

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

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NEW YEAR ADDRESS

January 1, 1962

Dear comrades,

Having seen out 1961, which was a year of brilliant victory, our people are now greeting the new year, 1962, with greater hope and confidence.

On the occasion of the New Year, I would like to offer, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, my warmest congratulations and greetings to you who are present before me and to the entire Korean people.

1961 was a significant year which will go down for ever in the history of our people. We held the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm on the part of the entire people and with the unanimous support and encouragement of our close friends all over the world. It clearly demonstrated, at home and abroad, the great victories which our Party and people have achieved under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The congress put forward a new, magnificent programme of socialist construction to convert our country into a socialist industrial state with modern industry and developed agriculture, and to achieve far-reaching improvements in our people's material and cultural standards; it lit up for our people the way ahead to a brilliant victory. Our entire working people displayed a high degree of patriotic devotion in greeting the Party congress with brilliant feats

of labour, and, encouraged by the great prospects set forth by the congress, they made even more strenuous efforts and thus achieved major successes in all domains of socialist construction.

We successfully fulfilled the task for the first year of the Seven-Year National Economic Plan, that magnificent programme of socialist construction, and we prepared ourselves even better, both materially and mentally, for conquering the high peak of socialism. The foundations of heavy industry, with the machine-building industry as its core, have been further consolidated, the bases of light industry have been markedly strengthened, and the technical transformation of agriculture is being successfully accomplished.

Preliminary statistics show that last year the output of heavy industry alone increased by approximately 16 per cent as against 1960.

Our workers and technicians completed the construction of large-scale, up-to-date vinalon and vinyl chloride factories and successfully built the Chongjin and Sinuiju chemical fibre mills, thereby making solid provision for the supply of raw materials for light industry and ensuring a reliable foundation for the all-round development of the chemical industry.

Already last year our heroic working class produced nearly one million tons of pig and granulated iron and over 11 million tons of coal. They successfully built—and in a short time, in less than half a year—blast furnace No. 2 of the Hwanghae Iron Works. They also manufactured electric locomotives, 6-metre hopping lathes and other new large-sized and precision machines which are of great importance for the development of the national economy; this has increased our industrial strength even still more.

Our successes in agriculture have also been considerable. In response to the Party's call to increase grain production by one million tons, the cooperative farmers made devoted efforts and produced no less than 4.83 million tons of grain last year—and this despite the damage caused by severe drought, storm and flood. Thus, our farmers, by performing brilliant labour feats, fulfilled, to their credit, the militant task which had been proposed by the Party: they increased

grain output by one million tons compared with 1960, which was itself a bumper year. This shows that, notwithstanding natural calamities, our agriculture annually produces a bountiful and stable harvest and is making steady and rapid progress.

Last year our workers in the spheres of science, art, education and public health worked hard and made great strides in the cultural revolution. Valuable scientific research was undertaken with success, making a major contribution to the development of our national economy; fine literary and art works, loved by the people, were created, and our national culture is blossoming ever more brilliantly.

Our towns and our countryside have become more beautiful and clean, and the working people have been made still more joyful and prosperous in their lives: each takes great pride in our steadily prospering country and sings the joy of a happy and worthwhile life in our era, under the leadership of the Workers' Party.

Our entire people is united more closely than ever before around our Party, and is vigorously advancing towards the creation of a still more beautiful and happier life, helping and leading each other, with friendliness and good cheer.

All the brilliant victories we achieved last year show how right is our Party's policy and how indestructible is its vitality. They are the result of the heroic struggle of our people who are advancing through thick and thin along the road pointed out by the Party.

Seeing the year of 1961 out, I extend my heartfelt thanks and congratulations to our workers, peasants and working intellectuals, and to all the rest of the people who have performed great feats in their struggle for our country's prosperity and development, and for the final victory of the revolution, by displaying great patriotic devotion and mass heroism under the leadership of the Party,

Comrades, we can never forget for a moment the wretched plight of our south Korean compatriots who are ringing in the new year under the US imperialists' occupation. The US imperialists and their lackeys have established the most brutal military fascist rule in order to paralyse the south Korean people's anti-US struggle for national

salvation—a struggle which is intensifying daily—and to shore up their crumbling colonial regime; they have further reduced south Korea to a land of darkness. This is the last-ditch desperation of the enemy, who is on the brink of ruin. The situation in south Korea is becoming ever more aggravated and the US imperialists and their stooges are getting themselves ever deeper into hot water. In following faithfully the instructions of the US imperialists, the south Korean military rulers are now cruelly repressing the people and are, moreover, trying to bring in the Japanese imperialist aggressive forces to drive south Korea into an ever deeper morass of bankruptcy. However, no amount of sinister attempts can enable the enemy to block the Korean people's road ahead; our people are fighting for the freedom and independence of their country.

The US imperialists and their lackeys will inevitably be defeated, and the day will assuredly come when our country will be reunified and when the people in south Korea, too, will enjoy a happy life as we do today. I give enthusiastic support and encouragement to our brothers in south Korea who are waging an unyielding struggle for the country's reunification, independence and democratic freedom, in spite of the hunger, poverty and the unprecedentedly cruel suppression by which they are afflicted. I wish them a great victory in their struggle in the new year against the imperialist aggressors and oppressors.

I also send my New Year greetings and congratulations to all our overseas Koreans, including our 600,000 compatriots in Japan who are struggling for their national rights and for the peaceful reunification of our country, and I wish the compatriots who are now in the embrace of the country still greater happiness in their new life.

In the international arena last year, the forces of peace and socialism achieved ever greater victories. The peoples of the whole socialist camp, including the Soviet Union, scored major successes in the building of socialism and communism; and the might of this camp grew even stronger. Today the forces of socialism are prevailing over those of imperialism. The imperialist policy of aggression is meeting with strong resistance of the people everywhere.

But the world imperialists, headed by the US, are persistently following the policy of colonial plunder and warmongering and are viciously manoeuvring against peace and socialism.

Our people will, however, fight even more resolutely against the aggressive policy of the US imperialists, the ringleaders of the international reactionary forces, and will unite in strength with the peoples of all the socialist countries for the common cause of peace and socialism.

Dear comrades,

We must achieve even greater success in the building of socialism in the year ahead.

The year 1962 is specially important for the successful fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan; in particular, it is a decisive year for the implementation of the first three years' targets, the basic aim of which is to bring about a major increase in the standard of living of our people.

The central task of this year, on which we must concentrate all our efforts, is to attain the six targets—five million tons of grain, 250 million metres of fabrics, 800,000 tons of marine products, dwellings for 200,000 families, 1,200,000 tons of steel and 15 million tons of coal.

Attaining these six targets will mark a new and great advance in the material and cultural standards of our people and in the country's economic strength. It will give us valuable assurance for the successful fulfilment of all the tasks of the Seven-Year Plan.

The Second Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee set forth clearly the basic ways of attaining the six targets this year. It aroused the entire people to fresh labour efforts.

We should continue the rapid development of heavy industry, which is the basis of our national economy, put flesh on the skeleton of our existing heavy industry and further adjust and reinforce its technical equipment so as to render even more powerful assistance to agriculture, light industry and construction.

In particular, the engineering industry should supply the

countryside with tractors and various other kinds of farm machines and irrigation facilities and should build large numbers of ships and provide the machinery and equipment needed to strengthen the technical foundation of the fishing industry. This industry should also produce more chemical and coal- and ore-mining equipment as well as electric and construction machinery and, at the same time, it should achieve a major increase in the output of different kinds of machinery and equipment and of the necessary spare parts. The workers in the chemical industry should supply adequate quantities of the various raw materials—such as vinalon, staple fibre, rayon yarn and vinyl chloride—which are needed by our light industry. To meet the seasoned needs of our farmers, they should produce 700,000 tons of chemical fertilizer and a large quantity of various kinds of chemicals such as weed killer and insecticide. They will thus contribute to the chemicalization of agriculture.

Good farming is the way to make people's life more prosperous and is essential for the development of our nation's economy as a whole.

This year we should also direct great efforts to agriculture. In particular, we should do everything possible to increase grain production. We should continue to promote vigorously the mechanization of agriculture, to expand the area of irrigated land, to reclaim land extensively and to bring about further improvements in advanced and intensive farming methods, so as to ensure a production of 5 million tons of grain.

The task confronting us in socialist construction in the new year is both difficult and ambitious. But it is an honourable and challenging task to provide our people with a more plentiful and better life, and it is a glorious endeavour to struggle in order to pave the way towards the lasting prosperity and development of our country. By unrelentingly maintaining our ardent revolutionary spirit and by intensifying our efforts to achieve increased production and greater economies, we will be able to innovate in every branch of the national economy and to achieve ever-greater successes.

The most important thing for the successful fulfilment of this year's

task is to make full use of all existing equipment and to put production on a regular basis in our factories and enterprises. Each factory and enterprise should thoroughly check and repair its machinery and equipment, and priority should be given to the technical preparations for production, and to the output of spare parts. Production should be increased systematically and rapidly, but in such a way that the success attained in achieving one aim is consolidated before a higher aim is tackled.

A great reserve for the growth of production lies in the improvement of guidance. Each enterprise should improve its technical management and should place the supply of materials and services on a regular basis. It should also seek to achieve a radical improvement in its system of management, so that the demarcation between the responsibility and the duty of each worker is defined more clearly than heretofore. Leading officials should be frequently present at the workplace to give concrete guidance and assistance to the workers, and should establish a thoroughgoing system of guidance as well as a style of working in which the superiors guide production in a really responsible way and in which they ensure good working conditions.

While consolidating the county agricultural cooperative management committees, which are to be newly organized, and while getting the higher bodies to intensify even further their guidance to the agricultural cooperatives, we should strengthen the technical forces of these cooperatives and should enhance the role and functions of their management boards.

Today our country is in an era of an all-out technological revolution. We should organize more energetically the study and dissemination of technology among the working people and we should conduct a widespread campaign to encourage new inventions and rationalization in the fields of machinery and production. Through a comprehensive study of our natural resources, our scientists and technicians should find a way to make substitutes for whatever is not available in our country. They should also actively explore ways and

means of improving the living standards of our people and accelerating our technical revolution by relying on our own resources of raw materials.

We should intensify communist education among the working masses so as to turn our society into one big family, harmonious and united, and we should get each and everyone fully to display their revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness. The entire working people should buckle down with dedication to carry the Party's policy through to the end and, by displaying the spirit of self-reliance, they should bravely surmount all difficulties which may be encountered in their way, and make steady progress and continuous innovations in building a socialist paradise.

Today, our working people are filled with a firm conviction of victory and their revolutionary spirit knows no bounds. I am sure that, uniting more strongly around the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, our entire working people will display unparalleled patriotic devotion and mass heroism, and will thus assuredly hoist a flag of victory on the six heights which confront us; they will perform new miracles in all sectors of socialist construction, so as to make 1962 a year of great victory. Let us all vigorously advance towards new victories and a still happier future.

**ON IMPROVING ECONOMIC GUIDANCE,
THE MANAGEMENT OF ENTERPRISES
AND THE QUALITY OF PRODUCTS
IN LIGHT INDUSTRY**

**Speech at an Enlarged Meeting of the Party
Committee of the Pyongyang Textile Mill**

January 6, 1962

Today I would like to talk to you about some tasks which confront our light industry in implementing the decisions of the Second Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee.

**1. ON IMPROVING ECONOMIC GUIDANCE
AND THE MANAGEMENT OF ENTERPRISES**

As you all know, the Second Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee decided that the most important industrial task for ministries and management bureaus, factories and enterprises is to improve the guidance for the national economy and for the management of undertakings, in conformity with changing realities, so as to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan successfully and, in particular, so as to attain our six targets this year. In other words, the plenary meeting attached prime importance to the need for ministries and management

bureaus to give efficient guidance for production at factories and enterprises, and particularly to give technical guidance, and to ensure satisfactory supplies of equipment, materials and consumer goods. It also stressed the need to improve the managerial skills of all leading personnel including managers, chief engineers and workshop managers at factories and enterprises. You can develop production quickly only when you provide workers in good time with the necessary equipment and materials, get them to raise their technical knowledge and skills, organize production and the labour force rationally, and ensure the satisfactory flow of supplies for the working people. This is the most important problem in the management of factories and enterprises.

The experience gained by the workers at the Tae'an Electrical Machinery Plant and at many other factories and enterprises in their struggle to implement the decisions of the plenary meeting, as well as the achievements of the workers, technicians and office employees of the Pyongyang Textile Mill during the past month reaffirmed that the measures taken by the Second Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee were quite correct.

At present, an unlimited potential source for the growth of industrial production lies precisely in the efficient direction of production and in the management of enterprises.

The principal slogan which our Party launched in 1957, the first year of the Five-Year Plan, was to develop our enormous potential by raising output and by practising economy.

This was just the right slogan, suited to the prevailing situation. So, inspired by this slogan, we developed our reserves and so successfully fulfilled the national economic plan, and we overcame the many difficulties which stood in our way. That is why we regard the December 1956 Plenary Meeting as one of the most significant meetings in the history of our Party; that meeting called for increased production and economization, and aroused all Party members and working people to greatly increased activity in the field of socialist construction.

In fact, when we began to fulfil the Five-Year Plan, our situation was so difficult that we were at a loss what to do and how to do it. The living standard of our people was far lower than it is now; in every field of the national economy, manpower and materials were in short supply, technology was backward and the industrial base was still weak. At that time the anti-Party factionalists raised their heads and openly opposed the Party line, claiming: “We concentrate only on the building of heavy industry, while the people are leading a hard life,” and “Machines will not give us food.” Externally, the great-power chauvinists put pressure upon us in every way. At the same time, the US imperialists and their lackeys boisterously conducted the “anti-communist” campaign and madly clamoured for a “march north”. The situation was very complicated and we were faced with many difficulties.

Just at that time, entrusted by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, we went to the Kangson Steel Plant in order to carry out the decisions of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting. There, some people said that they could not settle down to work because they were disheartened in face of our very complicated situation. Originally, we intended only to make the round of the plant and have a talk for several hours before returning, but in the circumstances we could not simply come back without doing anything further.

So we gathered together all the workers, technicians and office employees of the plant and told them about the situation both inside and outside the Party, and about the tasks which we now had to tackle. We told them: The situation is very complex, as you rightly say; inside the Party, it is being challenged by factionalists; great-power chauvinists put pressure on us, and the US imperialists and their lackeys are clamouring for a “march north”. Should we, in this situation, lose faith and yield to the great difficulties standing in the way of our cause of revolution and construction? The more difficult the situation, the more firmly the Party members and the working people must unite behind the Central Committee, and the more courageously they must grimly fight without letting themselves become dispirited.

The Party trusts and depends upon you, the working class, the main force of our revolution. We must not, under any circumstances, fail to carry through the revolutionary tasks assigned by the Party; we must promote the socialist construction of our country even more vigorously. For this purpose, the Kangson Steel Plant should produce plenty of steel. Only when we have it in large quantities, will we be able to manufacture more machines, build factories more quickly, undertake numerous irrigation projects and build many houses. If we do these things, we can smash the factions, overcome the pressure from the great-power chauvinists and put an end to the “march north” clamour of the US imperialists and their lackeys.

The workers in Kangson who were faithful to the Party, rose as one in response to its call; and the flames of increased production ignited by them soon spread to all parts of the country. That year the Kangson Steel Plant did wonders by producing 120,000 tons of rolled steel in a blooming mill whose rated capacity was said to be only 60,000 tons. Similarly amazing breakthroughs were achieved in other places.

From then on a great world-inspiring revolutionary upswing manifested itself in our socialist construction, and the grand Chollima Movement started. Forging ahead in the spirit of Chollima we fulfilled the difficult Five-Year Plan in two and a half years in terms of output value, and in four years on all indices. And our actions became ever more vigorous, giving free rein to the spirit of Chollima.

By this struggle we smashed all the anti-Party and counterrevolutionary factionalists, overcame the pressure from the great-power chauvinists and frustrated the “anti-communist” campaign and the “march north” clamour of the US imperialists and their lackeys. Moreover, the unity and solidarity of our Party—which is the General Staff of our revolution—has been strengthened, and all Party members and working people are now closely united around the Central Committee.

So we can say that, after all, we have turned misfortune into a blessing. Indeed, had we not faced numerous difficulties at that time, we might not have waged so tense a struggle. But then we persistently

fought with our teeth set and belt tightened—because the situation demanded us to do so. As a result, we advanced very rapidly, achieving brilliant victories and successes in all fields of our socialist revolution and construction.

Our present conditions are far better than those when we were carrying out the Five-Year Plan. The foundations of our independent national economy have been further strengthened and the problems of food, clothing and housing have been more or less solved. Our war wounds having healed completely, our economy has a wholly new look, and a firm foundation for socialist industrialization has been laid in our country. Our people have no worries about food, clothing or housing, and everyone can work, study, and receive free medical treatment. The reality has in fact changed, and our circumstances and conditions have been transformed beyond all recognition.

Hence, we can no longer guide the economy and manage our enterprises in the old way. In the old way we could neither succeed in spotting potential resources nor in raising output. The changed reality and new circumstances demand that we now improve economic guidance and the management of enterprises in conformity with these new conditions.

In the past, when we were reconstructing our devastated economy, we could raise production by making use of idle materials and other reserves, by reinforcing equipment a little and by “putting flesh” on the factories because they were newly built. At that time, a lecture to stimulate the workers sufficed to ensure that use was made of lots of available materials and labour reserves, thus increasing output drastically.

However, the present situation is different. There are now few untapped resources of either materials or manpower.

Of course, this does not mean that there is no scope for greater production now. On the contrary, we have in fact greater reserves than before and so output can be continuously increased in the future, too. The only difference lies in the character of reserves and in the ways and means for increased production. In other words, in the past,

reserves—such as idle materials and underutilized manpower—could be mobilized fairly easily, but those reserves were soon exhausted—nor could they remain inexhaustible as a socialist economy develops. But today’s reserves are permanent ones, that will be productive for ever as our socialist economy develops; they are the possibility for increased production resulting from the nature of the socialist economic system, although it is true that they can be mobilized only by great effort and with much energy. Just where, then, do such reserves lie? They lie in the efficient direction and organization of production, and in rational management, taking full account of the changing realities, as well as in the continuous raising of the workers’ revolutionary zeal. A good proof of this is the example of the Pyongyang Textile Mill. After its plenary meeting, the Party Central Committee itself guided the work of this mill for nearly one month. During this period you gave priority to political action among workers, properly directed and organized production, and improved management. As a result, a lot of potential capacity was tapped and greatly increased production was achieved.

Production will be constantly increased, and at a high speed, in the future, too, if the leading economic officials give full scope to the workers’ revolutionary zeal and improve the direction of production and the quality of management.

Recently, when the Party launched the “20-day campaign” and set the task of maintaining equipment in good shape and getting ready large quantities of spare parts so as to ensure that next year’s production will be satisfactory, everyone rose up as one man. Workers strove to keep their equipment in good repair, and produce spare parts day and night, while designers made strenuous efforts to keep their work ahead. Such endeavours were made not only in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant and in the Pyongyang Textile Mill but also in all other parts of the country.

Nowhere you will find workers who loathe work. Our working class are all on Chollima and they are ideologically prepared to do any difficult task if it is assigned by the Party. What is important is how the leading officials organize and guide them. Leading economic workers

will be able to achieve greater successes if they improve the guidance which they give and their management of enterprises in the same way as army regimental or divisional commanders efficiently manage their units, scrupulously preparing and skilfully conducting battles.

However, they fail to play their role properly as commanders and there are accordingly many shortcomings in the fields of economic guidance and enterprise management. The masses are all on Chollima in response to the Party's call. But the commanders are failing to act correspondingly and are still marking time; they are incapable of leading the ranks of Chollima horsemen. That is their weak point.

The Party has set out its policies in all fields, and the aim of our struggle is clear. This year the Party Central Committee set forth as the aim of our endeavours: to scale the six heights, including the production of 250 million metres of fabrics, 1.2 million tons of steel and 15 million tons of coal, and detailed the ways to attain them. It also distributed much material for the ideological preparation of Party members and other working people. Now success depends on whether or not the leading officials of ministries, management bureaus, factories and enterprises meticulously organize and efficiently direct production in conformity with the Party line.

In order to attain the goal of fabric production set out by the Party, the Light Industry Commission and the textile industry management bureau should ensure that every factory and enterprise fully prepares itself for production. Then they should give detailed assignments, specifying which textile mill should take which way and reach such and such level of output, and by what time, and which mill should supply what and to which factory and by what time; and guide and help them so that they will fulfil the assignments properly. In accordance with these assignments, the leading personnel of each factory and enterprise should draw a detailed production plan, specifying how they should modify equipment, supply materials and allocate manpower, and they should themselves organize and direct production on the spot. Since you, comrades present here, are all shop managers, workteam leaders and other managing workers, you each ought to work this way.

But now our officials fail to give guidance for production and to manage enterprises in this way. What is worse, some of them are even ignorant of the concrete decisions which the Party has sent down with a view to attaining the six goals it had set out. Such being the case, how can production go up quickly, however high the workers' spirits may be? We should remedy these shortcomings as soon as possible and decisively improve the guidance of production and the work of management.

Most important in improving economic guidance and enterprise management is to raise the officials' quality of leadership.

Their level of guidance is at present very low. Their politico-theoretical awareness is low and their leadership capability is weak. A bad rider falls down from his horse. Likewise, a leading official with a low level of competence cannot discharge his functions properly.

We should get all the leading officials to play their role as commanders efficiently, by improving their level of guidance and their leadership capability as soon as possible. There are many ways of improving their quality. One is making them study at schools and the other is to let them study at their workplaces in the course of their work. As I emphasized the problem of raising the officials' level of leadership at the Fourth Party Congress, I will not refer to it any further at this meeting.

For successful economic guidance and enterprise management, leading officials should not only improve their qualifications, but should also get in direct touch with Party members and other workers, right down to the shop-floor level.

One of the main reasons for the officials' inefficient operation of enterprises now is that they do not use the right work method. They have a long-confirmed shortcoming in their method of work; they are reluctant to go down to lower units but stay in their offices only.

If the leading personnel of factories and enterprises, who directly organize and lead production, only sit in their offices without going down among the masses of producers on the shop floor, they will never

improve their managerial work. There is nothing but white walls, windows and diagrams in offices. If you only sit at your office desk with a looking-glass, you will see nothing but your face. What need is there for leading officials to gaze into a mirror day and night? No matter how long they may stare into it, they will see no machine, no worker and no work waiting to be done.

Only when they go right down to the workplace will they spot a particular job and hit upon a good idea how to organize it better. When army officers take charge in battles they personally fight along with their soldiers at the front, inquiring in detail whether ammunition is running out, whether there is any weak point, whether the soldiers have meals in time and whether their uniforms and shoes are not worn out; and they promptly take the appropriate measures. Similarly, it is only when they go down to the shop floor that the leading economic workers will be able to spot and tackle the problems of the workers in good time, and so discharge their managerial duties efficiently.

If the leading officials go down to the workplace, they can acquaint themselves in detail with the arrangements for production and they can see whether the machinery present is properly set, whether the materials and other necessary supplies are provided, whether the work force is short in numbers, and what are the workers' technical competence and skills. After inquiring into these problems they should take positive measures in good time. If machinery is not properly set, they should see to it that the matter is rectified and that more spare parts are prepared; if a certain workshop is short of manpower, they should organize the work force rationally and provide it with additional manpower from another shop which has a surplus; if the workers' technical level is low, they should take measures to increase their technical knowledge. This is just what production guidance and management is about.

Only at workplaces can you find a problem calling for your attention, and only when you go and work there can you spot and solve complex problems in time. You must not wait for such work to come to you in

your office: those who do so will never work in a revolutionary way.

As we always say, a revolutionary should not wait for work but acquire the habit of preparing materials for work and of finding work which needs to be done. In the past, the anti-Japanese fighters were able to wage a revolutionary struggle for 15 years because we launched a war against Japanese imperialism and planned our battles. The revolution did not happen of itself. If we had had no intention to revolt at that time and had simply sat at home with folded arms, we could not have engaged in any revolutionary struggle nor could we have defeated the Japanese imperialists.

At present some people say that imperialism will collapse automatically, even if we do not fight it. This is foolish nonsense. We must not believe it. It is not the attitude of a revolutionary to sit idly, waiting for the time when imperialism will go to ruin of itself and when the revolution will emerge victorious. Imperialism will not perish of itself unless the people rise up to destroy it, and the revolution will not win without a fight.

We must not sit around waiting for the victory of the revolution, but must rouse ourselves and fight aggressively to hasten it. In order to destroy imperialism we must intensify even more our anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle and we must vigorously promote the building of socialism and communism.

Not to wait for the revolutionary struggle and construction work to take place of their own accord, but to prepare materials for work and to find where it needs to be done—this is the way of revolutionaries and communists. All our leading officials should have such a communist attitude to work and should direct production and manage enterprises in a way befitting masters.

In order to attain the goal of fabric production laid down by the Party this year, officials in the textile industry should go down to the shop floor to organize the necessary work and to ensure supplies, finishing each task successively. No work can be done smoothly unless it has been properly organized.

If they only work as may suit themselves in their offices, without

taking any other considerations into account, and if they simply impose upon the workers the quantities of fabrics which are to be woven and dyed every month, they cannot meet the target for the production of fabrics. Some of them work this way—and then wait for their subordinates to come to them when they are up against complex problems in their work. This is not the communist attitude to work, but is a terrible bureaucratic and formalistic practice.

When we ask those who work in a bureaucratic way at offices why they do not go down to the lower units, they say they are too busy to do so. This is only an excuse. I cannot see what keeps the leading personnel of a textile mill so busy in their offices when they cannot go down amongst the weavers at the workplace amidst the looms. Those who claim to be busy in their offices, do not use their brains nor do they organize production so as to meet the target for the production of fabrics laid down by the Party. Instead, they do other things. These people do their work perfunctorily, with no plan, and they take up odd jobs which have nothing to do with weaving. They accordingly become absorbed in such marginal activities in the long run and find no time to go down to the lower units. If they work like this, leading officials cannot successfully carry out the tasks set forth by the Party.

While giving guidance to the Tae-an Electrical Machinery Plant some time ago, the Party Central Committee put forward a new policy for improving guidance for production and for the better management of undertakings. It saw to it that the system of work and the managerial structure were also reorganized in conformity with it. The Party policy demands, leading personnel should not draw up the production plan in isolation in their offices but should do so by going amongst the workers and by fully consulting the producers; they should also give technical guidance for production directly on the spot; the higher-ups should themselves bring materials down to the workplace and should personally take in hand the efficient organization of supplies for workers, instead of merely stressing this problem in words only.

This Party policy is most scientific and revolutionary. Practice has

already proved that a plan which has been drawn up in consultation with the actual producers will be more realistic and purposeful than one which is sketched out in an office. Technical guidance is also more effective when it is given at the workplace rather than in an office, in an environment which is remote from that of the shop floor. Likewise, as regards supplying equipment and materials, it is far better to bring them directly to the producers than merely to issue memos from above. All this goes without saying. The new work system is good in every respect. The organizational system and the management structure for factories and enterprises which were introduced in Taean are also far more rational than the former ones.

The new work system which we have now set up in Taean represents a new and rational approach to economic management and is a most revolutionary method of running enterprises. It has corrected the shortcomings and irrationality which had existed until then in the fields of economic guidance and industrial management and developed those concepts to meet the new, changed circumstances. All our factories and enterprises should introduce this new work system as soon as possible.

In order to direct production and manage enterprises effectively, it is also important to give top priority to the preparations for production.

We can say that it is a principle in organizing production that machinery be always properly maintained, that an adequate reserve of materials and spare parts be created and that priority be given to technical preparation. Production will be successful only when it is organized and directed in this way. Therefore, when we were giving guidance to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant on a recent occasion, we stressed the importance of giving priority to the preparations for production as well as of reorganizing the management system and structure.

In this way we will be able to bring about a decided improvement in economic guidance and in management techniques to suit the changing realities, tapping more reserves and achieving a rapid growth of production.

2. ON IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF THE PRODUCTS OF LIGHT INDUSTRY

At present the foundations of our heavy industry are reasonably sound. In many branches of industry we have already overtaken some developed capitalist countries in per-capita output. Our friends are pleased with our rapid development, but the enemy are afraid of it. In particular, the Americans and the south Korean puppet clique feel most uneasy and raise a cry over the rapid development of our heavy industry and the growth of our strength. This is a very good thing. When our heavy industry develops further and our force gets even stronger, the enemy will not dare to be so reckless as to attack us.

In comparison with the rapid development of heavy industry, our light industry is lagging somewhat behind.

It is, however, true that light industry has also made much progress and we have already performed many achievements in this field.

In fact, in the past our light industry was insignificant. Let us take the textile industry for example. As you comrades, who personally work in this field, know better, there were only two small textile mills in the northern half of Korea at the time of liberation: one in Sariwon and the other in Sinuiju. In the days of Japanese imperialist rule these mills hardly produced more than one or two million metres of fabrics a year, and immediately after liberation, output was at most 9 million metres.

But now our textile industry has reached a really high level: it can produce no less than 250 million metres of fabrics every year. This is a 25-fold increase over the output of the immediate post-liberation years, not to speak of the years before liberation. This is remarkable growth, indeed.

At present our people use fabrics and various other daily necessities

which are produced by our own workers. In every shop you will find only home-made articles and no foreign goods. Some time ago a foreigner who looked around our shops said that though in his country people use imports, all the goods sold in Korean shops are made by the workers of Korea themselves. And he expressed his great envy of this state of affairs.

In our country, which had been undeveloped for many centuries, the entire people now wear home-made clothes and use daily necessities made with their own hands. This is indeed a great achievement and we are proud of it. We can have due pride in the successes achieved in the development of our light industry.

However, we must not in the least rest on our laurels. The variety of the products of our light industry is not great and their quality is low. This is the greatest shortcoming of our light industry.

As for their quality, the products of our light industry as yet lag behind those of developed countries. Figuratively speaking, our products are of such a low level as that of a wrestler who, having lost in the earlier contests in a tournament, has no right to enter the final bout.

At present our workers talk big about trial products. But what is the use of them? Frankly speaking, it is easy to make trial products. When they make them, they spend much time on each one, and virtually devote themselves to it. So the quality of such products can be rather good. But such trial products are only used for the sake of advertisement or to make a boast of them, but they are not for the people. Therefore, you must not be content with making good trial products.

Because the quality of the products of our light industry is low, the people are not so well-off, when account is taken of our existing economic foundations. Take fabrics, for instance. As their quality is not good and their variety is limited, we fail to meet fully the people's demand for clothing. Therefore, our streets do not as yet present a delightful spectacle even in summer, not to speak of winter.

Thanks to the Party's consistent efforts, however, this year there has been some improvement over last year, but fur caps and overcoats

are still in short supply, and the latter's quality is not so good. Nor are we yet providing sufficient quantities of winter shoes or of woolen mufflers for women.

The same is the case with children's clothes. Their summer clothes are rather good because we supply them with school uniforms, but their winter clothes are not so good. When I visit the countryside in cold winter days, I see some poorly-dressed children. This really breaks my heart.

While it is true that our people's standard of living has now improved considerably when compared with times past, we can never be satisfied with their present condition.

Our Party members are all revolutionaries and communists who joined the Party voluntarily in order to build socialism and communism. The first and foremost task of revolutionaries and communists is to fight for the people's freedom and happiness. Striving to improve steadily the living standard of a people freed from exploitation and oppression is a bounden duty of communists in power. However, we are still failing to supply the people with sufficient winter clothes or to clothe well all our dear children. So, how can we claim that we have discharged our duty as communists? Especially you, Party members in our light industry, should have a greater sense of responsibility.

Koreans are neither very tall nor very short; they are of a moderate height. Their complexion is neither too white nor too black. They are no worse than any other nation. How good it would be if they were clothed well!

All our Party members who are striving for socialism and communism should have a firm determination to see to it that the people are well dressed and that they have decent conditions of living. From a national point of view, too, they should have a desire to dress our nation better and to provide our people with a more bountiful life than that of any other nation. Only when our Party members have such pride in communism and their nation, will they display a revolutionary spirit and vigorously push ahead with socialist construction.

It is not particularly difficult to solve the clothing problem of the people, given our existing economic foundations. It simply depends on our determination and on our endeavours. There is nothing impossible if only our Party members buckle down to the job with determination. I believe the clothing problem will, like others, be solved soon if all our Party members and working people work perseveringly with dedication.

We should strive harder to implement the decisions of the Fourth Party Congress on improving the people's standard of living, so as to raise it appreciably during the first three years of the Seven-Year Plan.

In order to improve the people's living standard and to solve the clothing problem satisfactorily, the quality of our fabrics should be improved radically.

At present our people need large quantities of twisted yarn fabric and other quality cloths. The loose fabrics you wove in the past simply do not suit the tastes of the people. So you should not weave such useless fabrics any more. In future, you should weave a great quantity of cloths that will last well, such as gabardine, by twisting yarn, thereby providing our people not only with more durable but also with more attractive dress material.

Above all, you should strive to supply all our students with uniforms made of good cloth. If possible, it would be good to supply them with lined garments for winter wear, and made of black or dark blue cloth. How good it would be to produce large quantities of knitted or napped underwear for winter wear, and to supply a set to each student!

Students in major cities should also be supplied with overcoats. As I recently urged the chairmen of the county Party committees, you should keep many rabbits and supply rural students with rabbit-fur coats or wadded coats made of thick wild-fibre cloth. You should also produce a large amount of artificial sealskin with which to make caps and warm winter footwear for children.

At the same time, you should produce large quantities of quality dress material for adults.

First of all, you should produce adequate quantities of women's jackets, sweaters and attractive scarves. You should weave more quality cloth for overcoats and winter suits, and also various suitings for spring and autumn. In addition, you should also weave some silk. At present you are keen on weaving silk, but it is not widely used by the people, though indeed they need it much. Therefore, from now on, priority should be given to gabardine, woolen cloth and other good suiting, while also producing the necessary amount of silk.

Starting from this year it is advisable to begin preparations for the production, as from the summer, of dress materials for winter use. In the past preparations for the winter were started too late, so we could not supply the material for overcoats, although we had woven large quantities of it, because of our failure to dye it in time. We should draw a lesson from this experience, and in future we must begin in summer making winter clothes for students and weaving various winter suit materials for the working people.

If we do so, the people's living standard will improve, things will be more plentiful and our towns and villages will present a more beautiful and colourful scene.

Whether better suitings are provided for the people or not depends essentially on how well the workers in the textile industry do their jobs. All Party members and working people in this field should wage a vigorous struggle to implement the Party's plan for providing the people with good clothes.

3. ON IMPROVING PARTY WORK

As we always say, Party work is work with people—in other words, work with cadres, Party members and the masses.

Since Party work is work with people, it is of paramount importance for successful Party work in factories that Party workers go

right amongst the Party members and other working people who actually operate equipment and deal with the production process. If the factory Party workers only stay in their offices without going amongst the producer masses, they cannot do Party work properly. There are no shop-floor workers in offices.

Party officials should always go amongst the rank-and-file members and the masses and live and work together with them. They should work together with Party members, and join them when they take a break. They should also frequently take part in the meetings of Party members and other workers. Only in this way will they really get to know how matters stand and do their Party work in a sound way.

However, I learned from what I have been told here that in this textile mill even Party cell chairmen have their own offices. This is all wrong. What is there for them to do in an office? Our Party is not an underground organization, so a Party cell has no particularly secret documents, nor does a cell chairman have many things to talk over with members in confidence. This applies to all organs of the Party but the work of the cell—the basic unit—in particular should be done directly among the masses of Party members. To go among the people and do work with them—this is an immutable principle of our Party's work method.

If they are to do their work well, Party workers should also be humane.

Naturally, the most important thing for Party workers is loyalty to the Party, i.e., the Party spirit. Along with this, they should also have humanity, for they are men who work with people. Without humanity they cannot go deep among the masses nor carry out Party policy correctly.

But now our Party workers lack humanity, and this is a grave shortcoming. When I gave guidance to the Tae'an Electrical Machinery Plant and the Anju Coal Mine some time ago, I sensed that the Party workers there have no humanity, and now I get this feeling even more strongly here, while guiding the work of the Pyongyang Textile Mill.

At the Tae'an Electrical Machinery Plant, the workers had already run out of kimchi before the year ended, but the factory Party committee chairman took no measures to solve the problem—and the county Party committee chairman did not even know of it.

Here, at the Pyongyang Textile Mill, we can also witness many examples of irresponsibility on the part of Party workers who fail to care for the workers' standard of living.

Many women work at the Pyongyang Textile Mill. Therefore, the factory Party workers and leading staff ought to set up proper nurseries, kindergartens and other necessary public service facilities so that the women workers can work free from worry. It is not so difficult for such a big factory as this mill to build a nursery and a kindergarten. If you seriously tackle the matter and mobilize the thousands of Party members, you can easily build a good nursery and a kindergarten without interfering with output even in the least.

So far, however, the leading officials of this factory have not built even a single good nursery for the benefit of the women workers, and have failed to concern themselves with their lives. This shows our Party workers' complete lack of humanity and a very wrong ideological viewpoint.

It is our Party's consistent policy to actively draw women into socialist construction and to spare nothing so that children may be brought up to become reserves for communist construction. You should build the nursery and kindergarten—preferably at the factory—and provide all the necessary service facilities as soon as possible so that women workers will be able to work at ease and without being hampered in any way.

If the nursery and kindergarten are built well at the factory and good working conditions are provided for working mothers, they will work better than newly-recruited girls. Since they have worked for a long time in this factory, their technical level and skills, as well as their conscientiousness, are high and they are better than new recruits in every respect. Therefore, they will rapidly increase production if only they are provided with good working conditions.

To do Party work well, Party workers should also be modest and simple.

As soon as they become “chiefs”, some of our Party workers walk and speak differently as from the very next day, and take a special seat. Party workers should not do this; they are not special beings, but faithful servants and helpers of the people. They should therefore be humbler and simpler than anyone else and should be polite. If a certain worker is promoted or becomes a “chief”, the rank-and-file workers watch how he behaves, i.e., if he puts on airs or assumes a haughty attitude. Hence, cadres should make a point of living and behaving in a humbler and simpler way as their positions get higher.

If Party workers regard themselves as special beings or assume even the least air of importance, they can never work with people properly. People do not like such persons, nor do they approach them or open their hearts to them. For successful work with people, Party workers should live simply and act plainly as the people do and should share their heartfelt and simple feelings.

They must have humanity and a humble and simple character along with strong Party spirit. Only those who have such noble traits can work with people efficiently.

This is a truth we have realized in the course of our long revolutionary struggle.

We have now waged a revolutionary struggle for over 40 years. During this period we engaged in many different kinds of work—underground Party work, work with the masses, military activities and, after our liberation, lawful Party work, guidance of the state and the army, and the building up of our economy. In the course of all these activities we came to see clearly that the basic guarantee for success in all work is to work with people well, and that for this, the leading officials must go among the masses and be humane, humble and simple; only then can they hear the voice of the people and see clearly what is going well and what is wrong, and what are the knotty problems; and only then can they solve them rapidly and satisfactorily.

