibility of getting rid of bureaucracy and formalism and remoulding people's ideas by taking disciplinary action. The conclusion I have reached here is that the question cannot, after all, be solved by these means. As I always tell the directors of the Organizational Leadership and the Information and Publicity Department, if you reprimand people frequently, they will become afraid, and will end up by telling lies to their superiors and currying favour with them. Therefore, you should not punish people at will. The question of revolutionizing people can be solved only through patient ideological struggle and training.

In order to eliminate formalism in Party work and revolutionize officials, you should first intensify revolutionary organizational life.

Intensification of the Party's organizational life is the master key to the revolutionization of officials. The cell meeting is very important in the Party's organizational life. At present you hold the cell general meeting at the Party Central Committee once a month, but that does not seem to be often enough in the light of the need to revolutionize the cadres. In the Party Central Committee, you should hold cell general meetings more often, and each Party member should attend cell meetings without fail. At the meeting, democracy should be encouraged, criticism strengthened, and mutual criticism should not be muzzled. In the course of frequently criticizing oneself as well as others at the meetings, one can discover one's shortcomings and examine oneself, and also help correct the faults of others. That will help us go through the process of revolutionization.

Anyone who tries to avoid organizational life and dislikes being under the discipline of his organization will always become arrogant and will be unable to revolutionize himself in the long run. Therefore,

everybody should participate faithfully in Party organizational life, regardless of whether he is a secretary or a department director.

To attend mass meetings is also a way of revolutionizing yourselves. We frequently attend various meetings, including those of county Party chief secretaries or of social organization officials, and we are greatly stimulated by them. Suppose criticisms are made of a county Party chief secretary or any other person at a meeting of the county Party chief secretaries. That stimulates and instructs not only the person who is criticised but ourselves as well. It is true that someone else is being criticised and that we are not mentioned, but the criticisms affect us in the process and help us temper ourselves. Therefore, you should frequently attend meetings of this kind to temper your Party spirit.

If our officials want to revolutionize themselves, they should go among the masses. Only then can they clearly understand what the real difficult problems are and acquire the revolutionary spirit to serve the people better. Cadres should mix with the masses to discover their own faults. When we go out to the rural areas and other places, we can see on the spot what is going wrong. Suppose we find a locality where the people are still not well-off and children go barefoot. Then we will instantly realize that we are not carrying out socialist economic construction satisfactorily. Such facts are a criticism of us. This is not criticism made at a meeting, it is true; but it is a criticism of us that comes directly from the grass roots. If we accept such criticism, we will be determined to work better for the people and we can revolutionize ourselves still more. Among the masses, we not only receive criticism, but also temper our revolutionary will even more. This is a lesson we have learned in the course of forty years of revolutionary activity.

To revolutionize themselves, cadres should also know how to examine themselves. You may commit various minor errors in the course of your work—such as getting impatient with your subordinates and scolding them for no reason, and things like that. A good way of curing such defects is to look back on yourselves. At the dinner table

when you arrive home, or before going to bed, think of what you have done, and if you are apprehensive about anything or if you find anything that has been done wrongly, you should ask yourselves why you did it and make up your minds not to repeat the error. In this way you should continually examine yourselves and correct your shortcomings.

To facilitate revolutionization, all organizations should strengthen study discipline and establish a revolutionary atmosphere of study so that officials can be fully armed with Party policies. No revolutionization is possible without knowing the Party's policies. However firmly you may resolve to be faithful to the Party, you risk going against the Party line if you do not know the Party's policies, and it means that you have, after all, been disloyal to the Party. Therefore, you should study the Party policies well and try to think in accordance with them and breathe the same breath as the Party. At the same time, you should read many books such as *Among the People* and books on the revolutionary traditions, in order to learn revolutionary characteristics.

The second way to eliminate formalism from Party work and revolutionize officials is to improve the role of the Organizational and Information Departments.

At present, these two departments are too concerned with other activities. They should not be. Their primary task is to study ways and means and take appropriate measures to help Party members lead their organizational life well and organize their Party life properly, to arm Party members with revolutionary ideology and revolutionize them. Unless this task is performed, the Organizational and Information Departments can never be considered to have fully carried out their assignments. You may have done a thousand and one things, but as long as you do not carry out this task, they are useless.

The Organizational Department of the Party Central Committee should consider it an important function to guide the Party organizational life of Party members in all branches and organs. This department should organize the Party committees and cells efficiently

in all branches and organs first, and should then investigate whether or not the Party organizations operate well as required by the Party Rules. In other words, they should find out whether or not ministry Party committees, the general meetings of ministry Party cells, the provincial Party committees and their executive committees, and the provincial Party plenary meetings operate properly, whether or not they deal with matters correctly in accordance with Party policies. Furthermore, they should look after the Party life of all Party members. They should find out if they lead their organizational life well, which Party members are advanced and which are backward, which cadres are revolutionized and what are the shortcomings of each cadre, and then take the appropriate measures. Therefore, the Organizational Department can really be called a department for the guidance of the Party members' organizational life.

Having learned about the organizational life of Party members, the Organizational Department should conduct the education of backward Party members. It should consult with the Information Department on how to correct the defects of officials which have become apparent in the life of the Party and mass organizations. On the basis of the information it has received and these consultations, the Information Department should prepare lectures to be given and books to be read, and should propagate Party policies and conduct motivation work. If once is not enough, this must be done ten times, and if ten times are still not enough, this has to be done even up to a hundred times, until the weakness is corrected.

Should the Information Department enforce an idea entirely alien to what the Organizational Department has recommended for dissemination to Party members, the prescription would not be in agreement with the diagnosis of Party life made by the Organizational Department. Hence, the Information Department must see to it that a prescription is given out after, and in agreement with, the diagnosis of Party life by the Organizational Department.

This is the way in which the Organizational and Information Departments should work in proper coordination. Metaphorically

speaking, the Organizational Department can be called a physician and the Information Department a pharmacist; the physician and the pharmacist should work closely together. To cure a person's illness, you should know how to diagnose it rightly, and at the same time, you should use the right medicine.

Third, to rid Party work of formalism and revolutionize officials, all Party departments including the Organizational Department must deal with personnel affairs correctly.

There is nothing difficult about personnel affairs. It is the work of training cadres to be revolutionaries. This problem, however, cannot be solved overnight. The task of revolutionizing people can never be done by force or by means of a campaign. Naturally, if you were to force a bad thing on people as something good, they might appear to accept it as such while at heart they think it is bad. You can never say that a man's ideology is remoulded merely because he says it is.

We are remoulding the consciousness of the people gradually into a revolutionary consciousness and leading them along the right path through Party organizational life. I think this is the correct method. So, when you train cadres, you should not dictate, but educate them gradually in accordance with their level and ability. In order to do this you must fully understand a cadre's character and shortcomings, how high his level is and how competent he is, and so on, and should do your educational work in an appropriate way.

In order to train cadres, you should first of all advise them of their shortcomings one by one at an early stage. At present you promote a cadre of worker origin, and although he has some shortcomings, you do not open his eyes to them one at a time, but point them out in general terms, and only when they have become serious do you sharply criticise him as a bad fellow, just like a mother who, being little concerned with the education of her children, does not teach them every day and then scolds them when they do not know how to greet a guest, saying: "You little brats, don't you know how to say hello." In that situation, officials with little training will be afraid lest they be reprimanded, instead of repenting their faults. That will not help solve the problem.

We should not keep the criticised person in suspense as if he had committed some serious crime, but should make it possible for him to rectify his faults, by telling him about them in detail and criticizing him before the faults get worse, whenever they come up in organizational life, however small they may be. That is the only way to help officials avoid committing serious errors. If you work that way, officials will get accustomed to accepting criticism from others, and will not be ashamed or worry if their shortcomings are pointed out.

We should never cover up the shortcomings of officials. When I find any fault on the part of my comrades in the execution of their work or in their style of work, I point it out in good time. Those comrades who joined me in the guerrilla warfare are no exception. I tell them that they have such and such shortcomings, not to do things that way and correct their defects. I never hide their shortcomings. When I see a film and notice something wrong with it, I ring up the officials concerned immediately however late it may be. It is necessary to tell them instantly in this way not only because I may forget to point it out later, but also because the mistake can be rectified quickly. This is quite a good method; there can be nothing wrong with it.

You comrades should not be reluctant to accept the advice of others; and in training cadres you should acquire the habit of promptly telling them of their faults, instead of covering them up.

By saying that you should train people in conformity with their character, we do not mean to suggest that you can cover up their defects; we mean that you should make people aware of their shortcomings, talking softly to some and a bit sharply to others according to their character.

Hiding people's defects is the way to spoil them by leading them into a state where they cannot be helped.

Moreover, you should not do things like criticizing someone sharply and then slyly gaining his support. This is the same method the factionalists used to employ. To win a person over to their side, they used to play the game of attacking him once very sharply to make him lose ground and then taking him aside secretly. They call this "yida

yila” in Chinese which means to hit him once and then gain his confidence in private. You should know that this is the bad method used by the factionalists.

Choe Chang Ik applied the method, and so did Pak Il U. All factionalists without exception used such tricks. In any event, those who do this have the wrong idea. If not, they would criticise a person’s defects fairly through organizational life or they would call the person to their office and advise him of his faults when he has an individual problem. For what reason should they hit him hard in public, and then draw him aside and shower him with praise slyly behind the scenes? You should not do such things, and you should not be deceived by such trickery, either.

In regard to personnel affairs, I would like to add a few words about the problem of handling complaints from Party members. It is tremendously important in rallying Party members around the Party that their complaints be handled correctly. We should be cautious in dealing with any matter which they raise. The Organizational Department and the Control Commission of the Party Central Committee are responsible for the political life of Party members. Therefore, they should see that the problems raised by Party members are not dealt with casually, even if they are trivial. Above all, the Organizational Department must do its work cautiously. Where there is discontent, however trifling, there will be something wrong. Therefore, when any question is raised, you must not put it aside but examine it. The personnel question should not be viewed subjectively, but objectively and fairly. This means that one has to consider it fairly in accordance with the facts. In other words, you should not take a dark view of anyone but find out specifically why he did his work in a certain way when he is a good person by nature, and why he committed a mistake, if he did; you should always analyse the question closely with a view to correcting, helping and saving him. As far as our Party members and cadres are concerned, you should always start with this in mind.

This is the case of a certain man who was dismissed. Some

comrades had been suggesting for the last five years that he was so had that he would not make a man of himself. But because he was not an enemy, we viewed his case in a favourable light, and made continued efforts to save him. Being a real had man, however, he dug his own grave in spite of our efforts. People like this who have bad motives are one thing, but those who have not should be treated in a favourable way. By working this way, you can avoid blowing up something out of proportion, and when a person's shortcomings are exaggerated, you will know how to handle the case fairly and squarely. Problems which we have with our enemies, however, should be considered quite differently from those we have with our people. With the enemies, including the landlords, capitalists and spies who are opposed to us, matters must not be considered in a favourable light but must be handled severely, based on a class analysis.