Even now we, too, meet people every day. But strangers and our old

acquaintances have different ways of speaking with us: in general, the former feel awkward and say only good things and do not lay their hearts open to us; but the latter, who have met us often and have got to know us well, tell us frankly everything which is on their mind.

Some time ago we went to Wonhwa-ri, in Sunan County, and had a talk with peasants there. Since we frequently visit this place, old people, girls and even children there have become familiar with us. Therefore, if we talk with them for an evening, we will be well acquainted with the actual conditions of the countryside. Last year we could not take time off to visit this village, but some time ago we went there to see the actual conditions of a farm village.

When I asked several women of this village what was the difficulty in the countryside those days, they said that the peasants could hardly work in the fields on cold winter days because they had no padded coats. So I asked them again why, if they felt cold, they had not made coats with the cotton produced on their farm. To this they said: "How could we do so, Premier? How could we use the cotton first? We have built such a large factory as the Pyongyang Textile Mill. So we have to send it there to keep it in operation!"

Our peasants have a really high level of consciousness. Their reply that the cotton has to be sent to the factory is quite right. Those who are to blame are not the peasants but our Party workers and the leading officials of state and economic institutions who failed to solve these bottlenecks in time.

Some time ago we met two children on our way to give guidance to the Tae'an Electrical Machinery Plant and found a similar case. One of them wore a good, thick padded coat and the other was without any coat on and her clothes were not very good. So I asked the latter why she was not well clothed like others, and if she had her parents. But she was not frank, simply saying that she had no difficulty in life. The women who were beside us, told us that the former had her parents but the latter had only her mother, who worked in a buying agency. Then it was strongly brought home to us that there is still a marked discrepancy in living conditions between children who have both

parents and those who have only one. Had our officials studied and paid attention to every detail of the people's living conditions, they would have provided all children with wadded clothes long ago, because, after all, it is not so difficult.

Only when they really love people will the leading officials earn the respect of the people. Cold-hearted officials without humanity cannot benefit from the genuine love of the people or really mingle with them. If they are not humane, Party workers can neither have the support and trust of the people nor serve them faithfully.

We must fight strongly against the lack of humanity among Party workers, and all of them should strive to develop a strong Party spirit, profound humanity and modest and simple traits.

The Party Committee of the Pyongyang Textile Mill should also strive to remedy its past shortcomings as soon as possible. During our current visit to give guidance, the mill has been criticized for a number of defects, including their failure to build a proper nursery. Had we talked with workers about ten more days, more shortcomings would probably have been exposed. You yourselves should examine your past Party work in detail to find out every defect, and take active measures to remedy it.

The factory Party committee should strive to provide workers with a good environment for production, as well as with proper living conditions as regards matters such as food, clothing and housing. At the same time, they should strive to enhance the workers' ideological awareness, their technical knowledge and skills. Production will naturally increase when workers who operate equipment and are directly engaged in process work are provided with a good working environment so that they can work without worry and when they increase their ideological awareness, their technical knowledge and skills.

Party work is in essence a work of educating all Party members and the masses to unite behind the Party and of organizing and mobilizing them for the carrying out of revolutionary tasks. If all Party committees and workers work this way, they will be able to accomplish efficiently

any revolutionary task, however difficult.

There are many other important problems with regard to Party work, but today I am confining myself to briefly stressing these questions since they are of particular importance.

I hope you will make strenuous efforts to accomplish the tasks set forth during our recent visit to provide guidance to the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant and during our current visit to this factory, and that your factory will stand with its flag flying, in the forefront of the fight to reach the target for the output of fabrics established by the Party. I want you to inform all Party members, workers, technicians and office employees of this requirement of the Party.

**DISABLED SOLDIERS SHOULD WORK
AND STUDY WELL AND BUILD
THEIR LIFE ASSIDUOUSLY**

**Talk to Workers of the Sinchon Disabled
Soldiers' Foodstuff Factory**

January 19, 1962

Some workers of this factory were wounded in the arm, others in the leg and still others on the head. You were all wounded while fighting heroically in the noble cause of the country.

Despite your infirmities, you have built your factory very well. Now you will be quite able to produce foodstuffs and daily necessities for the people's livelihood.

The quality of your envelopes is rather good; It would, of course, be better if they were whiter. But even the present ones should be produced in larger quantities. You say you intend to produce 1,500,000 notebooks this year. If you make a lot of good notebooks for students, they will be very happy. Your products on show are all excellent. The county Party committee chairman said that your factory produced a great quantity of pumpkin cakes last summer. You did a very good job. But you are now unable to continue producing candy for lack of materials, although you will have them in the future. You should work well and make more quality products.

It would be a good thing if the disabled soldiers' dependents could also engage in work at the factory. At present many wives are working at the factory together with their husbands. This is a very good thing. If

they stay at home without doing work, they will feel lonely.

You must have many handicaps in your work and life. In particular, the armless comrades will find it difficult to work. You should work as your health allows. I was told that in your factory the disabled soldiers work seven hours a day and that work norms are assigned according to their physical conditions. And the wages of those who fail to fulfil their work norms because of physical handicap are supplemented from a fund fed by 50 per cent of the business tax, all of which would otherwise go to the state. You do very well.

Disabled soldiers should work and study well. It is good that you attend the disabled soldiers' school. You should make strenuous efforts to learn many things so that you will be prepared either to enter the university or take part in state and enterprise management in the future.

You should never let yourselves get lax ideologically, or be melancholy in life. You should run the amateur art circles with liveliness and should be always cheerful and optimistic, and all of you should keep sound ideologically.

The disabled soldiers should also build their family life well. You keep your houses clean, you are building your lives methodically and you are relatively well-off now. You disabled soldiers who served the army in the past are, indeed, exemplary in building your lives. Every dwelling has enough bedding, a good chest of drawers and a cable radio set. That will do. I am very pleased that you have a happy and decent life. We will be better off in the future. The disabled soldiers should make ceaseless efforts to build their lives better. Their wives, especially, should do their best to take good care of their husbands, bring up their children well and build their family life still better.

In the past you have worked very well. And I hope you will do your work well for the Party and the revolution in the future, too.

ON THE TASKS AND ROLE OF THE COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

**Talk to Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen
of the City and County People's Committees
of South Hwanghae Province**

January 22, 1962

Today I would like to speak to you on a few matters about the county people's committees' tasks and role.

Some comrades think that the functions of the county people's committees as government bodies have been weakened by the formation of the county agricultural cooperative management committees. On the contrary, their functions have in fact increased.

Today our agriculture has become a large-scale socialist cooperative economy and, moreover, it is technically far more developed than in the days of private farming. At present, therefore, our agriculture, like our industry, can only be guided by industrial methods of management. That was why we set up the county agricultural cooperative management committees, whose sole mission is to direct the rural economy.

The county people's committee used to be largely occupied with the managing of agriculture, and it neglected various other duties. But since the county agricultural cooperative management committee came into being, the county people's committee has been able to cope better with its tasks as a people's governmental body.

Government is always based on a population and a territory. Our

people's government is based on our people and our land. Its duty is to safeguard the freedom and happiness of all Koreans living in our territory and to make our country more prosperous and beautiful.

For this reason, the first duty of organs of the people's government is to function efficiently for the benefit of the population.

To administer means to govern, that is, to keep a good grip on things and to manage them properly. As an administrative agency governing the county, the county people's committee should above all else care for the people of the county well.

Administering the county means to control and to administer all that concerns the lives of its inhabitants, from the cradle to the grave. The committee's task is, first, to register the birth of babies, then to give children a good upbringing and education and, when they grow up, to look after their marriage and employment. Constant attention should be paid to problems concerning food, clothes and housing for the population, preventive measures taken to keep them in good health, and immediate medical care given should they fall ill. Nor does administering the county end here. The county people's committee should, furthermore, be well informed about the lives of the county's people, should protect them, and constantly take all possible measures so that they may live in comfort.

Further, the county people's committee should take charge of land administration. It should look after land, forests, rivers, roads and so on. It must know everything—how much land is devoted to farms and to forests, what rivers and reservoirs there are, where forest and water conservancy projects are needed, and how much new land can be cultivated.

If, for example, the county agricultural cooperative management committee decides to expand its arable land, it must always get the approval of the county people's committee, which must be apprised of every inch of land to be reclaimed or left fallow.

Next, the county people's committee should approve and register all projects of state buildings in the county.

The county people's committee is also required to work out

integrated long-term plans for the county's development.

Taking into account the present size of the county population and its expected growth in next few years, the committee should take whatever steps seem to be desirable to adjust it. If the population is small, measures should be taken to encourage its growth.

Long-term plans should be drawn up after studying how to develop local industry, how many more rural modern houses need be built, how the land can best be developed, how to conserve timber and water resources and how best to deal with river improvement, road building and afforestation, to provide satisfactory conditions for the county population.

Statistics and records should be kept of what is done, so that future generations may know the history of their county's development.

In general, the present apparatus of the county people's committee is adequate to cope with these things.

All those existing departments of the county people's committee are necessary which cover commerce, procurement and food administration, town management, land administration, education, culture, public health services and hygiene, labour, planning, statistics, finance and bookkeeping.

The county people's committee has no departments in charge of building and production, for there are special enterprises for directing these affairs. This does not, however, take away the managerial responsibility of the county people's committee as a governmental agency in the fields of building and production, in both of which it should continue to discharge its responsibilities. Agriculture, local industry and construction should be developed in accordance with a county plan. So the committee should have agricultural, local industry and construction departments, but as things stand today in our country, a shortage of staff has meant that the planning or statistical department has had to take charge to prevent the dispersal of forces to the extent possible. The statistical or planning department should receive reports from bodies having responsibilities for the fulfilment of particular plans, and should have an overall picture of

the situation before working out any new plans.

The county agricultural cooperative management committee should submit reports on agricultural work to the county people's committee and always keep close ties with it. The county people's committee itself does not have to plan agricultural production but it can examine the plans submitted by the management committee and give advice. If, for instance, the management committee has planned to produce 1,000 tons of rice, the county people's committee may advise, in view of the population's needs, that it would be better to produce 1,200 tons. And as for local industry, the county people's committee can examine production plans and make suggestions. Of course, since nowadays our whole economy is planned, I do not think there will be any major differences of opinion in such matters. But if there are, the county people's committee should give its opinion to the body concerned and report the matter to a higher level for decision. As can be seen, the county people's committee, as a governmental body administering the county, is duty bound to control and administer the population, land, state property and all in its county.

What, then, should be the county people's committee's first consideration?

Commerce is its most important work.

Commerce under socialism differs fundamentally from capitalist commerce. In essence, commerce in socialist society is supply work for the people. The people's welfare depends largely on the work of commercial bodies. If these work inefficiently and so goods the working people need may not be available in all areas but may pile up at particular locations, people cannot buy them even though they have the money, and their standard of living does not rise, regardless of how rhythmically production is progressing and how much their incomes may increase.

In capitalist society merchants peddle goods for profit. They rack their brains on how to sell. Thus they do their business without any urging.

But in socialist society the state should have coordinated control

over commerce and should distribute goods evenly to all areas where people need them. In other words, it is necessary to develop commerce so that all the goods produced by the state can be had by people in every part of the country.

Needless to say, in socialist society the socialist principle of distribution operates, so those who earn more can buy more. But this does not allow anyone to buy more goods than he needs simply because he has the money.

Nor it is permissible to go in for egalitarianism to the extent of arguing that goods should be distributed evenly. It is little use to keep sending fine suiting suitable for professors or diplomats to the lumberjacks in Ryanggang Province. They say that rolls of quality suiting have piled up in the stores at lumber stations at the foot of Mt. Paektu while journalists are worried because they cannot get any. That is the distributive workers' fault.

The county people's committee should consider the actual conditions in its county and, on this basis, manage commerce in such a way that goods are available for sale when the people want them. In particular, care should always be taken to ensure that soy sauce, bean paste, cooking oil, cloth, footwear and the people's other daily necessities are in stock at all times.

The commerce department of the county people's committee should always check whether the stores have stocked up on needed goods and should tell them what to stock.

Further, we should develop commerce to give an impetus to our manufacturers. Workers in commerce should demand that manufacturers improve the quality of their products, and should refuse to accept goods that are unlikely to be sold.

Last year, when I dropped in at a store in Haeju, I found cloth woven like sacking on sale at three *won* a metre. No one would want to buy that. This sort of cloth should only have been accepted from the mill at a reduced price. The local industry mill concerned would then have endeavoured to improve the quality since otherwise its business would not pay.

However, commercial bodies buy up stocks of such bad cloth for selling at three *won* a metre, regardless of whether people will buy. Many a worker in commerce thinks, “Unsold goods have nothing to do with me—sooner or later they will be taken away by the state.” This is an utterly wrong attitude.

Eventually the state alone will bear the loss, while nothing is done to encourage local factories to improve quality. The Yun Kong Hum fellow burned up unsold goods as “rejects”. This is an unpardonable crime.

In fact, the quality of our cloth at present is very low. I have heard that in some countries very good suiting is woven from staple fibre, but in our country this is not so. Cloth is still in short supply, so even poor fabrics are selling. But in the future people will refuse to buy inferior textiles. What will local factories do then? They should be starting to improve their quality now.

If we go to farm machinery stores these days, we can see plenty of unsold machinery piled up. But no one seems worried about it.

This kind of problem cannot be solved by a few state cadres making a fuss. All commercial organizations, not to mention the producers, should put a real effort into getting quality improved.

Along with commerce, purchasing work should be conducted efficiently. We can say that buying, too, is a form of commerce. But at present this operation does not go well. Our buyers do not purchase promptly although there are plenty of things to buy. So a lot of state property is simply left to rot.

Our country has hundreds of thousands of cattle, so if you save the fur from their hides, it will add up to a tremendous quantity. Chicken and duck feathers should all be bought in. If each farm household collected 100 grammes of chicken feathers, a million farm households could collect 100 tons. That is quite something.

It is advisable to buy in pumpkin seeds and the like. If each pumpkin produces 200 grammes of seeds, collecting up two kilogrammes of pumpkin seeds would be no problem for any farm household. Two kilogrammes of pumpkin seeds from each equals

2,000 tons from a million households. That could bring in an enormous sum in foreign currency.

No end of shells are found on our seashores, and these, too, should be bought. For lack of containers, hospitals at present dispense ointments wrapped in paper when they could conveniently be packed in shells.

If every family planted a few medicinal herbs in a corner of their yard and dug them up and sold them when they are fully grown, they would get quite a considerable income.

If anything collected in this way is sold to the state, it will benefit both the state and the individuals concerned. With only a little effort, every household could keep their children in pencils, notebooks and the like and pay for table clocks and other such things with the money earned from selling these things to the state.

I intentionally use these minor things as an example, instead of big things. Many a little makes a muckle. To be well-off, we need to do all things, both big and little.

If buyers will only work well, they can purchase lots of things and contribute greatly to making the people better off.

Because the necessary information work is still insufficient and the buyers are inactive, peasants do not take much interest in selling things to the state.

Attending buyers' meetings, we can see that there are some comrades who work very well. You should invite them and learn about their experiences. And chairmen of county people's committees would do well to take their bicycles and go out on a tour with a buyer.

It is not because we are fond of gadding about that we often go to soy and bean paste factories. We go there even when we are very busy, because people have complained a lot about soy and bean paste.

We called a meeting at Changsong and I asked the women what things they had been thinking well of recently. They replied that there were two things. One was that they no longer had to make soy and bean paste at home, for they could buy them now, and the other was that they were supplied with riced corn processed in factories. In bygone

days, if they were bad at making soy and bean paste and they turned out tasting bad, their mothers-in-law would scold them severely, saying they would bring ruin on their home. But now they were happy because they were freed from this kind of worry, and also because they needed no longer work at a hand mill to make riced corn.

To do what will please the people, you must pay visits of inspection to soy and bean paste factories, corn-processing mills and buying agencies.

When the people elected us, they wanted us to be their servants; they did not elect us to drive them hard and issue bureaucratic orders.

It is quite wrong to regard our making rounds of calls at stores or factories as unseemly. How can serving the people be unseemly?

The trouble would be to be pompous, to put on airs and to pretend to know what one does not know. Any action that will make the people better off and benefit the country is noble. You should motivate for better buying work and go to stores to check how goods are taken in.

The county people's committee is the master of the county's economic life and its chairman is responsible for the livelihood of the population of the county.

The chairman, vice-chairmen and department chiefs of the county people's committee should have a thorough knowledge of the economic life of their county's population. Just as the head of every family knows everything about the situation in his home, the county people's committee chairman should know how much rice, salt, soy and bean paste, vegetables, cooking oil, bean curd, wines and spirits and cigarettes the people of his county consume daily, monthly, yearly, and even how many people wear overcoats and how many padded jackets.

During the guerrilla war, we knew just how much salt every man consumed. In early 1946 when I started working as Chairman of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, I began by inquiring about the quantity of salt consumed by the people. As I remember, I was told that north Koreans consumed 80,000 tons of salt a year at that time.

The chairman of the county people's committee should be fully aware of the people's needs, and should do his utmost to see that they are met. A person who is indifferent to the people's lives is not qualified to be the chairman of the county people's committee. For his principal duty is to ensure good supplies for the people.

Commerce and buying are the people's supply service and have an important bearing on the improvement of the people's standards of living. So the county people's committee chairman must always be concerned with these matters and he should put a vice-chairman in full charge of management in this sphere.

Town management is another important aspect of county people's committee work.

In capitalist society, all property belongs to individuals, but in socialist society nearly all property is collectively owned by the people. The countryside also has lots of communal property. Essentially, cooperative property is communal property.

The people's committee has the duty of managing the people's common property. If buildings are uncared-for, the doors break off, the walls crumble, and soon they become dilapidated. If a building fit for ten years' use is not properly maintained, it may well not last five.

All state property, that is, dwelling houses, schools, hospitals, offices, public service facilities, stores, warehouses and the like should be managed with care.

The people's committee should ensure that an accurate budget is drawn up for town management. The budget should be worked out after careful calculation of the materials that will be needed for house repairs and the quantity of glass needed a year for the maintenance of schools. If you start on something suddenly, when you have been sitting still with your eyes closed, it is not likely to turn out well.

In some places, school and hospital roofs leak, so pupils have to keep moving their desks around, and hospital beds have to be shifted from one place to another—and still nothing is done about it. That is because the people's committee chairman is irresponsible and gives no thought to his work.

Streets in the county town should be concrete-surfaced. Because a county town has heavy motor traffic, the dust will get too much for people if roads are not concrete-surfaced. Nevertheless, cement allocated to pave streets is diverted to other purposes.

The chairman of the county people's committee should pay close attention to the people's economic life and plan his work meticulously. He should not make rule-of-thumb decisions about repair costs, but he should go to schools or hospitals himself to find the facts before deciding on annual allocations for repairs. But when, without rhyme or reason, he simply instructs his subordinates to allocate 50 *won* for the purpose, these people will follow his example and simply say 30 *won*. And in the end, what happens is that repairs do not get done at all even though the roofs let in the rain.

The cadres in charge of town management should be strengthened. It is quite wrong to put people on to this work as a punishment. It would do better to put them to manual tasks so that they will be reformed by working with their hands before they make a comeback. How can you expect a punished person with low Party spirit to make a good job of town management, a work for looking after the people's livelihood? This gross mistake is the result of treating town management as unimportant.

The Party Central Committee attaches great importance to town management. We have built a vast amount since the war, but the management is not up to the mark. The county people's committee should have a vice-chairman whose sole job is controlling the town management and labour departments.

Further, education, culture and health services call for close attention from the county people's committee chairman.

He should be especially concerned about education. So far, the chairman of the county people's committee has given little heed to this work while making tours allegedly to give guidance in farm work. This is an error.

Today our country has many schools. Take only Sinchon County and you find 32 primary and 28 secondary schools, an orphans'

primary school, 10 technical schools and a higher technical school. Our country probably leads the world for the number of schools.

Now what is needed is to improve these numerous schools. It must be seen to it that teachers' qualifications are higher, the standard of education and the quality of teaching are improved, and that the pupils and students have better study conditions. Only then will our country make rapid progress.

Boys and girls should be urged to study hard, particularly during their junior secondary and technical school days. Only then can they grow into capable builders of socialism, equipped with both general knowledge and technical skill.

At present, however, county people's committee chairmen tend to neglect education. They are ignorant about education and so afraid of giving guidance. Some of them think that it is beyond them to guide teachers because they are not university graduates. They are wrong in thinking so.

Ours is a country of workers and peasants. All our cadres are sons and daughters of workers and peasants, so it is not surprising that in the past they did not get a chance to go to university. And there is no law that says that only university graduates are qualified to direct education.

Our cadres can give guidance while studying from now on. They should go to listen to the teachers giving classes, and examine the education programmes and teaching materials. And it would do no harm to summon teachers occasionally and give them examinations.

There is nothing mystic about a man with a doctor's degree. He is not omniscient, and he may know little outside his own field. We are fully entitled to check up whether scholars are working as well as required by the Party, or not, and to test if they have a sound knowledge of the Party's policy.

Chairmen should also sometimes call the teachers together for a lecture. Of course, they must not talk rubbish without preparation, but if they give a well-prepared lecture at an educational short course it would be a very good thing.

Because you fail to do this kind of thing, school teachers regard you as stupid and do not consult you about educational matters, except to press for more desks. By studying hard and giving proper guidance to teachers, you will earn their respect.

Unremitting efforts should be made not only to meet the material needs of schools but also to improve the quality of education.

Our country is now in the era of cultural and technological revolutions. If he knows nothing about education, the chairman of a county people's committee cannot fill his office.

So far the educational workers have sought to provide a little more classwork to children, whereas county people's committee chairmen have been eager to make them do a little more outside work. The latter have only looked at it from the farmer's point of view, not from the educator's. In future, however, their position should be that of a guide in education.

Culture, public health and hygiene, alongside educational work, are also highly important. The county people's committee should make every effort to develop the cultural life of the masses and to promote health.

Another important matter is planning work.

The planning department should act as the general staff of the county people's committee. It should keep thoroughly in touch with the actual situation in the county and work out sound plans.

Making a sound plan is no easy task. A plan should be mapped out in strict accordance with Party policy, getting the priorities right, concentrating on the most important matters and reckoning carefully with all possibilities. All plans, such as the prospective plan for the development of the county and the plans of production and consumption in the county, should be drawn up meticulously.

The planning department of the county people's committee should submit its plans to the State Planning Commission through the provincial people's committee.

The farming plan should be worked out by the county agricultural cooperative management committee and presented to the Ministry of

Agriculture through the provincial organization. The county people's committee can discuss this plan and advise on it.

At present, the planning department does not even know how much salt is consumed in its own county, and seems to have no experience in formulating accurate forecasts of consumption. The way things stand at present, the county's economic life cannot possibly be well managed.

The head of the planning department should study, maybe take a correspondence course, and make a special effort to improve his professional qualifications. The relevant provincial office had better set up short courses for the heads of planning departments to give them lessons on practical work for a month. Since the planning department is connected with the work of the county as a whole, the county people's committee chairman should control and direct it personally.

You must not idly believe that the county people's committee's work will be easier because a county agricultural cooperative management committee has been set up. Rather, you should buckle down to many tasks that have been left undone. Only then can the county people's committee fulfil its role as a governmental body. You should do your duty faithfully as representatives of the governmental body that takes care of the people, the land and state property, as servants of the people.

**LETTER IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS
PUT BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD
OF THE CUBAN NEWSPAPER *REVOLUCION***

January 26, 1962

It gives me pleasure to answer your questions concerning the foreign ministers conference of the "Organization of American States" rigged up by the US imperialists in opposition to the Cuban people.

The heroic Cuban people won a historic victory in their revolutionary struggle against US imperialism and its stooge, Batista's dictatorship. They are now striving devotedly with seething revolutionary enthusiasm to defend the freedom and independence of their country and attain national prosperity and development, firmly united around their Government headed by Comrade Fidel Castro, and are achieving brilliant successes, braving all hardships.

Having successfully frustrated the US imperialists' armed intervention last April, the Cuban people have grown stronger and are exerting ever greater influence on freedom-loving people throughout the world, and on the Latin-American peoples in particular. The people of the world are following the example of the Cuban people's fight, and stepping up the anti-US struggle. In spite of the ignominious defeat they suffered in the invasion of Cuba, the US imperialists are continuing their desperate anti-Cuban campaign.

Inventing the lie that the road to a new life which has been taken by the Cuban people presents a "threat" to the United States and to the Latin-American peoples, the US imperialists are employing every

vicious means in the hope of stifling the Cuban revolution.

They are trying in every evil way to embroil other American states in their criminal acts to impose their aggressive desire on Latin America.

The foreign ministers conference of the “Organization of American States” which started on January 22 at Punta del Este, Uruguay, is now revealed as yet another example of such a sinister trick on the part of the US imperialists.

This conference is simply a foul product fabricated under the pressure of the US imperialists with the criminal aim of getting many Latin-American countries involved in a large-scale armed intervention against Cuba.

At this conference the US imperialists are scheming to egg Latin-American countries on to apply sanctions against Cuba in an attempt to justify the armed intervention which was aimed at stamping out the Cuban people’s freedom and independence and to pave the way for an aggressive “collective measure”, and are also manoeuvring to set a precedent for the oppression of other Latin-American peoples.

In order to achieve their sinister designs, the US imperialists are now stepping up their preparations for armed intervention against Cuba and, at the same time, are attempting to put diplomatic pressure on and to bribe other Latin-American countries.

This foreign ministers conference represents a scandalous act of aggression against the sovereignty and national independence of Cuba, at the instigation of US imperialism; it constitutes an open challenge to freedom-loving people all over the world.

Together with all honest-minded people throughout the world, the Korean people who stand firmly and steadfastly by the side of the heroic Cuban people, extend their full support and solidarity to them, while trenchantly denouncing the US imperialists and protesting against their wicked schemes.

The US imperialists, the sworn enemies of the Cuban people, started an aggressive war right here in Korea and imposed innumerable sacrifices on our people. They continue to occupy south Korea,

standing in the way of our country's peaceful reunification.

Nevertheless, the colonial rule of the US imperialists in south Korea is being shaken to its foundations. The Korean people will inevitably force their army of aggression out of south Korea and will achieve their national reunification.

Geographically, Korea and Cuba are far away from each other, but their peoples are firmly united in the struggle against the common enemy, US imperialism. The Korean people are happy at having the heroic Cuban people as their friends and will continue to do all they can to strengthen and develop the friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries.

No desperate venture or despicable two-faced trick of the US imperialists can succeed in avoiding their fate of certain ruin; they will inevitably perish in the fierce flames of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

I am confident that the heroic Cuban people who have won the warm support of the peoples of the socialist camp and of peace-loving people throughout the world, will win the final victory in their fight to repulse US imperialist aggression and to defend the freedom and independence of their country.

**LET US CONSOLIDATE AND DEVELOP
THE SUCCESSES ACHIEVED
IN THE WORK OF THE CHONGRYON**

**Letter to the Chairman of Chongryon
(the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan)**

January 30, 1962

Last year the Chongryon achieved really great successes in every sphere of its work because you, Comrade Chairman, and all its other leading workers devoted yourselves to the implementation of our Party's policies.

Last year your ranks were expanded still further and consolidated politically and ideologically. The cadres were strengthened with hard-core elements, and the steadfast ideological system of our Party was established by all your workers. The activities of all the organs of the Chongryon were further improved and the unity and cohesion of your ranks became solid as never before.

By carrying into effect the Chongsanri spirit and method, each Chongryon worker brought our Party's policies home to Korean nationals in Japan in time and got them accepted. As a result, the Chongryon's prestige has been greatly enhanced and the broad masses have rallied even more closely behind our Party and the Government of our Republic.

The Chongryon also attained an excellent result in its work of imbuing our compatriots with our Party's revolutionary traditions and communist ideology, educating the rising generation in socialist

patriotism and ensuring successful repatriation.

Tremendous is the achievement which the Chongryon scored last year in expanding and strengthening the united anti-US, national-salvation front for the independent, peaceful reunification of our homeland. It did much work and registered great success in strengthening the rank-and-file united front with our fellow countrymen who are members of the “Mindan” (the Union of “ROK” Residents in Japan) and in bringing about national unity with its leading personnel, thus rallying the south Korean people and all our other overseas compatriots to the ranks of the anti-US struggle to save the homeland.

Last year the Chongryon scored a particularly great achievement in its work of greeting the historic Fourth Congress of our Party with a high degree of political enthusiasm, and in ensuring the widespread dissemination of the congress decisions among our compatriots.

The Party Central Committee considers all the successes achieved by the Chongryon last year to have made a major contribution to our revolutionary cause.

The Chongryon was able to achieve this great success last year because all its cadres and all other Koreans in Japan made strenuous efforts day and night to implement Party policies, even under the difficult and complex circumstances created by the intensification of the subversive activities of the US imperialists and their stooges.

The Party Central Committee expresses its deep gratitude to you, Comrade Chairman, and all other leading personnel of the Chongryon and to our compatriots in Japan who are pursuing their incessant and dauntless struggle for the Party, the country and the Korean revolution, overcoming all sorts of difficulties in a foreign country far from their homeland.

Today the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee puppet clique are in the depth of political and economic crises and social unrest in south Korea is daily growing.

The south Korean puppet clique, a gang of murderers, are manoeuvring in every way to maintain their “regime” by the rule of the

cosh. However, it is obvious that the Park Chung Hee fascist terrorist “regime”, which has neither a foothold to rely on in society nor support from any class, will not last long. The more they intensify oppression, terrorism and massacres, the greater will be the people’s discontent and resistance.

Although it is not long since they seized “power”, the Park Chung Hee clique have already been isolated completely from the people of all strata in south Korea. In contrast to the specious “commitment” of the south Korean military fascist terrorists, the living conditions of the people have become worse, with the result that the antipathy of south Korean workers, peasants and other people to the clique has reached its zenith.

In south Korea all freedom has been stamped out, all political parties banned, and the “emergency martial law” maintained for as long as two years, with the result that—even within the ruling class—discontent about the military “government” is growing with each passing day. In addition, distrust of the Park Chung Hee military “government” has been created and contradiction and discord are being aggravated in the puppet army, in which perturbation and confusion are increasing, and plots are made one after another to assassinate Park Chung Hee and overthrow his military “government”. At present the Park Chung Hee military fascist clique tremble in uncertainty and anxiety, for they know not what tomorrow brings.

Today the Park Chung Hee military “government” finds itself in such a desperate position that even the US imperialists, the wirepullers who rigged it up and are maintaining it, cannot but worry about its fate.

All this shows that although the revolutionary fight of the south Korean people now involves many a setback, the general situation in south Korea is developing in favour of the revolution, and that sooner or later their struggle against the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique will be further intensified to bring about another event like the April 19 Popular Uprising.

Even if such an event as the April 19 uprising takes place again, it may of course be difficult for the working people to seize power

immediately under present conditions, for workers, peasants and many others in south Korea still lack in national and class awareness, their unity is weak, and there is no Marxist-Leninist party capable of organizing and leading the revolutionary struggle correctly. However, with frequent events such as the April 19 uprising, the people will be aroused and tempered in the revolutionary way, revolutionary forces will gather and be strengthened, and the people will form revolutionary organizations which will lead them to determine the ways and means to achieve the final victory of the revolution.

The immediate policy of the revolution in south Korea is to give a revolutionary education and training to the masses—workers, peasants, progressive youths and students, and intellectuals—and build a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party through unrelenting struggles. Thus, revolutionary forces in south Korea should be strengthened in every way so as to drive out the US imperialists, overthrow the pro-US reactionary “regime” of the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats, and hasten national reunification and independence.

Highly important are the duty and role assumed by the Chongryon, an organization of the Republic’s overseas citizens, in reunifying our divided country and in securing the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution. That is the very reason why the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique regard the Chongryon as a thorn in their side, try to destroy it, and make every crafty move to obstruct its patriotic work.

In order to maintain their colonial domination over south Korea and prevent our country’s reunification, the US imperialists are now plotting overtly to align the Japanese reactionary forces with the Park Chung Hee clique. Furthering this plot of the US imperialists, the Park Chung Hee clique are hurrying to set up a “ROK-Japan relationship” and are indulging in every shameless act of treachery so as to draw the Japanese militarists into south Korea.

The Japanese militarist scheme to reinvade south Korea is yet another serious hindrance to the struggle of the Korean people to save

our compatriots in south Korea and to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of our country.

The Chongryon should have a correct knowledge of the prevailing situation and strive to discharge its important duty, no matter what the difficulties. It should repulse the enemy's dastardly subversive activities, defend itself more steadily, and plan with foresight all appropriate measures to prepare for and hasten the forthcoming great event of national reunification.

This year, too, as in the past, the Chongryon should continue to unite all our Korean compatriots in Japan even more closely behind our Party and the Government of our Republic and should further expand and consolidate its organization to suit the changing situation.

All its organizations and subsidiary bodies should be staffed with hard-core compatriots who have been tested and trained in the fight and who are totally loyal to the Party, the homeland and the revolution. It should keep personnel affairs ahead of all other work, understand its cadres systematically, educate them according to a plan, and work hard to train their reserves. In this way all its workers should become ardent revolutionaries who, closely united around you, will always breathe and act in unison with the Central Committee of our Party in any adversity.

The workers of Chongryon should make a profound study of our Party's policies and brilliant revolutionary traditions and of Marxist-Leninist theory; they should steadfastly oppose revisionism, bourgeois ideas and all other reactionary ideologies, and should play a central and vanguard role in all activities.

One of the basic prerequisites for winning over the broad masses in the difficult conditions of Japan, where they are doing their patriotic work, is that they develop a revolutionary attitude to the masses and a popular work style in setting examples to others. They should personally visit lower units to organize, educate and lead the masses tirelessly, so as to apply the Chongsanri spirit and method.

For its own expansion and strengthening, the Chongryon should win over a greater number of unorganized people and continue to

intensify the movement for the creation of model branches.

It should urge the broad masses to study the *Reminiscences of Anti-Japanese Guerrillas* so as to thoroughly imbue our compatriots with our Party's revolutionary ideas and outstanding revolutionary traditions. In particular, it should steadily improve its work of overcoming negative attitudes by the force of positive examples so as to win over more of our fellow countrymen.

The political and ideological level of the *Joson Sinbo* and other Chongryon publications should be raised, and their circulation increased so that they will be used extensively and purposefully for the education of the masses.

What is important in school education is to intensify the education of the younger generation in socialist patriotism, improve the academic record of students, and lay independent foundations for school management. While improving school education, the Chongryon should continue to put stress on adult education, too.

Our Party and the Government of our Republic will keep remitting the aid funds necessary for the education of our compatriots in Japan, and will provide assistance for the compilation of textbooks.

This year, too, the Chongryon should attach great importance to the work of expanding and strengthening the united anti-US, national-salvation front for the early independent, peaceful reunification of the homeland. It should unremittingly strive to consolidate the rank-and-file united front with "Mindan"-affiliated compatriots and, at the same time, make great efforts to achieve unity with top and middle-level members of "Mindan".

It should also give active support and encouragement to the south Korean people in their just fight for national reunification and social democracy and should bring about national unity with persons from various political and other circles in south Korea. In addition, it should strengthen contacts with all our fellow countrymen in the United States, Brazil and in many other countries and should get them to support the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, their sole motherland.

It should strive to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the Japanese people and to develop friendly relations with progressive political parties, social organizations and individuals in Japan.

In future it should also induce Korean merchants and industrialists in Japan to step up trade with the homeland.

Those who have already returned to the homeland are leading stable lives and participating zealously in socialist construction; and those former Chongryon cadres who have been repatriated are working devotedly in responsible posts in state bodies and economic and cultural organizations. In the future, too, the homeland will continue to welcome all returnees and guarantee them a secure life.

The Chongryon should pay special attention to its own effective defence. Since it works in Japan, it should always carry out its work creatively to suit the specific conditions there and without contravening Japanese laws, and should be highly vigilant all the time so that it will not fall a victim to the provocations of reactionaries.

The Party Central Committee firmly believes that all Chongryon workers and the 600,000 Korean nationals in Japan will unite even more closely behind the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, and thus admirably fulfil the noble tasks confronting the Chongryon this year, in a sincere response to the decisions of our Party's Fourth Congress.

I earnestly ask you, Comrade Chairman, to take good care of yourself and I wish all Chongryon officials greater success and happiness in and out of their work.

In conclusion, I extend my heartfelt warm greetings to all Chongryon workers and to the 600,000 Koreans in Japan who are striving for their homeland in a faraway alien land.

**OFFICIALS IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE
SHOULD ACQUIRE THE TRAITS
OF A REVOLUTIONARY AND IMPROVE THEIR
GUIDANCE OF THE RURAL ECONOMY**

**Speech at a Meeting of the Managerial Personnel
of the Agricultural Cooperatives in the Haeju Area
of South Hwanghae Province**

February 1, 1962

First, allow me to express, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, my warm thanks to all the managerial personnel and members of agricultural cooperatives in South Hwanghae Province, the youth shock-brigade members and tractor drivers who are working so well in the countryside, the agro-technicians who have come to help the rural economy and all the leading agricultural officials, for having displayed patriotic devotion and achieved brilliant successes last year in the struggle for increasing our grain output by one million tons.

South Hwanghae Province successfully completed the socialist transformation of its agriculture some years ago, and since then it has made great progress in the technical reconstruction of the rural economy, involving irrigation, electrification and mechanization. As a result, the basis of a modern socialist agriculture is now being consolidated.

Since I have already spoken of your achievements at the meeting of the management personnel of the agricultural cooperatives in the Sinchon area, I will not repeat them here today.

We held a meeting with the managerial staffs of the agricultural cooperatives in that area over several days, and here in Haeju we are now meeting again for three consecutive days with the management personnel of the agricultural cooperatives from the 12 municipal and county units in your province.

This meeting has shown us that many shortcomings still exist in the guidance of our rural economy. The defects of our leading agricultural officials can be divided broadly into two categories: one, an incorrect style of working, and the other, faulty leadership in farm work.

1. ON ACQUIRING THE COMMUNIST TRAITS OF A REVOLUTIONARY

I should like to touch first on the working style of our management personnel. The communist work spirit required of a revolutionary has not yet been properly established among the leading workers of the rural economy. Bureaucratic and formalistic work styles, irresponsibility, bombast, fame-seeking, conservatism, empiricism, etc., still exist widely among you. All these are manifestations of the survivals of old ideologies left over from capitalist society. You should do away once and for all with these old styles of work.

In our country today, the material and technical foundations of socialism have been further strengthened and the revolutionary spirit of the masses of the people is continuing to grow. There is, therefore, no doubt that even greater success will be ours if our leading officials rectify their old styles of work promptly. You should, therefore, direct your greatest efforts to acquiring the communist traits of a revolutionary.

Our Party has entrusted you with the important revolutionary task of building socialism in the countryside. Our people suffered from feudal exploitation and oppression for hundreds of years. Later, they

were subjected to imperialist plundering by Japanese robbers for nearly half a century. As a result, our agriculture remained very backward and our peasants languished in poverty. It is a most important revolutionary task to turn our backward and poor farm villages into modern, civilized socialist communities.