There is a tendency which has been brought to light among our officials to dispose of political problems concerning Party members casually. Bureaucracy is much in vogue especially in the Control Commission. A certain official in this commission sees himself as a "Lord of Hades" and deals with complaints presented by Party members negligently. The work method of the Control Commission officials must be positively improved. If you approach someone's problem with a prejudiced attitude, the conclusion will naturally be negative. In this way, something small can be exaggerated, and the person in question can be hit hard for only a minor misdemeanour. We must not handle problems this way.

I have been thinking a great deal about the complaint problem recently. You should realize that there must be something seriously wrong when a Party member complains. Unscrupulous people may submit false complaints, of course. But we should consider such cases as being quite rare.

Therefore, if you receive a letter of complaint, you should sympathize with the anxiety of the author, give his letter careful consideration and try various ways to find the solution. If you fail the first time, you should do so ten times, and if that is still not enough, try

even a hundred times to solve the problem. That is precisely what the attitude of Party workers should be. Above all, officials of the Organizational and Information Departments should be mothers of the Party members.

Children accept medicine readily when their mothers give it. In much the same way, Party officials can correctly solve problems concerning Party members only when they approach the members with a mother's affection.

I was told, however, that when you go out on inspection, officials at the lower levels are afraid that they will be fired and do not say what is on their minds. Of course this has something to do with the fact that they have less training, but it has more to do with your negligent way of handling people's problems. You should, therefore, study your method of work and correct it thoroughly.

If you have done your work properly, why are they suspicious and afraid of you? That tells us that there are shortcomings in our work. If you think that the Organizational or Information Department is faultless, that we are all Marxists and perfect revolutionaries, you are mistaken. You also have many shortcomings. In the course of our work we should constantly find and correct our shortcomings and further improve our method of work.

The next important thing in personnel affairs is to train nuclei well. Whether or not all the Party members and all the people are well mobilized for revolutionary work depends in many cases upon the training of the nuclei. I always say that, to set the whole Party in motion, it is not enough to build up only the Party Organizational Department well. The question can be resolved satisfactorily only when all the Party organizations train their nuclei efficiently. We can educate all the Party members and set the whole Party in motion only when we work in such a manner as to make a nucleus teach ten people to do their work well, these ten people train a hundred, the hundred educate a thousand, and the thousand teach ten thousands.

And yet we cannot say that we are in a position where one person trains ten people and the ten people a hundred. So, from now on all

Party organizations must form their members into nuclei by training and educating them in organizational life. The Party Organizational and Information Departments, in particular, should have the Party sense of responsibility and proceed energetically with the development of nuclei.

If we train the nuclei well and set the whole Party in motion, the entire masses will be brought into action. Then, our Party will become a powerful party with deep roots in the masses of the people, and the Party Central Committee will stand on a firmer mass foundation. No one can pull down such a Party organization and no villains will be able to destroy our Party, no matter how recklessly they try.

Next in importance in personnel affairs is the training of junior officials. To get rid of bureaucracy and formalism and revolutionize the entire Party, it is important, of course, that the central authority helps the provinces well, the province the counties and the county the ri. However, revolutionization of the entire Party cannot be stepped up by this method alone, even if we work at it for a long time. So we must use a kind of accelerator, I think. By an accelerator we particularly mean the training of many junior cadres.

At present, we are concentrating too much on the training of cadres at county level, including the county Party chief secretaries. But I think our foremost task is to train ri Party secretaries, management board chairmen, cell secretaries and workteam leaders, who are closest to the masses and guide them personally.

The level of junior officials in the Party today is very low and this is also true of those in administrative and economic bodies. Junior Party officials do not really know how to carry out their Party work or how to work with the masses. Therefore, they cannot accurately distinguish between the enemy and our people and unnecessarily antagonize the people we could win over to our side, and they fail to recognize the enemy's spies. Junior administrative officials also do not understand their administrative work and do not work well. Now, the success of Party or administrative and economic activities depends largely upon the junior cadres.

You have to understand that it is no less honourable or important to go directly to the producer masses and work with them than to have a car and work in a high position. Since the work of junior officials is important, we intend to raise their wages in a few years to eliminate the excessive differences in salaries and give them a sense of pride in their work, although we may not be able to raise the wages of senior cadres.

This is also true of the army. Combat action, training and logistical support succeed only when the junior commanders are well trained. That is why the army tries to use good people as platoon leaders, sergeant majors and assistant platoon leaders. During the war, some sergeant majors neglected their duties and fed their men on salt and rice although they could have given them bean-sprout soup. So we gave the sergeant majors short training courses then. Just as the army does its best to train junior commanders well, you should now do your best to teach junior officials who are working directly with the producer masses properly.

We have to raise the level of the junior cadres so that they do their work with Party members well. All of them, including ri Party and cell secretaries, should know how to work with Party members and, above all, with backward Party members. In other words, they must know how to work efficiently to deal suitably with people with different characters and various states of mind.

I think I should give an example here of the junior People's Army cadres who are doing their political work well. I once visited a People's Army unit near Pyongyang with the Director of the General Political Bureau to attend a company Party meeting. That was a year and a half after we had got rid of the service regulations which had been dogmatically copied from a foreign country and had worked out our own, and had abolished the guardhouse system in the army to suit the Korean temperament.

At the meeting, I asked how many had violated discipline after the abolishment of the guardhouse system. A sergeant major stood up and answered: "I have violated discipline." When I asked again how a sergeant major could do that, he added: "I didn't let my comrades rest

regularly and didn't give them enough time to sleep. So, it happened that some of the men in my company dozed off in class. I am the only one to blame for that. There was no other violation."

At the time I could not quite understand some points which he had made. So I told the Director of the General Political Bureau that I had not quite got what the sergeant major said. Then he explained that in fact the company had a troublesome violator of discipline who used to fall asleep in class and who was negligent about cleaning his weapon, and that the sergeant major seemed to have made his report to me that way in order to influence and educate the troublemaker.

I found out later that the troublemaker was educated and remoulded. He thought the sergeant major would report his faults to the Supreme Commander, but, instead, he heard the sergeant major say that the fault was his own. I was told he was so ashamed of his faults that he went to the sergeant major as soon as the meeting was over and resolved between tears never to do such things again.

They say that he works very enthusiastically since then. They say that as a result of this none of the company violates discipline any more, and it has become a model company. The method employed by the sergeant major is a good one for remoulding people.

In fact, our ri Party secretaries should learn to work that way. But our ri Party and cell secretaries are much too difficult to please. A certain ri Party secretary of Kangso County was once a deputy department director of the provincial Party committee. That being the case, he should have trained the nuclei in the ri to rally them around the Party and improve our work, but instead he complained about the nuclei and sowed discord among the cadres.

In these circumstances, how can he educate Party members and rally the masses around the Party? Of course, I do not mean that you should ignore shortcomings when you see them. The question is that his method of work is wrong. He should not gossip about the failings of Party members, but should, instead, consider ways of correcting them, and train them well, shouldn't he? Cadres are not always efficient simply because they were once in the provincial Party, and not

everything is automatically done well just because they are now working at a lower level. Therefore, you have to train all the junior officials.

We should be sure that junior political workers also carry out work with the masses properly. Many of our cell secretaries do not do this work as well as the Party requires, so we should teach all junior cadres effectively how to work with the masses.

Junior officials of the administrative and economic branches, as well as Party officials, should do good political work among the producer masses to help them achieve satisfactory production. As I said at the Hwanghae Iron Works, workteam leaders must work well in order to ensure successful production. In the same way, it is the junior commanders in the army whose work has to be done properly. If it is not, success cannot be achieved, no matter how hard the platoon leader works. However many commands he gives, they will be ineffective, and scoldings and reprimands just do not work.

The problem is settled only when the squad leader leads his men expertly, controlling and persuading them well. That is why the army has schools to train junior commanders. As raw recruits can be taught and trained well only when the junior commanders do a good job, so production thrives in the factories only when workteam leaders work well. That is why we should train the workteam leaders carefully.

I hear that the workteam leaders' school at the Hwanghae Iron Works is not in operation at the moment because training materials are not yet ready. I think you can give a short training course to begin with, letting a few people form groups to teach methods of organizing production and to pass on their good experiences in production. Meanwhile, you should gradually work out instruction materials and prepare the school to run regularly. You cannot run it on a regular basis at once, can you? While giving the training course, you will find out what is wrong and what you will need to do.

You ought to know that the success of socialist economic construction depends on the productive zeal of the producer masses. In the long run this requires that junior officials who work with them

should carry out efficient political work among the working people. That is why I would like to advise you comrades to use every means possible to train junior officials well.

The work with the producer masses is a decisive link in Party work. Because of this, economic departments should also consider this problem, and the Organizational and Information Departments, in particular, must study it thoroughly.

The training of junior officials has to be reinstated to raise their level. I was told that the training system for management board chairmen and also the one for ri Party secretaries, which we had previously, have been abolished. But that is wrong. If it is not possible to train junior officials through the regular school system, we should at least organize mobile training courses.

In the country areas, you can organize mobile courses in the winter. Train those who work directly with the masses a couple of times a year and it will pay off. While efficiently training provincial and county Party officials, we should also establish an effective system for training junior officials.

Central Party officials should personally take part in this training work. At present, some county Party chief secretaries do not have a high enough level to teach junior officials competently. That is why we are going to give them training courses for a week or so again this winter on how to do their work with cell secretaries and how to teach them. But that alone will not suffice. And yet, we cannot just choose Central Party School instructors and send them to the cities and counties. Neither can we admit all the junior officials to the communist universities. So, my idea is that it would be advisable for you to assist the county Party or big factory Party committee in its work of organizing training courses for junior officials such as cell secretaries, workteam leaders and sub-workteam leaders. You should draw on your personal experience to go and teach them how to handle Party work and how to work with the masses of all walks of life.

You may ask the county Party schools to give lectures to ri Party secretaries and other officials in turn, say, for a fortnight or 20 days,

and where there are not enough lecturers, you can arrange mobile training courses. I think you will be able to teach them all if you organize them in such a way that each of several groups will be responsible for giving training courses, rotating from one county to another.

You should let everyone attend the training courses, ri Party secretaries, cell secretaries and even sub-workteam leaders. There may be tens of thousands. Numerically it seems too much, but if you assign competent cadres to teach the courses in rotation, I think it will be possible. If they start them this year and make one full round by next year, that will be a great success. Sum up the experience you have accumulated here and organize the short rotating courses again. Then you will be able to solve a lot of problems.