In the past, people said: "Agriculture is the basic foundation of the country." Today they say: "Rice is socialism." This shows how important agriculture has been and remains. Although we may possibly reconcile ourselves to other things, we cannot compromise with hunger. The most important thing, therefore, is to solve the problem of food for our people. Only when our crops are good and food is plentiful, can the whole economic life of our country improve.

At present our people are building a happy socialist society in which everybody will live in tile-roofed houses, wear silk clothes, eat rice and meat soup, and work together, with adequate knowledge and techniques, for the good of society and people. This is the goal set by our Party and also the long-cherished desire of our people. This task set out by our Party is not a dream, but a realistic enterprise fully feasible by means of the efforts of our people.

The results achieved so far by our people are eloquent proof that this revolutionary task is well within our power. We abolished the feudal system of exploitation in the countryside long ago and also carried out the difficult work of restructuring the individual peasant economy into a socialist cooperative sector of the economy. And we are now successfully carrying out the tasks of irrigation, electrification and mechanization in our rural areas. Thus the face of our countryside has changed beyond recognition.

A great change has also taken place in the life of the peasantry. It can be said that during the rule of the Japanese scoundrels our peasants had the status of hired farm hands who worked for others. But after liberation they became poor peasants who owned their land; later, as socialist construction advanced in the countryside, they became middle peasants; at present they are all rising to the level of well-to-do middle peasantry.

If we take one more step forward now, everybody will be able to live in affluence like the rich. When this takes place, our people's aspirations will have been realized. Our people have now entered a new stage in the fight to attain this very ideal. In the Seven-Year Plan period, we intend to make everyone live in plenty like the rich.

By the rich, however, we do not mean those who live in idleness as in the old days, but those who work and live a comfortable and plentiful life.

To give our people an affluent, comfortable life, we must increase production. To increase production, it is, indeed, necessary to work more, but is also very important to develop our productive forces, taking advantage of the technological revolution. Therefore, we should irrigate, electrify, mechanize and chemicalize our agriculture during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. Only by raising the level of productive forces in this way is it possible to free all our people from heavy toil and to help them to raise their living standards by increasing output while working easily and joyfully.

As all of you know, under the old rule of the Japanese devils the life of the people was so hard that they regarded their very existence as a misfortune. Today, however, as socialism is built in our country, everybody enjoys his life and wants to live longer. Yesterday, I heard someone over the radio singing of his wish to live for a hundred years and more; that is not a feeling confined to him alone, but represents the desire of all our people.

As a matter of fact, before, a handful of landlords and capitalists lived in luxury by exploiting and plundering others. They glutted themselves like pigs. We, however, are going to build a society where all people will live well in tile-roofed houses, will wear silk and eat rice and meat soup. Those who still retain the remnants of obsolete ideas want a plentiful life only for themselves. But in our country today, no one is allowed to live selfishly in affluence. He who says "all for one" and not "one for all" views everything from the old ideological standpoint. If we think in this way, we cannot solve the problem of giving abundance to all alike.

Comrades, just think of it! What a worthwhile thing it is to give our peasants—who for ages lived miserably in mud huts—cosy, modern houses, to free from heavy work our peasants who used to till their fields by pulling ploughs tied to their shoulders, and who carried burdens on their backs till they grew bent; and to feed all of them well and give them a plentiful and long life! When we accomplish all this, even the peasants who are politically uninstructed will fully realize how good socialism is.

For all you comrades working in the rural economy—the leading officials of the provincial people’s committee for agriculture, workers of the county agricultural cooperative management committees, chairmen of the agricultural cooperatives, tractor drivers, workers of the irrigation administration offices, management personnel and all members of the agricultural cooperatives—what a noble assignment is this revolutionary task entrusted to you by our Party!

Nothing is more worthwhile and honourable than to work for the good of society and the people. So, to cultivate the communist characteristics required of a revolutionary, you must clearly understand, before anything else, how important and noble your revolutionary task is. Thus, everyone should have pride and a high sense of responsibility in his job as well as a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm.

Now, what do we mean by the communist characteristics of a revolutionary?

First, they should be expressed in an uncompromising struggle to defend the Party’s policies and carry them through to the end.

The policies of our Party indicate the course we must follow to make all our people live well and make our country wealthy and powerful. The fight to carry out the Party’s policies is precisely the revolutionary struggle. A revolutionary, therefore, should persistently and devotedly fight for the implementation of the Party’s policies. This is the first and foremost quality required of a revolutionary.

Judging from your speeches at this meeting, however, it seems that you still lack the will to carry through the Party’s policies to the end. Those who have had a determined attitude in materializing the Party’s

intentions have scored great successes, but those lacking this spirit have failed to do their work well. Yesterday we heard about how determined Comrade Jon Phil Nyo of the Kumsong Agricultural Cooperative in Paechon County was in her struggle to shore up the lagging stock farming team. She made tremendous efforts to raise just one pig more and worked ceaselessly to obtain sorely-needed feed. Thus, she achieved great success. To carry out the Party's policies, one must work as hard as she did.

Without a strong will and an indefatigable fighting spirit to implement the Party's policies, no success can be scored in any work—the work of transforming backward persons along communist lines, the work of producing what is lacking and devising new things, the work of making new inventions in science, etc. Doing things in a slipshod manner or giving up without finishing a task shows a weak revolutionary fighting spirit. This attitude can bring no success in anything. The Party's policies must be carried through to the end.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas fought a heroic struggle during 15 long years, overcoming all hardships and tribulations. However, because of their weak revolutionary will, some later changed their attitudes, instead of being loyal to the revolution to the last, even though they had participated in the revolutionary struggle at first. Some, indeed, after struggling for a long time, surrendered to the enemy even just before the Japanese scoundrels laid down their arms. This is like a patient who, told by the doctor to take 100 doses of medicine, takes 99, with the result that the medicine fails to take effect.

There is a revolutionary song, too, that expresses the strong fighting spirit of revolutionaries in the following lines: "Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer; we'll keep the Red Flag flying here." Only those who adhere to the line of the revolution and the policies of the Party to the last and fight to carry them out in spite of all difficulties, can become revolutionaries. There is an old adage that says there is nothing impossible for the strong-willed; this is even truer today when our revolutionaries are struggling single-mindedly to build a communist society.

Our Party's policies are wholly practical, because they are based on a scientific analysis of actual conditions in accordance with Marxism-Leninism. Success in all work hinges upon whether or not we correctly grasp and persistently carry out the Party's policies.

In order to carry out these policies creditably, it is necessary, first of all, to understand them properly. Only by making a profound study of them can you get a clear idea of how right they are. And only by fully grasping the intentions of the Party can you have a firm faith in the victory of the revolutionary struggle and devise the correct method of winning it.

The Party's policies demonstrate the Marxist-Leninist ways and means for carrying out the revolution in Korea. Our Party has laid down a series of tasks to build socialism in the rural areas of our country, basing itself strictly on Marxist-Leninist principles. Our Party has proposed the tasks of electrification, irrigation and mechanization, and has laid down detailed policies on how to improve the land, develop seed production, manage socialist agriculture, etc. Only by profoundly studying and correctly grasping all these agricultural policies of our Party is it possible to successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks confronting the rural economy.

In studying the Party's policies it will not do to just glance at their titles, as if one were licking the rind of a watermelon, or to read again and again only the first chapter of a book, as is satirized in our comic stage dialogues. If you study Party policies so as merely to learn words or phrases by heart, out of touch with reality, you will get nothing from it. With this approach, you cannot get a deep understanding of the Party's intentions nor find the correct course to take. Those without a deep knowledge of the Party's policies will not only be unable to carry on their work creatively but will waver when they run up against difficulties.

When we waged the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle before, those who did not have a deep grasp of the revolution wavered whenever they encountered difficulties. Eventually, they went so far as to abandon the revolutionary ranks. But those with a clear idea of the

revolution firmly believed in the inevitable downfall of Japanese imperialism. They thought that Japanese imperialism was bound to meet its doom sooner or later, and that their own struggle would be decisive in bringing about this fall. Because we firmly believed that our cause was not only just but would inevitably end in victory, we bravely fought it out, enduring all hardships. Thus, we who untiringly waged a struggle along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism emerged victorious in the end.

Our leading personnel in the rural economy, too, should now make a thorough study of our Party's agricultural policies, which represent the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country, and should actively strive to carry them out, if they want to build socialism successfully in the countryside. Thus, the most important quality of communists is to know the Party's policies profoundly and to make persistent endeavours to carry them out.

Second, the communist stamp of our leading personnel as revolutionaries should be manifested by their going among the masses, delving into reality at all times.

To know people, you should go among them; to know machines, you should go to where machines are; to know soil, you should dig in the ground; and to know about mountains, you should go to them.

Just sitting at our desks, divorced from the masses and from reality, we cannot see the strength of the masses nor can we understand what is actually taking place or why. Without knowing the strength of the masses and reality, we cannot make any calculations or spot latent reserves or organize and mobilize the masses to carry out revolutionary tasks. After all, any undertaking that is not based on contact with the masses and knowledge of reality will be subjective. Therefore, he who has a subjective attitude towards his work cannot be a revolutionary.

We should always go among the masses and consult with them; we should make a deep study of reality and work out all our calculations in detail on the spot. To make a detailed calculation means working out a concrete plan of action. In the past our forefathers used the word

“calculation” for planning. You can be successful in all work only when you go among the masses, coming in touch with the realities and mapping out a detailed plan of action suited to actual conditions.

Under socialism, literature and art, too, must be realistic. Novels, dramas and songs which are based on real-life facts gleaned from sharing the life of the masses, giving a good artistic portrayal of their psychology and actual life, convey lifelike impressions and conform to the feelings of the masses. Only these works have educational value. However, the music which a composer writes by himself, sitting at his desk, without seeing reality, cannot express in the least the true feelings of the masses. The masses, therefore, will not understand what that music wants to convey, though for all I know it may please the composer himself.

In the past there were no professional composers in the anti-Japanese guerrilla units; young combatants got together and composed music collectively. But the songs they thus composed expressed the guerrillas’ sentiments and stirred up courage in the people, because the masses themselves wrote those songs and they expressed their own sentiments truthfully.

And today, works based on a deep study of reality among the masses reflect real life truthfully and have gained the hearts of the people. The drama *A Red Motivation Worker* is an example of this. The comrades who act in it all went out to the countryside and shared the farm work and life of the peasants for as long as half a year. In this way, they made energetic efforts to correctly mirror rural life in their play, studying all aspects of the peasants’ life in reality, which resulted in the success of this work. The comrades who played the roles of Ri Sin Ja and the workteam leader in the drama lived with the real-life heroine and hero and learned their way of speaking and acting. That is why they could act in a lifelike manner on the stage without the least artificiality.

In contrast, the play *We Are Happy*, portraying Comrade Kil Hwak Sil, has some shortcomings, for it is inconsistent with reality. In this play too, most of the actors and actresses performed their parts well,

since they had made a profound and detailed study of the workers in real-life situations, working with them. Yet, some performers did not learn from reality and uttered only empty words which simply failed to get the facts across. As a result, the play was not realistic though its material was originally good.

In work situations, too, a person who only talks empty words, divorced from the masses and from reality, cannot carry out his revolutionary task.

An emperor or a king of olden times, or a provincial governor, a county magistrate or other high-ranking officials in the years of Japanese imperialist rule, did not go among the masses, and did not need to do so. They did not need the opinions of the masses. They always imposed their own subjective views on the masses, forcing them to do whatever they wanted, regardless of the consequences. That is why we say they were not faithful servants of the people but bureaucrats who gave orders.

Bureaucracy and revolution are incompatible. The revolution we are making is for the good of the masses and radically differs from the methods of those bureaucrats who, in the past, acted outrageously, blinded by their own self-interest. Only when one carries on revolutionary work for the masses, can one realize one's own hopes, too. Personal interests find their only real and concrete safeguards in a revolution for the masses. To work for the masses, therefore, is also to work for oneself.

For our revolutionary work to really serve the masses, our leading officials should always go among the people, consult with them to solve all matters, clearly explaining everything, and deriving strength and wisdom from them. At the same time, they should spot the needs and problems of the people and solve them promptly.

We should always identify ourselves with the masses in life and in the struggle, and base ourselves on reality, breathing the same air as the people. This alone will enable us to tap the strength of the masses, acquire a deep grasp of the realities and also gain confidence for the correct performance of our revolutionary tasks. Only by going among

the masses and basing ourselves on reality, is it possible to get acquainted with all problems at the right time and to settle them correctly.

In mapping out the Party's policy, too, we should not work in a subjective way but on the basis of a correct analysis of the realities and an accurate study of the thinking of the masses. Only then will the Party's policy become that of the people and be seen to have real vitality. The agrarian reform in our country is a good illustration of the great vitality the Party's policy has when it clearly reflects the needs of the masses and the realities. When we enforced the agrarian reform, many opposed it, and the reactionaries raised a storm. Moreover, land tenure relations were very intricate. Some tenanted other people's land and rented out their own land; some tilled part of their own land and rented out the remaining part to others. Thus, it was important for us to draft an Agrarian Reform Law which would take full account of all these conditions. In order to solve this complex problem correctly, we personally went to the farm villages. We talked and consulted with the peasants, sharing their life for more than a month. Because we went among the masses and consulted with them, we were able to draw up correct solutions for all problems, deciding, for instance, that it would be right to dispose of this kind of land in this way and that kind of land in that way, and what amount of land should be confiscated. As a result, we were able effectively to bring forth the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasant masses to enforce the agrarian reform. It was thus that we successfully carried out the complicated and difficult first democratic reform.

When it organized the agricultural cooperatives, the Party also based itself on the specific realities of our countryside and firmly relied on the strength of the masses. When we began to organize agricultural cooperatives tentatively and in a gradual way, we sincerely discussed it with the people and mobilized their efforts. By so doing, we could also successfully complete the difficult task of the agricultural cooperative movement within a short period of time.

The same holds true for working out plans. Only by going among

the masses, consulting with them and making a detailed study of the realities is it possible to draw up realistic and dynamic plans and successfully carry them out.

An iron rule in all our work should be to go among the people and immerse ourselves in reality. This is one of the most important traits necessary for those who want to work in a revolutionary way.

However, you have not gone among the people nor have you approached realities, which is a big defect in your way of working. You give orders about all things to your subordinates, based just on your personal desire, without going among the masses or knowing reality. This is sheer bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy and subjectivism always go hand in hand. One who works in a subjective and bureaucratic way is liable to make mistakes and is bound to meet failure in his work because he is ignorant of reality and of the desires of the masses.

I know all of you make field trips now, because our Party demands that all our leading officials approach reality, as called for by the Chongsanri method. Yet, though you go out to different workplaces, you neither talk with the masses nor study their realities. You merely move about like a taskmaster, without a purpose. This is not an attitude of going among the masses and immersing yourselves in realities. If you do this, you cannot become acquainted with the land, machines, and people nor can you mobilize the masses and solve the problems of the workplace. Field trips, therefore, do not necessarily represent proper on-the-spot guidance.

Going among the people in the true sense means consulting with them about all their work, teaching them, learning from them, raising the laggards to the level of those who are advanced, and organizing and mobilizing all their forces to accomplish revolutionary tasks. Approaching reality in the true sense of the word means seeing personally, with your own eyes, all the means of production, such as land, farm machines, draught animals, fertilizers and seeds, while making concrete plans, laying down a correct policy to suit actual conditions and unravelling knotty problems right on the spot.

However, you just remain seated at your desks or, when you do go out to the work sites, you merely walk around without talking to the people and studying reality. If you do this, you can neither work out a correct plan nor perceive the proper way of pushing the work ahead. He who confines himself to his office instead of going out to where the work is going on or one who merely travels without talking to the struggling people, lacks the dynamism needed for the revolution and has no business being a cadre. Even when a factory is brand-new, we immediately go out to see it, not because we do not have confidence in the personnel concerned but because we ourselves can get a deep understanding of everything only by seeing it directly with our own eyes and by talking with the workers concerned. Only on this basis can we formulate a correct policy.

Leading officials should always go among the masses and draw upon their strength and wisdom. They should make a concrete study of the realities, plan everything carefully, and learn to turn all reserves and potentialities to account. Only then can we say that they have got the character of a revolutionary capable of furthering revolutionary work.

Third, the communist characteristics of leading officials as revolutionaries are manifested by the fact that they are always at the head of the people in all undertakings, and set examples for them.

We live, working and studying. Those in leadership positions should always be a model for the masses in all aspects of work, study and life.

Unless the cadres themselves set an example for everyone else, they cannot make a strong demand on the masses. Some county Party committee chairmen frequently find fault with the way of working of their subordinates while they themselves do not follow the Chongsanri method in their own work. This is no way to educate their subordinates.

The behaviour of cadres should be like that of parents at home. If father and mother behave in an exemplary way at home, their children, too, will conduct themselves well, following the parents' example. But if parents conduct themselves badly, their children will naturally

follow suit. Similarly, the examples set by our leading officials will greatly influence the work of their subordinates.

So it is of utmost importance for those in leadership to be models, and personally to set an example always and in everything. To set an example personally means to act in a model way.

In the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army the cadres used to set examples personally in everything. When fighting the enemy, the commanders always took the lead in attacks, and brought up the rear in retreats. When a company retreated, the company commander ordered a platoon leader to lead the unit in some direction, and then he and the political instructor took up position in the rear, beating off the pursuing enemy. This was an invariable rule in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

The commanders of our Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army were always the first to face danger and assume difficult tasks. Revolutionary work is in itself arduous and indeed often dangerous work. The noble character of revolutionaries finds its expression precisely in this self-sacrificing and courageous attitude in the face of danger. Only those who personally set an example in difficult and dangerous work can become excellent commanders trusted by the masses.

In military training, too, the commanders of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army set an example by firing first and letting the men shoot later. The commanders could thus furnish an example because of their good marksmanship acquired by working harder than the ordinary guerrillas.

Similarly, in an agricultural cooperative, our managerial cadres should take the lead in all work. When transplanting rice-seedlings, the chairman of the management board should be the first to go into the paddy field to see if it is good for bedding them out, and should personally plant them. Only then will the masses readily answer his call, "Let's all go out to work. The time has come to plant rice-seedlings." Only when an official works in this way can we call him a revolutionary loyal to the people, and not a bureaucrat.

Some leading officials try to make revolution in word only, without setting an example themselves. You should carry on revolution by

actual deeds, not by words. Old as we are now, we endeavour to set an example personally; but if young people drag behind the rest, how can they ever make a revolution? The young should have a stronger impulse to set an example before anyone else.

Leading officials should take the initiative in setting an example both in study and in mastering new techniques. Some comrades confine themselves to urging their subordinates to study, while they themselves do not do so. This is not correct.

These officials should also be a model in their daily lives. Those who lead the people should be ahead of others and set examples for them in the economic use of materials, in maintaining hygienic habits and in efforts to establish a sound way of life.

Some comrades criticize others for drinking while they themselves continue to drink. If they do this, their subordinates will not pay attention to them. To criticize others for their immorality and idleness, one must oneself lead a steady life.

When we say that our leading officials should be ahead of the masses in labour, we do not mean that they should work the same way as the masses. The management personnel of an agricultural cooperative must direct and manage properly; they should not act as mere cooperative members. At present, the number of man-days to be put in obligatorily by the management staffs of agricultural cooperatives has been set at a proper rate.

Some management staffs of agricultural cooperatives, however, do not participate in obligatory labour as prescribed. Management personnel should not make visits merely to give directions while avoiding their own obligatory labour. Management staffs should participate in work, not only to set an example for the cooperative members but also to experience personally the heavy work of the peasants and to acquaint themselves with their hardships. Only by participating in this work will management staffs really appreciate the need to free the peasants from arduous toil as soon as possible, and only thus will they be personally motivated to take practical steps to bring about a technical revolution.

Only when our leading officials set an example in all aspects of work, study and life in this way, will they earn the great confidence of the people and be able to mobilize them to successfully carry out revolutionary tasks.

Fourth, the communist traits of a revolutionary should also be manifested in an indomitable fighting spirit, struggling courageously and yielding to no difficulties, until victory is finally won.

We will encounter difficulties in the course of our revolutionary activities. If everything goes smoothly, no one will complain that revolution is difficult, and consequently it will not be so difficult to build a communist society, the ideal of all people. But those who are engaged in the revolution must not think that their aim can be attained so easily.

Leading officials should always foresee the difficulties that may arise in their work; they should prepare themselves ideologically to surmount these difficulties and should learn to cut their way fearlessly through whatever obstacles they may come across. When confronted by greater difficulties, the leadership cadres should show even more courage and should lead the masses with boundless spirit.

When a difficult situation is encountered in battle, every combatant turns to look at the face of his commander. If the latter shows signs of confusion at this juncture, and does not act to get his men out of the difficulty, they will lose courage and waver. But if the commander does not hesitate in the least, and shows a confident determination to crush the enemy, the combatants will unite firmly and fight more valiantly.

The temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War was a grim trial for our people. But our Party never lost confidence in victory. Even in that difficult situation, our army and people kept up a brave struggle and their confidence in victory, because the Party was leading the people without hesitation. This made it possible for our People's Army, in cooperation with the Chinese People's Volunteers, to immediately launch a counterattack against the enemy and make yet another victorious advance.

In some areas, however, many people fell victim to the enemy because leadership cadres, flustered at the enemy's offensive, failed to take measures to tide over the difficulties.

At that time our Party informed the entire people beforehand, over the radio, that though we were making a temporary retreat it would not be long before we would resume the offensive. The Party also gave the local cadres complete and detailed guidance concerning the retreat. Some officials, however, did not follow the Party's instructions and took flight. They were later captured and killed by the enemy.

When the difficulties appeared, those cadres should not have run away: they should have mobilized and organized the Party-cell chairmen and other core Party members, together with the people in general, into ranks capable of fighting the enemy. If they had formed groups of 10 or more persons in each district during the retreat and had taken to the mountains, bringing with them one or two *mal* of rice, a pot and an ax each, and had fought side by side with the retreating People's Army, everything would have gone well with them. If they did not know how best to fight in the circumstances, they could have left off fighting, hidden in the mountains and waited for the People's Army to advance again.

The revolutionaries waged guerrilla warfare for 15 to 20 long years, moving about in the mountains, but they, unable to endure this life for a mere 40 days, returned home only to be caught and killed by the wretched hounds of the "peace maintenance corps". These were regrettable incidents. Of course, many comrades shouted: "Long live the Party and the Government of the Republic!" when they died, and did not forsake their revolutionary principle, but they died uselessly, for they could have survived: their deaths were entirely due to the lack of revolutionary character on the part of the leadership.

In the course of our revolution there will be many ups and downs. Only those who keep up a courageous fight, stopping at nothing to achieve the complex and arduous revolution, can win through in the end. We were never reduced to tears of despair, but we did cry when comrades who had fought by our side during the prolonged

anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle fell. One who shows confusion or who despairs because of difficulties cannot become a revolutionary. The more difficult the situation is, the more courage you should have and the more calmly you should work out a line of struggle.

The management of agricultural cooperative is made up of cadres who have a great responsibility in our countryside. It is of great importance that you all acquire a revolutionary spirit to confront difficulties, so as to bring about a steady rise in agricultural production and to strengthen revolutionary bulwark in the countryside.

Whatever difficulties may crop up, the managerial staffs of our agricultural cooperatives must not falter. Instead, they must act to overcome all problems through sincere discussion with the cooperative members. No difficulty will be insurmountable if a correct line of struggle is mapped out and the management personnel show courage, give leadership and set an example for the cooperative members.

Fifth, an important manifestation of the communist characteristics of leading officials as revolutionaries is that they always check and review their work promptly. Only those officials who regularly review their work can become disciplined and methodical and maintain a fresh spirit in their work.

Those who are engaged in the revolution should review their work every day; they can do so either before going to bed or during meals. Have I done all the work I should have done today? What haven't I done that should have been done, and why? Did I do anything wrong in today's work? Have I committed an impropriety in speech? Have I overdone anything? This is the way one should review one's work every day, every week and every month. Thus, one should acquire the habit of boldly righting all one's shortcomings and of continuously developing one's strong points.

This kind of review can be made either by oneself or collectively at a meeting.

This meeting we are now holding is also aimed, in the last analysis, at correctly finding out the strong and weak points in our work and improving it in the future. The management staffs of our agricultural

cooperatives, therefore, ought to have correctly identified the merits and shortcomings in their own work and should have discussed them at this meeting.

Quite a few comrades, in fact, are not aware of the strong and weak points in their own work, because they have not yet established the revolutionary habit of making a day-by-day review of their work. This means that many comrades still have a poor sense of responsibility towards their work and lack the revolutionary zeal to improve it. To remain true to the revolution, we must acquire the habit of analysing our work regularly.

This, in general, is the revolutionary approach to work. All of you should have a sense of honour and responsibility in relation to your work, and make sincere efforts to acquire the communist attitudes required of a revolutionary.

2. ON IMPROVING THE GUIDANCE OF AGRICULTURE

Now I am going to speak about managing our agriculture.

Since I have already referred at another meeting to the important problems which arise in relation to guiding agriculture, I will touch only upon some of these problems collectively at this meeting today.

First of all, the quality of planning should be raised in the provincial people's committees, the city and county agricultural cooperative management committees and the agricultural cooperatives.

Planning is still poor in the management of our rural economy. At present the rate of utilization of land and machines is low and labour is not organized rationally; these defects result mainly from poor planning. That is why great emphasis was laid on raising the level of planning at the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

A plan must reflect reality. If we draw up plans according to our

personal desires, disregarding realities, they will not work. We should first go into the realities and acquire a concrete knowledge of the land, machines, draught animals, manpower and so forth, making a detailed calculation of all possibilities and, on this basis, formulating the plan.

Only this kind of plan can be realistic, capable of being carried out in practice. It is a passive attitude to calculate only the previous year's results, saying that these are our real possibilities. Our realities change constantly and our productive potential grows year after year. Therefore, forward-looking plans should be drawn up taking into account all reserves and possibilities commensurate with the evolving realities and productive potential. Only then will our plan be not only realistic, but also able to act as a real stimulus.

Another important thing is to administer the land well.

The basic means of production in agriculture is land. Land is a prerequisite for agricultural mechanization and irrigation; without it machines and water will serve no purpose, however abundant they may be.

Our land is a precious asset of our people's livelihood, an asset inherited from our ancestors. We have no other land than our 3,000 *ri*. We must turn this land to better account by administering and improving it properly. If we make the best use of our land, the entire Korean people can lead as affluent a life as we wish.

However, there still exist many practices by which land is used inefficiently or left idle. In some areas, houses and factories are built at random on the plains. According to the data collected by the departments concerned, Yonan County wasted 57 hectares of land in 122 cases and Paechon County, 73 hectares in 343 cases. In Ongjin County as much as 6,800 *phyong* of fertile land has been set aside, allegedly to build a rice and flour mill, but it still lies idle with no construction work going on.

It is a common practice now to let the edges of the fields lie idle.

It is a very serious matter that such a practice still exists despite the fact that the Party has long since launched the slogan, "Let us not leave

even an inch of land uncultivated!" We must immediately correct this defect.

Land should be positively improved, and none of it wasted. The county agricultural cooperative management committees should make an analysis of soil fertility and the composition of each layer. The agricultural cooperatives should have side and cross-sectional views of each plot of land and make models of the layers of each plot so that it can be considered directly in its natural state. And they should have a table of soil analysis for each plot of land. Projected land improvement should be carried out on the basis of these scientific data.

Efficient land improvement will put an end to sterile land. We have a time-honoured maxim that there is no bad land for a good peasant, and this should be an important principle for our peasants today. Wet land should be drained by digging trenches, and dry land should be irrigated. Slaked lime should be applied to highly acid soil, and sterile land should be made fertile by abundant manuring and the spreading of new soil.

In addition, the readjustment of fields should be done properly. A good readjustment of fields creates favourable conditions for mechanization and makes it possible to utilize the land more effectively. At present we do not farm small plots as we did in the days of private peasant economy. Since all the rural economy has been cooperativized, we can alter the divisions between fields as much as we want to by removing unnecessary ridges between paddy fields and between dry fields, thereby increasing the utilization rate of land remarkably.

Land reclamation should also be undertaken in those areas which have extra manpower, machines and so forth, simultaneously with both land improvement and land readjustment. But on the Ryongyon Farm and in some other areas, land has not been reclaimed though it could be done. That is wrong. You should reclaim land wherever possible, after making a detailed review of the specific conditions of your province, county and agricultural cooperative.

Next in importance is to conserve the land well. To conserve land it

is necessary to improve our rivers properly. Because you have not done so, much valuable land is washed away during every rainy season.

Stone walls and embankments should be built and ditches properly adjusted where needed to prevent the loss of even an inch of land.

Irrigation should be stepped up. We have by now carried out a great deal of irrigation work for agriculture, but even with that, it still represents no more than the major portion of the total. We must complete our irrigation work by pushing it ahead more actively.

The principal defect in the irrigation work of South Hwanghae Province in the last period was to have started too many projects. One who begins projects and does not know how to finish them cannot be called a competent official. By nature, a revolutionary does not overreach himself, but organizes his work according to his capabilities and finishes one thing at a time.

Whatever you do, you should finish projects one by one. Communists should do this both when they fight the enemy and when they struggle with nature.

Last year alone, however, you started as many as 189 projects without correctly reckoning your own ability. As a result, 128 projects still remain unfinished. It is said that at present the irrigation system covers 183,000 hectares of rice paddies and dry fields in South Hwanghae Province as a whole, but the real figure is no more than 122,000 hectares, because you have also counted the unfinished projects. You should not disperse your resources in an attempt to complete all the 128 unfinished projects at the same time, but concentrate on a few projects and, when these are completed, finish the rest, one by one.

It is very important to manage and use our existing irrigation facilities properly, as it is also important to build new ones. At present, however, a big defect is that our existing irrigation facilities are not maintained or improved properly and the river-dikes are not properly protected. In some areas not only are irrigation facilities in disrepair, but even the turf that covered the river-dikes has been dug up and carted away in order, they say, to carpet the fields with new soil. This

grave error would not have taken place if our leading agricultural officials had paid some attention to the administration of the irrigation facilities. They should pay great attention to the improvement and repair of our irrigation facilities and to ensuring their better utilization.

Furthermore, water control should be effected properly. Water control holds a very important place in the organization of production in the rural economy. Nevertheless, you have failed to conduct water control properly. While crops do not grow well for lack of water in one place, water is wasted in another place. It is necessary to take thoroughgoing measures against the wasting of water, to constantly explore water resources and to establish the principle of using the same water more than once.

Next, the mechanization of agriculture should be stepped up more vigorously. To raise the level of agricultural mechanization, it is necessary, first of all, to increase the number of tractors and trucks. It is impossible to supply more than 200 tractors and trucks to South Hwanghae Province before the ploughing season this year, but more tractors and trucks will be provided in the second half of the year to ensure good farming next year.

It is of no use simply to have a large number of farm machines. What is important is to make more and better use of them. In South Hwanghae Province the rate of utilization of tractors was no more than 73 per cent last year. This means that an average of 270 tractors stood idle every day in the province. This is the same as saying that the farm machine stations of three counties did no work for one year.

The utilization rate of tractors should be raised radically. For this purpose, enough spare parts for three months' use should be secured, and a strict system of checking and repairing tractors in good time should be operated, in accordance with the decisions of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. In regard to the reserves of spare parts for tractors in South Hwanghae Province, I see that only 213 kinds out of the 386 required have been secured, and no more than 22,000 pieces, or 3.8 per cent, of the required number of 582,000, are kept in store. The Ministry of Agriculture should rapidly take measures

to remedy this state of affairs, and the provincial Party committee, too, should concern itself with this matter.

The farm-machine repair stations should improve their maintenance and repair of tractors so that ploughing can be done on time. The production of various kinds of trailer machines should be increased, to make better use of our tractors.

Machines should be used to plant and weed; some rice fields should be harvested with the help of machines and threshing should also be mechanized. Although it is impossible to mechanize the planting of all dry field crops this year, you should now make definite preparations for doing so next year. Only by increasing the mechanization of agriculture is it possible to relieve our peasants from heavy toil and guarantee the all-round development of agricultural production by transferring the labour force released by mechanization to those activities which have not yet been mechanized.

Along with up-to-date farm machines, animal-drawn farm machines and all types of medium and small farming implements should be used effectively. In our country, farming cannot be done with large-sized machines alone, because intensive methods are employed in farming and, especially because there are many slopes and rice paddies. There is no other way but to use medium- and small-sized farm implements in the mountainous areas until farm machines suitable for mountain slopes are manufactured in the future. With the rice-transplanting still not mechanized and with inter-cropping and mixed cropping widespread, we must still use animal-drawn weeders and other medium and small farm implements. Ox carts should also be used widely for carting until the fuel problem is solved completely.

It is therefore wrong to abandon ox carts or to fail to provide sufficient medium and small farm implements on the pretext that the number of tractors and trucks is increasing. It is said that in certain places ox carts are not purchased because more trucks and tractors are being supplied. This is a gross mistake. In Jaeryong County, each agricultural cooperative has only seven ox carts but an average of 70

head of oxen. This means only one cart for every ten oxen. Sohae-ri in Ongjin County has 88 head of oxen, but only 33 oxcarts and 23 cultivators. The quantity of farm implements secured by workteam No. 6 of Obong-ri, Kangnyong County, covered only 24 per cent of their needs in oxcarts, 29 per cent in pitchforks and 41 per cent in rakes.

The following table shows the result of an investigation of the farm implements in possession of workteam No. 15 of Sowon-ri, Pyoksong County:

Farm implements	Number needed	Number secured	Broken	Fit to use	Remarks
Small ploughs	8	6	4	2	
Harrows	9	9	6	3	
Manual weeders	21	21	3	18	
Improved small hoes	25	19	18	1	
Rakes	48	39	23	16	
Hoes	28	16	12	4	
Weeding ploughs	2	—	—	—	

These examples of a few agricultural cooperatives show that medium and small farm implements are very much neglected. This is a very serious mistake. The need for securing an adequate number of medium and small farm implements was already pointed out in strong terms in the course of our guidance of Chongsan-ri in 1960. However, it seems that the Chongsanri spirit has been clean forgotten today, two years later.

Without medium and small farm implements, we cannot farm. You should take into consideration more adequately the actual conditions of our country. If you think it still necessary to use draught animals and medium and small farm implements, you should not only rely on large

farm machines alone, but should naturally see to it that medium and small ones are available.

One of the important tasks in the management of the rural economy is to create sources of manure. At present, this work has been very inadequate in our agricultural cooperatives. Good land and good machines alone are not enough to bring about high yields. True, they are necessary for good farming, but it is also important to have abundant fertilizer, which will make even poor land yield a rich harvest. Therefore, a more active struggle should be waged to secure sources of manure.

It is necessary, above all, to make energetic efforts to see that there is no peasant household without livestock. Therefore, we should launch a campaign for every peasant household to raise two hogs. Hog raising is very important not only for producing meat but also as a source of manure.

It is also of great importance in increasing the peasants' income. If a pig is worth 100 *won* on an average, two pigs will be worth 200 *won*. This represents a big income. If fabrics cost three *won* a metre, 200 *won* is enough to buy over 60 metres.

At present, however, efforts to see that there is no peasant household in South Hwanghae Province without livestock have been unsatisfactory. The ratio of stockless peasant households is 24 per cent in the city of Haeju, 31 per cent in Pyoksong County, 41 per cent in Kangnyong County, 36 per cent in Ongjin County, 22 per cent in Thaethan County, 18 per cent in Jangyon County, 42 per cent in Unnyul County, 46 per cent in Unchon County, 49 per cent in Anak County, 40 per cent in Paechon County, 30 per cent in Yonan County and 41 per cent in Chongdan County. Of course, these percentages in themselves do not tell the whole story. It is impossible to ascertain from these figures whether peasant families have one or two hogs each.

At any rate, the existence of a large number of farm households without domestic animals means that you still have not made a serious effort to produce manure. Our experience shows that 20 tons of manure can be obtained a year by mixing the dung of one pig with slaked lime

or soil. Therefore, each farm household can produce as much as 40 tons of organic mineral fertilizer if it raises two hogs for the whole year. This is a big figure. We should get this fact known widely among our peasants and encourage such useful activity. There should be no stockless peasant households in the near future.

Furthermore, in order to secure a source of manure in the plains, peat should be rotted and used as manure, even though it is also important to use it as fuel. Straw should not be used for other purposes but should be allowed to decompose and then be spread over the paddy fields. For more straw to be used as manure, we should make as few straw sacks as possible and build more tile-roofed houses so that straw need not be used for roofs. We should also solve the fuel problem in order to prevent straw from being used as fuel. For this, it would be a good idea to set up local fuel depots, peat-winning and coal-mining enterprises. Peat winning should be further developed and firewood or coal should be supplied by the state to areas far from the mountains.

To produce plenty of manure, grass should be harvested in large quantities. A vigorous grass-cutting drive should be launched in the summer, particularly in the mountain areas. They were able to apply large quantities of manure in South Phyongan Province last year because much grass was cut in the summer. Yet in the summer, when the grass is long, you do not do anything with it, but when winter sets in you proceed to cut grass, so it is only natural that things do not go well.

I think we should stop collecting silt and humus soil for the time being. Their sources have been exhausted because the river beds have been scraped for three years. It would be good to allow some time for natural erosion to take its course, and only then begin collecting again.

The province and the counties should always have a correct understanding of the state of manure production and should control this sector. The management board chairmen who neglect grass harvesting should be criticized and a positive effort should be made to publicize examples of cooperative members who have been active in manure production.

Last year we criticized the officials of South Phyongan Province for their poor work as regards grass harvesting. After the criticism their work improved. As I always say, criticism is like getting a person to wash his own face. When a child will not wash his face, his parents should do it for him even if he is unwilling.

When we made the officials of South Phyongan Province wash their faces last year, we thought that those in South Hwanghae Province would also be encouraged to wash their faces, but they were not. As a result, no improvement was made in this province, while things went well in South Phyongan Province. This year we have given advice in advance, so you should willingly and energetically push ahead with the work of grass harvesting.

Manure production, too, will be successful if you work as persistently as Comrades Jon Phil Nyo and Ri Sin Ja. There must be activists like them in every cooperative. There is no reason why there should not be such persons among the hundreds and thousands of cooperative members. If the managerial personnel work well with the people, they will be able to locate these comrades. Once the example of these activists is popularized, a great increase will undoubtedly take place in manure production, too.

Chemical fertilizer should be also used more effectively while manure is turned out in large quantities. At present, our country ranks rather high among the socialist countries in the amount of chemical fertilizer it applies. But although we apply a large amount of chemical fertilizer, the results we achieve are not as good as those of other countries. Now that the county agricultural cooperative management committee has been organized, soil analysis should be carried out and technical guidance should be given correctly, so that the optimum use can be made of chemical fertilizer.

Furthermore, it is necessary to intensify our control over the consumption of electric power in the countryside.

Still now, enough stress is not being put on the problem of economizing electric power in the field of agriculture, though this problem is being seriously discussed in the sphere of industry. Many

agricultural cooperatives are still using 20-hp pumping machines where 10-hp pumps would serve the purpose. Though electric power equivalent to 10 hp is being wasted here, no one feels concerned at it. This is probably because no one is responsible for the administration and supervision of electric power consumption in the countryside.