The county Party schools should teach practical knowledge. It will not be good enough just to read a textbook to the students as if it were a catechism, reading *chon* for heaven and *ji* for earth. Nor should you say “Marx said this and Lenin that,” either, which would be completely foreign to them.

The educational programme to train junior officials should not be difficult. It should include subjects such as Party policies for the various branches, methods of work with the masses, information on agricultural management, ways of organizing production, and so on, all of which will help them to solve their difficult problems in practice. You should give the junior cadres, including ri Party secretaries, practical knowledge and experience in the same way in which the army trains its junior commanders.

I talked to women comrades who attended the recent Party Conference and also with a management board chairman from Pyoksong County, and they said that the central Party guidance groups conduct their work well with the masses down there. As was mentioned at the last Political Committee meeting, a guidance group visited a certain county in South Hamgyong Province. Their work with the masses in all walks of life was so excellent that those who used to waste time, neglecting their work, have begun to work hard. So, if we

train and mobilize central Party workers well, we will be able to train junior officials. So that you can visit the cities and counties and guide their studies correctly, you comrades should, yourselves, develop the study habit and learn more. I think your study hours should be a third of your working hours. This is the only way in which you will become efficient and meet fewer obstacles in your work at the lower units.

Today, I have talked to you comrades about the elimination of formalism and bureaucracy in Party work and about the revolutionization of people. I am sure that, guided by what I have said in your activities, you will make every effort to improve Party work still further.

SOCIALIST MEDICAL SCIENCE IS PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

**Talk to Senior Officials
of the Ministry of Public Health**

October 20, 1966

Socialist, people-oriented medical science is fundamentally different from bourgeois medicine.

Bourgeois medicine does not pay any attention to prevention. By its very nature bourgeois society cannot make any efforts to prevent people from falling ill. This is because the prevention of diseases is not in the interests of capitalists. They are interested in selling as much medicine as possible and so they would prefer a large number of people to fall ill, and they encourage diseases.

By contrast, the chief factor in socialist medicine is prevention. In other words, it is to take measures to prevent people from contracting diseases. We can therefore say that socialist medicine is preventive medicine.

The Ministry of Public Health must take all the effective measures for the prevention of diseases.

You should not try to do health work with medicine only. You ought to place the main emphasis on effective prevention so that working people do not fall ill.

In the past those who were steeped in bourgeois ideas established a foothold in this sector. They did not try to prevent people from catching diseases but only thought of administering medicine to

them after they had done so.

This runs fundamentally counter to socialist medical science. The aim of socialist medicine is precisely to prevent people falling ill. You should fully understand this principle of socialist medicine and should work hard for its implementation.

The most important thing in preventing diseases is to give working people a full knowledge of hygiene—how they should toughen themselves and what they should bear in mind when cooking and eating meals and so on. In many cases working people contract various diseases because they have highly seasoned food without due consideration and eat vegetables which have not been properly washed. This is because they know little about hygiene.

We should improve information about hygiene decidedly and the main efforts of public health service must be devoted to this.

In the first place, you have to carry out a publicity campaign amongst working people so that they will eat clean vegetables. At present information on hygiene is unsatisfactory, and so people are eating unclean vegetables. Ascarid has therefore not yet been destroyed.

Special attention should be devoted to hygiene because Koreans like fresh greens. At the moment, when people pickle vegetables, they preserve them after putting them into water only once. So the eggs of parasites remain in the pickled vegetables. If people eat these vegetables, worms hatch out of these eggs, and the parasites deprive them of nourishment.

You must campaign effectively amongst working people so that they eat vegetables which have been properly washed. You should also teach them how to dissolve disinfectant in water and sterilize vegetables and fruits with it. If the officials in charge of public health get down to this task, they will be able to destroy the parasites. We must inaugurate a mass movement to eliminate them.

It is important to mobilize large numbers of young students in this information work and in the dissemination of understanding about hygiene. In cooperation with the League of Socialist Working Youth,

you must spread knowledge about hygiene widely amongst the people by mobilizing all the members of the LSWY and the Children's Union, as well as students in the medical universities and colleges. In our country there are four medical universities. In addition, there are many colleges which specialize in this subject. If the students of these schools are mobilized, they can form a large team to propagate the facts about hygiene. This will be useful training for students. You must not make medical students confine themselves to their classroom, but must get them to give lectures on hygiene to the people. They will then learn a great deal.

Meanwhile, training in hygiene should be improved for the pupils in all schools. If you get the pupils to carry out hygiene information for their mothers and other members of their families at home, the general level of the working people's knowledge of the subject will be improved. And you should not do this work in the manner of a shock campaign, but must continue it until all working people strictly observe rules of hygiene.

Women's Union organizations should also take an active part in this work. These organizations ought to start extensive information campaigns for women through magazines and other media. You must also begin a campaign to get people to eat properly washed vegetables and drink boiled water. In addition, you should teach women what they need to know in order to bring up their children well.

Diseases cannot be prevented by the efforts of one person on his own. This work can be successful only when wide sections of the people are roused to action. There is a saying, "A general without an army is no general." In just the same way, as I always say, one cannot make revolution on one's own without the masses. Public health service, too, cannot succeed without stimulating the masses to take action. In a socialist society this work should always be carried out in a socialist way. Despite this, senior officials of the Ministry of Public Health have, in the past, neglected to mobilize the masses in this work. The Party has, more than once, stressed the need to carry out the work in a mass movement. But the officials concerned did not do so; instead,

they just said that they could not cure patients of their diseases because the state had not provided them with medicine.

Bourgeois ideology has not yet been eradicated in the field of public health. This can be clearly seen in the work of preventing Japanese encephalitis. We told senior officials of the Ministry of Public Health to prepare a large quantity of vaccine against this disease, but they said it was difficult because this would need a large sum of money. If that was the case, they should have ensured that a large number of mosquito nets, which are cheap to make, were manufactured, so that every family could sleep under them. But they did not even do this. Because they did not make such preparations effectively, Japanese encephalitis has not yet been completely eradicated in our country.

The Ministry of Public Health should rectify these shortcomings and should decisively improve the work of preventing diseases.

In the first instance you have to undertake the effective prevention of diseases through the mobilization of the masses. You must initiate extensive campaigns to get people to drink boiled water, eat properly washed vegetables and kill harmful insects and animals such as flies, mosquitos, lice and rats. Above all, you should offer instruction in hygiene to all working people by creating good models and organizing demonstration lectures.

In particular, you should concentrate on preventing children from contracting diseases.

All ri should encourage their people to start a campaign for preventing diseases and should work hard to be free from diseases.

There is no reason why our people should fall ill in this good society today. At the moment, no one in our country goes hungry, freezes to death in rags or sleeps outdoors because he has no house. Why should you allow people to suffer from diseases under this good social system? You should carry out effective health and sanitation work in a nationwide movement so that not a single person becomes ill.

At the same time, mineral water and hot springs should be more

widely used. Our country abounds in good mineral water and spas. But the Ministry of Public Health only thinks of administering medicine instead of making effective use of these things. Since immediately after liberation we have more than once stressed the need to take positive measures to use the mineral water and hot springs which abound in our country. But this has not yet been properly done.

Mineral water is good for everyone—for both those with high and low acidity. Other countries even export bottled mineral water. You should make wide use of our abundant mineral water and hot springs for extensive prevention as well as for medical treatment.

Medicinal herbs should be grown on a large scale.

Since we are unable to meet the people's needs for medicine fully because the pharmaceutical industry has not yet been developed, the cultivation of medical plants is of particular importance.

For thousands of years our ancestors managed to cure themselves of diseases by using traditional Korean medicine alone, and they kept themselves in good health. Herb medicines such as *ryongsinhwan*, *chongsimhwan* and *phaedoksan* are very effective against gastritis and cold. In future, therefore, the production of these drugs should be continuously increased, even after the pharmaceutical industry has been developed. You talk a great deal about the shortage of medicine, but you do not consider planting medicinal herbs yourselves.

Clinics and all other public health institutions should plant medicinal herbs over a wide area to meet their own needs for crude drugs.

Medicinal herbs grow well everywhere in our country. As for liquorice, this herb also thrives here. So I gave instructions a long time ago that it should be planted on Rungna Island. It is advisable that this herb be grown everywhere.

In order to develop the cultivation of medical plants, the public health institutions which are successful in this should set an example and spread it. You must set up two or three model establishments in the cultivation of medicinal herbs for each province and organize

demonstration lectures, while making each clinic and county hospital grow these herbs.

Medical plants should be cultivated by mobilizing not only public health institutions but also children and young people. Schools should plant medicinal herbs on their hills and sell them to purchasing agencies. If they are successful in this it will increase the money they have available for maintenance.

You should thus plant, on a large scale and by enlisting many people, those medicinal herbs which are beneficial in promoting their health, such as milk-vetch, the white broad bellflower and *changchul*.

**THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION
AND UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN
IS AN HONOURABLE REVOLUTIONARY
DUTY OF NURSERY SCHOOL
AND KINDERGARTEN TEACHERS**

**Address to the National Congress of Nursery
School and Kindergarten Teachers**

October 20, 1966

Comrades,

We have been considering holding a congress of nursery school and kindergarten teachers for a long time. We wanted to convene it after the meeting of mothers, and also right after the Third Congress of the Women's Union. But because of many circumstances we have not been able to do so until today.

To begin with, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I should like to extend my thanks to you comrades present at the congress and, through you, to the nursery school and kindergarten teachers of the whole country, who are contributing greatly to the communist education and upbringing of our children, and wish you greater success in your work.

Since the tasks of nursery school and kindergarten teachers were explained in detail in the report, I should like to touch upon only a few matters.

First of all, nursery school and kindergarten teachers should feel a high sense of honour towards their work.

You have a very important and responsible function in the socialist construction of our country. The children you are bringing up and teaching represent the future of our country, and are our reserves of communist builders and heirs to the revolutionary cause.

All the wealth of our country and everything we are producing and constructing are for the benefit of future generations. The houses, theatres and cultural facilities we have built are all for their benefit, and, likewise, it is all for a happy life for them that we are taking such pains to save and to increase production, that we prune the orchards well and tend the fields so carefully. In this way, we are striving to bring eternal prosperity to the country, to bequeath a still better life to posterity. And by posterity we mean precisely the little ones you are bringing up in the nurseries and kindergartens.

The work of nursery school and kindergarten teachers today is not simply that of tending other people's children, but is an honourable revolutionary task of bringing up the reserves of communist builders and heirs to our revolutionary cause, an important task which affects the future of our country. The Party and the state truly respect the nursery school and kindergarten teachers who have such an estimable and vital responsibility, and expect a great deal from your work. For this reason, you should feel a high sense of honour and pride in your work.