You keep on asking now for more high-voltage cables while at the same time you waste much electric power. High-voltage cables should indeed be laid in the future in order to expand electrification, but under present conditions they are not necessary. We should launch a vigorous campaign to make effective use of the existing transformers and electric motors and to economize electric power. The county agricultural cooperative management committees should make a general examination of the use of power for our irrigation facilities and for farm machines, including threshers, and should strengthen control over power consumption.

A mass drive should be launched to produce power locally by installing small dynamos wherever there is flowing water, in accordance with the decisions of last year's December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

To proceed, our seed improvement work should also be stepped up.

Seed improvement is of great importance in raising the per-hectare yield of grain. I have also heard, during my present visit to South Hwanghae Province, that improved seeds increase output markedly. With seed improvement plus proper introduction of cold-bed rice seedlings, grain output can be raised quite easily by several per cent. In order to achieve seed improvement, it is necessary to choose suitable locations and to carry on the work of seed production correctly.

Effective labour management is of great importance in running the rural economy. Labour management is one of the important tasks of the county agricultural cooperative management committee. The agricultural cooperatives should, first of all, organize and utilize the manpower of each workteam in a rational way. Each workteam should correctly understand the objectives of its work and should allocate its labour force accordingly. The physical strength of people, their sex,

skills, etc., should be taken into account in the allocation of manpower. Men's jobs should not be assigned to women and vice versa. More often than not men loiter about with notebooks under their arms with the excuse of being some sort of "boss" and hard jobs are assigned to women. A resolute struggle should be waged against this practice.

At the same time, we should continue to fight against the practice whereby some agricultural cooperatives disperse their labour force instead of concentrating it on farming. According to reports, there are still as many as 70 to 80 working people assigned to the stock farming team at a certain agricultural cooperative. At this rate, there can never be good results in farming. This is what happened before. Passing through Chongdan County, when rice-transplanting was at its height, I found there was such a shortage of labour that people were overworked on one hand, while, on the other, as many as 27 persons were engaged in tile-making. While always complaining to the central authority about the labour shortage, you are still misusing labour in this way. Since farming is seasonal work which cannot be postponed, a more determined struggle should be waged against the practice of dispersing our labour force.

Management personnel should be barred from transferring the rural labour force at their discretion. No one is allowed, as in the case of the state labour force, to freely transfer the manpower of the agricultural cooperatives, once it has been allocated. The chairman of a cooperative has no right to transfer the manpower of the workteams as he likes. If the manpower of a workteam is divided and diverted to different jobs, that workteam cannot do the job assigned to it. The cooperatives, therefore, should allocate manpower to their workteams after a careful examination and, once they have been allocated, should not move them to other jobs.

The labour force of the agricultural cooperatives should not be mobilized for construction or for any other work. In future, housing construction in the countryside can be carried on with the labour force of the rural construction corps. Neither should the manpower of the workteam be used for other non-farming tasks. The manpower section

of the county agricultural cooperative management committee should assume responsibility for this matter and strengthen its control over it.

Another important thing in labour management is to establish strict labour administrative discipline in the agricultural cooperatives. It is necessary, first of all, to fix work norms properly. Only then can the socialist principle of distribution be strictly observed. Each agricultural cooperative should fix work norms correctly and should maintain rigid discipline in ensuring compliance with them.

Furthermore, the democratic principle of management should be thoroughly observed at the agricultural cooperatives. The management board of an agricultural cooperative should keep the cooperative members in the picture and should hold discussions with them. All the cooperative members should be informed of the monthly expenditure of funds and seeds, and all problems arising in running the cooperative should be dealt with according to democratic principles of management. The county agricultural cooperative management committee should exercise control over each agricultural cooperative so that it will strictly abide by these principles.

The agricultural cooperative management board should not retain possession of any grain, except seed and fodder grain. It must not dispose of even a gramme of rice at will. A cooperative chairman is authorized to direct farming operations, but he has no right to dispose of rice at his discretion. The general meeting of the cooperative membership alone has the right to dispose of rice.

The peasants now produce grain and set aside what they need for provisions, and they are willing to sell the remainder to the state. However, there have been many cases of management personnel who have intervened and disposed of the grain at will, without delivering it to the state or distributing it to the cooperative members. We should wage a relentless struggle against this practice. Cooperative members should set aside grain for food and should sell all the remainder to the state.

At the agricultural cooperatives, an end must be put to the practice of retaining grain under the heading of seed grain, not delivering it to the state, and disposing of it illicitly. It seems advisable to establish in

the future a system under which the state will select good seeds, sterilize and store them and then distribute them. The Party organizations and the leading workers in agriculture should exercise rigid control over the management boards of agricultural cooperatives to prevent them from freely disposing of grain.

The provincial people's committee and the county agricultural cooperative management committees should concentrate all their efforts on farming. Since the county agricultural cooperative management committees are starting their work from scratch, it is necessary for them to establish the practice of going out and giving on-the-spot guidance right from the start. Because agriculture is also a technical process, the county agricultural cooperative management committees should give technical advice for the farming operations of the cooperatives and should provide responsible direction in all processes of production.

The immediate task now confronting workers in the field of agriculture is to concentrate all forces of the cooperatives on preparations for farming, such as spreading new soil over the fields, carting out manure, selecting seeds, preparing rice-seedling beds and repairing tractors and farm machines. At the same time, all available forces in the province should be mobilized to help farm work. In the summer, government employees and local industrial workers in the province should also be mobilized for farm work.

The Party organizations and the leading workers in agriculture in South Hwanghae Province should consolidate the successes they have already had and should help the backward agricultural cooperatives, thereby raising all the cooperatives to the level of the advanced ones as soon as possible. Thus, victory should be won in the movement for the creation of "100,000-ton counties", "70,000-ton counties", "50,000-ton counties", and "30,000-ton counties" in grain production.

Yonan County has been striving to become a "100,000-ton county" for three years now; it should attain this goal without fail this year. Paechon County, too, should energetically strive to win the honour of a "100,000-ton county" this year.

Comrades, today almost all the peasants in South Hwanghae Province eat rice. Factory and office workers, however, still eat rice and riced corn—half and half—for their meals. We are going to make sure that everyone can live on rice in the next few years. Therefore, we must increase the per-hectare yields of the existing rice paddies and also plant more dry land rice for next year by laying aside a sufficient amount of seed this year. Only when we produce more rice so that everyone can live on it, will we be able to say that our living standards are high.

In conclusion, I would like to express my confidence that all Party members, cooperative members, Democratic Youth League members, tractor drivers, technicians in the countryside and all the management personnel of the agricultural cooperatives in the province will successfully fulfil the tasks confronting the rural economy in South Hwanghae Province this year and contribute greatly to the development of agriculture in our country and improvement of the people's living standards by waging a devoted struggle to carry out our Party's agricultural policy.

ON IMPROVING THE CONTROL OF FINANCIAL AND BANKING INSTITUTIONS OVER THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIALIST ENTERPRISES

**Concluding Speech at the First Plenary Meeting
of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

February 12, 1962

Financial and banking institutions must play their role properly in order to implement the state budget correctly.

It would be a great mistake if they should consider that all that their duty requires is to sum up and balance the budget. They must naturally control and inspect all bodies and enterprises in the national economy at all times, so as to ensure that these establishments implement the budget accurately and use state funds appropriately. Tightened control by financial and banking institutions is all the more important in view of the fact that we have no state auditing body.

But their activity in the field of inspection and control is at present very weak. As a result, financial discipline is lax, and serious shortcomings are being revealed in the carrying out of the budget.

The most serious defect in this regard is the careless handling of bank loans.

At present the Construction Fund Bank gives money as they request to construction agencies and enterprises, without even paying heed to whether they actually carry out their construction projects or not. Because the bank thus disburses building funds without any control or prudence, more and more projects are regularly left unfinished and

carried forward from year to year. South Hwanghae Province did not complete 128 of their irrigation projects last year alone, and yet they say they are going to set about new ones again this year. We can see this practice everywhere. In the field of capital construction, for instance, the number of projects which have been carried over by now, without being reported to the Cabinet, far exceeds our prediction; the total amount of funds involved in these projects is said to be as much as 8,100 million *won*.

Of course, the Heavy Industry and Light Industry Commissions and the ministries which are directly in charge of capital construction must be held responsible for the failure to carry out construction projects and for the continued practice of launching many new projects without finishing those under way. But the Construction Fund Bank must bear a big share of this responsibility.

If this bank tightened its control of capital construction in such a way that building enterprises would be short of funds and find it impossible to pay wages when they fail to fulfil their capital-construction plans, those building workers themselves would strive to finish all their projects, the number of those left unfinished would decrease and not so many would be carried over as they are now. But not only does the bank not control the progress of projects; it gives the enterprises money as much as they want! As a result, officials in the construction section do not consider it serious to leave several projects unfinished, and they continue to launch numerous new ones.

The main cause of leaving so many structures half-finished is that the programming of the construction project itself is not right. At present many structures are near completion but are left unfinished for lack of pipes or electric cables. In cases where the scientific estimate of the quantities of materials and the labour force required for a particular structure is considered to be impossible, the structure in question should not be included in the project. The date of completion of every structure forming part of a project must be stated explicitly. But they are now planning construction carelessly and without scientific estimates, so that they have to give up many projects halfway on

account of a shortage of materials or equipment. Sometimes they even build houses where they are not sited in the master plan, and then they have to pull them down, wasting a huge amount of materials and funds and keeping them out of use.

The Construction Fund Bank ought to examine building programmes carefully and refuse to finance any project which has not been scientifically worked out. This is the attitude a state treasury must take to fulfil its duty and abide by the law of the state. But the Construction Fund Bank is not taking the right attitude at the moment.

The Central Bank, too, is handling the supply of funds without prudence. It is almost totally neglecting the financial control of the management of factories and enterprises; it is supplying them with all the money they want, even without enquiring as to how much unfinished and semi-finished goods are piled up there, thus freezing a large sum of state funds.

The warehouse of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant is now piled up with many unfinished transformers and motors. They took much effort, silicon sheet steel, insulators and copper wire. And they are taking up much storage space. Thus millions of *won* of state funds are kept out of use. If a capitalist had worked in this way, he would have gone bankrupt a long time ago.

This shortcoming is due mainly to the fact that production was organized in a slipshod manner at the factory, without any regard to whether or not there are enough materials and component parts for the manufacture of the transformers and motors. The result is that nearly finished transformers and motors are piled up but cannot be assembled because of the lack of a few small parts like a bearing.

The financial and banking institutions must flatly refuse to give loans to factories and other enterprises if the latter have piles of unfinished and semi-finished goods. This is the way to prevent state funds from being rendered idle and stimulate enterprises to quicken the turnover of funds. But now the banks do not exercise any control over the amount of unfinished and semi-finished goods which are stacked in factories and enterprises. In consequence, factories and enterprises are

not trying to rationalize economic management, and financial discipline is becoming lax. Banks are neglecting control to such an extent that they do not even know how much state funds are simply lying idle in different sectors of the national economy.

Serious shortcomings are also revealed in the making of loans to agricultural cooperatives.

The Central Bank is careless enough to make advances to cooperatives through purchasing agencies, while knowing nothing about the fulfilment of the purchasing plans of these cooperatives. As we found out, the Roam Agricultural Cooperative in Anak County has not implemented its purchasing plans for several years, but they receive advances from the bank every year. The money given them in advance for purchase and subsequently misused amounts to 1.2 million *won*. Now they want to be exempted from the payment of such a large debt to the state! The debt, which is due to such misuse, simply cannot be written off. Frankly speaking, this cooperative is not in such a state that it cannot afford to honour the purchasing contracts into which it has entered. A mountainous region like Changsong might suffer crop failures because of sterile land or washout by frequent floods. But the land is not sterile, nor is the weather all that bad at the Roam Agricultural Cooperative. If the officials organized work properly in these conditions, they would be able to meet their contractual obligations for the purchases they make, and live as well as others. But the bank's reckless habit of giving loans encouraged the cooperative to think of simply living on state loans, instead of improving economic management. At present some agricultural cooperatives in mountainous regions are not flourishing, and it seems to me that this, too, is due mainly to the bank's attitude of loaning cooperatives as much money as they want, and without exercising any control. Now things have come to such a pass that cooperative members can borrow money just to dress their children well and do anything else they like, without even going to work. They have no incentive to work hard and are always being obliged to get into debt. The result is that their cooperative is not flourishing and, in the long run, they find themselves

in such bad circumstances that the state has to exempt them from the repayment of the loans.

It is wrong for the Ministry of Finance not to scrutinize applications for loans. But it is still worse that every year the bank makes further advances to the cooperatives despite their failure to honour their contractual obligations.

Now the financial and banking institutions neither handle the supply of funds with prudence, nor take energetic action to combat violations of financial discipline such as misusing state funds for purposes other than those specified, or simply wasting them.

This practice continues, due to weak control on the part of financial and banking institutions. Many state organs and enterprises spend on other purposes the funds allotted for repairing buildings. At present many houses with leaking roofs and broken windows are not repaired. This is not due to lack of money for this purpose. Recently we found out in South Hwanghae Province that they have quite a large sum of money for the repair of houses. But they misuse this money. In Sinchon County, the money allocated for the repair of schools was spent on building a hotel. While behaving in this fashion, the officials of the province and the county flatly reject the request of school masters to have their schools repaired, on the plea that this is not included in the budget. So the latter must be discontented, even though they do not speak out openly.

What is the use of continuing to build new houses instead of repairing the existing ones which are becoming unusable? It is wrong to build a hotel, which they can dispense with just now, with the funds intended for repairing schools when their roofs are leaking and the wind blows through their broken windows.

It is not only in the case of the money intended for housing repairs having been spent for other purposes that the misuse of funds has come to light. Some factories used for the manufacture of other machines steel which was allocated for making spare parts, thereby causing tractors, trucks and many other vehicles and equipment not to give the service they should, because of a shortage of spare parts; and wood

intended for oxcarts is utilized for building houses or for other purposes. Such arbitrary misappropriation of state funds and materials for purposes other than those prescribed in the plan, on the part of state organs and enterprises, causes terrible confusion in the functioning of the national economic plan.

All this is mainly due to the failure of the financial and banking institutions to strongly combat the misuse of funds. They should put an end to this practice. When a certain enterprise intends to erect a building without permission, these institutions should examine where it proposes to find the money and materials, and they should make the strongest objections if the enterprise violates financial discipline. As a matter of fact, nobody can misappropriate money without being noticed by the financial and banking institutions. After all, money is misappropriated because some people who handle it loan it. Nobody would be able to do this if the financial and banking institutions strictly prevent violations of financial discipline and do not loan money other than for an approved purpose.

Even if a county people's committee chairman wants to misappropriate the money, he would not be able to do so in violation of the law if the officials of the financial department said, "We can't do so, because advancing money for that purpose runs counter to the state law." Even if a county or a provincial people's committee chairman should try to administratively force them to collaborate in the misappropriation of funds, they should prevent this either by criticizing him at Party meetings or by reporting this to superior bodies.

However, the officials of financial institutions are now conniving at these practices instead of determinedly combatting them. Having violated financial discipline in this way, they then say at Party meetings that it should be tightened. So, I cannot understand to whom their stricture is addressed.

Now funds are wasted everywhere owing to weakened financial control. In the field of literature and art they even demand a new dancing costume although the existing one is good for some more

wear. They throw away their stage scenery after using it only once even though it can be used several times. Such practices would probably not have been conceivable in the past when the theatre was run by individuals. However, officials in this sector feel no remorse of conscience for their carelessness in the use of state property. All this is an expression of obsolete bourgeois ideology.

Wasteful practices are also found in labour administration. Weakened control of wage-payment has enabled quite a few factories and enterprises to divert workers on productive jobs to amateur art or sporting activities during work hours at full pay, as if they were full-time artists. They even pay those who do not show up for work. A man in the literary and art sector worked only 160 days a year on the plea of illness, but he was nevertheless given full pay. The economic life of our socialist society will not go well if state money is recklessly given to such an idler.

Workers in the financial field should feel a great sense of responsibility not only for the waste of a tremendous amount of state money owing to their failure in control, which is their immediate task, but also for the negative influence they exert as regards fostering a spirit of industry among the people.

A glaring example of weakened financial control and loose financial discipline is found in the fact that quite a few factories and enterprises fail to conform to the state budget and suffer a business loss.

The number of such enterprises is decreasing every year, but there is still a large number of them.

Business loss is inconceivable for socialist enterprises. It should happen only in unavoidable cases like natural calamities or unforeseen contingencies. It is very shameful to have enterprises suffering business losses. Moreover, these practices should never occur in the course of the grand march of Chollima.

The financial and banking institutions should regard such a business loss as a serious problem and take strong action to put an end to it. They should submit an analysis of the economic activity of these

enterprises to the provincial people's committee or to the ministerial meeting so that these bodies can discuss the matter and take appropriate measures. If necessary, they should even submit the matter to the Cabinet. But they feel no responsibility for the business loss of enterprises and only say a few words about the need to put an end to such cases at the meeting reviewing the budget. At present, neither the managers of those enterprises which make a business loss, nor the leading officials of the management bureaus or ministries in charge of them feel any real responsibility whatever. This can only be attributed to weakened control on the part of the financial and banking institutions.

Furthermore, in their financial inspection of such enterprises, these institutions should, as a routine matter, concentrate on finding out what is irrational in their management and how to put it to right. But they are mainly concerned about finding out the cases where state funds are being embezzled.

Needless to say, they should never acquiesce in the practice of embezzling even a penny of state funds, and should exercise strict control to prevent it. Nevertheless, today this is not a major problem in the carrying out of our budget; this bad practice has virtually disappeared with the intensification of communist education among our working people. What is important now is to exercise financial control over enterprises so that they will properly manage themselves as part of a socialist economy. Hundreds and thousands of millions of *won* depend precisely on whether this control is effected properly or not.

In the past, the budget of our country was implemented without confusion, and each year revenue and expenditure were balanced. That is a fact. However, this does not mean that the financial and banking institutions have operated properly. It was because our working people overfulfilled the national economic plan, so as to implement the budgetary revenue admirably. Had the financial and banking institutions performed their duties satisfactorily, the state budget would have been carried out even more creditably, and even greater

successes would have been achieved in different sectors of the national economy.

In order to rectify as soon as possible these shortcomings in the carrying out of the budget, the financial and banking institutions should radically improve their controlling function. First of all, the Ministry of Finance and the financial bureaus of the provincial people's committees should play a more active role.

Some officials of the Ministry of Finance request more staff—as if inefficient financial supervision could be put down to a shortage of personnel. They are wrong to do so. The problem does not lie there but in the failure to organize work responsibly. As a matter of fact, financial control does not require a large number of people. This work would be done well with considerably smaller outlays of manpower than the existing apparatus if only work is organized properly, so that all financial departments, including the financial bureaus of provincial people's committees, are on the alert.

Furthermore, banks should have a bigger role.

Of course, today our banks should neither wield power as in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, nor make people work only for money. Nevertheless, they should never abandon, as they are doing now, their duty to supervise.

The bank was set up as a state institution to control financially the economic activities of other institutions and enterprises. But what use is it if it only gives money to everyone who asks for it, without exercising any control, if it does not insist on the repayment of loans, and is indifferent to the misappropriation and waste of money?

The bank is not an institution whose sole function is to loan money. If that were the case, it would do to call it a money storage centre rather than a bank. But, in fact, it must be admitted that the bank does not satisfactorily perform even the role of a money centre. We must not allow such a state of affairs to continue any more. We must put the work of the bank to right as soon as possible.

As an important institution in charge of the national treasury, the bank should constantly exercise financial control so that state funds are

used most effectively for the development of the national economy, and that all state organs and enterprises properly implement the state budget.

In order to put an end to the bank's practice of recklessly loaning floating fund to enterprises and of making loans without effecting proper control, a moderate sum should be set aside as a reserve of the floating fund, and a programme of loans should be drawn up after detailed examination. And that reserve should not be touched without the approval of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. It would also be advisable to re-examine the limit of the floating fund, so as to keep it within moderate bounds.

The careless loaning of state funds on the part of the bank causes the freezing and waste of an enormous sum of money. This is mainly due to the poor professional qualifications of bank staffs. We should pay close attention to improving their qualifications, and see to it that they receive sound economic instruction as to how they should discharge their controlling function in a socialist society.

Furthermore, each institution and enterprise should take energetic action to ensure strict implementation of the state budget and compliance with financial discipline.

Strengthening the controlling role of the financial and banking institutions is important. But it is even more important that those institutions and enterprises which are direct executors of the state budget, should intensify their efforts to ensure the correct execution of the budget and that they should conscientiously observe financial discipline.

As the basic financial programme of the state, the budget is an item of national legislation which provides for the economic life of the country as a whole. No one is allowed to revise it at will, and everyone is in duty bound to comply with it. Negligence in carrying out the state budget, or the slightest violation of financial discipline, is nothing other than a criminal act in violation of the laws of the state.

All institutions and enterprises should have a high sense of responsibility for the implementation of the state budget and should

take energetic action against any violation of financial discipline. Leading officials of ministries and management bureaus should pay close attention to the financial activities of enterprises, and should wage a determined fight against practices such as wasting valuable materials which are the property of the state or the making of inflated wage-payments.

In particular, they must strengthen their supervision of those enterprises which have incurred business losses, and they must organize the operation of such enterprises meticulously so as to put an end to such losses at the earliest date possible.

All management staff in factories and enterprises must direct their foremost attention to the implementation of the state budget, and must strive to carry it out without fail, and under all circumstances, by constantly improving their economic activities for the greater benefit of the state.

Furthermore, power organs should improve the guidance they give for the work of the financial and banking sector.

Our officials are not at present inclined to handle financial problems, and completely neglect to examine such matters. Apparently they seem to regard it as a difficult field. They believe as if there were some other, special, people in charge of financial problems. They are mistaken. There is nothing mysterious about such problems. Ensuring that state funds are used properly is the essence of financial work.

The decisions of the Cabinet and the collected decrees already published explicitly stipulate how financial matters must be handled. The problem is that our officials do not study these decisions and decrees. It seems to me that not one of the provincial people's committee chairmen have studied the published statutes and decisions on financial matters and the duties of workers in the financial field. Such being the case, officials of the government organs cannot be familiar with financial problems, so all they can do is to leave such matters alone, even when financial and banking institutions work haphazardly and when other institutions and enterprises infringe financial discipline.

They should study the Party's policy on financial and banking operations and, on this basis, efficiently guide the work of our financial institutions.

Being government organs, the provincial and county people's committees are in duty bound to direct and control the implementation of the state budget on the part of the institutions and enterprises in their respective districts. From now on, the provincial people's assembly should regularly have a detailed discussion on financial matters, once a month or once a quarter. The assembly can get the officials of the financial bureau of the provincial people's committee to carry out intensive inspection of a particular enterprise or construction agency, and discuss the facts which are thus brought to light. It can also discuss the measures needed to strengthen financial discipline in the province as a whole. If this work is conducted regularly, we will be able quickly to check violations of financial discipline.

Along with this, we should review in detail the implementation of the state budget. The current meeting has concluded that there has been a balance between revenue and expenditure in last year's state budget. That cannot be a complete review: the review of the implementation of the budget will be complete only when the implementation of the national economic plan is reviewed. In the future, the review of financial operations must go hand in hand with the review of the implementation of the national economic plan. Only then will we be able to spot correctly the negative facts as regards the use of funds. This time we have discovered that many projects are left unfinished and carried forward to the following period, that unfinished goods are piled up in factories, and that misappropriations and waste of money are rampant. Had the Ministry of Finance and the State Planning Commission reviewed and checked on these matters at the right time, these things would never have happened.

All Party organizations should pay proper attention to the carrying out of the budget. They should improve their guidance, so that all the leading workers and the working people wage an energetic struggle to ensure the implementation of the state budget, come what may, and

strictly observe financial discipline by considering it a great disgrace and a crime to do otherwise.

The state budget for this year makes provision for some reserve. And the budgets of all sectors of the national economy, as well as the local budgets, seem to be in order. What matters now is that they be carried out. All financial and banking and other institutions, enterprises, government organs and Party bodies should be mobilized to make energetic efforts to carry out this year's tight budget.

FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF THE GOAL OF 800,000 TONS OF SEAFOOD

**Speech at a National Meeting of Activists
in the Fishing Industry**
February 14, 1962

Comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I would like first to extend warm thanks to our fishery workers who are heroically struggling to implement our Party's policy on fishing, despite every hardship, and especially to all our members of the Workers' Party and the Democratic Youth League in the fishery sector, including captains and crew members, workers engaged in aquaculture, seafood-processing workers, workers and technicians at ship repair yards and dockyards, and fishery cooperative members.

Particularly I offer my thanks to those who have moved us so deeply with their outstanding labour feats—Comrade Kim Hak Sun, captain of a trawler at the Chongjin Fishing Station, Comrade Pak Han Jae, captain at the Sinpho Fishing Station, Comrade Ryu Myong Ho, captain at the Ryongampho Fishing Station, Comrade Kim Tok Mo, captain at the Chongjin Fishing Station, Comrade Kim Pyong Suk, lady captain of the women's crew at the Nampho Fishing Station, Comrades Kim Yong Man and Nam Jong Hwan, chief engineer and fisherman at the Yanghwa Fishing Station, Comrade Jang Kum Sil, lady captain of the women's crew at the Ryongampho Fishing Station,

and Comrade Ju Chun Nyo, lady captain of the women's crew at the Mundok Fishing Station.

These comrades are exemplary sons and daughters of the Party who have fought heroically, devoting their all to the implementation of Party policy. The Party Central Committee greatly appreciates their merits.

Since the Meeting of Active Party Members in the Fishing Sector of Kangwon Province in 1959, large numbers of ex-servicemen and young people have gone to work at sea in response to the Party's call, and have brought about a radical change in the fishing industry.

Our fishing industry is now more active and energetic than ever before, and has prepared solid foundations for the efficient discharge of the tasks which have been assigned to it by the Party. I am very satisfied with the fact that large numbers of ex-servicemen and young people have gone to work at sea and have achieved great things in this sector through their heroic struggle to develop our fishing industry. Now we have 40 vessels which are crewed by girls of seventeen or eighteen. This is a wonderful thing, unprecedented in the history of our country, and we are very proud of it. It is vivid demonstration of the brave and energetic character of our younger generation, educated by the Workers' Party. Allow me to offer my warm congratulations to all the girls of these boats.

Our fishing sector has these young men and women as its core as well as large numbers of other workers and technicians with great patriotic enthusiasm. This is one of our great successes in this sector. Workers in this sector have a very high spirit and are full of confidence in their ability to overcome any difficulty. This constitutes the most dependable asset for the development of our fishing industry.

In view of such an asset, we may say that our fishing industry has the prospect of great achievements ahead.

We have also achieved great success in implementing the Party's policy on introducing scientific fishing methods and improving the material and technical equipment of this industry. Shoal detectors are widely used, and marked progress is being made in shoal detection by

plane. Supplies of fishing implements have been markedly increased, and the level of mechanization in fishing operations has been considerably raised. In the near future, sailing boats will completely disappear and all fishing boats will be converted to motor power. Processing facilities have been considerably increased, and achievements have also been registered in aquaculture.

In the past one to two years fish landings have increased rapidly. This year we are making an effort to land 800,000 tons of seafood, whereas we caught only 360,000 tons in the pre-liberation year of 1944. According to Comrade Jang Kum Sil, lady captain of the women's crew of the Ryongampho Fishing Station, in the past the yearly catch of an angle-net boat was 40 tons at most. But last year they landed 175 tons of fish—more than double their state assignment of 74 tons. I once said that a fisherman would do well to catch five tons a year. But each of this crew landed 20 tons. The trawler captained by Comrade Kim Hak Sun at the Chongjin Fishing Station landed 4,500 tons of fish. That means 225 tons per person. I was told that in bygone days it was regarded as a great thing if they caught 1,000-2,000 tons with such a boat. So it must be said that 4,500 tons is an astounding record.

These brilliant successes in the fishing sector are attributable above all to the fact that workers in this sector discarded conservatism and empiricism and displayed a high degree of creativeness based on scientific fishing methods. In particular, they are the result of the heroic struggle of all the workers in this field, including our Party members, the members of the Democratic Youth League and ex-servicemen who, in response to the Party's call, vied with each other in going through thick and thin. These successes are also due to the great assistance of our machine-building and other heavy industries in strengthening the material and technical foundations of this sector.

We should develop our fishing industry on an extensive scale on the basis of the successes already achieved. In addition to encouraging more young people and ex-servicemen to go to work in this sector, we should supply more vessels and fishing gear, and should develop

pelagic fishing, inshore fishing, aquaculture and processing work rapidly and in a coordinated way.

You should not confine yourselves to fishing at sea, but also develop fish breeding on a big scale in the lakes and reservoirs which are to be found in all parts of our country. Thus, you should attain the goal of 1.2 million tons of marine products by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

Development of the fishing industry has great significance for the improvement of our people's well-being, and their demand for fish increases further. We should continuously wage an energetic struggle to implement the Party's policy on the fishing industry more thoroughly, and should make a point of reaching the goal of 800,000 tons of seafood this year without fail.

The first and foremost requirement for the further development of our fisheries and for the successful implementation of the tasks assigned by the Party for this sector is to build more fishing vessels. We must build many more trawlers and steam dragnet boats and, on the west coast, two-boat dragnet boats. Big trawlers and dragnet boats of more than 400 horsepower, and small fishing boats should also be built. Moreover, for pelagic fishing, you need to produce large factory vessels and big high speed transport ships capable of carrying a large volume of landings. All existing sailing boats must be motorized and, at the same time, small motorboats must be built in quantity, for use in coastal waters. In any case, we must more than double the present number of vessels.

The Party expects very much from the workers in the machine-building industry.

Great tasks are assigned to the workers of the Pukjung Machine Factory, of the dockyards at Nampho, Rajin, Chongjin and Wonsan and other ship repair yards. They must make more engines and vessels, and must also quickly develop our shipbuilding industry so that it can make modern and powerful ships.

We have a firm foundation for developing our shipbuilding industry on a large scale. Large metallurgical and powerful machine-building

centres have been built in our country. We have already built a number of vessels and thus accumulated much experience. Only a few of the vessels now in use have been imported. Equipment in our dockyards has much improved: they can build vessels of thousands of tons. If we concentrate some more effort on the shipbuilding industry, a great stride will undoubtedly be made in this sector. The Ministry of Fisheries, the Cabinet and the Party Central Committee should pay great attention to the development of this industry.

In addition, I would like to stress some problems concerning improvements in ship repair.

A low catch today is not due to any lack of fishermen's enthusiasm but mainly to failure to repair ships promptly, thus rendering it impossible for them to go out fishing for 300 days a year. Unsatisfactory ship repair is, in turn, attributable to inadequate spare engines and parts.

If you repair ships, you will know which parts wear out quickly. Therefore, you must prepare spare engines and the necessary spare parts so that you will lose no time in repairing incoming ships and sending them out to sea again.

The joint directive of the Party and the Cabinet on preparing the spare parts needed for three months in advance is not as yet carried out properly. All too often, spare parts are designed and cut only after the ship comes back. Consequently, it takes several months to repair a ship. There are 365 days in a year. But as a ship thus takes so much time to be repaired, it is left with only a little time for actual fishing.

The State Planning Commission must supply well in advance the materials needed for the manufacture of spare parts. It is clear that we cannot raise the ratio of the effective working time of a ship until it is repaired. Therefore, negligence in ensuring the timely supply of materials needed for ship repair is wrong. You must complete repair jobs within 15 to 20 days of the ship's docking. So far ship repair yards and dockyards have failed to do so. But from now on they must launch energetic action to reduce the time needed for ship repair.

What is important next is that fishermen should check, carry out

running repairs, and maintain vessels and fishing equipment better.

Fishermen's main weapons are the vessel and net. However high their enthusiasm may be, they cannot catch fish without these. Fishermen must keep their vessels and fishing implements clean, and must check and repair them on schedule as soldiers handle their arms. If vessels do not move, the navy cannot perform its duty and fight at sea. Therefore, seamen always keep their ships spick and span.

Fishermen must also treat their ships as the men in the navy treat theirs—that is, as their main weapon. Every fisherman must be at home in the use of vessels and fishing implements and, after using them, must get them ready without delay for future use.

It is advisable, in my opinion, to establish a system of onshore crews, even though the Ministry of Fisheries will have to increase its staff. The onshore crew must be ready to clean the ship, oil the engines and replace any parts necessary quickly after the ship enters, and get her ready to put to sea as soon as may be required.

We cannot charge fishermen, who come back after working hard all day long, with the task of putting the ship in order. They must be allowed to rest. The air force has people who put aircraft in order. Vessels must also have the equivalent of ground crews to put them in order and to check and repair their gear.

This will extend the life of vessels, shorten repair time and increase the proportion of time spent on actual fishing. It is advisable to make up onshore crews with competent people eligible for the post of chief engineer. The best thing to do is to select them from among those who have worked as chief engineer for a long time. Maintenance can be done only by those who are thoroughly familiar with the engine.

This system is also advantageous for ensuring that fishermen are enabled to get a rest. Some rest is indispensable for man. One must rest and gather sufficient strength if one is to succeed in a new battle. To ensure that fishermen get a rest, every department should have manpower in reserve to do a shift, in addition to setting up an onshore crew system.

It is, moreover, advisable that each vessel should have three to four

chief engineers. When one of them rests on land for a few days after fishing for a week or some ten days, another should go to sea.

The Minister of Fisheries has said that he would be able to ensure a rest for crewmen if he had 4,000 additional men. He must never fail to rest them, even if he has to increase the size of his manpower resources. He must make it a rule to rest every crewman for four or five days a month, which is tantamount to having a rest on every Sunday. It would be good if every two to three persons on a ship take it in turns to rest. Let's take an example. If you add two to a crew of eight in an angle-net boat, two of them may take their turn to rest, while there will always be eight at work at sea.

One cannot do a good job without a rest. If a captain falls ill while continuing to work without a rest, it is a big loss. It is just the same as reducing the utilization of a boat or of a machine by causing an accident through excessive use. The more important the job you are in, the more regularly you must rest.

For this reason, you need more captains and chief engineers. In addition to increasing the numbers of persons, it is important to train reserves of cadres without delay.

In order to increase the utilization of vessels, you must also mechanize unloading operations in harbours. We proposed this task long ago. This is not difficult: it can be done if you only have cranes—and you can make those even at a fishery cooperative or a ship repair yard. But you do not as yet pay serious attention to this matter. So vessels are frequently delayed in harbour, simply because of failure to unload them quickly.

You must make vigorous efforts to mechanize unloading operations in every harbour, big and small. You must see to it that unloading is completed within a matter of hours so that the ship can clear port again.

The Party now stresses the need to make more use of equipment in factories, and to utilize land better in the countryside. Likewise it sets an increase in the rate of utilization of ships as the most important task for the fishery sector. You should make every effort to raise the utilization rate of ships by a variety of measures—mechanization of

unloading operations, repair of ships and their regular maintenance, and organization of reasonable rest for the crewmen.

What is next important is to improve the provision of supplies for the fishermen. The managers of fishery stations, management board chairmen of fishermen's cooperatives, and workers of state institutions directing the fishery sector, should ensure adequate supplies of materials and see to it that the supply service functions efficiently, so that the fishermen will be able to implement successfully their plans for output. If you fail to transport landings in time, supply salt, fuel and machine parts at the right time, provide the crewmen with non-staple foodstuffs and rest and to carry out other supply and service work satisfactorily, you cannot raise the utilization rate of a ship and increase the number of days it is out fishing.

In her speech, a cultivator from Ongjin said that she let a multitude of laver float away because she was not provided with straw ropes when required. That is a very wrong situation. Although she had taken great trouble to cultivate them by removing the ice, her labour was in vain for want of straw ropes. Who is to blame? It is the leading officials. If a manager is incapable of supplying straw ropes, how can he claim to be eligible for his post? The manager should not just loaf around with his hands in his pockets, or simply issue memos and order people about, like a taskmaster. Whoever is indifferent to and does not try to solve the difficulties of his subordinates is not qualified to be a manager or the chairman of a management board.

Some time ago South Hamgyong Province landed large quantities of sandfish. But they had run out of salt, and provincial officials made great play of coming as far as the capital and hurriedly going back with 200 tons of salt by special train. The Fishery Management Bureau of South Hamgyong Province should have had the salt ready in advance, knowing that it would be needed whenever plenty of sandfish was landed. It is absurd for the bureau to have made all that fuss in connection with those 200 tons of salt.

When I went to the Nampho Fishing Station on one occasion, I called to see Comrade Kim Pyong Suk's ship and found it was delayed

in harbour because the catch had not been unloaded. I saw another ship at anchor, so I asked the reason and found that it had been staying there for three days because their landings had not been discharged, and that in any case they could not put to sea for want of water and salt. I learned that this station had neither water supply facilities nor a stock of salt. So the crewmen were compelled to unload the catch, draw water, get rice and go about the town to buy vegetables—all by themselves. The manager of this station, however, was just gadding about with his hands in his pockets. We do not want such a loafer. He became manager not because he was born under a lucky star nor because he had well chosen sites for his forefathers' graves. We appointed him as manager so that he would manage the work properly. What use is a manager if he neglects his work?

The methods of managerial personnel have, in fact, improved somewhat. For all that, I think that in many places there must be difficulties because of a shortage of straw rope and salt. If we were to talk with you all for about a day, we would no doubt find out many shortcomings.

What is important in guidance is to ensure efficiency in planning, technical direction, the supply of materials, the distribution of manpower and in the supply services. In a nutshell, guidance implies working out a detailed plan, constantly supervising its implementation and ensuring that the necessary materials and manpower are supplied. Simply giving orders to subordinates and putting pressure on them to carry them out is not guidance. The main task of managers and chief engineers is to give technical assistance to their subordinates and ensure them all the requisite conditions so that they will be able to do their work well. Captains and fishermen have the right to demand that the manager provide them with good working conditions.

Those managers who do not have as yet a clear understanding of Party policy and rely on outdated methods of work must be severely criticized by their subordinates.

If you make effective use of the existing vessels, you will be able to land much more fish than at present. Things get stuck because

managerial officials are inefficient in the provision of supplies. Vessels still do not go regularly to sea. And even when they go out, in many cases they come back with a poor catch because of a shortage of salt and fuel, or because they have broken down.

If we are to catch more fish by making greater use of our vessels and other existing equipment and materials, we must raise the quality of leadership of our managerial personnel.

I would like to make a few more remarks on the role of our senior officials in providing good working conditions.

As all of you know, before liberation, people gutted pollack and processed them in the open air. It is not a simple job to gut pollack in the open air, because large quantities of them are landed during the coldest days of the winter. The Japanese did not care whether Koreans felt cold, for they had no regard for us. But now we will not tolerate such conditions. If you build even a simple processing plant, the workers will be able to work in a warm environment. Why, then, do you make them suffer from cold winds outside? They cannot gut properly while shivering from cold. Because of such poor processing conditions, we have only a small output of pickled roe and entrails, although we catch plenty of pollack. We have to recognize that the reason why you are making people gut outside, without building a processing house, is because you have not fully got rid of the remnants of Japanese imperialist ideas.

We do not mean that a processing house must necessarily be a gigantic one. A heating apparatus and a supply of water service will do for it. Sinpho has one processing house. The city of Kim Chaek must build one as soon as possible. When I went to Sinpho, I told the chairman of the city Party committee to have a try at gutting pollack for himself. If he had done so with the workers all day long, he would no doubt have felt how cold it was, and had a processing house built quickly. I told the same to the chairman of the Kim Chaek City Party Committee when I was there—but the city has no processing house as yet. I wonder if he had a try at gutting pollack this year. You had better ask him on your return. Since he has no experience of hard work

himself, he is ignorant of others' hardships. He builds a grand hotel or office block and the like, but he gives no thought to building a fish processing plant for the sake of the workers.

During the period of the guerrilla war, we wrote under the trees. We did everything and debated hotly on the world situation, though we had no office worth mentioning.

But now a man tries to have an impressive office and sit on a swivel chair as soon as he becomes a chief. Saying that only one telephone injures his prestige, he has several telephones installed on his desk, and he yells out orders with a receiver in each hand, as if he were doing some great work. He has got into the rut of bureaucracy. Originally, we had nothing to do with such practices. I wonder by whom and from where this bad attitude has been imported. Some of our senior officials have not yet got rid of bureaucratic methods. Some managers are ignorant of the affairs of the world, and sit in their swivel chairs with their hands in their pockets. The best thing is to make these people work alongside the workers. Only then will they understand that a processing plant is more important than an office.

In summer it is possible to process fish in the open air. A roof to shelter the men from the rain would be enough for this purpose. In his speech a certain comrade asked for a dry house. This will be needed where plenty of cuttlefish and the like are landed. It is not so difficult to build it. The Soho Fishery Station has such a house. People in other places would do well to build one also.

In some places processing workers do their job squatting, not even with a stool. This is because managers are indifferent to the labourers' lives. If they give the workers small stools, they will be able to work easily and their productivity will increase. But the managers do not even deal with such a simple matter. When I visited a local factory, I witnessed such a state of affairs. I told the manager to work the next day for eight hours, squatting without a stool,—or to make stools. Managers and chairmen of management boards should devote close attention to providing good working conditions for processing workers.

What is important in processing is to ensure high quality. You must build large numbers of cold storages and good salting tanks, and thus work hard to improve the quality of processing. Fishermen take great pains to catch fish, braving cold wind and waves. It is deplorable that you spoil the catch by careless processing and that you fail to supply it to the consumers. Therefore, managers should see to it that fish do not go bad or rot because of improper processing. They must make every effort to process all the catch properly for the sake of the people, and without wasting a single fish.

We have a great deal of work to do with regard to aquaculture. We have only achieved an initial success in this field. Although our country is surrounded by the sea on three sides, we are not good at developing our marine resources.

As a matter of fact, we can cultivate seaweed, tangle, oyster, sea cucumber, shellfish and the like as much as we want. But at present we fail to supply the people with adequate quantities of seaweed. As a result, the supplies available have to be rationed to mothers who have given birth. That is a very shameful situation. Ever since olden times, Korean mothers have been used to eating seaweed soup after childbirth. Must we now oblige people to obtain ration-coupons before they can buy it? I was told that this year a fairly good amount of seaweed is being produced. We can grow it as much as we want.

I heard that seaweed thrives if stones are put where it can grow. That is not so difficult. It is said that for a rapid growth of seaweed, the stones should be polished well. That is also not so difficult.

We can use seaweed as food for our people and also export it. We can also produce tincture of iodine and other pharmaceutical substances from it. Anyhow, it is quite absurd that we, a maritime people, are unable to eat seaweed and pickled shellfish as much as we want. You, the 2,000-odd people present here, must solve this problem without fail.

You must enhance the sense of responsibility of workers at aquaculture stations and workteams, correct the shortcomings in this sector as quickly as possible and engage in aquaculture on a large

scale. Along with marine culture, you must raise large quantities of fish in reservoirs. We must not only exploit our marine resources but also create aquacultural resources. Only then can we continue to develop the seafood industry by relying on our abundant natural wealth.

Next, you must direct your attention to the production of fishing gear. For an increased catch, you must produce various kinds of gear, including nets, hooks and the equipment for aquaculture. I heard that aquaculture requires bamboo. We can supply it.

I have spoken on many occasions of the need to produce clothes for our fishermen. But nobody pays attention to this matter. There are certainly no more than some tens of thousands of fishermen at most; so it should not be so difficult to provide the clothes they need. But now you fail even to make proper raincoats and do not supply sufficient quantities of rubber boots. You even neglect to make rubber suits, as requested by our aquaculturists who work in the water in winter. Since we have a rubber factory, we can obviously make them if only we decide to do so. Although the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade urge our fishery workers to help the country to earn foreign currency, they are miserly about spending the little money needed for rubber clothes for the same workers. They need not be so miserly. It is advisable that a separate clothing factory be set up for the workers of the fishing sector. Large factories are not willing to produce these clothes because they are short of the materials needed and are busy with other production. Do not depend on them, but instead set up a separate factory specializing in the production of clothes for fishery workers and thus ensure regular supplies.

You must supply adequate fishing implements and the necessities requested by our fishermen, processing and aquaculture workers, by mechanizing and modernizing their production.

Our country is still poor in marine research and in the study of advanced fishing techniques. Our country is rich in marine resources. If we develop these resources on the three sides of our country, we will be able to provide a better life for our people.

Under our present conditions, developing a fishery cooperative is

easier than developing an agricultural cooperative. If the state gives efficient help to fishery cooperatives by investing an appropriate sum of money for one or two years, it will yield a greater achievement—and much more quickly—than helping agricultural cooperatives. This clearly shows how lucrative it is to exploit our marine resources.

The conquest and exploitation of the sea is a task that must be undertaken by all our people. Everyone must get to know the sea and its resources, and how to develop them. However, dissemination of scientific information on the sea is insufficient, and research on our marine resources is unsatisfactory. Many people are as yet not familiar with the sea, and are afraid of it. Everyone should get to know the sea in order that we may conquer it.

All the Korean people should have a knowledge of the sea and should love the sea. At present, girls of seventeen or eighteen freely work at sea. But some people tremble with fear even at the sight of the sea. This is because they do not know the sea. You must spread more knowledge of the sea.

We must compose more songs about the sea and ensure the dissemination of knowledge about the sea. We must organize lectures on the sea, as well as marine prospecting work and research on our marine resources. Meanwhile, we should publish many books which will make people familiar with the techniques of fishing and aquaculture. Many fishermen and processing workers are graduates of junior and higher middle schools. They can read books and have a basis for doing researches on their own. They should be given plenty of books and information on fishing methods, vessels and gear. Only when many people have acquired the necessary knowledge, can our campaigns for new inventions be conducted on a large scale, and only then will be a steady flow of innovations suited to our realities.

Our fishermen have made such good products as longlines and hooks operated by means of a roller reel. There is no doubt that if these comrades are provided with full information about the sea animals and plants, the natural and geographical features of the sea, fishing gear and vessels, they will be quite able to come up with innovations. You

should produce many illustrated magazines and films to show the worthwhile life of the conquerors of the sea, in addition to spreading knowledge of the sea widely amongst our working people. In this way you must arouse their interest in the sea and actively encourage them so that many of them will go to work at sea.

Furthermore, it is important to provide conditions so that the crewmen who are far from the land will be able to lead their political life with good understanding. Before anything else, you must see to it that they are properly informed of events in the country. Every fisherman must be kept continuously informed of how heroically our people struggle and what successes they achieve. Unless they know these things, they will not be able to lead their political life properly.

You should give priority to our fishermen in regard to the allocation of radios, newspapers, magazines and the like, and alter their organizational structure so that they will be able to lead a political life, with their boat as the unit. It will also be convenient if Democratic Youth League activities are conducted on the same basis.

We must intensify the worker's life as a member of the Party or of the Democratic Youth League. To this end, Party chairmen and other Party workers should get to know the sea better than anyone else. They must know how to work the ship and catch fish. In the past, some officers in the air corps said that those who are unable to pilot a plane may become political workers, and that all that young pilots had to do was to pilot their planes. If this is the case, political work among pilots can never be successful. Only when those who can pilot the plane take charge of Party work, can they understand the feelings of the pilots and take those feelings into account so as to organize political work properly. Therefore, the best thing to do in the fishery sector is to select excellent crewmen and train them to be Party workers. Only by so doing, will it be possible to improve Party and Democratic Youth League activities among the crewmen, get Party members to fully understand Party policy and encourage all workers to display greater enthusiasm for the implementation of the Party policy.

We must wage a resolute struggle against outdated ways of life among crewmen. In former days the crewmen would get drunk and stagger home when they came back from their work on the high seas. This is a very decadent and uncultured way of life. Our working class is the leading class of the revolution. So our workers must lead their lives in a more cultured way. It would be good to play *kayagum*, the bamboo flute and the accordion on board. You should give a set of these instruments to each boat. In former days the gold miners, lumberjacks and other workers engaged in strenuous work led a more decadent life. But now they should all live in a more cultured way. The more difficult your work is, the more you must organize your life in an optimistic and joyful way. In fact the life of our anti-Japanese guerrillas in the past was incomparably harder than that of the workers, however hard that work might be. We lived, however, in an optimistic and cultural atmosphere at that time. By so doing, we could always keep our high revolutionary spirit. Whoever lives degenerately, drinking and gambling, can have no prospect or hope of promotion. Neither can he think of his homeland and people nor enjoy any happiness. Such a life never brings forth a revolutionary spirit, a firm fighting spirit, a desire to study something or to take a creative initiative.

Female workers are exemplary in leading their lives aboard in a cultured way. They are always neatly dressed and keep their ships and fishing gear clean, and they entertain themselves by singing songs. They do not drink; they always work with a fresh mind, with high hopes and great pride.

All our young people should know how to play musical instruments. They should organize their political and cultural activities in various ways; they should listen to the radio, read novels and scientific books, and should hold reading sessions and discussions.

You activists who are gathered here must make special efforts to establish a communist way of life among our fishermen. You must foster their excellent habit of loving, helping and leading each other, and you must continuously urge all of them to take good care of state

property, brave any difficulties and fight heroically for the Party and the state.

I am convinced that as in the past, so in the future, all our workers in the fishery sector, including fishermen and the workers engaged in processing, aquaculture, ship repair and shipbuilding as well as in our factories manufacturing fishing gear, will keep up a heroic struggle to implement the Party's policy on fisheries and thus attain without fail this year's goal of 800,000 tons of seafood and land 1,200,000 tons by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

ON IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY

**Concluding Speech at the Third Enlarged Plenary Meeting
of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

March 8, 1962

1. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK

At this plenary meeting we have had serious discussions about further strengthening Party work. We held many meetings and organized many short courses on this topic.

Party work was one of the important questions dealt with at the Party congress also. In the Fourth Party Congress document, we made an overall analysis and review of the achievements and experience in our Party work, and clearly set forth the basic orientation and tasks involved. We have accumulated a wealth of invaluable experience in our Party work, which has attained a high level of development.

But we cannot rest on our laurels. We now face vast and difficult revolutionary tasks. The further improvement and strengthening of our Party work to meet this situation is an urgent problem for us. In particular, during the recent intensive guidance given by the Central Committee of the Party to the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee, we discovered a host of shortcomings still to be corrected in Party work.

Since you have made a detailed analysis of the important questions relating to Party work in the report and speeches delivered at this plenary meeting, I should like to re-emphasize only some of the essential questions.

As I have repeatedly pointed out, when we speak of Party work we mean firmly building up and consolidating the Party, promoting its steady growth and development, and correctly mobilizing its organizations so that it may fully perform its militant functions as a Marxist-Leninist party. In a word, Party work means building up strong Party ranks and guaranteeing the full exercise of the Party's militant functions.

As Lenin and Stalin correctly defined it, a Marxist-Leninist party is the foremost and organized detachment of the working class.

The working class vitally needs its vanguard to lead and guide all the labouring classes in the fierce class struggle against the exploiting classes. Therefore, the best elements of the working class, with a strong revolutionary spirit, rich fighting experience and a high theoretical level, organize a fighting detachment to lead the class struggle and wage it more successfully. This detachment is the Party. If this vanguard of the working class is to maintain its unity of thought, will and action, and win the struggle against the enemy, all its members must be thoroughly organized on the basis of a single principle. This is why Lenin, when defining the organizational principles of the Party, stressed that everyone in the Party, no matter who he is, must be a member of a Party organization and must fulfil his duty as a Party member.

The Party is an organization whose members are drawn from the front ranks of the working class. Therefore, if the Party is to be sound, each and every one of its members must be sound, and it is essential for each Party member to act in accordance with the Party's organizational principles. The Party will become powerful and invincible, and be able successfully to carry out the revolutionary tasks confronting it, only when all its members become fully active in accordance with its organizational principles. We can, therefore, say that the key factor in

Party work lies, above all, in leading the members to follow a sound organizational life.

As you well know, a Party member, when joining a Party organization, must accept the Party Programme and Rules. Anyone desiring to join our Party can be admitted only after taking an oath that he will fulfil without fail, according to the Party Programme and Rules, the fighting tasks the Party organization assigns him. The Party member belongs to the Party organization from the very day of admission and is required to fulfil the tasks it gives him.

The Party member's organizational life begins the moment he joins the Party organization. Organizational life in the Party means the Party member's activities in fulfilling the assignments the Party gives him. It means the political life and revolutionary activities of the Party member. We always say that we should acquire the traits required of a revolutionary; and a revolutionary is not any special type. If a Party member, abiding by the Party Rules, efficiently carries out the revolutionary tasks the Party assigns, we can say he has fulfilled his duties as a revolutionary.

Our Party Rules clearly state the revolutionary tasks incumbent on Party members. It would be a good idea for you to go through our Party Rules again and see what they say about the Party member's duties. Our Party Rules define them as follows:

“a) A Party member shall actively fight for the reunification of our country and the construction of socialism and communism, and shall firmly defend our socialist homeland;

“b) A Party member shall study deeply and adopt the Party's revolutionary traditions, carry them forward and develop them, firmly arm himself with our Party's ideology, rally closely around the Party Central Committee and firmly defend it, fight resolutely against factionalism, parochialism and nepotism, and safeguard Party unity and solidarity;

“c) A Party member shall be unreservedly loyal to the Party, unconditionally accept and thoroughly defend its policies and correctly carry them out....”

Besides, the Party Rules present all the standards that a Party member must invariably observe—namely, to raise his political level, improve his practical ability and arm himself with Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen his ties with the masses, to be an example to them, to constantly temper his Party spirit, place the interests of the Party above his personal interests, and so forth.

Thus, the Party Rules clearly set forth how and for what revolutionary tasks a Party member should fight. Therefore, if a Party member wants to know how to fight, he must study the Party Rules. If he simply carries out in a scrupulous manner all the tasks stipulated in the Party Rules, he will be a fine revolutionary.

If all Party members fulfil their duties as expounded in the Rules, the Party can become a most powerful and revolutionary party and achieve great successes in carrying out the revolutionary tasks.

Therefore, the most important thing in Party work is to lead the Party members to live their Party life in accordance with the Party Rules. There is nothing mysterious about this. Everything will run smoothly if Party members act according to the Party Rules.

A Party member develops his Party life within the Party organization. All Party members, without exception, belong to cells, the basic units of the Party, where they have their Party organizational life; some of them concurrently belong to Party committees and develop part of their Party organizational life there. A member of a Party committee, for example, has his organizational life in the cell or sub-cell to which he belongs and, at the same time, also receives definite assignments from the Party committee and has an organizational life there. It is, therefore, important to give proper encouragement to the activities of the cells to which all the Party members belong, as well as to the Party committees of which some of them are concurrently members, in order to guarantee a proper Party organizational life for all Party members.

We can say that inner-Party work boils down, in the end, to work with Party members, cadres, and Party cells and committees. When the Party cells and committees are all properly composed, when they all

carry out their Party functions to the fullest, and when all the Party members become fully active, the whole Party will become strong and the Party will be able to play its vanguard role successfully in the fulfilment of its revolutionary tasks.

As you all know, our Party, as a party in power, shoulders all the responsibilities of the revolutionary work in our country and has its forces posted all over the country.

Our Party cells are organized everywhere—in factories, mines, farming and fishing villages, army units, schools, public health establishments, cultural institutions, and so forth. The Cabinet, ministries, people's committees, economic commissions and other state bodies have their own respective Party organizations—the Party committees and cells. Where there are the masses, there are Party members, and where there are Party members, Party organizations always exist.

It is, therefore, obvious that when the Party cells and committees function satisfactorily everywhere, the Party members and the masses at every part of the revolutionary front will become fully activated and will successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks the Party assigns them.

If Party cells operate efficiently in the army units, the combat power of the army will grow and the army will become proficient in battle. If Party cells work properly in our farm villages, the farmers will be more aroused and farm work will proceed successfully. If Party cells work well in the factories, the motivation of the workers will increase and the production targets will be met successfully. If Party cells are strengthened among our writers and artists, they will produce fine works, and literature and art will advance rapidly. To put it briefly, if the Party organizations work well and the Party members are fully aroused to action, Party work will go smoothly, and if Party work goes smoothly, everything will go smoothly.

The Party is the General Staff of the revolution. Doing Party work well means doing the work of the General Staff of the revolution well.

Lenin said that the Party is the highest form of organization of the

working class. To carry out the revolution, the working class has people's committees and other state bodies at all levels, as well as such working people's organizations as the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union. And the Party is the highest of all these working-class organizations, and is the General Staff which leads and galvanizes all these organizations into action.

You say: "The Party is the leading force and the General Staff of our people." In this case, the term "general staff" never means only the Party Central Committee. All Party organizations play the role of a general staff in their respective spheres. And the Party organizations and Party members are everywhere. Therefore, if Party work is conducted efficiently, the work of the general staff will be smooth in all fields, and all Party organizations and members will be able to play their role with credit; and all the working-class organizations and the working masses will become active. Thus everything will work out well and brilliant successes will be achieved everywhere.

Now, what do we need to do Party work well?

The work of organizing and leading Party members to fulfil their duties to the Party satisfactorily is most important. If all the members of a Party cell carry out their Party assignments well, the cell will be able to play its role perfectly; if the members of a Party committee do well in fulfilling their assignments, the committee's work will be successful.

But it is by no means easy to induce Party members to carry out their duties properly.

Although the Party is an organization of advanced elements, it is made up of different kinds of people. Some have a high revolutionary consciousness, while others have a rather lower one; and some are more efficient while others are less so. And some are hot-tempered and fast to react, while others are slow. Constant work with Party members is necessary to make these diverse elements join forces and wage a successful struggle for the common goal.

Party members should frequently get together to hold meetings and criticize one another; they should help those who are lagging behind to

move forward, explain things clearly to people with less knowledge, and turn lazy people into diligent ones. Doing this, all Party members should ensure unity of thought, will and action. A Party member should report to the Party organization on his fulfilment of the tasks it has assigned him and receive new assignments, share experience with others and take measures to improve his work.

Who then is to take charge of such work? It is for the cells and committees to do it. They should do their organizational work to make sure that the Party members always receive and carry out Party assignments, to give them new assignments, and to lead and help them to fulfil their assignments.

Thus, a Party member receives Party assignments from the Party organization, reports on the result of their fulfilment, receives new assignments and fulfils them. Precisely this constitutes his organizational life.

People who are not yet well aware of all this think that a Party member's organizational life is nothing more than getting together for meetings, and that aside from that there is no organizational life. This is wrong. Mere discussion meetings about work do not solve all the problems relating to Party work. A Party member can be said to have fulfilled his revolutionary tasks and acquitted himself faithfully in his organizational life only when he has taken part in the discussion of affairs at meetings, received new orientations and tasks, and carried them out. Therefore, the important thing in organizational life is the correct fulfilment of Party assignments by each Party member, rather than the mere holding of meetings.

Whether Party members are meeting in conferences, or whether they are carrying out their assignments separately after the conferences, their Party organizational life continues, and they remain under the leadership and control of the Party organization. The Party cell should supervise, guide and control each Party member, so as to make sure that he carries out his assignments properly from the standpoint of the Party; a Party committee should give constant leadership to its members in their work. A Party committee at a higher

level should supervise the work of subordinate committees.

The Party cell looks after the activities of each Party member; the county or the factory Party committee looks after those of the Party cells; the provincial Party committee, those of the county and factory Party committees; and the Party Central Committee, those of the provincial Party committees. The Chairman and the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee are in charge of leading the whole Party and keeping it active.

Thus, the entire Party, from the Party Central Committee down to the Party members in each cell, is constantly on the move and keeps up Party work uninterruptedly.

In the final analysis, the criteria for judging whether or not Party work is conducted well can be found in how the Party organizations have been organized and whether or not the Party organizations and members work properly and carry out their Party assignments correctly.

On the basis of these criteria we find the Party work in South Hwanghae Province is not up to the mark. There, the Party committees have not been organized well, nor do they operate satisfactorily. Some Party committees have not even met regularly and, what is worse, have not even called Party meetings or reviewed the results of their work for half a year or a year. In other words, the Party organizations have not functioned properly and have failed to play their militant role.

What departments are mainly responsible for the work of building up the Party and keeping it active? They are the organizational department and information and publicity department, and in particular the organizational department. Success in Party work depends largely on the activities of the Party committee and its chairman, and particularly on the role of the organizational department of that committee. The poor results in Party work in South Hwanghae Province are attributable to the fact that the Party committees and their chairmen in that province have worked badly, and particularly to the fact that the organizational departments and information and publicity departments have failed to work properly. It is very important for

strengthening Party work that the work of the Party's organizational department and information and publicity department be improved.

The organizational department should give Party members constant leadership in their Party life. Otherwise, their organizational life will become lax, and bad tendencies may emerge among them. Marxist dialectics tells us that everything changes. Our work also changes continuously and so does people's consciousness. A person who was good yesterday may become bad today, and one who was courageous yesterday may turn into a coward today. To consider that a person who was good in the past cannot be otherwise today is non-Marxist thinking. You should be under no such illusion, even with regard to the cadres.

Party members are all conscientious people, but none of them can lay claim to absolute infallibility or perfection as a human being. Whoever neglects tireless self-improvement is liable to commit errors and go off course.

We are now engaged in a face-to-face struggle with US imperialism. Capitalist influences can infiltrate from the outside. The US imperialists are bent on vilifying communism, always threatening and exerting pressure by shouting that they will sweep away the communists.

We also have many evil survivals of capitalism internally. Scum such as the overthrown landlords and capitalists still exist, and the poisonous ideological influence they spread still persists. Outside pressures and the remaining hostile elements inside may join forces to bring about vacillation and give rise to conservatism and passivity, indolence and degeneration.

The air we breathe normally permits us to live in good health. But air contains dust and lots of harmful germs. If a person neglects hygiene and fails to keep himself clean at all times, he may become dirty and infected with noxious germs. By taking good care of his health and actively steeling his body by physical training, he can preserve his health without resorting to medicine.

No Party members or cadres will "fall ill" if the organizational

department constantly educates and criticizes them lest they should become slack, and guides them to live their Party life along the right lines as required by the Party Rules. Giving timely criticism to a comrade going astray is like getting a comrade to wash his grimy face. If a man becomes very dirty, he may contract a disease.

An organizational department should strengthen the Party life of members and should untiringly train them and the cadres through the practical struggle for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks, and thereby rear them to be true revolutionary fighters who wage an unyielding struggle for the Party and the revolution without vacillation, no matter which way the wind blows.

The organizational departments of the county and factory Party committees are required to study how the cells under them have been built up and how they are functioning.

Some cells are strong while others are weak. We must make the weak cells strong and thus see to it that all cells carry out their functions satisfactorily. In the human body, for instance, if any of the cells weaken, a boil or inflammation develops at the place. Likewise, the Party can be sound only when its cells are strong. Therefore, the organizational departments of the county and factory Party committees should start with the work of building up the cells.

Measures should be taken for strengthening the Party cells on the basis of a clear understanding of whether the cells are composed of those who are qualified as Party members, whether they are formed of Party members who faithfully carry out their Party assignments, how many of the Party members possess a high degree of communist consciousness and strong revolutionary spirit, and whether there are nuclei who can manage the cells.

Particularly because our Party has developed rapidly into a mass political party, some of its members are still not fully imbued with a communist consciousness, and its members are at different ideological levels. It is, therefore, important to foster nuclei qualified to manage the cells. The organizational departments should place Party forces in such a way that every cell has its nuclei capable of leading it forward.

They should continuously strive to train such nuclei.

While improving the cells' composition, the organizational departments should strive to put the life of the cells on a sound basis.

A healthy life for a cell means that it correctly fulfils its revolutionary tasks and that it satisfactorily conducts its internal work for its own consolidation. As the Party Rules also stipulate, the Party fights for the reunification of the country and for socialist construction. That is to say, the Party is carrying out revolutionary tasks. Therefore, if the life of a cell is to be sound, it is necessary, first of all, for the cell to carry out its revolutionary tasks properly. In order to fulfil its economic tasks, it must have frequent discussions, give the Party members assignments and review the results of the work at the proper time. The cell is required to perform not only tasks related to economic and cultural construction, but also those forming part of the political struggle. It must likewise wage the class struggle against the reactionary classes, educate and transform the masses, and rally the masses around the Party. It follows that the organizational departments should supervise the cells in their endeavour to fulfil their economic tasks and organize their political life.

The cells must constantly strive to steel the Party spirit of the Party members and improve their level of political consciousness and practical ability. Organizational departments must ceaselessly check on the cells' conduct of criticism, ideological struggle and political education, and give them leadership.

The life of a cell cannot be regarded as sound if it confines its struggle only to doing farm work well, while remaining indifferent to the struggle against the hostile classes, to expanding and consolidating Party ranks, to opposing the infiltration of reactionary ideology and to steeling the Party spirit of its members. On the other hand, if a cell spends all its time discussing the problem of fighting against the reactionary classes, without carrying out the tasks of socialist construction, this cannot be regarded as a sound cell life either. And if a cell has neglected political study and communist education, and has done little to consolidate Party ranks, although it holds many

discussions on the problem of timely transplanting cold-bed rice seedlings and weeding well, or on the problem of isolating the landlord class and uniting the masses, this also means that its life is unsound.

The organizational departments should see to it that the cells promptly correct any shortcomings or deviations which become evident in their activities, so as to put them on a sound basis, and should orient all the cells to carry out their revolutionary tasks, their inner-Party work and their mass work equally well, without showing a bias towards any one of them.

Also, the organizational departments should always study the composition and activities of the Party committees at all levels. The organizational department of a provincial Party committee should supervise the county and factory Party committees, and the organizational department of a county Party committee should supervise the ri Party committees and the cell committees.

When the organizational department of a provincial Party committee, for instance, studies the makeup of a factory Party committee, it should ascertain whether the committee is composed of people fully capable of carrying out the factory's revolutionary tasks. It should inquire into whether the committee has cadres for theoretical and technical matters, and how many people on it have a vigorous revolutionary spirit. If the committee lacks members with sufficient Party spirit and practical ability to organize and direct the implementation of the Party's policies correctly, then the committee has been badly selected.

At the same time, the organizational department should find out whether the committees are functioning properly. It should make an overall examination to ascertain how the committees have discussed their economic work, and the Party's organizational and ideological work, how they look after the work of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards, and how they fight against reactionaries.

The South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee neglected all matters other than farm work such as planting 50 per cent of the rice paddies with cold-bed rice seedlings and applying 50 tons of compost

per hectare. This indicates that the provincial Party committee failed to carry out its functions properly.

The successful fulfilment of a Party committee's functions cannot be confined to holding a few meetings. The Party committee should take all its revolutionary tasks in hand and function as the General Staff of the revolution by organizing and mobilizing all the revolutionary forces under its jurisdiction—Party organizations, Party members, state bodies and working people's organizations—for the implementation of Party policies.

The organizational departments of the provincial and county Party committees should regularly check on whether the Party committees under them are properly composed and whether they fully perform the functions of the General Staff of the revolution in their respective units; and, on this basis, they should guide the committees towards improving their composition and towards functioning better.

The Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee, and its Vice-Chairman for organizational affairs, should check on whether the provincial and county Party committees are composed and functioning properly, and give leadership in consolidating the ranks of the entire Party and in keeping them active at all times.

As you see, an organizational department directs the organizational life of the Party members and the activities of the Party organizations such as Party committees and Party cells. An organizational department may be regarded as a personnel department that constantly replenishes and consolidates Party ranks, and as a department that guides Party life with the aim of strengthening it. Precisely because the work of this department went amiss in South Hwanghae Province, many shortcomings have come to light in the general work of the Party.

There, instead of doing its own work, the organizational department takes upon itself the work of the general affairs department or the documents department, concerning itself with manpower mobilization, the supply of materials, arrangements for meetings, the compilation of statistics, and so forth.

The people's committee has its statistical, planning and supply departments. Why, then, should the organizational department of the Party committee undertake such jobs? Why should the head of the organizational department always make a report in person?

Engrossed as it was exclusively in unnecessary matters instead of doing its regular work, the organizational department failed to build up the Party ranks properly and to spot in good time those comrades who were suffering from ideological maladies. As a result, some comrades became so seriously ill that medicine alone could no longer cure them, and they had to undergo surgery. The sick cadres and Party members were not bad people at the outset; they were good people, but they drifted into errors and degenerated, because of the lack of timely education and constant leadership.

Some people may fall ill even when the organizational department makes correct efforts to work with the Party members and cadres. We should take preventive measures so that people do not contract diseases, but it is no less important to discover sick persons at an early date.

An organizational department must diagnose people often to see whether or not they have contracted some serious diseases. It should diagnose the case with precision to ascertain whether it is a skin disease or a respiratory problem. Medicine should be prescribed and administered in accordance with the diagnosis.

If the Party committee chairman or its organizational department head is likened to the doctor who discovers infected persons among the Party members and diagnoses their disease, the information department can be likened to the pharmacist who dispenses medicine for the sick.

If a person appeared who was frightened of capitalism, it would be necessary to bring home to him that capitalism is destined to fall. We should instil the revolutionary spirit of the working class into those who have contracted such serious diseases as conservatism, passivity, mystification and empiricism. Vitamin A should be given to those who have deficiency A and Vitamin B to those who have deficiency B. The

Marxist-Leninist classics should be prescribed for those who need to read them, and our Party documents should be recommended to those who do not know our Party's policies, decisions and directives; and literary works should be prescribed for those who need those. All these are the remedies for sick Party members.

The information department, like the organizational department, deals with inner-Party work.

The first and foremost duty of an information department is to educate Party members.

The information department should not only prescribe medicine for those who have already contracted diseases but also supply prophylactics and tonics so that the Party members do not become contaminated with bad ideas, and so that they actively fulfil their revolutionary tasks at all times.

In political education, Party policy is also a tonic. Party members will be immune to bad ideas and remain sound in their Party life if they are all firmly armed with Party policy.

Education in Party policy is necessary for all Party members, without exception. Some may think that this is not necessary for the cadres, because they are all highly qualified persons. That is a serious error. As you said in your speeches yesterday, among the cadres there are also many who have a low degree of political and theoretical awareness. The cadres need more education. Cadres should have a deeper understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and Party policy and should equip themselves more firmly with communist ideas.

Some comrades seem to think that information work is finished when they have made a motivation speech and shown a film. That is not information work, but motivation work. By Party information work we mean educating the Party members in Marxist-Leninist ideology and theory, and arming them firmly with Party policy. The information department must make this work its cardinal task.

The education of Party members should be conducted to fit the specific conditions in which they find themselves. Educational work should always be in keeping with Party members' level of

understanding, and should be linked to their immediate revolutionary tasks. It should also be adapted to actual conditions in the local areas. It is no use cramming complicated theories into those who have just learned what revolution is. First teach them the simple truths that are familiar to them in their everyday life, and then step by step move on to difficult subjects.

In educating Party members who have a low degree of political awareness, for instance, you should start by explaining what social classes are, help them understand why the existence of classes gives rise to the class struggle and revolution, and bring home to them that what we are now engaged in is precisely revolutionary work and a class struggle. In this way we should bring everyone to understand clearly what we are now fighting for—and what the result will be.

Motivation work is another important task of the information department.

Motivation work is carried out to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and to mobilize them directly to fulfil the revolutionary tasks. Motivation work must not be conducted in a humdrum way, but should be adapted to the time, the specific conditions and to the revolutionary tasks in question.

To the soldiers who are making preparations for an assault, for instance, a motivation worker may tell how courageously Hero Ri Su Bok fought for his country and his people, how he smote the enemy, and guaranteed his unit's victory. This will be highly conducive to arousing the men to a heroic struggle.

But should the motivation worker tell those preparing for an assault about quite irrelevant matters, such as the food situation in the rear, it would be out of place and prove quite ineffective. Motivation work should be conducted in keeping with rice transplanting in the transplanting season, or harvesting in the harvest season, and should be suitable for the workers in the factories or the farmers in the rural areas.

Because our information and motivation work is divorced from reality, it imposes an unnecessarily heavy burden on Party members. Lots of documents are sent down which the Party members are

required to read, and meetings are held frequently, but these documents and meetings have proved to be of little help in improving the Party members' consciousness and arousing them directly to the fulfilment of their revolutionary tasks.

I have found in South Hwanghae Province that the information and publicity department there thinks that it has fulfilled all its duties by conducting a bit of motivation work among the masses while ignoring educational work among Party members and cadres. Its motivation work has not been properly done either.

The information and publicity department should educate the cadres and Party members so that they can analyse matters and solve problems in a Marxist-Leninist way, and should train them to be staunch revolutionaries who unflinchingly carry out, whatever the storm or stress, the tasks that the Party assigns them. This is the information department's most important duty.

What, then, are the duties of the Party's economic departments such as the heavy industry, light industry, fishing industry and agricultural departments?

The economic departments should also do Party work—work with people. They should work effectively with people in their respective spheres and thereby arouse both the cadres and the masses to action for the implementation of Party policy.

Work with the cadres of the economic bodies is the primary task of the Party's economic departments.

The educational departments should work with the principals and teachers in schools, the industrial departments with the managers, chief engineers and shop managers, and the agricultural departments with the chairmen of agricultural cooperatives and county management committees.

The economic departments should acquaint the cadres with Party policy, supervise, lead and help them in its implementation, and at the appropriate times review the results of their work. The economic departments should continually educate the cadres in Marxism-Leninism and strive to improve their style and method of work.

Today, however, officials of the Party's economic departments, instead of doing Party work—that is, work with people—are going around with officials of the economic ministries and management bureaus, behaving like taskmasters. They go to factories not to talk with the managers and chief engineers and educate them, but to join the officials on administrative bodies in simply urging people forward.

Economic departments of the Party Central Committee are taking administrative work upon themselves, instead of directing their main efforts to working with the cadres. It seems that lesser bodies are also following this pattern.

Party departments should do Party work. The organizational and information departments should work with the Party officials, and the economic departments with the cadres of economic bodies. In that way, the Party and economic officials in all bodies will be aroused to action.

Both the Party's organizational, information and economic departments should mainly do Party work, regarding work with the cadres as their primary task, and should devote all their efforts to keeping the Party organizations and members active. This is precisely the crux of the problem that we want to solve at this plenary meeting.

Now, the question is how to do economic work. That is, how to ensure that economic work is done, if all the departments of the Party are to concentrate their efforts exclusively on Party work.

I do not mean to say the Party should not engage in economic work. The provincial, county and all other Party committees should bear full responsibility for economic work. The factory Party committees should assume responsibility for production in the factories, and the Party committees in the ministries for the work of the ministries.

We are now carrying out two revolutionary tasks: reunifying the country and building socialism. As is stipulated in the Party Rules, the Party was organized for the fulfilment of these tasks. The Party is fighting for the fulfilment of these tasks; and it is enhancing its militant role to assure the fulfilment of these tasks. In a word, the Party is an organization for carrying out the revolution—a detachment fighting for

the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks.

How, then, can the Party remain aloof from the work of economic construction? I do not mean to say that a Party committee chairman should occupy himself only with the organizational department.

How, then, should the Party cope with economic work?

The Party should guide economic work, but should not take it fully upon itself. The Party should mobilize the Party organizations and Party members in the economic spheres, and should give them leadership, thus ensuring that economic work is done in the way required by the Party. As I have often mentioned, Party officials should assume the role of helmsmen in the fulfilment of economic tasks. They should handle the tiller at the stern so that the economic workers sail along the right course charted by the Party lines.

To handle the tiller at the stern does not mean to stick behind the administration. The Party committee chairman should be in the vanguard whenever needed. In the guerrilla units, the political commissars in charge of political work were in the van when attacking and were the last to leave when retreating. Likewise, Party officials should always be the first to take the brunt of any situation.

The main thing for a Party official is that, whatever the circumstances, he should be at the helm. Party officials should always have a good grasp of Party policy, induce Party members and Party organizations to be active, and lead people in the right direction.

Now, what should the Party officials bear in mind, before anything else, in exercising leadership at the helm?

Leadership by the Party officials should not be given in an administrative way or by means of orders or commands; it should be given in an organized, specific and active way, the method inherent to the Party. The Party way of doing things means guaranteeing work by rousing the Party members, cadres, committees and cells to action.

In the army, a commanding officer may well just give the command, "Forward!" No explanation is necessary here.

Party officials, however, should indicate the objectives, patiently and in detail, and should organize the work essential for securing those

objectives, rather than shouting a command. For this reason, to be a political commander is more difficult than to be a military commander.

If a battle is planned for tomorrow, for instance, the political workers and the chief of staff must spend the whole night preparing for the fight. The chief of staff must work out a detailed combat plan and give concrete missions to all his men. And the political workers should conduct the necessary political work so that each man may fulfil his combat missions with credit.

In South Hwanghae Province everyone is acting like a military commander and no one is seeing to it that the work actually gets done. No one is doing political work or staff officer's work. There are only those who shout "Forward!" The mere shouting of orders will get you nowhere if you do not do the concrete work of organizing and mobilizing.

If compost has to be carried out to the fields, the Party organization should first explain the task clearly to the people, and then should mobilize the Party members and organize the work in detail.

The Party should guarantee this work politically and organizationally. A political worker must be good at doing this. He should mobilize people ideologically through explanation and persuasion—and not by orders—and should organize their struggle.

All the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee did by way of giving a lead to agriculture was to join the administration in urging people forward, instead of politically backing up the work of the provincial people's committee. The provincial Party and people's committee chairmen both took the lead, instead of one standing at the rear and the other at the head: one ordered people to the left, and the other to the right, thus making matters even worse.

Urging people forward in an administrative way is an outdated work method. A people's committee should not shout commands either. The people's committee should see to it that economic work is done, materially and technically, while the Party backs it up politically, organizationally and on Party lines.

Even in the army, doing things by simply giving orders is not

necessarily desirable. There, too, work should be properly backed up, organizationally and technically. A military commander who does nothing but shout orders cannot command in our army today. All this is a holdover from the past. No leadership activity is conceivable other than as action to ensure appropriate conditions for success. Effective leadership requires such an approach in all fields.