Some of our women, however, do not really understand how important this work is. There are some women comrades who underestimate the profession of nursery school and kindergarten teachers, asking why they should become nursemaids for others when there are many other things which they can do. So, some women do not really like to do this work. According to the report from the Ministry of General Education, it is always most difficult to obtain applicants for enrolment in the training institutions for nursery school and kindergarten teachers. They say that only those women who have failed to enter other schools come there because they have no other choice.

When I visited a locality once, I saw a play produced by amateur

performers there. It showed the great importance of the job of nursery school and kindergarten teachers. At the time, I asked the chairman of the provincial Party committee why they had presented such a play, and he answered that they did so because some women regarded this work as a lowly job and were reluctant to enter the appropriate training institutions. I was very sorry to hear that.

Of course, all work in education is important, but that of the nursery school and kindergarten teachers who bring up the small children is still more important. In fact, it can be said that it is more difficult to teach primary school pupils than middle school children, and that kindergarten and nursery school teachers bear heavier responsibilities than primary school teachers. This is because the younger the children, the harder they are to handle, and therefore those who look after them should have greater maturity, wide knowledge and rich experience.

Many women, however, are averse to working as primary school teachers, and even more to becoming kindergarten or nursery school teachers, whereas they are ready to teach in a middle school or a college. This is undisputed proof that our women have a wrong approach towards the education of the rising generation, and that selfishness and survivals of bourgeois or feudal ideology remain in them to a considerable degree.

By nature, it is the task of women to rear children. To make light of such an important and honourable duty as the raising of our little ones, the successors to our revolution and the reserves of communist builders, cannot be regarded as an attitude worthy of the women of our time, who are advancing to communism.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I should like, once again, to call upon our women to rid themselves of the remnants of outdated ideas which persist in their minds as soon as possible, and to enrol in training institutions for nursery school and kindergarten teachers.

The fact that nursery school, kindergarten and primary school teachers do not remain in their posts for long also has much to do with the fact that they do not consider their jobs honourable.

It is very difficult to bring up and educate innocent children well in

nurseries and kindergartens, and so it is to teach naughty primary school pupils. Therefore, nursery school, kindergarten and primary school teachers should have wide knowledge and rich experience and, to that end, they should remain in their posts for a long time.

At present, however, there are very few nursery school and kindergarten teachers who have been so employed for any length of time, and primary schools have also only a few elderly teachers. Kindergarten children and primary school pupils need to be taught by elderly, skilled teachers who have had years of teaching experience, but such persons are rare indeed. Most of the teachers lack experience. Also, those who were placed there fresh from school move on to some other job after a few years, claiming that they cannot stand the work. The Party has time and again brought this problem to the attention of the officials concerned with this matter, but without much effect so far.

And, while it is not directly related to this matter, this problem can also be found in hospitals. The hospitals in our country have few elderly nurses, and most of the nurses are young girls new to the job. They say that some hospitals dismiss nurses as soon as they get married. I find it hard to understand why. A hospital nurse can also do her bit well only when she has wide experience and knowledge.

We must ensure that nursery school, kindergarten and primary school teachers and hospital nurses remain active in their professions as long as possible.

That nursery school, kindergarten and primary school teachers feel no sense of honour and pride in their work and that women are unwilling to work in this field are partly attributable to the fact that they are not respected socially and that their remuneration is not high.

The Party and the Government intend to increase their remuneration gradually in the future as the economic situation of the country allows it.

But the question cannot be solved only by raising their salaries. If you consider your job honourable when you are paid well and dishonourable when your pay is low, you are greatly mistaken. You should not be hirelings who work for a few pennies. You should

become true nursery school and kindergarten teachers of the people and genuine revolutionaries, who bring up a new generation of revolutionaries for the Party and the people. Those who feel no sense of honour and pride in their work because their remuneration is somewhat lower than others, cannot be called true revolutionaries who work for the people.

You teachers present at this congress should feel a greater pride and confidence in your work than anyone else. And when you go back to your places of work, you should tell all the nursery school and kindergarten teachers throughout the country that the Party and the Government have entrusted them with a most important and exacting task, and that the confidence placed in them by the Party is that much greater, thereby inducing all of them to do their utmost to bring up and educate the rising generation with a sense of honour and pride in their work.

After this congress we should also initiate an extensive public campaign to inspire nursery school and kindergarten teachers with a high sense of pride in their work. The organizations of the Women's Union, the League of Socialist Working Youth and the trade unions should be made to take responsibility for this campaign and carry it out under the guidance of Party organizations. All nursery school and kindergarten teachers should thus be brought to a profound understanding of their own responsibilities while the public should be made to take a proper view of them.

Another important thing is to improve the qualifications of nursery school and kindergarten teachers.

To live up to the great confidence and expectations the Party has in them and to acquit themselves well in the duties assigned to them, they must raise their ideological level still further and improve their professional knowledge, while maintaining a sense of pride in their work.

Nursery school and kindergarten teachers must, above all, be well armed with communist ideology. Just as a mother should be a communist herself in order to bring up her children as communists, so

these teachers should themselves be respectable communists equipped with communist ideology and the noble traits of revolutionaries in order to make our little ones the reserves of communist builders.

As was pointed out at the Party Conference, revolutionizing and working-classizing all the working people is one of the most important tasks facing our Party now. To revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society, the working people should be made genuine communists by rooting out the remnants of the old ideology from their minds and arming them all with the revolutionary ideas of the working class, with communist ideology.

To become a communist it is essential, first of all, to renounce selfishness and to acquire a collectivist spirit. Selfishness is absolutely incompatible with communist ideas. Communists hold the interests of the collective and society as a whole dearer than their personal interests. In communist society, the interests of every working man are included in the interests of the collective and society and, accordingly, the common interests of the collective and society are immediately the interests of the working people themselves. It is therefore the basic requirement of communist society that all people help one another and work "One for all and all for one".

Without casting away selfishness you cannot become a communist and cannot be faithful to the revolutionary cause. This is all the more so with nursery school and kindergarten teachers who bring up other people's children. Of course, to do this is not for their own immediate benefit. It is done for the whole of society, for the future of the revolution. Moreover, your work is not easy. It involves several tasks, and is very hard work. You cannot cope with such a hard job so long as you are selfish. Only if the nursery school and kindergarten teachers who bring up the little ones cast away selfishness and are faithful in the collective life themselves, can they educate the children in a collectivist spirit, and only when they themselves are ideologically and morally sound, can they devote all their energies to the work of rearing children for the future of the revolution.

The task of arming people with communist ideology cannot be

accomplished in a day or two. It is an arduous task which requires a long time. And it allows of no coercion whatsoever. Ideological remoulding of men can be successfully carried out only by means of persevering and patient training, explanation and persuasion.

Nursery school and kindergarten teachers should wage a determined struggle against the slightest manifestation of selfishness which runs counter to collectivism, and must work hard to improve their own training so as to root out the residue of outdated ideas from their minds.

At the same time, all nursery school and kindergarten teachers should make an intensive study of Marxism-Leninism and our Party's policies to acquaint themselves with the Party line and policy and make them the guiding principle in their activities at all times, and also have a good theoretical knowledge of what a communist society is. Thus, you should all, without exception, become fine nursery school and kindergarten teachers armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the ideology of our Party.

The superiority of the public, collective upbringing of children to their rearing in individual homes can be demonstrated only when you become communists to the core. In bringing up children to be communists, collective rearing is incomparably better than rearing at home. A home is already an individual unit of society within the framework of private property relations. Therefore, children growing up at home can easily develop traits of liberalism and selfishness. And at home it is often the grandmother who takes care of them; and it is evident that a grandmother, who, more than anybody else, is imbued with outmoded ideas, cannot educate children well in new ideas—communist ideas. A grandmother, attached to her grandchildren, simply coddles them, and does not consider correcting them even when they get into mischief. Children who are brought up haphazardly at home in this way are handicapped in many ways compared with those who are brought up in nurseries and kindergartens.

Children who are raised at home dislike collective life, behave stubbornly and do not obey their elders properly, because they have no

experience in collective life and are accustomed to having their own way. And the children who have been overindulged at home do not know how to sing a song properly or how to mind their manners. Such habits persist stubbornly for some time even after they enter school. Everyone says that for some time after their entrance into the primary school the children raised at home make the poorest showing in their studies and are the most unruly. You cannot expect anything different.

But the children who have been brought up in nurseries and kindergartens are well-disciplined and love their mates, and they know how to mind their manners, because they have led a collective life and been educated from early childhood. After entering school, they also do well in their studies, for they have learned a great deal from early childhood.

And so the collective upbringing of children in nurseries and kindergartens is very good for cultivating a collectivist spirit and communist traits in them from an early age. That is why Engels, in his famous pamphlet, *Principles of Communism*, described as a very important communist measure the rearing of all children away from their mothers' side in state institutions at state expense.

Our Party has always paid great attention to the question of bringing up children at state expense and has already made considerable progress. In our country now, 870,000 children are growing up happily in nurseries and 790,000 are being educated in kindergartens romping about to their hearts' content. This means that 60-70 per cent of all the children in our country are being brought up in nurseries and kindergartens. We can be proud of the fact that we have already done a great deal in bringing up the rising generation in a communist way, even though our country still does not have everything in abundance.

It is true that the socialized upbringing of so many children is a heavy burden for the state, and a difficult task. But we have to accomplish this task by whatever means we can, for the future of our dear children, for the future of the country and the nation. We are carrying on the revolution and construction solely for the sake of our

future generations, and, therefore, why should we spare our efforts in bringing up our children? The present circumstances of our country do not permit us to bring up all the children in nurseries and kindergartens. But as the economic situation improves further, we must gradually ensure that all children are brought up in nurseries and kindergartens.

Nursery school and kindergarten teachers should not only be firmly armed with communist ideology, but should also have the professional knowledge of their calling at their fingertips. Only then can they bring up healthy and cheerful children by scientifically-substantiated methods, and raise them to be reserves of communist builders.

It is of great importance to bring up healthy children and establish good habits in them from early childhood. Ill-health in childhood will have a lifelong aftereffect, and bad habits formed then will be very hard to eliminate. Therefore, nursery school and kindergarten teachers should try to bring up healthy and cheerful children and implant good habits in them from early childhood.

To this end, nursery school and kindergarten teachers should have enough knowledge to bring up their charges in a cultured way and educate them by scientifically-based methods. In order to bring up children in this way, you need to know many things. For instance, nursery school and kindergarten teachers should learn to bathe the children in fresh air and sunshine; to feed them nourishing food and prepare clean surroundings for them. Also, the children should always be taught in accordance with their age and psychological characteristics.

While there are nurseries and kindergartens that do bring up children in a cultured and scientific way, there are also some which do not do so. There are quite a few nurseries and kindergartens which still neglect the care of the children and fail to maintain hygienic and cultured surroundings.

To do things in such a careless way is an expression of the survival of the old, bourgeois ideology. Formalism is a common malady today not only in the work of nurseries and kindergartens, but in all work

including Party and economic work. So a few days ago I called together the officials of the Party Central Committee and once again emphasized the need to do away with formalism. We should wage an energetic ideological campaign to root out formalism in all fields of activity including Party and economic work and the work of cultural education.

The carelessness shown in the work of nurseries and kindergartens has to do also with the fact that nursery school and kindergarten teachers lack the basic knowledge of hygiene and of other things needed in bringing up children. Indeed, public health workers should look after the health of the nursery and kindergarten charges with a sense of responsibility; the workers of the clinics should visit the nurseries and kindergartens everyday and give the necessary therapeutic and prophylactic care. But as long as nursery school and kindergarten teachers, who are directly responsible for the upbringing of children, are ignorant of hygiene, they cannot hope to bring healthy children. Therefore, they must make a determined attempt to master the technical aspects of their own profession, including hygiene, while carrying on an ideological struggle to exterminate the remnants of the old ideology.

There are various ways of raising the level of professional expertise of nursery school and kindergarten teachers. Of course, it would be ideal to send all of them to school for study. But how could we send all 130,000 of them to school? The best alternative is for them to study while working. The Women's Union and the League of Socialist Working Youth should assume the responsibility for the work of spreading the understanding of child care among nursery school and kindergarten teachers. I think it would also be effective to organize mobile training courses for these teachers, which would make the rounds of the counties and ri.

The central authorities should publish the necessary reference books in large numbers so as to enable these teachers to bring up and educate children efficiently. Easily assimilable study materials should be provided in large quantities, and very many useful articles, helpful

to the raising, education and training of children should be printed in magazines including *Korean Women* and *Culture of Life*, so making them available to all nursery school and kindergarten teachers.

In addition, the state and the public should give active assistance in consolidating the material foundations of the nurseries and kindergartens and in managing and operating them properly.

The hard work and enthusiasm of nursery school and kindergarten teachers alone are not enough for the satisfactory performance of the work of bringing up our children. To raise and educate children properly in nurseries and kindergartens, it is also necessary to provide various material conditions, in addition to this zeal. There should be comfortable and clean houses, proper facilities for the raising and education of the children, and good nourishing food for them.

To provide such material foundations, the state and the public must give unfailing assistance. Above all, the state institutions, enterprises and cooperative farms have to assume their responsibility to assist. If an appeal is just issued for a public campaign instead, it is virtually impossible to assure good material foundations for the nurseries and kindergartens. At the very best, a public campaign could contribute to building the playgrounds, weeding, and planting trees for them, but not much help could be given in other respects.

In my opinion, the factories, enterprises and cooperative farms would be well advised to put aside a part of their incomes as funds for the nurseries and kindergartens. Since each and every factory, enterprise or cooperative farm is part of the planned economy, not a single penny can be obtained from anywhere unless certain funds are laid aside according to plan. The factories, enterprises and cooperative farms should use those funds to build pleasant nurseries and kindergartens and give them the necessary facilities.

Besides this, these institutions ought to provide their nurseries and kindergartens with funds and a rice quota and should raise a few dairy cows and goats so that the children under their care can have tasty and highly nutritious food including milk.

Party and social organizations should pay more attention to the

work of the nurseries and kindergartens. In particular, Party organizations should always exercise leadership and control so that the state and the public can give effective assistance to the nurseries and kindergartens.

The administrative guidance of the nurseries and kindergartens should be strengthened. The Ministry of Public Health is in charge of the guidance of the nurseries, but it is negligent. A bureau for the guidance of nurseries was recently set up in the Ministry of Public Health after the Party Central Committee criticised it. In spite of this, as always, it only pays lip service and does not give any detailed guidance. The Ministry of Public Health should devote a great deal of attention to the health of the children in the nurseries and, in particular, set up more and better pediatric wards. Establishing good children's wards is indispensable for assuring the extensive participation of women in public life and raising their work attendance rate. Nowadays, many women fail to report for work on account of their children's illness. Sick children are not accepted in the nurseries and kindergartens. Therefore, in places where there are no pediatric wards mothers have no choice but to stay away from work whenever their children fall ill.

Pediatric wards must be established without fail in every county and every workers' district. It is not a very difficult task to do this. All that is needed is to build a house approximately twice the size of the modern rural dwelling, place beds in it, and appoint a few doctors to it.

In this way, as many women as possible would be able to join public life and work without worry. Women cannot make progress as long as they just stay at home and do nothing but look after their children. Only when women join public life and take an active part in the organizational life of the Party or in the life of the social organizations, can they make a contribution to the revolutionary cause like men, and also develop themselves in the process. It is also of great significance, therefore, in working-classing, revolutionizing and enlightening women that the nurseries, kindergartens and pediatric wards are run well, so enabling more women to join public life. That is

precisely the reason why the Party pays great attention to the efficient operation of the nurseries, kindergartens and pediatric wards and fights against the mistaken idea of considering it a nuisance for women with children to enter public life.

The guidance of the kindergartens which is the responsibility of the Ministry of General Education is not proceeding well, either. They say that at present the Ministry of General Education has given a few school inspectors the responsibility of directing the kindergartens throughout the country. If this is the case, how satisfactory, if at all, can this guidance be? It will not do to leave the matter to a few school inspectors as at present. More personnel must be allocated to the Ministry of General Education to take charge of the work of kindergartens, even if it forces us to cut down on the less important staff of the provincial people's committees or other bodies. Thus, the system of guidance of the kindergartens should be put in good order and it should be improved decisively.

In addition, the ranks of nursery school and kindergarten teachers should be built up with good people. The Party and the state have entrusted nursery school and kindergarten teachers with very heavy responsibilities. Therefore, their ranks should be firmly established so that they can discharge their responsibilities fully and answer the Party's expectations. The organizations of the Women's Union and the League of Socialist Working Youth should select those comrades who are ideologically and morally sound, and send them to the training institutions for nursery school and kindergarten teachers, take good care of their work and life and help them all the time.

In closing, I wish you fresh success in your honourable work of bringing up our beloved little ones into healthy, cheerful and well-behaved reserves of communist builders, upholding the spirit of your congress.

ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF BIOLOGY AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE TRAINING OF MACHINISTS

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting
of the Political Committee of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

November 30, 1966

1. ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF BIOLOGY

At today's Political Committee meeting I would like first to touch on the further development of biology.

For a long time, I have stressed the need to develop biology rapidly. Our country, washed by the sea on three sides, has limited plains; the mountains occupy nearly 80 per cent of its territory. If we are to make the people prosperous under these conditions, we must make effective use of the mountains and seas, to say nothing of the paddy and dry fields. To this end, we must develop biology.

For the rapid development of biology, research has to be intensified by biologists and, at the same time, this work must be made a concern of the masses.

No matter how many new things are invented by scientists they will be of no use unless they are publicized and applied practically. We should, therefore, persuade scientists not only to carry on successful

biological research but also to explain its importance, and pass on information about fauna and flora to the people so that they will love nature and protect and increase the number of animals and plants. This is the way to develop biology rapidly and to turn our natural resources to good account.

Since immediately after liberation I have stressed that school books and many other books should contain information about our country's natural resources so as to educate the students and the people extensively. But this work is still not done well. Today not only biological research but also education on the subject of our natural resources is not being properly carried out. As a result, they do not try to protect fauna and flora, but even violate state laws on protecting and breeding them.

In Jagang Province they reclaimed fire-fields in violation of Cabinet decisions and thus spoiled the mountains on a large scale. During my inspection tour of some areas in Wiwon, Chosan and Usi Counties this year, I learnt that mountains had been spoiled because of the indiscriminate felling of trees for reclamation and that it had even resulted in damage being caused to fields at the foot of mountains by landslides in the rainy season.

The Ministry of Land Administration, too, felled a number of valuable trees on the excuse of creating forests of economic value. In Ryonggang County, South Phyongan Province, there are many hills suitable for the planting of Korean pepper bushes. But, instead of turning them to account, they felled all the good trees on the roadside so as to plant these bushes.

Animal conservation is also unsatisfactory. Although I gave instructions that the hunting of roe deer should be prohibited, the instruction has not been followed, with the result that deer breeding is held up. As they are highly reproductive animals, a few years' protection will suffice for their number to increase. Hunting must be allowed after the prohibition of some years' duration during which their number will grow, but now people hunt them as soon as they appear.

It is the same with fish culture. Our country has many lakes and rivers, which enable us to breed fish in large numbers. Fish breeding does not need much effort because spawns, once put in the rivers, feed by themselves, moving up and down the rivers, without going into the sea. It is hard, however, to breed fish properly because people catch even young fish in scoop nets because they have not had proper instruction.

In addition, there are many instances in which natural resources are used ineffectually or are damaged because of our officials' slipshod manner of working.

Our country abounds in good oil-bearing trees, including Korean evodia and Korean pepper bushes. If we plant and tend Korean pepper bushes with care, we shall be able to obtain large quantities of cooking oil. The people of North Phyongan Province prefer to eat this oil rather than take perilla oil. If we take good care of black walnut trees which abound in our country, we can also get plenty of cooking oil. That is why a long time ago our Party laid stress on the question of planting groves of oil-bearing trees and assigned a task to each province. At present, however, no province tackles this task skilfully.

When I was told that a plantation of Korean pepper bushes had been established in Sakju County, North Phyongan Province, I ascertained that they had planted some trees in addition to the existing ones and that only 20 per cent of them had survived due to the careless way in which they had been planted. If they had organized a model lesson and given proper technical direction before planting them, they could have avoided this. Every year Pyongyang mobilizes a great deal of manpower and many vehicles in order to transplant pine trees, many of which, nevertheless, wither through having been carelessly planted.

At present orchards are not tended with care. Our orchards today cover an area of 130,000 hectares, thanks to the mass campaign to plant orchards which started after the Pukchong meeting. Now we can barter one ton of apples for one ton of sugar or two tons of wheat. So picking ten tons of apples from a hectare of orchard is equivalent to producing 20 tons of wheat. At present many countries want to buy our

apples. A certain country says that it will give us everything we need, just in exchange for apples.

We have planted many orchards with great effort, but our workers in this field do not yet know how to prune apple trees, and they care for the orchards in a happy-go-lucky way. When I visited Samchon County, South Hwanghae Province, I learnt that they had created a large orchard covering an area of several hundred hectares but were unable to run it properly, because they obliged the farmers to go to work there from the far-off county town as the result of their failure to build dwellings, in the hope that the state would undertake housing construction for them. If the orchard is cared for like this, the efforts they made to plant it will go for nothing.