Next, Party officials should guard against subjectivism in leadership work. Party officials should look at things objectively, which means facing reality. This means going to the subordinate bodies and getting to know the actual situation in detail.

Using an administrative way of working will keep you away from reality and out of contact with the masses, and will lead you to subjectivism.

Some of our officials are apt to look at things from only one side rather than from every angle. We should also guard against this in our leadership work. If you substitute an administrative way of working for the correct discharge of your functions, you will never get a comprehensive grasp of matters.

Administrative workers are apt to see things one-sidedly. The Party, therefore, should always lead them so that they will not go astray.

There are incorrect tendencies, such as going too far to the left when deviation to the right has been criticized, and as getting scared and not properly doing what ought to be done, after having been criticized for mistakes in work. You should not go to the extreme of denying science on the excuse of opposing conservatism.

Deviations may also appear in the guidance of economic affairs. People may exhibit tendencies to steer clear of economic work because they have been warned against the practice of taking economic work upon themselves.

Since the most important revolutionary task of the people in the northern half of our country at present is socialist construction, what else are we to do but economic work? The point is that matters should be left to those who are administratively responsible in each field, and that the Party should lead them and guide their work lest they go astray.

The Party should back up properly the activities of administrative workers through the Party members, Party organizations and mass organizations. This is the only way to exercise an effective Party leadership over economic work.

If Party officials only go about in the van together with the administrative officials, they may all stray from the right path and fall into subjectivism. In that case, there would be no one who could put things straight. This error should always be guarded against.

If the Party mingles with the masses, acquaints itself with reality, gets a comprehensive grasp of things and gives good leadership, it will not commit errors of subjectivism or deviation. Thus the practice of compromising with wrong tendencies will be eliminated, and everything will go smoothly in accord with the Party line.

The Party committees must control and lead work in an overall way. The provincial, city, county and factory Party executive committees should always discuss all questions arising in their respective fields, give leadership in these matters and see to it that they are solved along Party lines. Therefore, we must eliminate administrative methods of leadership and prevent deviations and subjectivism.

2. ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Now I should like to say a few words about the need for properly conducting the class struggle in the countryside.

As everyone knows, the exploiting classes have already been overthrown in our countryside and the farmers have become the owners of the land, masters of a socialist countryside free from all forms of oppression and exploitation. But this does not mean that the class struggle in the countryside is over or that vigilance against the

insidious manoeuvres of the counterrevolutionaries in rural areas may be relaxed. Though at present there are no exploiters, those who were exploiters in the past are still around, and some of them are still watching for a chance to destroy our system. A continued relentless struggle must be waged against these hostile elements.

Before, the landed class was the most reactionary and wicked one in the rural areas of our country. Just read the novel *Land* and you will get a clear idea of how cruelly the landlords oppressed and exploited our peasants. In this respect, there was little difference between the big and small landlords; the latter was, in fact, no less cruel than the former in sweating the farmers. When carrying out the agrarian reform, therefore, we followed the policy whereby we defined as landlords all those who had owned land exceeding five hectares and leased out their land for tenancy; and we confiscated their estates.

A long time has passed since the landlords were liquidated as a class in our countryside. Yet, those who had been landlords are still around, and most of them are hostile to our Party and our people to this day, impatiently biding their time to regain their old positions. We can hardly expect those whose land has been confiscated to completely change their thinking and discard their illusion about the restoration of the old system; there is little likelihood of their discarding it in their lifetime.

During the agrarian reform we expropriated the land of some 44,000 landlords—a considerable number. We did not hang or shoot the landlords, but only dispossessed them of their lands and moved them elsewhere.

We were able to be so lenient because, with power in the hands of the people, it was entirely possible to carry out the agrarian reform without hanging any landlords.

We were correct to have moved the landlords from their original places of residence to other localities. By so doing, we could thoroughly preclude the possibility of some unawakened peasants being sympathetic and respectful towards the landlords or being influenced by them. It was not a mere migration; we kept them under

strict control so that they could not do any mischief.

The war, however, confused the issue. It is generally known that during our temporary retreat the landlords carried out reactionary activities and served as flunkies for the US devils in many places. Meanwhile, a considerable number of landlords, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing at the time, sneaked in among the peasants, using false names and pretending to be good men. Needless to say, some have been liquidated, others have made off to south Korea, and others have died of old age. Nevertheless, many of them are still lurking in various parts of the northern half of the country, most of them in the countryside. Among them, for instance, there are many who have falsified their names from Jang so-and-so to Ri so-and-so, who, actually being former landlords from Hoeryong County of North Hamgyong Province, are publicly passing themselves off as poor peasants from Kapsan County in Ryanggang Province, or who, though they really have their wits about them, are pretending to be congenital idiots.

Therefore, we must straighten out this confused situation properly and know exactly where and how the landlords are living and what they are up to. The former landlords are even now the prime target of struggle in our countryside. You must not forget even for a moment that the landlords still have a bitter grudge against our Party and our system, and are constantly racking their brains to figure out how to harm us and get back their confiscated lands.

During our recent visit to South Hwanghae Province, we heard about a former landlord in Roam-ri, Anak County, who had been lying low playing the fool, and suddenly came to life again during our retreat, made his public appearance in fine dress wearing a soft hat and carrying a walking stick, and proceeded to Jangyon County where his forfeited estate was, strutting about shouting at people to return his land. There were innumerable similar instances in other places, too.

Those landlords, playing the fool in the countryside, lazy in work and trying to avoid attending meetings under the pretext of illness, getting along so-so, are now dreaming of the day when they will come

out again carrying their walking sticks.

Some landlords pretend to work in the fields with other people in the daytime, but when night falls, they secretly listen to south Korean radio in a back room, and then circulate reactionary rumours among the farmers. These hostile people lurking about may raise their heads, particularly in these days, because the enemy has stepped up his anti-communist campaign, and also because the wind of revisionism is blowing in the socialist camp.

Comrades, anyone who believes that the landlords will not turn against us is really a simpleton. They say that even now in South Hwanghae Province, landlords are walking about taking their sons or young grandsons by the hand to show them the confiscated lands one by one, saying: “Even after my death, you must remain here and take back this land by one means or another!” Anyone who knows the truth of the class struggle will never regard this as accidental. It is obvious that as long as the expropriated landlords remain alive, neither will their ambitions die; and those ambitions will remain alive, even though the landlords have been overthrown as a class.

Especially in view of the situation where our country is still divided and the US bandits are entrenched in the southern half, it is quite inconceivable that the minds of the former landlords will undergo a transformation so easily. Of course, when the country is reunified and the US bandits are all driven out, the landlords might more or less abandon their hopes. But even then, the landlords might entertain the illusion that, by some chance, “God” will come down and restore the land to them. They might even present “Him” an offering, be it no more than a bowl of water, and offer prayers in their wild dream that their days of glory will return.

All this should allow us to clearly understand how bitterly the expropriated landlords feel and how deep is the hate they harbour against us. They believe that their days of glory could return sometime because of the fact that there are landlords and capitalists in south Korea and because, furthermore, US troops are stationed there. They are, therefore, watching and biding their time day and night for a

chance to revolt against us. You must be fully conscious of this fact and make it known to Party members and to all the farmers, and by doing so lead the entire people to sharpen their vigilance against any hostile acts by the former landlords. This is important.

There are some comrades who often show more vigilance against those once affiliated with the “peace maintenance corps” than against the former landlords. They are wrong to do so. Of course, those rich peasants who joined the “peace maintenance corps” and deliberately carried out reactionary activities and heinous atrocities, are, like the landlords, the objects of our dictatorship and our struggle. But there are a considerable number of middle and poor peasants, and even former hired farmhands, who were duped or bluffed into joining the “peace maintenance corps”. Considering their class origin, these people can be won over to our side. Our Party does not regard people of these strata as objects of its struggle but rather as people who must be won over again by every means of education and persuasion.

If we cannot accept those who, ignorant of what was what and scared by the sudden appearance of the US scoundrels, joined the “peace maintenance corps”, how can we, if we are so narrow-minded, ever hope to win over the masses of the people in the southern half and achieve the cause of national reunification? In south Korea, at present, there are approximately 700,000 men in active service with the puppet army alone and, if those who have been discharged after their tour of duty are added, the figure reaches several million. Lots of them might, indeed, have fought against our People’s Army on the battlefields. Yet, we cannot regard all of the puppet army soldiers, who are mostly of worker and peasant origin, as enemies; on the contrary, we must work actively to return all of them to the fold of the people, that is, win them over to our side.

We must bear in mind the fact that a complete victory in our Korean revolution has yet to be won and that the task of helping the south Korean people to accomplish the south Korean revolution and of reunifying the country still remains. The decisive factor in the accomplishment of this task is for the Party to win over the broad

masses and increase the revolutionary forces. Only when we have isolated the handful of our enemies and rallied the entire people in north and south Korea firmly around our Party, shall we be prepared at any time to meet the great event of national reunification and win final victory in our revolution.

It is precisely from this point of view that we should approach all sectors of the masses, forge unity with them, and strive to draw every last one of them to the side of the revolution.

And it is essential that we should always judge people from a class point of view and, basing ourselves firmly on the class line of the Party, draw a strict distinction between friend and foe. The enemies can be isolated and the largest possible number of people can be won over only when those against whom we struggle and those with whom we seek unity are correctly identified on the basis of class analysis.

Why do we regard those people of poor or middle peasant origin who were drawn into the “peace maintenance corps” and did sentry duty a few times as people who can be welcomed back and must be won over? It is because, even though they have committed serious errors due to their lack of political awareness, they are still working people as regards their class origin, and they have benefited greatly from the revolution. Since they are people who had originally belonged to the basic sections of the masses of our Party and were merely implicated in the counterrevolution for a while, under enemy influence, they should not be tarred with the same brush as the enemy, but should be freed from enemy influence, turned onto the path of the revolution and thus won back to become part of the masses on which our Party is based. This is the right thing to do.

Why, then, do we consider it necessary to struggle against the former landlords and those rich farmers who were affiliated to the “peace maintenance corps” and perpetrated heinous atrocities? It is because they are of a hostile class origin, and their estates have been expropriated or they have been hard hit by the revolution. Inasmuch as they consciously perpetrated and are still perpetrating counterrevolutionary acts with the backing of the US devils, and will

also come out against our Party and our system in the future, whenever they get a chance, it is natural and right to wage an uncompromising struggle against them.

As has been starkly revealed in South Hwanghae Province on this occasion, there seems to me to be a general trend among Party organizations not to devote serious attention to the class struggle in the countryside. Work with the strata that must be welcomed back has not been conducted in depth, and, what is worse, the struggle against the hostile elements has been unsatisfactory. Even those former landlords who are openly spreading vicious rumours against us have been left untouched, and even such acts as going about marking off their expropriated land with stakes in the hope of taking it back have been tolerated. We have seen such non-class phenomena as farmers treating the former landlords as “village elders” instead of hating them, and as a Party official repairing a former landlord’s house. In a certain village there have even been cases of inadvertently admitting a disguised hostile element into the Party ranks, and of appointing one to a leading post in a cooperative. This clearly shows that local Party officials have a very dull political eye as regards the class struggle, and that the Party members and farmers have a very low level of class consciousness.

The real situation now in each ri of the countryside is that no real struggle has been organized against the hostile elements, including the former landlords. If those elements conduct propaganda against us or commit hostile acts, you must arouse the masses of farmers for the struggle to expose and defeat their manoeuvres.

When we call for this kind of struggle, another deviation may appear. Criticized for an insufficiently vigorous fight against the former landlords, in some parts of South Hwanghae Province they have brought out all the old records which had been stowed away for many years, and are making a sudden fuss about fighting the landlords, insisting that they are wicked. How can we expect these comrades to be able to do Party work and lead the class struggle when we see them making such a fuss all of a sudden, having until now connived at all the mischievous goings-on of the landlords, in the belief that even

landlords might be good people? All this can be ascribed to the fact that our Party officials lack revolutionary training and are not firmly armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the Party line.

It is not necessary now to do away with all the landlords whom we did not hang even when we expropriated their estates. The point is that the struggle against them should be correctly organized, that the farmers should be motivated to show no sympathy or respect for them, and that, when they commit reactionary crimes, they should be exposed by the masses and handed over to a judicial body to be dealt with like anyone else who is caught red-handed. But no matter what a landlord may think inwardly or what attitude he might take at any future time, we ought not to touch him so long as he faithfully abides by our laws and remains obedient.

It is best that those former landlords who support what we are doing, and behave themselves correctly, recognizing their past landlordism as criminal, be reformed: there is no need to unnecessarily harass such persons who, for the sake of the future of their children, are refraining from doing wrong. There are some cases where the sons and daughters of former landlords grow up, are good at their studies and work with devotion, and their parents feel obliged to support our state power. In view of such experiences, we should wait and see about such people for the present. And as for those who repent their mistakes and come over to our side, it is advisable that they should be strictly examined, carefully educated and transformed, and taken along with us.

As you see, to organize and lead the class struggle is a very complex task requiring prudence. This work cannot proceed successfully if it is conducted in an administrative, stereotyped way or if it is guided casually according to the subjective judgments of a handful of persons—as is the case in a considerable number of local Party organizations. Moreover, this is not a task that can be cast aside after one or two days' work; it should be carried on continuously, firmly and consistently.

The struggle against class enemies should become our constant

political struggle, a struggle of all the people, directed by our Party organizations. Even though we hold power, it would be wrong to decide in one's mind that a certain fellow should be put in jail and try to make short work of the matter merely by issuing an official document, without conducting political work to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. By such methods we will achieve nothing in our struggle and only make a mess of our work.

Comrades, you must break this habit of trying to do revolutionary work the easy way and to guide the class struggle administratively. Those of you who have become county Party committee chairmen without undergoing revolutionary trials, often seek to deal with matters in a facile, administrative way. This is not the method for revolutionaries. For communists, politics means winning over people by persuasion, organizing and mobilizing the masses. The only way to win our struggle is by doing this well. If you had ever been the chairman of a county Party committee who has recruited Party members one by one and united the masses over a period of 20 or 30 years of arduous revolutionary activity and, on this basis, personally built up a fighting unit as large as today's county Party organization, you would never have sought to direct the class struggle in an easy, administrative way, but would, as a matter of course, have led it in a revolutionary way as I have just mentioned.

When the Party Central Committee gave instructions last year to absolve those who had committed evil deeds in the past of their crimes and to be forthcoming in welcoming them back, the Party organizations in South Hwanghae Province granted blanket pardon to thousands of people a day; and, to make matters worse, they began by absolving those hostile elements who could under no circumstances be forgiven, on the allegation that those who had committed minor crimes would feel relieved if the serious offenders were forgiven first. This is also a political error ascribable to the fact that the Party organizations simply sought to deal with revolutionary work administratively.

Those whom we had in mind when we gave the instruction to pardon were not those hostile elements of exploiting-class origin who

had committed hideous barbarities, but those of working-people origin who once committed errors but later sincerely repented and strove to follow us. These are the very people that should be forgiven, so that they stop vacillating, throw off their depressed feeling, and follow us with firmer conviction and greater zeal, so that all the people are knit together in a more cheerful atmosphere and in greater amity. And only when these people are pardoned, will they decisively free themselves from the influence of the hostile elements, and only then will the scoundrels be further isolated.

If good people are not absolved but are treated as offenders for ever, the scoundrels will sneak round, brewing mischief. The story of the film *At a Village near the Demarcation Line* shows this clearly: a spy disguised as a workteam leader is exposed while attempting to confuse the honest relative of a man who had gone to the south, saying, "What's the use of working hard?" It is our stand to actively accept and win over the relatives of those whom the US scoundrels forcibly abducted or deceived into going to the south during the war. To do this, we must boldly demonstrate trust in these people and lead them to put their faith in us, while preventing bad elements from exerting any influence on them.

In proposing to forgive people who took part briefly in counterrevolutionary activities in the past, we aim to isolate the wicked hostile elements completely, prevent them from encouraging vacillations among our people, unite the masses still more firmly around our Party, and, finally, intensify the class struggle. Nevertheless, the vicious elements, before anyone else, were all pardoned in the one day in South Hwanghae Province. This is little short of giving up the class struggle. This only made the bad people rejoice secretly, just as if their day of glory had arrived, while the good people, forgiven simultaneously with such fellows, gained little encouragement. Moreover, it led to the paralysis of the fighting spirit of the basic sections of the masses against the hostile elements, and even aroused indignation among some families whose relatives had been murdered by the enemy. This, of course, is a phenomenon which

took place in some localities in South Hwanghae Province, but I think all Party organizations ought to draw serious lessons from it.

It is the spirit of the current plenary meeting to effect a switchover of Party work from doing things administratively to the revolutionary work methods of organizing and mobilizing the Party members and masses. These methods must also be decisively employed in leading the class struggle in the countryside. Scrupulous organization and vigorous promotion of the struggle against the class enemies by arousing the Party members and all the masses to activity is the key to success in the complex class struggle.

The former landlords' true class nature must be driven home to the Party members and the farm masses; their past crimes must be exposed for all to see; and all the masses must be motivated to hate the enemy and constantly keep a highly vigilant eye on every movement of the hostile elements. If only you see to this, the bad elements in the rural areas and our enemies will find themselves bound hand and foot.

Bent on issuing administrative orders without doing Party work, the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee also failed to give effective leadership in the class struggle in the countryside. This kind of shortcoming must be corrected, first of all, in South Hwanghae Province; and all the other provincial Party organizations should learn a lesson from this and, in the future, skilfully conduct the class struggle in the countryside strictly in accordance with the revolutionary mass line.

The class relations and the orientation of the class struggle in our country at the present time are clearly stated in the Party documents that have already been issued. In particular, the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee adopted on April 1, 1960 set forth the concrete policies of isolating the handful of our enemies and rallying the masses of various strata still more closely around our Party. When all Party organizations thoroughly carry through these correct policies, which are in keeping with our reality, I think all the complex problems in the class struggle will be solved quite easily.

3. ON STRENGTHENING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

Everyone knows that the Moscow Declaration adopted at the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 pointed out that modern revisionism is the main danger to the international communist movement.

Of late, revisionism has raised its head more overtly in various fields and is having a serious disintegrating effect on the ranks of the international communist movement.

Revisionism has not been in existence for only a day or two. It has quite a long history. The entire course of the emergence and development of Marxist-Leninist ideas is a history of struggle against Right and "Left" opportunist trends of all descriptions, against revisionism and dogmatism.

Revisionism came into being after the death of Marx and Engels, that is, between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, as an opportunist trend to revise the revolutionary essence of Marxism while acting under the cloak of Marxism.

As the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class became sharper with the advent of the imperialist stage of capitalism, the monopoly capitalists, intensifying the suppression of the revolutionary labour movement, pursued the policy of bribing the upper stratum of labour and using them as their agents, with the aim of splitting the labour movement and disrupting it from within. Thus, the degenerates and renegades of the revolutionary movement who were bribed by the imperialist bourgeoisie, revised Marxism to please the capitalists. Hence, their opportunism came to be called revisionism.

The opportunist, revisionist trends in Europe were represented by

the Bernstein school in Germany, the Millerand school in France, the Fabian Society in Britain, and the legal Marxists, economists and Mensheviks in Russia. Later, the parties of almost all countries under the Second International, except in Russia, slid into the slough of revisionism.

Only the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin put up an uncompromising struggle against all kinds of opportunist trends and upheld the revolutionary banner of Marxism to the end. At the time, the revisionists attacked Lenin as a dogmatist because of his refusal to revise Marxism.

Lenin's chief enemy in his struggle for the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party was economism, a Russian variety of international revisionism. From the very first day that economism emerged in Russia, Lenin conducted a relentless struggle against this revisionist trend. He thoroughly exposed the anti-Marxist essence of economism in a booklet *A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats*.

Likewise, when the Party Programme and Rules were being adopted at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1903, Lenin had to conduct a fierce struggle against the opportunists. The opportunists came out against the insertion of clauses concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasant question and the national question in the Party Programme. But, by virtue of Lenin's determined fight, the Party congress succeeded in crushing the opposition of the opportunist elements and in adopting the first Marxist programme of the revolutionary workers' party.

The Mensheviks, who after 1903 formed an opportunist faction within the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, degenerated into a group of Liquidationists, who insisted upon the liquidation of the illegal party during the period of reaction following the failure of the first Russian revolution.

When the First World War broke out, the parties of many countries under the Second International denied the imperialist nature of the war and called upon the workers of their countries to fight in "defence of their homeland". Thus, the Second International opportunists

completely surrendered to the imperialist bourgeoisie and overtly turned into social-chauvinists.

Only the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin thoroughly exposed the imperialist nature of the war, opposed the workers of all countries killing one another in the interests of the imperialists, and launched the revolutionary slogan of converting the imperialist war into civil wars. Thus, under the leadership of the great Lenin, who upheld and further carried forward the banner of revolutionary Marxism, the October Socialist Revolution triumphed in Russia.

Today, the revolutionary forces throughout the world have grown incomparably strong. More than one-third of the world's population is building a new life of socialism. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, a powerful anti-imperialist, national-liberation movement is under way; and within the imperialist countries the working class is stepping up its struggle against the domination of monopoly capital.

In these circumstances, the imperialists are becoming more and more frantic. While intensifying the plunder and suppression of their own peoples and the peoples of weaker and smaller countries, they are making desperate efforts to bribe the cowards in the ranks of the labour movement who are flinching from the revolution, and to use them as their agents for carrying out their imperialist policies. The modern revisionists, as well as such fellows as Choe Chang Ik and Pak Chang Ok in our country, fall into this category.

The modern revisionists deny the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat which together constitute the general principles of the socialist revolution. They maintain that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed and that, therefore, socialism can get on well with imperialism; they madly proclaim that the transition from capitalism to socialism can be accomplished peacefully by means of parliamentary struggle.

The revisionists are making a noise about disarmament and calling for the abandonment of the anti-imperialist struggle. They say: if a war breaks out in this age of thermonuclear weapons it will certainly be a thermonuclear war, so what is the use of building communism after the

world would have been ruined and all humanity destroyed?

They spread the illusion that the imperialists might voluntarily disarm themselves without any struggle on our part. But can we ever imagine that the imperialists will lay down their arms of their own accord? It is quite incompatible with the nature of imperialism for it to give up its arms of its own free will.

Just as the old revisionists asserted that the doctrine of Marx was obsolete, so the modern revisionists contend that the theories of Lenin do not fit the changed new age.

As they are afraid of the revolution and do not want it, the revisionists are revising Marxism-Leninism and overhauling the theory of the class struggle which is the cornerstone of that doctrine, in order to please the capitalists.

The sources of revisionism are acceptance of domestic bourgeois influence and surrender to external imperialist pressure. Both old revisionism and modern revisionism are one and the same in essence and in aims: both deny the basic principles of Marxism and call for a renunciation of the revolutionary struggle on the pretext that times have changed.

The revisionists' most absurd act at present is that they are sowing discord in the socialist camp, while doing all they can to curry favour and develop close ties with imperialism.

If the revisionists do not want to make a revolution, they are welcome to go their own way. But the danger lies in the fact that they are even opposed to other people making a revolution and go to the length of imposing revisionism upon others.

In doing so, they call the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who refuse to follow their revisionist line "dogmatists", "nationalists", or "Stalinists", rejecting them and trying to isolate them from the socialist camp. This is the modern revisionists' most absurd act and presents a serious danger to us.

Which path should we take, the path of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism or the path of revisionism under the baton of a certain person?

The Korean people's history of anti-imperialist struggle covers several decades now. If we take the anti-Japanese armed struggle as our starting point, it covers 30 years. But though we have been fighting against imperialism for over 30 years, we have not yet completed our revolution.

We have liberated only half of the country and one-third of its population. Korean communists, therefore, still have to continue the revolution and fulfil the tasks of driving out US imperialism and accomplishing the revolution for national liberation.

How can we quit the struggle against imperialism when half of the country and two-thirds of its population still remain under imperialist oppression? How can we join in giving the US imperialists a good image when they are daily spilling our fellow countrymen's blood and humiliating our brothers and sisters? For us to give up the revolution and quit the anti-imperialist struggle means abandoning south Korea to US imperialist aggression for ever and allowing the traitors to the nation to exploit and oppress the south Korean workers and peasants.

Let certain people renounce Marxism-Leninism and take the revisionist path, but we, for our part, cannot allow ourselves to waver or compromise with imperialism. There is a revolutionary song which says: "Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer; we'll keep the Red Flag flying here." This expresses our invariable determination. We must continue with the revolution and resolutely fight against imperialism to the end.

Our task cannot be confined to the safeguarding of the revolutionary gains already attained in the northern half of our country. We are duty bound to help our fellow countrymen in south Korea to accomplish the south Korean revolution and continue to fight until the day when socialism and communism will have been built in the whole of Korea. We can by no means rest content with the victory we have won in the northern half, nor should we relax in the least. We cannot degenerate into cowards who are afraid of shedding blood in the revolution and fear prison and the gallows.

We must not forget even for a moment that the northern half is the

base of the Korean revolution. We must firmly build up a mighty political, economic and military force in this revolutionary base and, relying on this base, must bring the Korean revolution to final completion. This is the duty of Korean communists.

We must be prepared for the pressure that the revisionists might bring to bear upon us in many ways. No matter how they may calumniate and slander us, we will brush them aside and uphold Marxism-Leninism to the last.

We will do everything in our power to support the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples throughout the world and give active support to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in all countries against the domination of monopoly capital.

This line of ours is fundamentally opposed to revisionism. Because we are for the revolution and against imperialism, we have no alternative but to combat revisionism, which is an agent of imperialism. The choice is between two roads: whether we firmly safeguard the banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism against revisionism, or degenerate into revisionists and yield to imperialism. We have no other way.

We must resolutely repudiate revisionism and continue our unyielding fight for the victory of the revolutionary cause.

Not only our Party but the Communist Parties of many Asian countries which are subjected to imperialist encroachment are asserting that the revolution must be continued and a resolute struggle must be waged against revisionism.

As long as imperialism exists, there will be imperialist oppression; and as long as there is imperialist oppression, the people will struggle against it and revolution will break out. Only through their struggle and revolution can the people free themselves from the yoke of imperialist oppression and exploitation. The revolution calls for the firm safeguarding of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against revisionism.

The peoples of many countries in the world are still subjected to

imperialist oppression and exploitation. Therefore, more and more people will make a revolution in the future. Whatever the revisionists may do in their attempt to paralyse the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and emasculate the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary movement will continue and Marxism-Leninism will remain alive and triumph without fail. Just as the fall of capitalism and the victory of socialism are inevitable, so are the ruin of revisionism and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

In the whole Party, ideological work should be conducted thoroughly to oppose revisionism. While strengthening the Marxist-Leninist education of the Party members, the revisionist viewpoints and conceptions should be explained clearly to them, so that they will unerringly be able to tell right from wrong. It is very important here to make Lenin's attitude towards revisionism, and how he criticized it, known to the Party members. Ideological education has thus far been remiss in opposing revisionism. From now on, this work should be improved.

While waging the struggle against revisionism, we must fight against the Western way of life. Our struggle against the Western way of life is aimed at rejecting the American way of life, not everything Western. It can be said that revisionism is a first cousin to the Western way of life. When revisionism comes in, the Western way of life comes along with it and vice versa.

Now, concretely, what is the Western way of life? In music, for instance, it is represented by "jazz", and in dance, by mambo (naked dance). When we speak of a Western lunatic or a frivolous and vain fellow, we refer to those who are infected with this Western way of life. National nihilists, flunkeyists, people who hate revolution, and depraved persons readily accept the Western way of life.

We should prevent the infiltration of the Western way of life by strengthening Marxist-Leninist education, by establishing the Party ideological system, by stepping up education in the revolutionary traditions and by strengthening revolutionary order and discipline among the Party members and the working people. Party ideological

work to repudiate revisionism and the Western way of life should be conducted energetically among writers, artists and scientific workers in particular. Those who despise everything of their own and worship everything foreign and those who lack the spirit of self-reliance are most susceptible to the Western way of life and revisionism.

Certain persons denounce self-reliance as nationalism. But how can it be nationalism? Self-reliance is the lofty revolutionary spirit of communists. Why is it wrong to carry out a revolution through one's own efforts and build socialism for oneself?

It is impossible to make a revolution by depending on other countries. Dependence will lead to mistrust of one's own strength and also prevent efforts to make the best use of the domestic resources of one's own country. Self-reliance means building socialism and accomplishing the revolution on one's own by every means. This is the only way to be loyal to internationalism and contribute to the common cause of socialism.

We are not the people to reject foreign aid. We welcome the aid of the fraternal countries. Nobody will refuse to accept an offer of aid. But what should we do when nobody offers us aid? Even if nobody gives us aid, we must carry out the revolution and build socialism.

Comrades, formerly we had to buy grain from foreign countries every year. But, from this year on we need not do so because we had a good crop last year. What a good thing it is to harvest a good crop and lighten the burdens of our brother countries! I think this is real internationalism. How are we to interpret the mental attitude of those who do not give aid and at the same time slander self-reliance by calling it nationalism?

Even among our people there are also some who question self-reliance. Such people are found from time to time among our scientific workers. Having no faith in our own strength, these people think we cannot get along without aid from others. It is not true that we cannot live without aid. We can not only live as well as we wish even without aid, but also build socialism splendidly, and we must certainly do so.

In order to instil the spirit of self-reliance in the Party members and the working people, we must continue to wage a vigorous struggle to reject flunkeyism and dogmatism and establish Juche, and, at the same time, must always educate them so that they will not become degenerate, but live frugally.

As for our Party attitude towards the problem of unity in the international communist movement, we, of course, must always work for unity with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, and for strengthening the unity of the socialist camp.

But even though we work to cement unity with the fraternal countries, we can under no circumstances accept a demand to renounce the revolution and take to revisionism. We will support the fraternal countries in whatever is right, but will not follow them in whatever is wrong. This is our Party's attitude towards the problem of unity in the international communist movement which has been raised in connection with the struggle against modern revisionism.

As regards revisionism, I think you will have an opportunity for a more profound study of it in the future. So, I will not speak of it any more today.

In conclusion, I once again emphasize that the whole Party, by strengthening its organizational and ideological work in accordance with the spirit of this plenary meeting, should strive to become a party which is militant and always dynamic, and to train our Party members to be indomitable revolutionary fighters, capable of faithfully carrying out Party assignments however difficult the circumstances may be.

ON IMPROVING THE PERFORMANCE OF THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Provincial
People's Committee Chairmen**

April 8, 1962

At the current consultative meeting of the provincial people's committee chairmen we have got a detailed picture of the work being done by the Pyongyang Municipal People's Committee and exchanged views on the work of the commercial sector and many other problems. This serves as a good training course for enhancing the practical approach of officials of people's committees.

In the past several years good progress has been made in the performance of the commercial sector. However, the work of the commercial and distributive sector still involves many issues which must be settled. It is an important task for people's committee officials to remedy as quickly as possible the shortcomings now being revealed, and improve our performance, in the commercial and distributive field in order to meet the requirements of developing realities.

Some people may think as if commerce were faring badly, because of the shortage of goods, but they are wrong if they think so.

At present our country is producing large quantities of goods which are beyond comparison with the amount turned out before liberation. It is turning out agricultural produce several times and light industrial goods tens of times as much as in the past. True, our shops are not well stocked yet with daily commodities, and sometimes run short of meat,

vegetables and the like. So you may wonder why shops are poorly stocked though goods are being mass-produced. But it is not hard to see why.

Today's socialist system of our country is fundamentally different from the social system of the pre-liberation days. Before liberation, only the handful of the rich and privileged circles bought a lot of goods, but the overwhelming majority of our poor working people could not do so. This was why the shops were always well stocked with commodities and it seemed as if they were in abundance. Take meat for instance. Before liberation, landlords and capitalists ate roast meat almost every day and went to restaurants to take all sorts of meat as they wanted, whereas the working people could not have even a slice of meat throughout the year. At present, however, meat is supplied obligatorily to hospitals, sanatoria, holiday homes and to people engaged in heavy labour, and is provided, though in small quantities, to all our working people evenly. In the past the colliers and miners could never get their fill of rice, to say nothing of meat, even though they were doing indescribably arduous work underground. Today, however, they are provided with free meat by the state, as a labour protective measure. Shops may, therefore, have a somewhat limited stock of meat. The same holds true for other commodities.

Even though shops are not well stocked with goods now, our working people are provided with essential goods—generally several times as much as in the bygone days. The supply of goods is, of course, lagging behind the rapidly increasing demand of the working people. This problem can be resolved satisfactorily in the future when productivity develops enough to meet the people's requirements for goods.

We do not say that there is a shortcoming now in the work of the commercial sector simply because shops fail to keep a large stock. It is important to mass-produce goods and to stock the shops where they are sold, but it is no less important to supply manufactured goods efficiently to our working people in accordance with the socialist principle. The major defect manifested in the commercial sector today

is the fact that the existing goods are not distributed properly to the working people.

From lack of intense enthusiasm and high responsibility on the part of workers in commerce, there are many instances where goods are not supplied better to the people, when it would otherwise be quite possible to do so.

Before liberation, only 300,000 tons of fish could be landed a year, whereas at present 600,000 to 700,000 tons are caught. This is not a small amount. With this amount, and by arranging distribution skilfully, commercial workers can provide the people with fish all the year round. However, this is not the case now. When fish is landed in quantities, the supply is so great that people cannot cope with it, but when catches are small, supplies become scarce.

The same goes for fruit. The orchard area has expanded greatly as compared with that in the days under Japanese imperialist rule, but shops, nevertheless, often run short of fruits. Although some of them are exported now, the commercial sector can prevent the shops from running short of supplies, if it purchases apples, pears, strawberries, plums and various other kinds of fruits in season, stores them properly and places them on the market in a planned manner.

In the pre-liberation days, merchants sold shirts and similar articles, handsomely made with cotton and some other poor-quality cloth. At the moment, however, our workers are unable to make and sell good suits, even though different kinds of good-quality cloth are turned out for them in large quantities.

Because officials do not do their jobs properly, the shops have limited stocks of goods and their quality is low, from the viewpoint of the level of the country's economic development.

Distributive workers store up goods in a slovenly way. Before liberation, private merchants laid out seaweed and such like well, to make them look appetizing for sale. By contrast, a look at shops today shows that they sell seaweed which appears miserable, because they do not refine it. A slight effort would enable them to supply the people better with meat and the like, but they do not take the trouble.

Many hotels and restaurants have been built but they are poorly managed, their meals are low in quality, and their service is not to be recommended. Pyongyang noodle is less palatable than before: although the state has built large restaurants and ensures that they get plenty of supplies, they fail to make noodle as tasty as before.

In capitalist society, merchants rack their brains to get as much profit as possible and endeavour to attract customers. In socialist society, however, it can be said that whether goods are sold or not is of little direct concern to workers in the commercial sector, because it is the state which carries on commerce. They are paid fairly by the state, regardless of whether goods sell well or not. The loss caused through stagnant commerce is borne by the state and by the people. Hence, some uninitiated workers in commerce make no efforts to serve customers better and, what is worse, others even try to behave in a haughty way towards customers. This is a manifestation of old ideological remnants, showing that they work as hirelings, still failing to adopt the stand of the state and the people.

If they work with a high degree of consciousness and a sense of their responsibility for serving the people, workers in commerce can see to it themselves that there is an abundance of goods, make shops look more attractive, and improve their service to the working people. If they make strenuous efforts and are imbued with a correct viewpoint, they will be able to carry on commerce much better than capitalists.

Merchants in capitalist society seem to be kind and to offer good service outwardly; but in fact this is not the case. They do not give a whit about serving the interests of the people; their only idea is how to deceive people in order to exploit them more. Their kindness is nothing but a trick to extract more money from the pockets of the people.

However, the commercial establishments in socialist society are genuine institutions of service, solely for the good of the people. In this society commercial activities constitute the supply work for the people, and the basic duty of commercial establishments and workers is to look carefully after the people's livelihood. Goods produced by

the country are supplied to the people through distributive networks, and whether they live in affluence or not depends largely on the role of the distributive workers.

Guidance for commerce is most important in the work of the people's committee. Since there are specialized organizations giving guidance to industry and agriculture, the people's committees should regard the ensuring of supplies for the working people as their primary task. Only when they control commercial establishments and organize the supply of goods efficiently, can the people's committees rapidly improve the living standard of the working people.

Healthy commercial activity is the prerequisite for success in production. Distribution constitutes an important link between production and consumption. When distributive organizations play their role well, they can not only deliver goods satisfactorily to the working people, but also give great stimulus to production. They should constantly urge the producers to turn out larger quantities of the goods the working people demand, improve their quality and increase their variety.

As their standard of living improves, the working people demand a larger amount of different commodities of high quality. The duty and role of commercial establishments become greater with the progress of socialist construction. Even in future communist society there will always be the establishments which distribute and deliver products to the working people. In that society the chairmen of provincial or county people's committees may happen to be unnecessary, but the personnel engaged in distribution will be needed continuously.

Nevertheless, some commercial workers at present lack a sense of honour and responsibility in their work. Some Party and government officials, too, do not pay due attention to the work of commercial establishments because they lack a thorough understanding of the importance of commerce.

To achieve an improvement in the work of the commercial sector, it is necessary to get the officials to have a correct viewpoint on commerce and to intensify political work among the workers in this

sector, so as to further sharpen their sense of responsibility and increase their role.

Considering the work of the commercial sector to be an easy job, some officials are now unwilling to appoint good cadres to this sector, and even send to commercial establishments persons who have been forced out of other establishments due to their slipshod work. All this is an expression of erroneous ideas of making light of commerce. Without correcting such mistaken viewpoints on the part of leading officials, it is impossible to improve work in this sector.

A particularly important thing in improving the work of commercial establishments is to intensify the ideological education of commercial workers. In socialist society they are service workers who are responsible for the people's living conditions, so they must be more unselfish and more firmly resolved to serve the state and the people than anyone else. Unless we deeply imbue them with a dedicated spirit of service in the interests of the state and the people through intensified ideological education, we cannot expect them to have a high degree of creativity and service, nor can we prevent negative practices appearing in commercial establishments.

In order to carry on socialist commerce efficiently, commercial workers must have a communist revolutionary spirit. A selfish man cannot faithfully serve the people. In the past the anti-Japanese guerrillas were able to fight Japanese imperialism, despite harassing ordeals, and to liberate the country, because they had a strong revolutionary spirit of serving the good of the people. It is not that they were unaware how good it was to live comfortably at home with their families. Nevertheless, they gave up their personal comfort and took the road of struggle for our national liberation and our people's well-being.

Remoulding the ideological consciousness of people is the most important problem for success in the work of any sector in socialist construction. The right solution of this problem is indispensable for success in any work. Herein lies the very reason why our Party strongly emphasizes the need to keep political work ahead of all other

affairs. Government officials and leading workers in the commercial sector should bear this in mind and work efficiently to ensure the ideological education of workers in this sector.

Workers in commerce handle money and articles every day, and work scattered in groups of a few persons, instead of working collectively at one workplace. Moreover, their ranks were joined by many former private merchants during the period of our socialist transformation. Therefore, commercial establishments must carry on vigorous ideological educational activities under a well-laid plan.

We can hardly say that the ideological education of commercial workers is well under way at present. Party organizations and government bodies arrange frequent training courses for administrative officials or factory management staff, but scarcely for workers in commerce. Although they should ensure more and better ideological education for these workers, they do not show even due concern about the matter.

It is, of course, not an easy task to make communists out of all our commercial workers, who number tens of thousands, nor, moreover, could this be achieved within a short time. It is possible, however, if only we buckle down to it with determination. Party organizations and government bodies should meticulously take the necessary steps to ensure the education of the workers in this sector.

In future, full-time political workers will have to be allocated to the commercial sector, too, or some other positive measures will have to be taken. For all this, you should not regard political work as a task to be performed by these workers alone. Every Party member should do political work. Managers, shop managers and all Party members working in the sector should do this work. Commercial establishments, too, should make it an iron rule to do political work before everything else, and devote their primary efforts to the education of people so as to bring their creativity into full play.

While providing them with a good education, we should hold commercial workers in public esteem and pay close attention to improving their treatment.

These people are working for the state and their fellow people, not simply for their own personal interests. Their work of serving the people is very important and deserving of respect, and it is by no means an easy task. We can say, as a matter of fact, that serving people is more difficult than producing goods. This is why workers in this sector should be respected socially and treated better.

If they are not held in public esteem and their work is looked down upon, no one will want to do it. In the past there were people who did mean jobs against their will because they could not find other ones, but what would make people take such jobs now, when everyone is entitled to work and study? Unless a struggle is waged against the outdated attitude of despising service workers, there will soon be no barbers, no shoe menders and no laundrywomen, either. Then, this will become a big social problem.

All jobs are sacred. No jobs can be mean. It is an attitude of the exploiting classes to regard labour as mean and to look down upon working men and women.

Those who are working in the commercial sector are legitimate masters of the country and servants of the people. Under our social system no justification can be found for despising such workers. In our society people working in sectors involving arduous jobs must be held in higher public esteem.

We must thoroughly eliminate from the minds of our people the wrong attitude of looking down upon service workers, and build up a public habit of everyone respecting them. This will be a political work conducive to inducing them to have a high sense of honour.

Holding them in public esteem and improving their treatment is important, of course, but what is even more important is, in all respects, to intensify their political and ideological education. Improvement of their material treatment has a limit and, moreover, it cannot make the sector go well of its own accord. The work of the sector can progress smoothly only when all commercial workers are inspired, through intensive ideological education, to have a high degree of ideological readiness to give better service to our people.

An inspection system, along with educational work, must be strengthened in the commercial and distributive sector.

Educational work alone cannot train all workers in this sector to be excellent. They cannot be turned into communists in a single day even through intensive political work. While conducting efficient educational work, we should set up a strict inspection system and strengthen supervision and control.

At present the work of commercial establishments is usually assessed by reference to the complaints of people, but this cannot be said to be entirely right. The content of complaints may not be true, and there may be those who do not make complaints even though they have adverse views. It is good to heed people's complaints, but we should not assess the work of commercial or distributive workers, saying whether their service is good or bad, merely by complaints. For a true assessment of their work, we should systematically inspect how they serve the people.

At present, inspection work is very weak in the commercial and distributive sector. Owing to the neglect of regular inspection, there is many a case where shortcomings in the work of commercial workers are not promptly rectified and errors in their work are not prevented, even this could well be done.

From now on, the inspection system should be strengthened so as to ensure regular checks on how agencies in this sector stock and supply goods and how they serve the people.

Next in importance is to raise the technical and practical skills of workers in this sector.

Let me take the catering service, for instance. The service workers in this sector at present have a very low level of technical qualification. During my occasional visits to the revolutionary schools, I find the quality of the meals is not high, despite quite a high standard in the supply of non-staple foodstuffs, and in spite of favourable conditions for serving them. The staffs serve unseasoned or sour kimchi because they did not prepare it properly, and the fish is also unpalatable because it is cooked in a slovenly manner. It is the same with ordinary

restaurants in towns: they are unable to prepare appetizing dishes, not because the materials are lacking or bad, but because the technical competence of their cooks is so low.

If the catering sector cannot cook foodstuffs well, no matter what large quantities of them are produced, it would be impossible to serve the people with appetizing dishes. It is, therefore, very important to improve cooking skills in the catering sector.

Needless to say, the processing of foodstuffs should be industrialized in future. Even in that case, however, the skill to prepare tasty foods will be continuously necessary, and this will be an all the more urgent requirement as living standards improve. So great attention should be paid to raising the technical level of service workers.

To improve the work of the commercial and distributive sector, the state should provide the relevant agencies well with the necessary facilities.

A positive measure should be taken first to produce and deliver a large number of refrigerators.

The fact that shops are not furnished properly with refrigerating facilities causes great inconvenience. Fish, for instance, is supplied in considerable quantities when there are great landings, because it cannot be stored for long; but when it is not caught abundantly, supplies become scarce. If shops were fitted with refrigerators, they would be better able to provide the working people with fish, bean curd and various other foodstuffs regularly.

Manufacturing refrigerators is not really such a difficult task. Now that each province has large engineering plants and blueprints for refrigerators, workers are quite capable of manufacturing them, if only they make positive efforts.

We should see to it that next year refrigerators will be made without fail, even though other machines may be manufactured in smaller numbers. We should solve the problem of making refrigerators decisively, even if we have to build a new plant. At the same time, a large cold-storage warehouse should be built in each city, and every

condition created to permit the storing and processing of foodstuffs.

Now, I am going into just a few more details of important problems which face a number of individual branches of commerce.

The most important branch of commerce is that of foodstuffs.

The problems of food, clothing and housing lie at the heart of the standard of living of the people, and the food problem is the most important of them. Our forefathers reckoned clothing to be the first but, as a matter of fact, food is more important. We can perhaps tolerate shabby clothes, but never can we put up with hunger: people cannot compromise with hunger. To provide the people with a comfortable life, therefore, we should first and foremost successfully solve the problem of food.

Our Party is striving to enable everyone to eat rice and meat soup for their daily meals in the next few years. This is of course by no means a simple task. And yet, our people are convinced that they will be fully able to accomplish this task. Yesterday I met an official working locally and asked him how people think of the efforts our Party is now making to enable the entire people to eat rice and meat soup. He replied that all are sure of success.

Through their practical experience, our people have come to gain unshaken confidence that what our Party intends to do will be achieved without fail.

Had our Party put up a slogan about eating rice and meat soup right after liberation, when the Pothong River improvement project was started or immediately following the armistice, when irrigation works were undertaken for the first time, the people would have viewed it with faint hope. Now, however, the situation is entirely different from those days: everywhere in our country today we can see irrigation water flowing in channels, and crops thriving. In South Phyongan Province almost all peasants are already eating rice—except those living in such remote mountain villages as Yangdok and Maengsan. The people in Mangyongdae, for instance, could not even get sufficient sorghum gruel before liberation. The people of Chilgol, too, ate meals of barnyard millet in those days. At present, however, all of them eat

rice. In former days, the people of Chilgol could not have even thought that the water of the River Taedong would ever cross over a big hill before it would irrigate their fields.

We have built many houses for our workers and peasants. At the Hwanghae Iron Works there remains the house in which its Japanese director had lived formerly, but the modern houses which have now been built in the countryside are much better. Our workers' dwellings are also as good as those of the officials in pre-liberation days.

Because the achievements of our Party are great, our people are confident that they will live better in the future if only they deal with matters in accordance with Party policy.

However, we cannot rest content with today's successes. We should see to it that the people become even better off in the future, and we should enable everyone to eat rice and meat soup, live in a tile-roofed house, and wear silk clothes. This is an objective well within our reach: we can weave great quantities of good cloth and build lots of modern houses. In a few years' time we will be able to successfully solve the problem of letting everyone eat rice.

However, it is not because all the people will be able to have rice for meals that the food problem will have been tackled successfully. If people eat rice, they will also demand a variety of good non-staple foodstuffs as well as choice goods in greater quantities.

Workers in the commercial sector should develop commerce in foodstuffs to match the facts that people eat rice and meat soup and live in tile-roofed houses. They should supply more soft drinks, sweets, biscuits, roast chestnuts, etc., and plenty of fruit of different kinds, so that the working people will find nothing lacking in their diet.

Originally, the food-processing industry was not developed in our country. Before liberation, this industry was very backward, and the trade in food was insignificant. In those days there were only cheap sweet-shops run by Japanese, and drops, glutinous rice jelly and similar items were made and sold to a limited extent. The demand for foodstuffs was not high at that time. Working people made bean paste and soy sauce, cooking oil, bean curd and other essentials by

themselves for their own consumption and did not buy much foodstuffs in shops.

The underdevelopment of the food-processing industry in our country does not imply that we have no national tradition of cooking food. From olden times our people produced plenty of processed foodstuffs such as bean paste, soy sauce, and bean curd for their own consumption. This shows that throughout history our people have employed quite developed methods of food processing. Making the best use of the good methods of food processing handed down by our ancestors, and converting them to an industrialized operation, therefore, are of great importance for developing our food-processing industry.

Since immediately after our liberation, our Party has made great efforts to develop this industry and, with the progress of socialist construction, has devoted increasing attention to it. As the people's living standard improves rapidly, thanks to the promotion of socialist construction, the demand of working people for foodstuffs has considerably increased.

A great change has taken place in our working people's way of life, too. In towns, a large number of families live collectively in multi-storey flats, and both men and women go to their workplaces in the morning. As a result, it is inconvenient to make bean paste, soy sauce and the like in every home, and, moreover, they find no time to do so. If we are to provide the working people with a proper diet to suit their changed living circumstances, we must develop the food-processing industry and thereby ensure the supply of a variety of foodstuffs efficiently and in time.

Thanks to the efforts made recently by workers in the food industry, some progress has been noted in the production of foodstuffs, but this industry is still in a backward condition. A look at grocer's shops shows us that at present their stocks of foodstuffs are limited. This causes great inconvenience to the people. When we have an unexpected visitor, we are unable to buy a chicken to serve him, and it is also hard to purchase condiments such as garlic and red pepper. It is

no less difficult for us to buy a few biscuits, cider and similar items for taking our children on an excursion on Sundays.

We have already settled a lot of matters to improve the people's standard of living. Our working people are free from anxiety about food, clothing and shelter, and everyone is able to work and study, and receive free medical treatment in case of illness. Big problems like these have been resolved, but the failure to ensure adequate supplies of cider, biscuits and other minor necessities of daily life has made people feel that their lives are dull. The manufacture of these drinks and sweets is, in fact, not difficult, but we fail to make them in sufficient quantities for general sale in shops. This is not due to any shortage of raw materials or lack of technique, but simply because government officials and workers in our light industry pay scant attention to the people's standard of living.

Workers in the commercial sector are also responsible for the inadequate supplies of foodstuffs. Commercial establishments are quite capable of processing and selling foodstuffs by their own efforts, but they simply do not bother to do so.

Groceries produced in food-processing plants alone are not enough to satisfy the people's demand. The commercial establishments should, therefore, themselves process in sufficient quantities a variety of food items. It would not be bad for them to process vegetables, make bean paste, soy sauce and bean curd, and to extract oil. They are quite up to it.

It would be advisable for foodstuffs to be processed on the premises of general stores and then be distributed to their branch shops, rather than be processed at each individual shop. Big cities can build a main grocery in every major district and install the necessary equipment there to enable it to process foodstuffs.

As for the labour force needed for food processing, shops may use such manpower as are allocated by the state, but they should also employ as many workteams of housewives as possible. If an appropriate amount of work is assigned to these workteams and the inspection system is strengthened, lots of appetizing foodstuffs can be

processed and the manpower problem can be easily resolved as well.

From now on, foodstuffs should be processed not only in processing plants but also at the premises of the commercial agencies, so as to ensure that a variety of savoury and highly nutritious food is supplied in greater quantities to the working people.

First of all, they must be provided with plenty of tasty soy sauce, bean paste and red-pepper bean paste. Until quite recently there were many instances in which people in and around Sunan and Junghwa came to Pyongyang to buy bean paste and soy sauce, but such practices have latterly disappeared. This implies that the same items produced in those regions have become as tasty as the ones produced in Pyongyang. Henceforth, active efforts should be made to produce different kinds of tasty bean paste and soy sauce in greater quantities.

More cooking oil should also be supplied to the people.

The production of various kinds of oil, such as those obtained from maize, bean, sesame, peanut, etc., must be increased so that grocer's shops will be always able to sell them. Especially in Pyongyang oil must not run out of stock. If the oil now produced at the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory were to be confined to Pyongyang citizens only, it would suffice, but part of it is sent to other parts of the country, with the result that Pyongyang is now a little short of oil. In future, provinces should solve their oil problem by themselves and the oil produced in Pyongyang should be supplied exclusively to its citizens.

To provide the people with plenty of oil, the oil-processing plants must increase their output and, at the same time, the commercial establishments, too, should install simple equipment and turn out different kinds of oil in quantities.

I am told that maize oil accounts for 50 per cent of all the cooking oil now being supplied to the citizens of Pyongyang. This is very good. Maize oil is more tasty than soy-bean oil and is good for our health. Soy-bean oil, if stored long, turns bad and acquires a stale taste, but such is not the case with maize oil: it can be used indefinitely for seasoning food, and its taste remains good. Therefore, more maize oil should be produced and supplied to the working people. As sesame is

at present planted in a limited area, its oil is not abundant. So it seems necessary that the price of sesame oil should be raised a little to keep down the demand: it does not matter whether this oil is a little high in price, because people take it a bit to enjoy its flavour.

More bean curd must also be supplied.

Bean curd is a tasty food with a high protein content, and is of great importance in our people's diet. Although it is now produced much more than heretofore, the supply is not yet enough to meet the demand. It must be produced in greater quantities, so that all our working people can take it regularly.

The production of bean curd necessitates neither large premises nor complicated equipment. In Changsong and Sakju counties, bean curd is produced with a millstone rotated by an electric motor; its actual extraction rate is high and it tastes good. The bean curd plant in Pyongyang strikes me as being too large. Too large a plant makes it hard to transport raw materials and is attended with lots of inconveniences. Therefore, bean curd plants should be built in several places and on as small a scale as possible. If the ground floor of a multi-storey block of flats is used, or a small house is built between such blocks, and a millstone and an electric motor are installed there, bean curd can be turned out as much as we want. This will also easily solve the manpower problem. The transport of raw materials may become something of an issue, but it will suffice if a system is set up to make use of trucks to ensure their supply.

In the production of bean curd, attention must also be devoted to increasing its actual extraction rate and quality. It is said that if bean or bean-cakes are ground into fine flour, and plaster is used instead of brine, the extraction rate will be higher and its taste better. Further study should be made of such problems.

At present a single kind of bean curd is produced, but from now on there should be different kinds, such as dried bean curd and bean curd preserved in soy sauce.

Measures must be taken to make and supply bean-flour drink.

We should produce and supply more salted seafoods, which are

important in the diet of the working people.

Since we land plenty of fish now, we can make various kinds of salted products as much as we want, simply by arranging the work well. We catch 300,000 to 400,000 tons of pollack alone in a single year and, if we process it skilfully, we can turn out lots of salted roe and entrails. Commercial workers should utilize every resource and opportunity to produce large quantities of salted roe, entrails, shrimps, tiny shrimps, squids, shellfish, oysters, etc., and supply them to the working people throughout the year. They should make and sell good dried fish, as well.

Great attention should also be devoted to the production of condiments.

Condiments constitute an important foodstuff. Food without condiments is not appetizing, no matter how rich it may be. Therefore, shops should not run short of garlic, red pepper, leek, ginger or other condiments. It matters nothing to people whether these are a bit expensive, for they do not take them in large quantities.

Vigorous efforts must be made to provide our working people with vegetables all the year round.

For this purpose, we should first produce a greater quantity of vegetables. We should see to it that at least some 600 to 700 grammes of vegetables a day are supplied to everyone. In addition, we should produce them by successive stages. One of the reasons why we are unable to supply the people with vegetables regularly, though producing them in relatively large quantities at present, lies in our failure to grow them in successive crops.

The staggered production of vegetables requires different kinds of seeds. Even if one and the same kind of seed is planted at an interval of about 15 days, we cannot discern any particular difference between their growing. So we should have vegetable seeds for July planting, and for sowing in August, September and October as well.

The problem of obtaining vegetable seeds must not be left only to the Ministry of Agriculture. Provinces must also strive to secure those which fit in with their specific conditions. This work must be carried

on well, particularly in Pyongyang—not only to meet its own demand but also to supply vegetable seeds to the west coast areas in North and South Hwanghae Provinces and North and South Phyongan Provinces. North and South Hamgyong Provinces should undertake research on the ones which suit the mountainous regions. For the solution of the vegetable seed problem, vegetable research institutes should be set up in Pyongyang and in North or South Hamgyong Province, and staffed with the necessary scientists and other personnel.

Vegetables should be grown even in winter. We should study methods of storing vegetables so as to keep abundant supplies of autumn ones fresh and to supply them in winter. At the same time, we should raise vegetables in hothouses extensively, and thus enable shops to sell radish, cabbage, leek, carrot, etc., in winter, too.

While increasing the output of vegetables, we should strive to distribute them to the inhabitants evenly.

At present we fail in this. Take Pyongyang for instance. They supply only 156 grammes of vegetables a day for each person in the Tongdaewon District but 600 grammes in the Central District. They need to rationalize the supply of vegetables to the citizens.

Each shop must also market vegetables intelligently, so that all the households will be able to buy them. Due to the present improper organization of marketing by shops, it is difficult for those households from which both husbands and wives go out for work, to buy vegetables. This problem can be resolved easily if only shop staffs show a little concern: shop workers should adopt a system whereby they serve in the morning and evening, and earmark a fixed amount of vegetables for sale in the morning and a separate amount for sale in the evening. This would do. Moreover, if they learn how many housewives in the districts for which they cater return from their workplaces after the shops have closed, and put aside adequate quantities for these households, the housewives in question will be able to buy vegetables, on their way to and from work. This is the correct attitude and business manner of socialist workers in commerce. Not for them is the attitude that, if goods are there, they will sell them, and if there aren't any, they

will not. Workers in this sector should give full scope to their creative initiative so as to supply goods to the people in a rational manner.

Lots of processed vegetables must also be made available and sold.

Pickles in particular must be made available in adequate quantities. Pickled cucumber, radish, leek, garlic, etc., must be made from season to season. At present they do not make these available in sufficient quantities, so we rarely see vegetables out of season, although there are plenty of cucumber and other vegetables when they are in season. If they would process large quantities of pickles when vegetables are abundant, and sell them when vegetables are scarce, the public would be pleased.

At present food-processing plants produce some pickles, but the quantities are small and the varieties few, and moreover, because their taste is not so good, people do not particularly like to buy them. Currently, pickled cucumber is preserved only in salt. But if pickled in soy sauce or in bean paste, cucumber would be more palatable. Workers in the food industry should concern themselves about the production of a variety of savoury pickles.

We should also manufacture and provide large numbers of containers for different foodstuffs, in keeping with the development of the food-processing industry. There should be diverse containers for use at the home, including ones for red-pepper bean paste and pickles. Only then will people be able to keep various foodstuffs in them until required.

We should supply more animal products to the working people.

Our country now has a number of livestock centres. We can say that Pyongyang has three big poultry farms and solidly-built premises for egg production. Such premises have been built in all our other cities, too. They can now produce large quantities of meat and eggs, if only they are provided with the necessary quantities of feed.

An increase in egg production requires that chickens be supplied with plenty of albuminous feed, along with grain feed. Since the principal ingredient of an egg is albumen, chickens cannot lay many eggs if they are not given albuminous feed. At present the egg laying

rate is not high because we fail to supply precisely the albuminous feed we should. We should take positive measures to obtain a great deal of this feed.

While increasing meat production, we should process meat in a variety of ways. Meat-processing factories should make and supply more sausages, meat dumplings and similar items. A large number of rabbits are raised now, so measures should be taken to process rabbit meat, too. This does not necessitate the construction of big plants. It would be well to install simple equipment for slaughtering rabbits and for boiling down the meat in soy together with green peppers, if they find it difficult to process it in other ways. Just process rabbit meat properly, and you will be able to supply the working people with significantly greater quantities of meat.

Lots of fruit and processed fruit should also be provided for the working people.

To supply different kinds of fruit in a rational manner, taking account of seasonal factors, we had best build centres for fruit production.

Supposing that Pyongyang wishes to supply each citizen with an apple per day. That would take 100 tons a day or say 36,000 tons a year. If it intends to supply even processed apples, it would need at least 40,000 tons per year. Only 10,000 tons of apples can, however, be produced from the orchards which have so far been created by the city. To resolve the problem of fruit supply to Pyongyang, the city should therefore take measures to bring in fruit from the provinces, while making intensive efforts to increase its own production. Each province should build up its own fruit production centres so as to meet its own demand by itself.

These centres should be expanded and, in addition, the storage and marketing of fruit should be improved. Because arrangements for storing fruit are at present inadequate, fruit is to be found in abundance in the shops when in season, but little is to be seen out of season. The commercial agencies should improve their storing and marketing of fruit, so that they will never be out of stock in the course of the year.

Meanwhile, the pricing of fruit should be adjusted somewhat, so as to take account of actual conditions. At present, prices differ little with the change of seasons or with quality, but there is no need why they should not fluctuate. There should be a difference in the price of apples between the autumn, when they are abundant, and the winter or spring, when they are scarce: only when the price of apples in winter or spring is higher than in the autumn, will people have an incentive to hold them in storage until they can be sold at a higher price. In addition, shops should not market fruit regardless of quality; good ones should be distinguished from bad ones and sold at a higher price. A rather better price could be got for chestnuts. Since working people buy them not to eat every day, but just once in a while for their children, a somewhat higher price will not interfere with their standard of living.

Due concern should be shown about the processing of fruit, too. It would be good if various forms of processed fruit, such as jam, syrup and dried fruit, could be produced in large quantities and placed on the market when no fruit is available.

Shops must make sure that stocks of beer, cider and other refreshing drinks, peanuts, sweet potatoes, confectionery, etc., do not run out.

In order to improve the marketing of foodstuffs, we should set up a system under which commercial networks procure foodstuffs on their own.

Purchasing work is of great significance in increasing the sources of commodities.

At present the purchasing organs are buying in some of the foodstuffs which in the past used to be bought in by commercial agencies. This makes it impossible to bring out fully the creativity of the workers in commerce, and to tap all potential sources of goods. Buyers employed in the purchasing organs are little concerned about minor sources of goods. Besides, vegetables and eggs may be spoiled while official documents pass between purchasing organs and commercial establishments. That is why the commercial establishments must be allowed to buy not only vegetables and eggs but also meat, fruits, etc., on their own. In order that distributing and

public catering networks may function efficiently, the commercial sector cannot wait for purchasing organs to buy these items for them.

The countryside still abounds in sources of goods. Farmhouses have chickens as well as wild fruits and edible herbs picked from the mountains. In addition, they must have surplus glutinous rice, millet, green beans, etc., in small quantities, among the products from their kitchen gardens and their allocations in kind from their cooperative. These can be purchased.

The people's demand for foodstuffs goes on increasing. In order to ensure that the people may enjoy an abundance of goods, the foodstuff-producing and commercial sectors should work still harder. They should make the necessary preparations this year and, from next year on, secure a marked improvement in the marketing of foodstuffs. This work must be done well, especially in Pyongyang and other major cities and workers' settlements. In this way a great change should be made as early as possible in the availability of foodstuffs.

Next, the supply of daily necessities must be improved.

When we look at shops, we find that the assortment of daily necessities is not varied, and their quality is low. Notebooks and watch straps are scarce, and decent clothes are few. It is, of course, the workers in light industry who are responsible for this, but workers in the commercial sector must also be taken to task. If they made some more effort, commercial agencies could make and supply lots of daily necessities on their own. Making vinyl watch straps or manufacturing notebooks and diaries with paper are not difficult tasks.

They can themselves manufacture and sell a variety of textile products, including children's clothes, insoles, Korean sock covers, etc. As far as sweaters are concerned, they should not merely expect to receive these from factories but should obtain the necessary yarn and leave it with housewives' workteams, which will be equal to the task.

There are also many industrial goods that can be turned into better ones, if the agencies in the sector take just a little care of them. When they accept faded or crumpled fabrics from the mills, for instance, they should not sell them as they have received them; they should sell them

only after dyeing and ironing them so that they become presentable as well as serviceable. But workers in the sector neglect this, for they are lacking in enthusiasm and make little effort to serve the people any better.

These workers should give full rein to their inherent dynamism and creativity, so that the agencies may do everything they can by themselves.

In the processing of industrial goods, workers in this sector should lay great stress upon tailoring and dressmaking.

The commercial sector should build clothing factories and should open tailoring and dressmaking shops, and with its own resources make different kinds of smart garments for the market. Now that all our women go to work, marketing ready-made suits is not only better than just selling fabrics, but also imperative.

In particular, large quantities of children's ready-made clothes should be sold. At the moment shops stock lots of clothes for adults but not much for children. As a result, children are worse dressed than adults. In general, 40 per cent of the goods on sale at ordinary shops should be those for children. The mass-production of clothes and other goods for children calls for building of special factories for this purpose, or setting up specialized workshops, within large factories, for the production of goods for children. In addition, local industries and commercial networks should manufacture large quantities of clothes, shoes, socks and stockings, caps, belts, bags, etc.

The quality of clothes must be decisively improved. At present the garments made at tailoring and dressmaking shops are not good, partly because of the workers' low level of technical skill, but chiefly because they have to be made in large quantities by a small number of tailor's shops, which often results in careless products. To increase the quality of clothes, therefore, we should see to it that tailor's shops are opened in many places. At the same time, we should improve the technical knowledge and skills of workers in this sector.

The attire of our women must be altered somewhat.

The long skirts they are wearing now look too long. Wearing long

skirts does not mean preserving national traditions. The times have changed, and people's aesthetic sense and living manners have changed with them. While of course keeping our national traditions alive, we should develop people's attire in conformity with the aesthetic sense of the public today.

Walking with a trailing skirt does not match the image of the Chollima age. The dress of former days was primarily suited to the tastes and habits of nobles and of the exploiter classes. So that fashion does not suit present realities. It hampers our working people's production activities and social life.

Attire, too, must be altered to fit in with the Chollima age. The short skirts which some of our women are wearing these days are good to look at, convenient for action and fairly economical of cloth. For all this, I do not mean, of course, that all long skirts must be thrown away. Women can wear such skirts as ceremonial dress on the occasion of weddings or holidays, and when welcoming foreign guests. Short skirts, however, are convenient in day-to-day life, and particularly at work.

Not only women's skirts but other clothes must be suited to the sentiments of our people, the requirements of the times, and the socialist way of life.

But we must not follow corrupt Western styles on the pretext of improving our dress. As far as women's skirts are concerned, they must not be made so short as to expose their knees, like those of women in capitalist countries. Even in this change of fashion we must oppose restorationism on the one hand and, on the other, Western styles. The working class needs clothes which are decent yet convenient for work, simple yet pleasing to the eye.

The light industry and commercial sectors should take measures to improve people's attire to meet these requirements.

Furthermore, communal amenities must be well organized and properly managed.

In socialist society, such amenities, functioning in collaboration with the commercial network, contribute greatly to the improvement of

the people's material and cultural standards. It is very important, therefore, to increase the network of communal amenities and to operate them efficiently.

Now in Pyongyang, provincial capitals and workers' settlements, the housing problem has been solved to a large extent, but the related service facilities are still all too rare. If we are to enable people to live decently and without hardship, we must provide well-equipped bathhouses, barbershops and similar facilities, in addition to good housing. It would not be right just to build dwellings alone, without providing such facilities as well.

From next year on we should allocate five per cent of the funds for housing construction in cities to the provision of these amenities. In order to provide them in a proper manner, the state should make a definite allocation of funds and materials. Of the monies which will be needed for the proposed housing of 100,000 urban families next year, funds equivalent to those for housing 5,000 families should be used to provide social amenities.

A large number of these facilities should be provided not only in urban communities but throughout the countryside as well. In order to provide shops, barbershops and bathhouses in rural communities, we must set aside a certain amount from the funds for housing construction, as in cities.

From next year on the State Planning Commission and the Secretariat of the Cabinet should allot materials, funds and manpower, specifically for the provision of such social facilities, out of the allocations for housing construction, and thus bring about an increase in the number of these facilities in a planned way.

But even though we want to increase the number of such facilities, we cannot build all we need at the one time. We must follow the principle of building the essential ones first and the less necessary ones next, as soon as funds, materials and manpower become available. Important social amenities are bathhouses, barbershops, laundries, restaurants, repair shops for everyday necessities and hotels. These must be provided on a priority basis. Currently there are few repair

shops for everyday necessities. From now on we must set up more repair shops for shoes, watches and clocks, and furniture.

We must not establish unnecessarily large communal facilities: we should provide intimate and serviceable ones with less funds. As for hotels, it would be good if each had accommodation for about 200 guests. Similarly for restaurants: not large but small ones should be set up in many localities to offer rice mixed in soup or bean-flour drink, which are much in demand from the masses and easily prepared. This will do. If too large ones are built, funds and manpower will be wasted and, moreover, their management will be a difficult matter.

For a rapid increase of such communal facilities, the workers in this sector should also strive to equip them on their own, and not just wait for the state to provide everything.

Now there are quite a few issues which can be settled with a slight effort by these workers. They can easily furnish bathhouses, barbershops and such like without complicated equipment. The problem is that they simply do not exert themselves, and just wait for the state to found modern establishments for them. They are still lacking in enthusiasm and in endeavour to serve the people.

The state appropriates enormous funds every year for communal facilities. But in our country, where the foundations for industrialization have just been laid, we cannot afford to do everything all at once, nor can we provide only what is up-to-date, right from the start. We should first set up numerous communal facilities even if the installations and equipment are less than perfect, and later modernize them as occasion offers, while in operation. Otherwise, we cannot meet the needs of the people. Service workers should strive devotedly to make the best use of all circumstances and possibilities so as to meet the people's needs to the maximum.

It is important to manage these facilities well. No matter how many good restaurants or bathhouses we may set up, we will be unable to provide really decent conditions for the public if we fail to manage them properly.

In the past, the operation of communal facilities was under the Ministry of City Management, but now we have entrusted this field to the Ministry of Commerce, because such social services and the commercial network are so closely connected to each other and it was necessary to bring them under unified management.

Selling goods is a comparatively simple job, but managing communal facilities is a fairly difficult and complex task. We should, therefore, build up a good system of management in the community services sector and further enhance the functions and role of the organization guiding this sector.

We should also establish a proper supply system for this sector. Restaurants must be well supplied with foodstuffs, and barbershops, laundries and bathhouses with necessary equipment and materials such as hair-dressing appliances, razors, brushes, soaps, perfumes.

The commercial sector should also have factories which repair packaging and those which produce equipment needed for commercial and services establishments. This alone will enable the sector to produce, and to repair without delay, by its own efforts, all the equipment and materials it needs.

Next, more vehicles must be supplied to the commercial and distributive sector.

At present, there are many instances in which this sector fails to deliver timely supplies of goods because of lack of transport, even though goods are mass-produced. Some delay in the transport of fabrics or of miscellaneous everyday necessities may not be particularly serious, but foodstuffs will be spoiled if they are not transported and delivered in good time.

I think we had better give more lorries to this sector in order to solve its transport problem. Of the lorries to be produced next year, 300-400 must be allotted to this sector. If they have difficulty in providing all the lorries at a time, they should first supply ten to each provincial capital.

The "Sungni 58" lorries produced in our country are suitable for this sector. Excessively large lorries would be inconvenient for mobile

operation, wasteful of fuel and employing them would detract from our efforts to rationalize use of our fleet of lorries. The commercial and distributive sector must have motorized three-wheeled vehicles too, and Pyongyang needs one or two boats.

At the moment the transport management bureau controls the means of transport and coordinates the carriage of grains, coal, timber, building materials and commodities, but special arrangements are required for the transport of foodstuffs such as vegetables and bean curd, because prompt deliveries are essential. To solve this problem it is advisable to organize separately a foodstuff transport centre, with several lorries. If we ensure that lorry repairs and other technical services are carried out by the sector of transport and that the directions for lorry operation are issued by the distributive sector, we will be able to transport and deliver foodstuffs without delay.

Next, the commercial and distributive network must be formed in a rational way.

What is important in this is to bring shops nearer to residential areas. The basic duty of socialist commerce is to serve the working people for the promotion of their well-being and for their everyday convenience. Accordingly, shops must be sited near residential areas so that they will be conveniently placed for the working people.

Until several years ago, shops were concentrated mainly on the central areas in Pyongyang, Hamhung and other large cities, so as to lend life to the street scene. For our people who are building socialism, however, towns which are well designed and laid out in the best way to suit the citizens are more needed than lively streets. In Pyongyang this wrong state of affairs was eliminated to a large extent in 1958 by a redistribution of shops. However, there is still much scope for improvement in this field.

It is particularly important to locate food shops close to residential areas.

It does not matter so much if industrial goods shops are concentrated in a few places, because of the peculiarity of the demands for such goods. However, this will not do for food shops. People have

to buy foodstuffs every day, but only one or two suits of clothes a year. Therefore, there must be several food shops in each residential area.

At present there are many industrial goods shops everywhere, but few food shops. As a matter of fact, we need not disperse the former widely. Let me cite an instance. There is an industrial goods shop in Misan-dong, Pyongyang, but the inhabitants in this part of the city are unwilling to buy goods there. People prefer to buy such goods at department stores, where there is a greater variety of choice, since the price of industrial goods in such stores is the same as elsewhere. However, the case is different with everyday necessities or foodstuffs; people would not go to faraway department stores to buy matches, cigarettes or pickle. These peculiarities of the demand for different goods, and people's feelings, must be taken into account when the distribution of different types of shop is determined.

The distributive sector should reduce the degree of dissemination of industrial goods shops, which are now dispersed too widely, and, instead, bring about a marked increase in the number of food shops

We must distribute shops evenly, in a uniform ratio to the size of the population in each residential district. If we set up a general store for every 10,000 inhabitants, for instance, we would do well to open an additional two or three branch shops in each district. If shops are concentrated in one place, lots of people will go there to buy goods, with the result that the shops will become crowded and the traffic will thicken. An even distribution of shops in residential areas will avoid such congestion, while affording a much better service to the public.

The building sector, too, must pay due attention to the distribution of shops. Construction enterprises are now building dwelling houses alone, and are unwilling to erect shops, on the pretext that they must go all out to produce housing. This sector must also build shops, along with houses. Only then will the inhabitants have ready access to supplies of commodities. If building workers who are engaged in housing construction are really concerned with the well-being of the prospective inhabitants, they would devote small additional quantities of manpower and materials to the provision of shops and stalls. At

present, however, they do not provide even a single soft-drinks stand in a district of multi-storey flats. Such stands could well be incorporated in the plans for the ground floors of multi-storey blocks of flats, or could take the form of small structures situated in the backlots. If such stalls would sell soft drinks such as beer, cider, cooled syrup in summer, and roast chestnuts, sweet potatoes and hot soup in winter, so much the better.

Special provision should be made for shops and boutiques selling high-grade articles. Thus the people will be able to purchase what they want, when and where it suits them. There must also be both ordinary and high-class restaurants. Some may insist that this would be against the principle that everyone should be equal, but this would be mistaken. High-class restaurants are not exclusively frequented by the same patrons; everyone has access to them. We should build several high-class restaurants in each city so that everyone may dine as they prefer!

Socialism is not a society of egalitarianism. Under socialism, those who work hard are entitled to earn much and to spend freely, in conformity with the socialist principle of distribution. Such a difference is necessary until we build a communist society where people can freely eat and use everything that they want. In socialist society the socialist principle of distribution must be applied and there must be both ordinary and high-class shops, restaurants and other amenities. The high-class establishments are intended mainly for coal-miners, smelters and other highly-paid workers, but also for those who get meagre wages, should they wish to patronize such establishments—for instance when they are on holidays or when they wish to entertain guests. We should, of course, under all circumstances aim at having a large number of ordinary facilities for the broad masses and at improving their quality generally.

To continue. An efficient system of ordering must be operated so as to ensure the supply of goods to the consumer.

As early as 1958 we proposed an adoption of such a system. However, it is not yet working satisfactorily.

The system whereby goods are delivered on order is the socialist way of supplying goods to meet the public demand. It is bureaucratic simply to supply goods at random, in violation of this system. If the workers in this sector are to serve the people with sincerity, they should inform themselves properly with the requirements of the people and strive hard to meet them. Shops must take note of what goods are demanded by the working people, and take steps to supply them with the commodities they need.

Because of negligence in the operation of the order system, different deviations are now apparent. Since those concerned distribute goods on a purely uniform basis, and send them to shops in a bureaucratic manner, without taking realistically into account the working people's demand, some shops are concerned at the excessive size of the deliveries which they receive, while others are worried because of the shortage of their stocks. When I went to Pochonbo a few years ago, I dropped in at a shop where I saw high-quality suiting, which was hard to come by in Pyongyang, piled in rolls, despite the fact that in that region few people would wear suits of such materials. Socks were also stocked up there, unsold, while they were in short supply in other regions. This phenomenon I could see at a Yaksu shop in Changsong County. It had dozens of high-quality swimsuits for women, which were scarce even in the cities. What is the use of women's swimsuits at such a mountain village as Kanam-ri, Changsong County, while in Pyongyang and seaside towns there may be people who buy them in summer? When you supply goods in a haphazard way, regardless of the people's demand, you waste your transport resources, cause goods to pile up and, in the long run, incur great losses for the state.

Needless to say, some deviations may be inevitable in the working of the order system. Some people may order goods which are just not to be had in our country, or may demand excessive quantities of goods without giving thought to the level of the national output, and some shops may not have adequate supplies of goods demanded by the consumers. Such instances occur due to insufficient output, and not

because there is anything wrong with the order system itself.

The order system which we have adopted should never be viewed in the same light as the laissez-faire system in capitalist society. Ordering articles indiscriminately without taking the country's actual conditions into consideration has nothing in common with the socialist order system. Some workers in the field of commerce may ask themselves whether the order system does not cause confusion in the supply service, because of the fact that working people may demand lots of silk satin, watches, bicycles, sewing machines, and similar goods after the system has been introduced, and their demand cannot be fully met. However, this would be a wrong idea.

The order system in socialist commerce is a means whereby the demand of working people for various goods is met to the maximum extent compatible with the level of development which has been attained in the country's productive forces. If, when working people order articles which are not produced in our country, or which are produced so little that their supply is difficult, we will gently explain the country's situation to them and supply what we can, they will all understand the position.

For the correct functioning of the order system, it is necessary to fully establish a procedure to be followed when retail organizations place orders with wholesale agencies, and to further raise the sense of responsibility of workers in this sector.

Above all, the role of wholesale agencies must be enhanced. In the goods supply system, commerce at the wholesale level holds a very important place. The present poor functioning of the order system is largely related to the failure of wholesale agencies to play their role as they should.