The main reason why our people have no love for fauna and flora and are careless about nature conservation lies in the fact that they still have not rid themselves of the old habits which they acquired while living as slaves for 36 years under Japanese imperialist colonial rule. So we must, above all else, intensify the training of our officials and working people in order to do away with the old habits.

In protecting and increasing fauna and flora, ignorance is another cause of many mistakes.

In some places acacia trees are planted in the damp ridges between rice fields or on either side of waterways where they die. They grow well in dry soil. Wet soil is suitable for poplar and similar trees. Because they are ignorant of biological matters, however, they plant acacia in wet soil, where they die.

In order to develop biology and protect and breed fauna and flora properly, we should give pupils from their primary school days systematic instruction about animals and plants.

At schools, nowadays, teaching of the natural sciences is not up to the mark. It is nearly ten years since universal secondary education was made compulsory in our country. At factories most of the workers are secondary school graduates, and older workers who had no access to learning in the past have also mostly graduated from working people's middle school. The situation is similar in the country areas. All the

same, they know nothing about fauna and flora and are ignorant of how to protect nature.

I am told that there are middle school graduates who are unfamiliar with chestnut trees and who insist on killing off the frogs as they consider them harmful. Frogs are useful animals which live on noxious insects. And their croaking in summertime adds to the beauty of nature. The fact that middle school graduates are ignorant of which trees are fit for wet or dry soil and which animals are useful or harmful, shows us that the lessons in natural sciences which are given at schools are poor. It seems to me that the natural science textbooks are not written properly. Without carefully examining the textbooks, you just deplore the working people's low level of basic knowledge. This will get you nowhere. You must re-examine all the textbooks on natural sciences. In addition, you must do away with the tendency of disparaging natural science subjects and set stringent examinations in these subjects.

We have designated nature protection districts, but you neglect the use of these districts in the education of the people. You should take students there frequently so that they can see for themselves, and give them lessons.

Planned re-education should be given to teachers so as to improve their qualifications.

Next, the work of communicating knowledge on fauna and flora to the people should be done properly.

One day on my way to Mangyongdae I found people cutting the oak trees on a hill. When I asked them why they were doing this, they answered that the city people's committee had instructed them to cut all deciduous trees except pine trees. I told them not to fell oak trees.

Deciduous trees are indispensable for mountains as their leaves fall in great quantities to make the soil fertile and the trees thrive. Woody hills naturally attract many birds to breed. Without deciduous trees the soil becomes acid, which prevents the trees from growing. So more deciduous trees must be planted in Mangyongdae and Mt. Taesong, for instance, where pine trees abound. In spite of this, officials thoughtlessly give instructions to cut these trees. This can be ascribed

to the fact that they are not taught how to cultivate mountains. In future you must give lectures or produce scientific films dealing with the question of how to plant and tend trees for training our officials and working people.

The people of Ryanggang Province are now ignorant of the way of planting broad beans. When I asked the senior officials of this province how to sow broad beans, they replied that they sowed them in dry soil this year because they failed in wet soil last year. This unscientific method of farming is attributable to the fact that officials of the Agricultural Commission do not direct farming in a scientific manner because they know nothing about biology. Lectures should be arranged for them, as a matter of priority, to help them acquire biological expertise.

You must write many articles on the protection and breeding of fauna and flora for the newspapers, Children's Union magazines, and other publications. I think it advisable for biologists to allocate 60 per cent of their time to scientific research and 40 per cent to the education of the masses. By doing this they should contribute positively to solving the problem of creating plantations of oil-bearing trees as well as other immediate problems set forth by the Party.

In order to develop biology rapidly it is imperative to stimulate scientific research.

At present biology is the most backward sector in our country. The continued development of agriculture is held up by scientific problems. So far agricultural production has been increased little by little by rule of thumb, but now it is difficult to do so without improving seeds and taking other scientific measures. Changes in the development of biology necessitate a radical improvement in scientific research. But this is not proceeding well at present. Although the Party raised the question of establishing woods of oil-bearing trees a long time ago, the botanists still do not know how to bud lintera.

The most important thing in biological studies is to ensure that the existing natural resources are put to effective use. It is useless to study other matter without making good use of what we already have.

Biological study must be oriented in every way to better protection for and effective use of the existing fauna and flora, so that the people can benefit substantially. This is the only way to convince them of the necessity for biological development and to persuade them to participate more actively in the work of treasuring and protecting animals and plants.

In scientific research you should establish a revolutionary habit of completing the undertakings which you have started.

In order to develop science there must be persons who are responsible for it and, after the appropriate direction of research is decided upon, investment must be made in it. In addition, scientists should acquire a habit of completing their research assignments in a responsible manner. They should repeat their research tirelessly and persistently until it proves successful, in spite of any failures. At the moment, however, they do not have the habit of finishing what they have begun, with a sense of responsibility.

Let me cite the question of livestock farming. We have been talking about the development of animal husbandry for a long time, but the scientists have done nothing worth mentioning. In order to develop this sector we imported duck eggs and broody hens even in the grim days of the Fatherland Liberation War. After the war we managed to get hundreds of dairy cows which foreigners were unwilling to give. Despite this, the scientists have not yet made any proper progress.

If we are to develop livestock farming in our country, we must begin with solving the problem of pasture. Some time ago the premier of a foreign country sent me a letter in which he said that he would send fine pedigree cows and he suggested we should use them for breeding. But I have still not replied to him because the grass problem remains unsolved.

Obtaining grass is a very difficult problem in the present condition of our country. With a limited area of land under cultivation we can neither turn plains into pastures nor plant grass on the hills after felling the trees because of landslides. We have to find a method of cultivating pastures in the mountains while leaving the trees intact. To this end we

must study grass which will grow well in the shade. But now our scientists do not even think about it.

Unless the grass problem is solved, it will be pointless, no matter what excellent stocks of domestic animals are bred by scientists. If we try to feed domestic animals with leavings as we do now, we can neither develop livestock farming nor provide the people with plenty of meat.

At one time, in order to solve the feed problem, scientists tried to find a method of pulverizing straw so as to process it by using oryze fungi, but they have also abandoned this. They must continue to look for a method of using straw as fodder.

Nowadays I have great expectations of *aegukphul*. You must grow it efficiently.

In order to solve the fodder problem we should introduce two-cropping as much as possible. If, by adopting two-crop cultivation, at some other countries are doing, we harvest 3 to 4 tons of grain from the first crop, we shall be able to use all the produce from the later crop as fodder for domestic animals. This will enable us to provide the people with meat.

Some time ago I visited South Hwanghae Province where I assigned the local officials a task of establishing 100,000 hectares of pasture. At that time I told them to draw up a plan of growing fodder-crops on 30,000 hectares of rice paddies as a first crop, on 50,000 hectares of dry fields as a late crop and of cultivating pasture on the remaining 20,000 hectares of hills. If we put 100,000 hectares of land under fodder cultivation, we shall be able to feed 25,000 dairy cows, provided that we raise one for every four hectares.

Livestock farming should produce large numbers of grass-eating animals such as rabbits, sheep and goats. Since arable land is limited and the population keeps increasing, it is difficult for us to use a large quantity of grain as fodder. We can raise chickens and pigs with feed grain. But it is difficult for us to use it to feed all the other domestic animals.

Sheep and rabbits, for instance, feed well only on grass. If each of

the farm households raises a sheep, it means raising a million and, supposing that we obtain three kilogrammes of wool by shearing a sheep, we can produce a large amount of wool. A rabbit is also a herbivorous animal. At present, however, the scientists and technicians in the field of animal husbandry show little interest in domestic animals which feed only on grass and which breed rapidly.

I am told that the domestic raising of chickens is now unsatisfactory because of the lack of animal meal. In some countries they breed maggots to feed chickens, but our officials even neglect this, sitting with folded arms. It is advisable to publicize this method of raising chickens on maggots.

A number of countries breed frogs, too. Frogs not only produce tasty meat but are a hibernating animal. Therefore, it would be a very good idea to raise large numbers of them in paddy fields and such like. But now our people do not study things of this kind nor can they breed frogs even though we imported a fine stock of them.

In order to develop livestock farming, we must also carry out land improvement successfully. I am told that the main reason why there are large numbers of domestic animals which are thin for lack of nourishment is the insufficiency of microelements in the feed. So, instead of just emphasizing breed improvement, you should carry out soil studies and land improvement efficiently so as to produce fodder crops which contain an abundance of microelements.

You must also carry out vegetable research properly.

To solve this problem we imported choice radish and cabbage seeds. Although we imported seeds of a cabbage which forms a solid heart even in summer for you, you gave up its cultivation after a year's experiments. If you had carried on seed selection properly with the vegetable seeds we imported and had clearly taught agricultural workers the methods of cultivating them, you could supply the people with vegetables without a break, even in July and August. But you have neglected this work, with the result that now we cannot guarantee the people an adequate supply of vegetables as soon as August begins.

You said that you were studying methods of cultivating mushrooms

but they have not yet been published and you made a great fuss about the growing of tangle and oysters for some time before giving that up also.

We have shown a great interest in genetics. A long time ago we sent our agro-technicians to a foreign country to study the method of producing the double-cross hybrid. We expect much of it to be successful as soon as possible, but it has not yet succeeded fully. I am told that the first filial generation of maize produced in a foreign country is low in height and bears cobs as big as clubs, but ours bears small cobs.

Biologists have carried on research until now, but have failed to come up with anything which is good enough.

Some of our scientists are now seeking to become famous. They pretend to have completed their research even when it is unfinished. Because I was told that it was good to graft the pine-nut tree on the pine tree, I tried this in the garden of my house, believing that research on this matter had been completed. Although the tree bore pine-nuts, there was a defect in that the grafted pine-nut tree grew thicker than the pine tree, thus destroying their proportions. Despite this, the scientists concerned have still failed to complete this research. They must not carry out research work in this way. If our scientists, lacking the revolutionary trait of studying, acquire the bad habit of giving up their tasks halfway, it is impossible to develop our country or make it prosperous.

Next in importance in scientific research is to consolidate and publicize achievements in research.

It can be said that the consolidation and wide acceptance of research achievements is similar to the reinforcement of a height captured in a war and the preparations to be made for a new battle. Only when an achievement of one's research is consolidated and generally accepted will it make the research significant and enable further research to be undertaken.

But at present scientists are not enthusiastic about their research and do not try to introduce their research results to general application.

They ought not to carry out such research as growing some kinds of plants in pots in the laboratory. The point is how to apply the successful achievements. Any research successes which have no practical application are worthless.

No matter what subjects they study, scientists should acquire the habit of completing their tasks and publicizing the achievements gained in their study, thus solving one problem after another. In future, while pursuing new research, they must complete the projects which they have already started—among them the methods of artificially cultivating mushrooms, of creating plantations of oil-bearing trees and of breeding frogs—and spread their results widely.

To proceed. Let me touch on some problems concerning the conditions for scientific research work.

It is proposed that the existing botanical and zoological gardens in Pyongyang be transferred to the Academy of Sciences, but this should not be done. These gardens were built through great effort immediately after the ceasefire. If they are transferred to the Academy of Sciences they may be spoiled. They must be left as they are now and used for scientific research. No matter who runs the gardens, it will suffice if the biologists are given assignments and encouraged to go there for research purposes. These gardens must be used for the enjoyment of the working people; they must not be turned into exclusive laboratories for scientists.

The botanical garden must be well established and managed properly. It is said that there are about 600 kinds of plants in the northern half of our country. You should plant some fifty trees of each kind there to ensure that the people will get to know them.

It is necessary to adopt the cost-accounting system in running the botanical garden. As it has fertile land, if aromatic plants and medicinal herbs are grown, you will be able to use them for enjoyment and to increase income.

The botanical garden should also conduct scientific research. Study should be carried out on oil-bearing trees, medicinal herbs and various other plants. You should give research assignments to the scientists in

the botanical garden and receive regular reports on their implementation.

There are not very many biologists in our country at present. So I consider it necessary to concentrate them in the Biological Research Institute.

It is advisable not to set up a separate biological branch in the Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Instead, the biologists should be allocated to each branch of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and given biological research assignments which promote the development of agriculture. This will be enough. If you organize a separate biological branch in the Academy of Agricultural Sciences entirely in its own interests, it may result in the dispersal of the biological research group. It will be advisable for you to think about how to allocate the biologists rationally and to provide satisfactory conditions for their scientific studies in future so that the branches of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences will be able to undertake the functions of a biological branch.

In order to develop biology further it is imperative to train a large number of specialists in this field.

At present biology specialists are trained only at Kim Il Sung University. But I have an idea of training them at the biological faculties once these have been established at the agricultural universities. There are now four agricultural universities in our country. If we open a biological faculty in each, we may be short of lecturers. This problem can be solved if we establish an agricultural university where the Academy of Agricultural Sciences is and encourage its staff to deliver lectures at the university while pursuing their research.

It has been suggested that a separate new university for training agricultural biologists be established, but we must consider whether to organize new faculties in the agricultural universities or to open a separate university for this purpose.

In the future it would be a good idea to institute an agricultural university in each province. I consider it advisable for North Phyongan

Province to establish one in Jongju, for South Phyongan Province and Pyongyang to set up a joint university in Nampho or Sunchon, and for North Hamgyong and Ryanggang Provinces to establish a joint one also.

The agricultural universities should give the students a good education. They should give them lectures not only about farming but also about irrigation, fruit growing and stockbreeding. We have approximately 3,800 cooperative farms in our country, but under present conditions we cannot appoint livestock and horticultural technicians to every farm. The agricultural universities which train agricultural technicians should, therefore, teach such subjects as fruit growing and livestock farming. It is a sign of dogmatism to think that agricultural biology is the only subject to be studied by agricultural students.

In addition, it is advisable to send a number of scientists and technicians in the biological field to foreign countries for practical training. In this regard, we must not just send a few people to make a superficial study of a number of subjects; we should ensure that their studies are concentrated on rabbits or chickens, according to their specialities.

I am told that scientists are now determined to carry on their research work more efficiently so that our scientific knowledge can keep pace with worldwide developments. That is very good. The Party and the state intend to solve all problems arising in the development of biology—the training and allocation of personnel in the biological field, and the supply of laboratory equipment and so on. Scientists should, therefore, remedy the shortcomings revealed in their research in the past and perform their task successfully.

It is advisable to adopt a decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee to develop biology still further. It should point out the defects so far shown in the development of biology and the tasks set before biological study in ensuring the development of agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as the measures to develop this science further in future. At the same time, the decision should

raise the question of preserving fauna and flora in a mass movement in close combination with the development of biology. The decision should give only the general direction, and its amplification in detailed terms should be entrusted to the Cabinet.

2. ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE TRAINING OF MACHINISTS

The machine-building industry is the heart of industry. Only by its further development, therefore, is it possible to turn our country into a powerful industrial state.

Our country has every kind of nonferrous metal ore and inexhaustible deposits of iron ore. We should take advantage of this favourable condition to develop the machine-building industry and manufacture large numbers of machines for export. As the Swiss live by making and selling watches, we should manufacture and sell many machines. This is the way for us to develop the country rapidly and make the people prosperous.

If we produce various kinds of machines and improve their quality, we shall be able to open up the international market. If we do things well, we can export large numbers of machines to countries in Southeast Asia and many other countries around the world.

Even a country which produces no minerals is developing the machine-building industry. Why, then, cannot our country, which is rich in iron and nonferrous metal ore, develop this industry? Furthermore, because of its limited land and large population, our country will only be prosperous when this industry is developed. We should make and sell machines in order to live well; we can never become prosperous by selling iron ore.

Since the war we have made great efforts to create and develop the machine-building industry. However, its rate of development is not

very high. Machines made in our country at present are of poor quality. This, of course, is due partly to the fact that our machine-building industry has a short history. But the main reason for the slow rate of development is the inadequate training of technicians in this field. If we had trained good machinists in the past, our machine-building industry would have made considerable progress by now.

Before liberation there were only a few people in the country who were familiar with machinery. The Japanese imperialists neither taught the Koreans mechanics nor allowed them into important machine factories. It was only after liberation that we started the training of machinists. There are some people who studied mechanical engineering in a foreign country after liberation, but they failed to acquire an adequate knowledge of mechanics, and what little they had learned was already outdated.

We have trained many machinists on our own since liberation, but their standards are not high. I am told that at present we have several thousand mechanical engineers who graduated from universities. If they had been fully equipped through proper training, they would be a great force. But because they were trained in conditions where there were scanty supplies of experimental equipment, some of them are mechanical engineers in name only, not knowing how to make a proper drawing. Many of the machines designed and manufactured by our technicians do not work properly. Frankly, most of the locally produced machines are imitations of the designs of others, few are designed by ourselves.

Last July I had a talk with mechanical engineers and I knew that there were quite a few problems in the training of technical personnel. It is only when revolutionary measures are taken to solve the difficult problems in the training of mechanical experts and when this training is radically improved in terms of quality that a change will take place in the development of the machine-building industry.

At the present meeting of the Political Committee, therefore, we must take Party and state measures for the solution of this problem.

We should first see to it that teachers radically improve their qualifications.

At present the teachers themselves are inefficient. As a result, they are incapable of improving the students' qualifications.

In connection with the problem of improving teachers' qualifications, we have received a suggestion that it would be preferable to replace the university lecturers who are qualified in theory but who have no practical experience, by field experts or technicians. But this should not be done. If former teachers were to attempt to learn their jobs properly at factories, it would take them several years. This would slow up production. On the other hand, those who worked on the shop floor would require a considerable time to prepare themselves to give lectures at university. It is therefore totally impracticable to replace lecturers with field engineers.

I consider it advisable to increase the number of teachers to a certain extent so that while giving lessons, they will also gain experience through practice on the shop floor. If their annual hours of lectures are 650, for instance, 500 hours should be allotted for teaching, and the remaining 150 for doing the work of a deputy chief engineer, for example, at the factories. Then they will get experience and become completely familiar with existing conditions. It would be advisable to let university lecturers do practical work on the shop floor like this for a couple of months each year.

In order to improve the quality of teaching, we should take steps, if necessary, to invite competent foreigners to give lectures.

The next step in improving the quality of technical personnel training is to combine theory with practice in university education.

It is not enough to give the students theoretical education alone. Increased experimental practice, along with theoretical study, is essential for the students to remember the theory they have learnt for a long time and to develop their ability to put it into effect.

In order to intensify experimental practice, it is necessary to build training plants in the universities. Because universities have no such plants at present, their graduates are unable to handle machinery

properly. Therefore, we should first ensure that centres for experimental practice are built in universities.

A large training plant should be built in the Kim Chaek University of Technology. Some comrades have suggested that it would be a good plan to get the students of the University of Mechanical Engineering to conduct both practical and research work directly at factories, instead of the university having its own training plant. But frequent training sessions at factories which are devoted to production are unpopular there. So it is desirable to ensure that its own large pilot plant is built in the University of Mechanical Engineering and that it is allocated some production tasks so that it will carry on production and provide practical training.

The universities should also be provided with experimental apparatus. What can be made in our country must be manufactured by our own efforts and what cannot be made here must be imported. I am told that over the past years, the universities have barely been provided even with locally-made machinery. From now on there should be a system under which all factories, when they manufacture new machines, must set aside the first one as a sample and send the second one to a university, just as a publishing house presents copies of new books to interested organizations. Without establishing this system we cannot solve the problem of experimental equipment for universities. The price of the machinery to be supplied to the universities may well be paid by the Ministry of Higher Education out of its budget or by the state.

I have been told that it will cost approximately 900,000 rubles to import a comprehensive supply of experimental apparatus which cannot be manufactured in our country and to equip the training plants attached to the Kim Chaek University of Technology and to the University of Mechanical Engineering. We must ensure that one million rubles are appropriated to import everything necessary. This is the only way to solve this problem.

At present technicians who have been to other countries for study as research students are said to be unable to use their knowledge

because of the shortage of the necessary laboratory equipment. I think that it is essential to take a state measure that in future research students must return home bringing with them all the equipment they have used for study. The objective of sending our research students to other countries is to let them study what we need so as to develop our science and technology. We should therefore ensure that they will bring home the essential equipment which they have used for study before their return.

The study of foreign languages by students has to be increased.

It is said that at the moment scientists are too weak in foreign languages to read technical books on their specialities properly. Universities must improve the teaching of foreign languages. Unsatisfactory training in foreign languages at universities prevents us from sending good and competent people to teach these languages in secondary schools. I am told that at present Kim Il Sung University teaches Russian to the junior and lower-grade students, and English as a second foreign language to the upper-grade students. They should not teach languages that way. It would be a different matter if they got the students to study a second foreign language after graduation. But if students are encouraged to study two foreign languages in the course of a four-year university education, they will not master either thoroughly. So they should be taught only one foreign language competently while at university.

Universities should improve the examination system. A certain country is now moving in the direction of doing away with all examinations, but we must continue to strengthen this system.

It has been suggested that allowances should not be granted to students who have been unsuccessful in examinations. Encouraging failed students by means of allowances is a bourgeois way of control; it is not our Party's method of influence by example. Suspension of allowances on the pretext of failure in examinations is tantamount, after all, to refusing to give further education. University students today receive no particular aid from their families. They can attend university because the state provides allowances and feeds and clothes

them; if allowances were suspended, few students would go to university. It is impossible to eradicate student failures through administrative steps such as the forfeiture of allowances. A solution to this problem must also be found through efficient political work, as in other affairs.

When a student fails his examinations, the lecturer concerned should be closely questioned about it by the relevant Party committee and the student in question must be given an organizational education in criticism by the Party and League of Socialist Working Youth organizations of students. This will help to increase the teachers' sense of responsibility and stimulate the failed students to study hard. It is probably easy to expel the failures on the grounds of negligent study. However, if that happens the state's concern in educating them for several years, providing them with scholarships, clothing and food, will be wasted.

LSWY and other students' organizations should be brought into action in the campaign to eliminate failures and to establish the study habit. Meanwhile, schools must enforce strict discipline and order so that the students accustom themselves to study and a disciplined life from the first days of their matriculation.

Next, the students should be provided with adequate conditions for learning.

On the occasion of my last on-the-spot guidance to Kim Il Sung University I had a talk with girl students. They said that they had no reference books available for their study.

Notes taken on the lectures are not enough for study at university. As well as textbooks, therefore, large numbers of reference books must be printed for university students.

At present we cannot print these books in large numbers because of a shortage of paper, although we have the necessary materials and sufficient printing capacity. So I gave instructions this spring that some writing paper should be transferred to the printing of textbooks and reference books. It would be good if vellum paper were used for printing them but, as it is in short supply, it must be used for printing

only pages with diagrams. The other pages should be printed on ordinary paper.

The paper problem will be solved when the existing paper mills are put into full operation. Although our country has a large capacity for paper production, smooth production is held up because of the unsatisfactory supply of raw materials. That is why we must definitely solve the problem of raw materials.

It is necessary to sum up the results of purchasing maize sheaths. I have been told that because the farmers now obtain them by spreading maize stalks on the road to be crushed by motorcars and oxcarts, they become mixed with sand, which makes large quantities useless. You should not work in such a slovenly manner. Unsheathing the maize stalk is simple and does not require a large machine. It will suffice to drive two pieces of iron in a chair, for instance, and then draw the stalk through them. People's committee chairmen should organize and direct this work efficiently.

It has been suggested that in order to make more and better textbooks and reference books the existing compiling capacity should be doubled because it is not sufficient now. This should be allowed. It would be a good idea to double or treble that capacity provided they produce good textbooks and reference books. The Educational Books Printing Shop and Wonsan University of Agriculture have each asked for some printing machines. You should meet their requirements after carefully examining the situation, because there will be surplus machines when some of the printing shops are amalgamated shortly.

You must make arrangements to import foreign documents on technology, in addition to publishing a large number of textbooks and reference books.

To proceed, the direction of correspondence-course education should be improved.

It is said that those who have been taught through university correspondence courses are now at a low level. But there is a big difference in level between them and those who have not taken such courses. A few years ago when I visited Yaksu Middle School in

Changsong County, there was only one teacher among its staff who had graduated from university. So I gave every teacher a task to take a university correspondence course. This year I paid another visit there and found that all of them had finished the courses. Their standards were much higher than they were before they took the courses. The manager of a local industry factory in Changsong County has also graduated from the Sinuiju Higher School of Light Industry through a correspondence course. Since she has studied, although through a correspondence course, she is now able to do cost accounting and manages her factory fairly well.

A request has been made for the period of school attendance by students of university correspondence courses to be increased to eight weeks. This cannot be done. Correspondence-course education should be organized so as not to seriously hinder production and other activities. If they spend two months on attending school and two weeks on paid leave, and exclude holidays from a year, there will not be enough time left for them to work.

Keeping correspondence-course students at school for two months a year will not only interfere with production but also put a large burden on the teachers concerned. Teachers have to do their own studying during the students' vacation, but they will have no time for study if correspondence-course students come to school in this period. Moreover, to teach these students, separate hostels and dining rooms are required.

It seems better to improve correspondence-course instruction by allotting more time to students for study and making teachers go around for on-the-spot lectures and by providing students with many transcripts of lectures and reference books—rather than extending their time at school, keeping them away from work for a long time.

As regards the question which has been raised about the qualifications of the graduates from university correspondence courses, we cannot give them the same qualifications as those given to graduates of full-time universities. Other countries do not give them equal qualifications.

I am told that there is an opinion that the correspondence course of medical universities should be abolished. But if that is done there will be difficult problems. This course should be kept as it is, and only those who have passed the examination after finishing attendance for correspondence lessons, should be qualified as doctors.

It has been suggested that the factory colleges in Rajin and Kimchaek ought to be merged because the number of their students is not large. It is desirable to do so.

Students should be chosen carefully for the proper training of technical personnel.

The present composition of students shows that most come directly from higher technical schools after graduation. This causes some problems. Out of the graduates from higher technical schools, the good ones are all enlisted in the army and the rest are mostly those who are physically weak or have some shortcomings. Therefore, if we enrol in university those who were not recruited by the army, it means, in effect, that many unsuitable people enter university. They will be useless even after graduation.

To train efficient scientific and technical personnel, we should choose sound people in factories and enterprises and send them to study at universities and we must not recruit worthwhile graduates of higher technical schools who are eligible to be university students. Unless such a measure is taken, we shall be unable to train first-rate technical personnel. If those who join the army on graduation from higher technical schools were discharged after only three years of military service, that would be another matter. But at present they have to serve in the army for more than three years and during this period they might forget a great deal of what they learned at school. As a result, most discharged soldiers enter universities of social science. In this situation, only when we select good people in factories and enterprises to send to universities can we train competent technical personnel. If some of the best graduates from higher technical schools are exempted from military service and are sent to natural science universities so that they acquire knowledge about science and

technology and undergo military training for five to six years, they will become competent personnel experienced in science and technology and in military training.

It is important to make good use of the existing technicians, while training a large number of new ones.

As a result of improper labour administration on the part of ministries, many technicians do not now work in their specialist fields, and some are engaged in ordinary manual labour. Although we have trained many technicians, we cannot make effective use of them. What is worse, some senior officials do not know how many technicians there are in their fields. Moreover, in many places technicians are used for work which does not need their skills. When these matters have all been investigated and put right, there will be great reserves of technical personnel. In future the number of regular staff should be checked exactly.

To improve the quality of the training of technical personnel and develop the machine-building industry, it is necessary to subdivide the courses and subjects in universities and specialize in their training.

Kim Chaek University of Technology should have a comprehensive range of all courses in various fields, but other colleges should specialize in one of the courses—boilers, for instance. The specialization of university courses like this is the only way to ensure the rapid development of industries, including the machine-building industry. This is also the case with a medical university. At present the students who specialize in internal medicine are taught everything about internal treatment, so that they do not have a clear understanding of any one section of the internal organs. Only when the courses of this university are specialized into sections including the circulatory system and the digestive system, will students be able to acquire detailed knowledge. In the days of Japanese imperialist rule individuals ran hospitals where one or two doctors were in charge of all departments—surgery, internal treatment, pediatrics, otolaryngology—and only gave the patients injections or ointment to get money. Today, however, this cannot be done.

This separation of technical subjects is an advanced method. It is therefore advisable to divide the courses and subjects in the universities of industrial engineering and medical science and specialize in each, and to give the students productive instruction even by lengthening the study courses to some degree.

Kim Chaek University of Technology should train accomplished technical personnel, even if this means adopting a six-year academic system in some of its difficult courses. I am told that there are as many as 2,700 students who specialize in mechanical engineering at full-time universities. If the universities they attend operate the five-year education system, nearly 600 machinists graduate each year. If we add the graduates from the correspondence courses of universities and from higher technical schools, the figure will be approximately 1,000. This is a large force. The problem is to give the students high-quality training.

It has been suggested that a number of mechanical engineering courses which are now spread amongst various institutions of higher learning be concentrated in one or two universities, but I think it preferable to leave this to the authority of the Minister of Higher Education.

Besides this, the research institutes of mechanical engineering should be equipped properly.

The development of the machine-building industry depends now on mechanical engineering. Building factories and establishing universities is not enough to accomplish the development of this industry. Under conditions where a machine is not even properly designed, it is of no use building an unlimited number of factories and equipping them with the best machinery. Without developing mechanical engineering, we cannot advance beyond the present situation. To work without a scientific basis is tantamount to a blindman groping for the doorknob. In order to develop the machine-building industry, therefore, we must start by equipping the research institutes of mechanical engineering, even though we have to abandon the idea of building a factory.

We intend to equip the Mechanical Engineering Research Institute completely in future, but our officials may not be aware of what equipment is necessary for it. If that is the case, they would be well advised to import a complete set of equipment, even if it results in the expenditure of one or two million *won*. They should not buy it piecemeal like a man who only looks for an undershirt after he has put on his trousers and then goes searching for his jacket. After the ceasefire we once imported a complete scientific library. At that time we badly needed it for the development of science in our country, but we were not sure what kinds of books we needed to have. So we arranged for the importation of a complete library which comprised one million volumes. It is advisable to equip the Mechanical Engineering Research Institute in the same way.

You should not entrust the equipping of scientific research institutes only to the chairman of the State Planning Commission or the president of the Academy of Sciences. The state has so far been little concerned with building up the study rooms and laboratories attached to universities and the Academy of Sciences. State trade and economic delegations have never discussed the problem of equipment for science laboratories with other countries when visiting them. We must import equipment to furnish the scientific research institutes properly even if we have to pay in gold.

It has been suggested that some of the scientific research institutes be amalgamated. I cannot understand why they suggest it. Of course, it would be good for the research members in machine factories who are not badly needed there to be absorbed by the Mechanical Engineering Research Institute. As far as the other members are concerned, however, it is better to encourage them to carry on their research at the factories, rather than to bring them all together. If the factories provide them with the proper conditions they can pursue their researches on the shop floor, as they wish. And as for those members in other fields, the authorities concerned will not agree with the suggestion to put them together.

The universities at present have many competent scholars. You

should assign them research tasks, instead of taking them away. It will suffice if you assign research projects to the university lecturers and provide them with the necessary requirements at research institutes for carrying out any experiments which they cannot perform in the universities. At the same time, you should establish a system under which the researchers at the Academy of Sciences give lectures at universities.

It is, after all, the question of people and equipment which confronts us as an important matter in building up the Mechanical Engineering Research Institute. The Party should be held responsible for the selection of people and the Cabinet for the importation of equipment.

As far as the problem of further improving the training of technical personnel for the mechanical sector is concerned, it is better to make a Cabinet resolution than to reach a decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. The Cabinet should be responsible for the solution of the technical and practical problems arising in the training of technical personnel and in scientific research in the mechanical field.