These agencies should make proper contracts with the production sector, drawing on the data resulting from the orders placed by retail organizations. The conclusion of firm contracts with the production sector is of key importance in applying the order system. In order to prepare good contracts, workers of wholesale agencies should always be visiting shops and know in detail what commodities are in demand.

If they do not acquaint themselves well with the demand of retail organizations, they cannot draw up realistic contracts.

Wholesale agencies should not rashly accept and supply any goods produced at factories; they should ask the latter to turn out those goods which have been demanded by retail organizations. In this way they should oblige the production sector to plan the output of the articles required by the public.

The proper application of the order system requires that goods be ordered correctly.

Distributive workers should not be cooped up in offices, turning over papers, but should go deep among the people to know their demand in detail. It goes without saying that, initially, deliveries may not always correspond exactly to the orders which were placed. But, if things should not go well in the first year, we would be able to draw a lesson from it and do the work better from the following year on. If retail organizations correctly calculate the kinds and quantities of articles in demand, before passing orders to wholesale agencies, and if the latter reflects those orders in their contracts with the production sector, the goods order system can hardly go wrong. It all just depends on how well the workers in this sector take the public demand into consideration.

The introduction of the order system implies the immediate planning of commerce: the system is a method of producing and supplying goods in a planned way to meet the people's demand. In our country the planned economy has long been in operation, and planning now covers all spheres of the national economy. Planning must be applied by our industry and agriculture in their production of material wealth, and by the commercial sector in ensuring its distribution. However, the level of planning is still low in the latter sector.

The Ministry of Commerce has so far failed to submit to the State Planning Commission correct plans for the supply of commodities. This is clearly shown by the fact that some goods are at present stocked unsold, even though the state has been unable to turn out all goods as planned.

The State Planning Commission must share the blame for the situation which has arisen in this connection: the commission should have closely examined the plans proposed by the Ministry of Commerce, and should have handed over detailed plans, by variety and sizes, to the appropriate production ministries, but it has failed to do so. Let me take the plan for the production of socks, for instance. Because tasks were assigned to the producers simply for the quantities of socks required, without specifying the quantities of each variety and sizes to be provided, too many pairs of adults' socks were turned out and are now stockpiled, while ones for children are in short supply. Moreover, good fabrics have been wasted because no strict specification was adopted for the materials to be used in the making of working clothes.

A streamlined order system will be a stimulus to increasing the variety and improving quality of goods, and will enable us to get rid of the bad practice of turning out goods indiscriminately. This system will also greatly help the Ministry of Commerce, the Light Industry Commission and the State Planning Commission to take steps for improving the supply of commodities. If the order system is applied properly, we shall be in a better position to meet public demand, even with the present capacity of our light industry.

In order to enforce the system efficiently, workers in this sector should be well informed not only as regards public demand but also as regards the goods which are produced in our country. They should know exactly what goods are produced by our light industry, what quantities can be manufactured with our existing capacity, and what quantities can therefore be allotted per head of the population. In fact, a worker in this sector should even know how many needles and reels of thread are produced in the country. At the moment the State Planning Commission does not include such miscellaneous goods in statistics. But the agencies should keep fully comprehensive statistics. With just a little effort they can get to know the types and quantities of the goods produced by each factory.

To get retail organizations to place orders which have been properly prepared, the relevant national bodies should draw up a list of products,

arrange short courses for retail workers and provide detailed guidance.

Plans for ordering goods should be drawn up both yearly and quarterly. When drawing up the yearly plan, it will be good to ensure the wide participation of workers from the different sectors concerned, as well as workers from the commercial sector, and to arrange joint meetings for this purpose. This will enable us, in the first instance, to acquire an accurate knowledge of the sources for each product. We can, for example, learn from the relevant workers just what quantities of different fabrics are being woven during the current year—the amounts of staple fibre cloth and of cotton—and also the quantities of each which are maintained as working reserve stocks. In addition, any adjustments which may seem necessary can be made in the light of the views and demands of the consumers. This will make it possible to order goods in a rational manner and to draft realistic plans for their distribution.

Enforcing the order system in the commercial sector is a *sine qua non* of socialist commerce and is the invariable policy of our Party. Workers in this sector should endeavour to apply this system.

Let us proceed. We should also establish an efficient system for ensuring regular deliveries of supplies to workers' settlements.

Thanks to our Party's rational policy on the location of industrial plants, our factories and enterprises are today disseminated evenly throughout the country and, accordingly, a number of large workers' settlements have been created in local areas.

When defining the basic orientation of our postwar reconstruction, the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, held immediately after the armistice, ensured that new factories and enterprises would be distributed as evenly as possible in different areas of the country.

This is above all of capital importance from a military standpoint: the dispersal of industrial enterprises through the different regions of the country renders them less vulnerable to damage by enemy bombing or artillery fire in case of war.

Distributing factories and enterprises as evenly as possible through

the different districts of the country also meets the requirements of building socialism and communism.

The concentration of industries in cities in bygone days was a leftover of the capitalist system. Since in capitalist society industries are concentrated in cities, their population grows automatically, and traffic becomes congested, resulting in many accidents. Moreover, such a concentration enlarges the distinctions between city and country—and this is precisely one of the reasons why the gap between the countryside and the towns grows ever wider in capitalist society. We communists cannot leave such a leftover of capitalist society as it is; the elimination of the distinctions between the towns and the countryside is one of the most important tasks in the building of socialism and communism. Proceeding from this, our Party advanced a policy of developing industries in each county and is striving to do away with these distinctions.

If many factories are built in counties, the number of workers and technicians will increase, modern machines will be installed, and numerous cultural establishments will come into being in the localities concerned. In other words, the construction of factories in counties will not only advance technical civilization but will also enhance the people's cultural level. As a result, the counties will exert great ideological influence on the rural community and will, moreover, serve as a base for the penetration of the factory's technical civilization and the town's advanced culture into rural villages. They will thus play an important role in eradicating rural backwardness as well as the distinctions between urban and rural communities.

Because the Party policy on dispersing and distributing factories and enterprises has been implemented and workers' settlements consequently established in many regions of the country, we have been able to ensure better distribution of supplies for the workers.

The concentration of industrial enterprises in cities involves the shipment of large quantities of foodstuffs and other consumer goods from different other regions. This imposes strains on the railways and other means of transport, interferes with the scheduled deliveries of

necessary goods and, moreover, exposes goods to the risk of loss and decay during transport. And many complicated problems can arise in organizing deliveries. At present in our country, however, because of the fact that workers' settlements have been widely dispersed, there are no problems of this sort.

The improvement of deliveries to the workers' settlements calls, above all, for the rational structuring of our commercial and distributive network.

A system must be so structured that the supply of goods for these settlements is undertaken not only by the factories and enterprises concerned but also by the workers in commerce and light industry as well; if the settlements strengthen ties with agricultural cooperatives in the surrounding countryside, and if the workers in the commercial sector and in light industry endeavour to provide them with better supplies of consumer goods, the delivery service will improve. Sound arrangements for purchasing and delivery of supplies will, for instance, enable the settlements to provide their inhabitants with milk regularly. At present peasants raise few milch cows—and often neglect to milk those they have—because there are no buyers, and so, peasants' incomes from this source are small. In Changsong County, however, the peasants produce considerable quantities of milk, since the workers responsible for the procurement of supplies purchase it promptly, visiting every home by lorry. The issuing of mere instructions, without organizing the work, will solve no problem. Workers' settlements should follow the example of Changsong County.

Officials of provincial and county people's committees should also be deeply concerned about the supply service for workers' settlements.

Until we launched a new supply service system there, no one had had responsibility for ensuring orderly supplies for the workers' settlement associated with the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant; the agricultural cooperatives in the surrounding countryside had allocated to the workers of this factory small quantities of their farm and livestock products, but the bulk of them was sent away to Kiyang or Nampho—on the ground that the workers' settlement at Taeon was not a

county town! The situation of other settlements, too, was little better than that in Taean.

If the chairmen of provincial and county people's committees do not ensure that workers enjoy decent standards of living, no one else will. The provincial, city and county people's committee chairmen should feel a sense of responsibility for ensuring regular deliveries of supplies required by the workers.

With a view to improving supplies for the workers' residential districts and raising the sense of responsibility of these chairmen, we organized a supply committee for the workers' settlement in Taean, where this work now goes well. The efficiency of the supply service in Taean is due to the setting-up of this supply committee, but it is mainly thanks to the fact that the officials in this sector work in a communist manner, helping each other. No matter how good a system may be, it will prove useless if the officials concerned work in a bureaucratic manner. That superiors help their subordinates and that all concerned help and urge each other forward, is a genuine communist method of work. For a more efficient supply service for workers' settlements, it is very important to improve the methods of the officials in this sector, as well as introducing a new system.

We should see to it that in future the work of the Taean Workers' Settlement Supply Committee will be reviewed and the good experiences and methods will be widely disseminated so as to get better solution for the problem of ensuring supplies for workers' settlements.

For the improvement of this supply service, the problem of sources in particular must be solved correctly. Provincial, city and county people's committees should devote the closest attention to this problem.

Next, we should properly train the cadres in the commercial and distributive sector.

If we are to develop the work of this sector as early as possible, we should train large numbers of managerial personnel. At present, however, no good system for this purpose is in operation. As a result,

the cadres in this sector are not being trained systematically and the commercial and distributive sector in our country is too slow in attaining a proper level of development.

The Cabinet should re-examine the system of training managerial personnel in this sector and take measures to improve it.

We should train large numbers of cadres for the commercial and distributive sector by means of practical work, in addition to the regular system of education. If you think that cadres can be trained only at school, you are wrong. Needless to say, schools play an important role in such training. But at present they mostly teach theory and principles and give little practical instruction on concrete ways of managing enterprises. It is, therefore, highly desirable that large numbers of these workers be provided with practical training.

These days the Party Central Committee has taken steps to allow many Party workers into its Organizational Leadership Department and its Information and Publicity Department and to educate and train them there before assigning them to new posts. This is getting good results in establishing a steadfast ideological system among the officials, in improving their professional qualification rapidly and in encouraging them to master Party policy and Party methods of work.

This is not the first time for this method to be applied. As long ago as the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we trained many cadres in this way. At that time we allocated sound people to the Seventh Regiment as its platoon leaders, political instructors and soldiers, and taught them in detail how to fight, how to reconnoiter, how to hold a reading session, how to teach to read and write, how to conduct political work, and even how to make camp and boil rice. We thus created a model regiment: it became a model for other units in battle, political work, daily life and all fields; and soldiers who had been steeled and trained in it were assigned as political instructors or company commanders to other units, where they performed excellently in unit management, in combat command, in the education of their own men. In this way the Seventh Regiment brilliantly fulfilled the role of a management training school.

One of the major reasons why the commercial and distributive sector is so short of cadres is precisely that it has neglected the training of cadres through practical work. This problem cannot be resolved by merely worrying ourselves about the shortage of cadres without working hard to train them.

The commercial sector should staff shops, restaurants, hotels and other service establishments with sound people, help the establishments to become model units and, in doing so, train managerial personnel. Recently the Party allocated many graduates of the National Economy Institute to this sector. If they are trained and promoted properly, the cadre problem in this sector will be well on the way to being solved.

After commercial establishments are built up with sound people, leading members of the staff should personally explain Party policy to the lower units, and should help and teach them to ensure a really efficient goods supply service, firmly based on Party policy. However sound the person may be who is selected and assigned to a job, he cannot become a good cadre unless he is properly trained and continuously backed up.

If this sector trains its managerial personnel in such a systematic way that all—from shop managers to saleswomen—are sound people and given positive assistance and education so that any of the saleswomen will be able to fulfil the role of shop manager if she should be promoted, it will never be hampered in carrying out its tasks because of a shortage of cadres. Those who are steered and trained systematically by means of practical work will be well equipped to take up the managership of a large department store or the post of director of a management bureau, and discharge with credit any job entrusted to them.

If the sector creates model units by staffing shops and service establishments well, and uses them as a standard in guiding and training workers, it will be able to improve its work rapidly.

From now on the commercial sector should start an extensive campaign to create model shops and restaurants and then to create

model cities and counties insofar as commercial and distributive activities are concerned.

Finally, Party guidance over this sector must be further intensified.

To this end we intend to strengthen the commercial departments of the Party committees in Pyongyang, Chongjin and Hamhung and set up corresponding sections in the district Party committees. We must set up these sections and see to it that they study commerce and that they give effective Party guidance to this sector.

District people's committees should not consider that they are free from responsibility for commerce, on the ground that it is for the district Party committees to guide the work of this sector. They should know every day whether supplies for the people are running well or not in their districts, and should guide the sector correctly in an administrative way.

I hope that through this meeting you will clearly understand the importance of commerce, and that you will make strenuous efforts and use all your commonsense and creativeness to bring about a great change in the work of this commercial and distributive sector.

ON IMPROVING THE PRESS AND THE EDUCATION OF STUDENTS AND PUPILS

**Talk to Publishers and Pressmen and the Workers
of the Democratic Youth League**

May 3, 1962

1. ON THE PRESS

Reading our newspapers and magazines these days I have found quite a few shortcomings which must be rectified.

They carry very few educational items which would broaden readers' minds generally.

We must ensure that our Party members and working people are made familiar with the geography and natural history of our country, its history, culture and the arts, and that they acquire sound communist traits and attain a high level of culture.

Unfortunately, our newspapers do not carry enough such items: they tend to concentrate on politics, economic construction and current topics. So they do little to help people in widening their general knowledge—and, moreover, are not interesting to read.

Newspapers must carry regular items on communist moral education as well as on nature, geography, history, culture and the arts, so as to educate the Party members and working people along communist lines and raise their cultural level.

Our country is endowed with innumerable and priceless cultural relics. Features should be published about these treasures. For instance, when you mention the Inphung Pavilion in Kanggye, you should say when it was built, say something about its history and give the occasional anecdote: you could usefully point out that, in former days, feudal rulers used to recite poems and hold drinking bouts there, whereas now it has become a recreation centre for our working people.

You should also write about the heritage of our literature, music, and fine arts. As for music, ours was one of the first countries in the world to create musical instruments: I think we probably created them earlier than Italy. As early as the sixth century A. D., U Ruk made such a fine instrument as the *kayagum* and, even earlier, Wang San Ak produced the *komungo*. Our ancestors composed many fine works of music and played them sensitively. You should write about these, about King Sejong's promulgation of the Hunminjongum (Korean script), and about other such facts of which we may well be proud.

In addition, you must write a systematic history of the US imperialist aggression against Korea—about the incident of the USS *General Sherman* and other such historical facts—succinctly and in simple language, so that all our people will be fully acquainted with the facts of the aggression by US imperialism against Korea, and of our people's patriotic fight against it.

Only by doing this, can you enrich our working people's knowledge, raise their cultural level and imbue them with patriotism.

It would also be a good idea if our newspapers covered modern science, culture and arts, in addition to our working people's cultural and artistic activities, and featured novels and other works of literature and art.

As for our geography and natural history, you should write about the landscape of Mt. Kungang, Mt. Myohyang and others of our famous mountains, their history and legends, and about our people's patriotic struggles there; and you should also write in a similar way about the Amnok, Tuman and other rivers.

In particular, our press should carry plenty of information on economic geography.

Take the Kaema and Paengmu Plateaus for example. You should write about their height, area and climate, their natural resources, fauna and flora and about their landscape; and as for Lakes Suphung, Yonphung, Sohung and Taesong, about their area, volume of water and kinds of fish, and about their role in the development of our national economy.

You should also write about the fauna and flora of our country as a whole. At present some people know the names of only a few fish in our country. A lot of general information should be given on our fauna and flora, too.

Such educational items should not be too long: they should be succinct, interesting and illustrated.

In addition, numerous items should be carried in order to intensify education in our revolutionary traditions. Our newspapers should continue to carry such items and recount the heroic endeavours and communist traits of our People's Army and of our people who have inherited our Party's revolutionary traditions.

You should write about the accomplishments of the People's Army and of the people who bravely fought during the Fatherland Liberation War. It would be a good idea to present, in the form of a travelogue, accounts of the memorable events associated with all the heights, valleys, towns and villages where tough battles were fought.

Also, you must continue to report examples achieved in each sphere of socialist construction today.

You should give a fuller account of the international communist movement. The fight of working people throughout the world against imperialism and reaction should be dealt with in depth and by drawing upon a variety of sources: if, for example, a guerrilla warfare is being waged in Venezuela, you should not just make a political comment but should inform your readers about the emergence and development of the guerrilla movement, its scale and significance, telling them about the country in question, its population, history, culture and economic

condition, and illustrate the item with a map.

The newspapers should, of course, carry political articles and report on the economic development of our country. But you should, at the same time, publish items aimed at communist moral education and cultural education. The *Rodong Sinmun* should be edited along these lines.

You need not mechanically imitate styles in vogue elsewhere and render our Party organ dull, thinking that this sort of paper must retain dignity.

Only by taking all these guidelines into account can you enable readers to refresh their minds, broadening their general knowledge while reading about moral and cultural topics, after finishing with the political and economic pages of the paper.

As for the make-up of newspapers, I think it would be best to put political items on the front page, articles on the building of socialism on the second page, international affairs on the third page and materials for cultural education on the fourth page.

As far as the *Rodong Sinmun* is concerned, it is a good idea to include two extra pages about three days a week in which to carry miscellaneous items.

Our magazines should also carry materials for communist moral education and cultural education. It would be better still if economic and technical periodicals also included items on history, culture and the arts, in addition to those on economic themes and technological problems: only then will people be more inclined to be really interested in these periodicals.

In our secondary school days we would even buy magazines with savings out of the money which we had been given to get our worn-out shoes repaired. It is true that the magazines of those days were not particularly good reading material, but we got plenty of information from them and broadened our general knowledge. I still remember a magazine which carried a series of articles entitled: The Pride of Each of Korea's Eight Provinces. I enjoyed reading the series, and waited impatiently for each successive issue, to know what Kyongsang

Province was famed for and what Jolla Province could boast of.

Our magazines should also be attractively edited so that readers will be similarly impatient in waiting for each next issue.

There is no need to revise the style of *Kulloja* magazine; but we must develop a good general magazine. We should see to it that it carries political articles, information on economic problems, history, geography, science, culture and the arts, as well as novels in serial form. It should be edited and presented in an interesting way, with attractive covers and a good number of pages. It would be a good idea to improve the *Chollima* magazine in this way.

Only when our Party members and working people will have received a wide general education will their spiritual lives be enriched. Everybody should be well versed not only in politics and as regards our economy, but also in history, geography, culture and the arts—and not least in legends and proverbs.

If people know only about politics, they become narrow-minded and dour. Today, children also know about politics—but they have a poor knowledge of history and of cultural matters. Our cadres' speeches and reports are dull and devoid of any sense of humour.

People must work rationally and, at the same time, have a high level of cultural attainment. They should have a sense of humour and be kindhearted. It is essential that our officials have a human approach and a high level of cultural attainment, in addition to a keen Party spirit.

Newspaper and magazine articles should be short and in plain and simple language.

It is, of course, sometimes necessary to publish long articles, but, generally speaking, articles are now too long and couched in repetitive, empty and tortuous language. They are in fact so long that it takes 20 minutes to read a single article. News of achievements in socialist construction must be short and to the point, and items whose purpose is the dissemination of experience must be written substantial in content and written with care.

Next, you must radically improve the form and content of local newspapers.

For one thing, they look dull at present. Partly because of their low-quality paper, their printing is unclear—and the photographs are still more unclear. We must improve the printing techniques of these papers and provide them with adequate equipment, even if we have to import it. We must also manufacture better paper for them.

For another thing, their type is too large and unattractive. I think it unnecessary to print newspapers in excessively large type, because most of the readers are junior and higher middle school graduates or those who have similar standards of education. We must provide the local newspapers with good type fonts.

Local newspapers must use a cultured language and polish their sentences properly. They must raise their political and ideological level as well as cultural standard.

Our local papers should not simply copy the way our national papers are edited but should display their identity by carrying plenty of local items. It would be best if they gave main items of national importance on the first page and local items on the rest of the pages. As in the case of the national papers, the local papers should include items on natural history, geography, history, culture and the arts, and carry items on the south Korean and world situation.

In order to provide local newspapers with plenty of local news, you would do well to consider whether an organization ought to be set up in each province, to perform the same function as the Central News Agency.

In order to improve newspapers and magazines, their staff should be reinforced where necessary.

For the triumph of socialism and communism, we must educate all our working people to be versatile.

You must not see communist society merely as one in which material goods are produced in such large quantities that people will have to do no more than share them all amongst themselves: communism cannot be achieved unless not only material but also spiritual wealth is prevalent.

We must, therefore, educate the masses, through the press, so that

they will develop in an all-round way, acquiring a sound communist moral character and a high cultural level.

2. ON THE EDUCATION OF STUDENTS AND PUPILS

The present situation of our students and pupils leads me to believe that the Democratic Youth League must make a great effort to deal properly with their affairs.

The affairs of students and school children are very important in our country. Today nearly all our children and young persons go to school, and they launch forth into society through schools. This being the case, the DYL should devote most of its action to its work among students and pupils.

It can be said that one's school days are the most important in one's life. Particularly important is the period from the third year of the junior secondary school to the first year of third-level education, through technical school, higher middle school, vocational school and higher technical school. Most important of all is the period at technical school.

This is the period when one leaves childhood behind and becomes a youth. In this period the students are as receptive as a camera; they undergo great psychological change and, physically, they grow taller and taller every day. During this period they are avid to learn and understand many things quickly; they become bold and adventuresome; and they want to assert themselves somewhere. Moreover, during these school days, students like new things, have a strong sense of justice and have a great urge to search for truth. Our children and youth, especially, love things revolutionary.

In this particular period the students' education is highly important. If they stray off the right path they may degenerate, but if they are

educated properly they will grow up to be solid citizens.

Therefore, proper guidance must be given to students, both at school and at home, and the DYL must put all its energy into its work with students during this period of their lives. While making sure that children behave well as members of the Children's Union, DYL organizations must work closely with students from the third year of junior secondary school up to the first year of third-level education, and particularly with technical school students. Since on entering technical schools students start their DYL lives following their Children's Union activities, you must do a good job with these students and educate them properly. As for students in the second university year and upwards, some of them will already be Party members and all of them can be ideologically educated by the Party directly, so that they should be comparatively easy to approach.

The DYL Central Committee must strengthen its Student and Youth Department. Since schools are concentrated in the cities, the city DYL organizations must concentrate on student affairs. First of all, the Pyongyang Municipal Committee of the DYL must improve its work with students, and all other city DYL organizations must channel their main efforts to work with the students. Only then can the activities of school DYL organizations be improved. Every student must be made to lead his DYL organizational life more punctiliously, and school DYL organizations must constantly improve their work and expand their role.

It is important in working with students that they be kept well occupied by the DYL so that they are constantly using their brains and are active in carrying out assignments. It is good to let them participate with a will in public activities and in mass political life.

At present, your work with students takes account neither of their age nor of psychological factors. Day and night they are pressed to attend meetings, to participate in criticism sessions and to do voluntary labour. Meanwhile, exams are held at school almost every day, so that they simply must devote most of their time to preparing for them. This means that you do not properly appreciate their feelings. They do not

like this: students must not be made to engage in voluntary labour beyond the prescribed period. The period of voluntary labour for technical school students must be shortened, and the days thus saved must be used to give them a proper education.

What is more, schools give their students too many exam questions and homework to deal with after school, so that all they can do is to swot for exams and do homework. This should cause us deep concern. Learning textbooks by heart is not the only way of getting them to enrich their knowledge. Education by other methods is no less important.

In one's school days one wants to do something on one's own. So it is a good idea to arrange all kinds of student activities such as competitions in debating, literary composition, and designing, as well as seminars, art exhibitions, presentation of their own literary work, story telling, poetry recitals, concerts, amateur dramatics and film shows. And athletic meets and various other sports activities could also be organized extensively.

If they are called on to participate in these activities, the students will respond with interest and enthusiasm. If each student is given a couple of suitable assignments and systematically encouraged to take part in different activities, they will all be very happy.

Students like to make speeches, too. Therefore, information teams could be formed with students, so that they are given an opportunity of carrying out information activities covering current political topics, scientific and technological problems, in conjunction with entertainments, and hygienic and sanitary affairs. The mobile youth information activities now being undertaken by the DYL are to be commended. Large numbers of students should be drawn into these activities. If information activity takes place in conjunction with entertainments—first, for example, an accordionist plays an accordion, and someone sings a song or a choir sings, then speeches are made and poems recited, and explanations given—audiences will be quite interested and the students will also like it.

In our school days, while carrying on Young Communist League activity, we used to organize information teams and the young men on

the teams would write scenarios, compose music, rehearse plays, arrange performances and address the people. This made us proudly conscious of the fact that we were promoting revolution; and we were able to bring the audiences to political awareness and unite many young people. Policemen used to come to arrest us on their superiors' orders, but having seen our performances and having listened to our reasoned and persuasive speeches unnoticed, they nodded their heads in agreement and were impressed and returned without carrying out their mission. At that time many of us were given individual assignments. The chairman of the meeting, the buglers and speakers had all been appointed beforehand and everyone had been given some task, however modest. This caused everyone to work with enthusiasm. By such means our students should be collectively educated and developed.

When the students of the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School visit Pyongyang, they should not be brought into the city centre by bus: when they reach the outskirts of the city they should be made to leave the buses, and march briskly in columns behind a band. Other revolutionary schools could well do the same on occasions.

Students should be made to participate widely in mass cultural and artistic activities and they should all learn to play musical instruments.

The Youth Park Open-Air Theatre in Pyongyang should not be left idle: the DYL must use it to the maximum in educating our children and youth. Different functions must be organized there every day under a planned programme: a gathering of the youth of a particular factory today, a meeting of the students of a particular school tomorrow, and another school the day after.

In addition, it would be a good idea to set aside one day or two each year for nationwide student festivals and see to it that all our students prepare well for and take part in these colourful events. In other words, a "Students' Day" should become a regular event, and every student should be enabled to spend an enjoyable day.

It would also be a good idea to have students visit the revolutionary battle sites, beauty spots and historical relics, go hiking and on picnics often, visit several factories, enterprises and farming villages, and have

frequent periods of practical training. Student travel had better be organized, too. Students from other localities must want to visit Pyongyang, so it would be a good idea to build a students' hotel there so that they can have a rest during their sightseeing in the city.

This is the way you should go about organizing student activities so that all our students may have happy and interesting collective lives.

If this work is to be properly organized, guided and intensified, the level of activity of the Student and Youth Department of the DYL Central Committee should be raised; and the provincial, city and county DYL committees should also give a proper lead in student affairs. It is, I feel, necessary to reinforce the Student and Youth Department of the DYL Central Committee as well as the student affairs sections of the provincial, city and county DYL committees and the university DYL organizations. Their structure should be strengthened to a certain extent, and the structure of the DYL as a whole should also be reinforced. Party work at schools must be strengthened along with the action of the DYL.

Today the economy of our country is developing rapidly, and the people's living conditions are improving. Our children and youth are growing up in happiness. The more our people's material and cultural standards improve, the better we must educate our students to have the will to serve society and the people. Only by doing so will we enable every one of them to serve the country and the people well in the future.

Only by giving a good education to our children and students, can we quickly educate the youth and students in the southern half after the country is reunified. Therefore, we must, from now on, see to it that all activities for the education of our children and youth, and particularly of our students, are undertaken with thought and care.

At present our revolutionary situation is favourable and our work is progressing well, so all the people are with us. If we should be faced with hardship, there may perhaps be waverers among the masses and deserters among our ranks. Let us therefore be unremitting in our efforts to educate and transform the masses and rally all of them around the Party like one.

**LET US RADICALLY IMPROVE
THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS
BY STRENGTHENING THE ROLE
OF THE COUNTY AND FURTHER
DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY
AND AGRICULTURE**

**Concluding Speech at the Changsong Joint Conference
of Local Party and Economic Officials**

August 8, 1962

For about a week you have been visiting local industrial plants, livestock farms, agricultural cooperatives and educational and cultural establishments in Changsong and Sakju Counties and have seen for yourselves the life of the people in the county towns, rural villages and workers' districts. At yesterday's meeting you heard the report of the chairman of the Changsong County Party Committee and the speeches made by the comrades, the chairman of the Sakju County Party Committee, the manager of the Changsong Textile Mill and the chairman of the Kumya Agricultural Cooperative in Changsong County. I feel you must have learned much from your on-the-spot inspection tour and from this joint conference.

Of course, I do not mean to say that Changsong, Sakju and Pyoktong Counties have all worked perfectly and without any shortcomings. However, in the course of your inspection, you must have seen as a vivid reality that our peasants can live well even in such remote mountain areas as Changsong, Sakju and Pyoktong,

The land under cultivation here is very limited, and extremely sterile at that. Even counties in other mountain areas of our country—for instance the counties in North Hamgyong, Jagang and Ryanggang Provinces, and such counties as Singye and Koksan in North Hwanghae Province—are better off than Changsong County both in cultivated area and in land fertility. We certainly cannot say they are worse.

Therefore, the great changes that have taken place in Changsong and Pyoktong lead us to the unshakable conclusion that if they follow the Party instructions, even the inhabitants of barren areas can live as well as those in the flat areas like Mundok in South Phyongan Province, Hamju in South Hamgyong Province and Jaeryong and Sinchon in South Hwanghae Province.

As you all know, due to the correct policies of our Party big changes have also taken place in other mountainous counties of our country and the living standards of the peasants have, on the whole, reached the level of the middle peasantry. Therefore, the question that now confronts us is no longer that of relieving the poor peasants from their penury but rather, how to raise the living standards of the peasants to those of the well-to-do middle peasantry.

When can we say they have reached the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry?

As we always say, they can be deemed to have reached the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry when they eat rice and meat soup for their daily meals, wear good clothes and live in tile-roofed houses. This year Changsong County is expected to distribute three tons of grain and 1,500 *won* in cash to every peasant household, which means that they have reached the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry.

If the people of Changsong and Pyoktong who cultivate poor hillside land can all reach the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry, it is evident that those residing in other areas can fare even better.

The primary object of this joint conference is to ensure the full implementation, in all regions, of the Party's policy for elevating the living standards of the peasants in the sterile mountain areas as a whole

to the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry and for radically raising the living standards of the population in the county towns and workers' districts on the basis of the successes and experiences already gained.

The successful solution of this task depends entirely upon whether or not the officials of county Party committees, county people's committees and county agricultural cooperative management committees do their work well, and efficiently build up the cooperatives and local industrial plants in their counties.

Following the example of Changsong, Sakju and Pyoktong, the county Party committee chairmen should see to it that the living standards of the peasants in the highlands, to say nothing of the lowland dwellers, reach those of the well-to-do middle peasantry within the next two or three years.

That will be quite possible if only you organize your work correctly and work efficiently. This was made clear yesterday in the speech of the chairman of the Rangnim County Party Committee who said that the living standards of the peasants in his county, the most backward area, will be improved considerably this year.

Therefore, as a follow-up to this conference, we should strive to raise the peasants' living standards to those of the well-to-do middle peasantry and provide jobs for the housewives of factory and office workers in the counties to increase their average monthly income to more than 75 to 80 *won* per household, thereby improving the living standards of all people in the counties and bringing about a greater innovation in production.

1. ON THE ROLE OF THE COUNTY

The role of the county is very important both in carrying out the tasks set forth at this conference and in developing the economy and culture of the local areas in general. That is why we have asked many

county cadres to participate in this conference.

The system of administrative organization in our country consists of the central authority, province, county and ri. The county can be regarded as the lowest unit of administrative leadership that gives firsthand guidance to the farm villages and workers' districts and is directly concerned with the life of the peasants and the inhabitants of the workers' districts.

Therefore, the development of the farm villages and workers' districts depends largely upon how the county agencies do their work. Also, the improvement of the living standards of the workers and peasants is determined greatly by whether the county does its work well or not.

The county is not only the lowest administrative organ that leads the ri and workers' districts but also the base that links the towns with the countryside in all fields of politics, the economy and culture. It might be impossible for all peasants to visit the big cities, but, at least, they can visit their respective county towns. The peasants get acquainted with the Party's policies through the county, and it is through the county that they maintain economic ties with the towns and assimilate urban culture and customs.

The policies of the central authority and the policies of the provinces which are based on the former are all immediately passed down to the farm villages and workers' districts through the county. Indeed, the county is the lowest unit that directly organizes and leads the execution of the Party's policies; it is the political base that disseminates the Party's policies to the farm villages.

The county also serves as the base for the development of the local economy and as the supply centre for the countryside.

Local industry develops with the county as a unit, and the development of agriculture is also organized and guided by the county itself. Products from the countryside reach the towns by way of the county, and it is through the county that all industrial products manufactured in the towns are supplied to the countryside. Furthermore, urban technical civilization spreads to the countryside

through the county, thereby accelerating the technical revolution in the countryside.

The population of the rural areas and workers' districts under the county's jurisdiction will account for at least one half of the entire population even when socialist construction has made further progress and the urban population has increased. Since the farm villages are dispersed, it would hardly be possible to set up a supply centre in every rural ri even when a communist society is achieved in the future. Even under communism, therefore, the counties in our country will still be the economic bases that link towns with the countryside, the supply centres for the countryside.

The county is also the base of the cultural revolution in the countryside. It serves as the base for eliminating the survivals of feudalism and the outmoded manners and customs in the countryside, remoulding ideological consciousness and manners and customs of the peasants and introducing advanced socialist culture into the countryside.

It is of great importance to solve the rural question in all countries, and in Asian countries in particular. It can be said that the solution of the peasant question is the key to the victory of revolution in the underdeveloped agrarian countries in Asia where the peasants comprise the majority of the population.

Our Party has so far correctly solved the rural question by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country and further developing it.

In our country, agricultural cooperativization was successfully completed several years ago and the task of the technical revolution in the countryside, with irrigation, electrification and mechanization as its main objectives, is also being carried out at a very rapid pace.

In the future we should carry out the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside, and thus eliminate the distinctions between town and country, put the living standards of the workers and peasants on the same level and, at the same time, make the peasants in mountain areas and in the plains live equally well.

None of these questions can be solved successfully if the county fails to do its work properly.

Thus the county plays a very important role in all fields of socialist construction.

To strengthen the work of the county and build up an exemplary county town is of great importance not only in hastening socialist construction but also in gradually eliminating the distinctions between town and country and building a communist society. Therefore, to build up the county properly is by no means a temporary and simple task but an important one which we should continuously work at until a communist society is built in the future.

Only when the county does its work well, will its politics, economy and culture develop rapidly and only when the county town is built up in an exemplary way, will the rural villages follow its example. The county should develop local industry, correctly direct agriculture and build good stores, schools, hospitals and so forth. By doing this, the county should strengthen its role in every way as the lowest unit of administrative leadership and as the base that links towns with the countryside.

Local industry and agriculture have developed apace and the living standards of the working people have improved in Changsong County because the county did its work well. In Changsong they produced great quantities of foodstuffs and articles of daily use with wild fruits and wild fibre raw materials and thus increased the incomes of the factory and office workers and, at the same time, they quickly raised the living standards of the peasants by utilizing the mountains in developing animal husbandry and by increasing agricultural and ancillary production to suit the natural and geographical conditions of the local area.

Because their county did its work well, the people of Changsong have enough food and clothing, they can study to their heart's content, listen to the radio and see films. They are also good at art circle activities, keep their houses neat and tidy, take good care of their children, and they are well-mannered, too.

Though Changsong is a remote mountainous area, there is no great difference today between the life of the people in Changsong and that of the inhabitants of cities such as Pyongyang and Sinuiju.

Under capitalism in the past, the countryfolk were contemptuously called “bumpkins”. Things, however, have changed in our society. Suffice it to take the Yaksu Middle School at Kanam-ri in Changsong County as an example.

From olden times this place has been called Kanam-ri—a village between rocks—because it is located between rocky hills. Kanam-ri was, indeed, a wild out-of-the-way place where there was nothing but hills, stones and water, and the inhabitants were real “bumpkins” in the past.

But now there is not a single “bumpkin” to be found in Kanam-ri. The pupils of the Yaksu Middle School are all top-honour or honour pupils; every pupil can play more than one musical instrument and is also good at physical culture. They all go to school carrying vinyl schoolbags, they wear raincoats when it rains and overcoats in the winter.

Indeed, the look of the land of Changsong and the living standards of its people have changed fundamentally today. There is no doubt that if the officials of the county Party committees, county people’s committees, county agricultural cooperative management committees and county educational and cultural institutions work well like that, the local industry of the counties will develop and agricultural production will increase, thus enabling all the county inhabitants to lead an affluent life; and the technical and cultural revolutions will be successfully achieved, facilitating the building of socialism and communism.

The last few years have witnessed great progress in the work of our counties on the whole, but there are still many shortcomings in the work of some counties in organizing local industry, commerce and distribution, in selling urban goods to the countryside and purchasing agricultural produce from the peasants, and in managing educational, cultural and public health establishments.

The case is the same with commodity distribution. In some counties the procurement of agricultural products from the peasants is not organized so as to ensure promptness and efficiency, and urban goods are not supplied to the countryside as they should be. As a result, commodities pile up in some places while other places have a shortage of the goods they need.

And while some counties provide sufficient quantities of edible oil to their population and produce and supply tasty soy sauce, bean paste, bean curd, dairy products, soft drinks, etc., other counties do not even think of gathering and processing wild fruits, which grow in plenty, and leave them all to the wolves and bears; they have even failed to supply soft drinks to their people. Moreover, the peasants raise a large number of rabbits and produce meat—which, however, cannot be processed for lack of the appropriate factories.

This is entirely due to the failure of the counties to organize local industry and procurement work efficiently.

Such counties should learn in earnest from the experiences of Changsong and Sakju Counties. Changsong and Sakju Counties have built maize-processing mills on their own and process maize for the peasants; they press oil out of the maize embryos left after the processing, and supply it to the workers and peasants. The peasants are happy enough to eat riced corn instead of whole kernels, and they are even paid for the maize embryos. This is just fine!

The Party's policy is clear. It is to make good use of the mountains in mountainous areas, turn the sea to good account in coastal areas and tap the favourable conditions and reserves of the local areas to the maximum by conducting all work such as the distribution of crop areas, mechanization, irrigation and electrification according to the actual conditions of the respective counties.

Even now, immense reserves exist in the provinces. If the county does its work well, the workers and peasants can be supplied with plenty of vegetable oil, tasty soy sauce and bean paste, meat and soft drinks.

The work of sanitation and beautification is unsatisfactory in some

rural villages, and the counties concerned are to blame for this.

A particularly heavy responsibility rests on the county Party committee chairman. If he does his job properly, the peasants and the residents of the workers' districts can lead a good life; otherwise, the population in the county will not live well, no matter what good conditions they may be blessed with.

The matter depends on the enthusiasm of the chairman of the county Party committee. There are slow-tempered and hot-tempered men, but this does not mean anything to a communist. Ideology is the important thing. Our officials still lack the will to ensure that the workers and peasants have an affluent life. Nothing is out of our reach if we make up our minds and set to work.

In Changsong County things go very smoothly because the county Party committee chairman leads the masses. And the masses have become interested in carrying out the Party's policies and have gained self-confidence. As a result, whatever task they may be given, everyone buckles down to it and carries it out unflinchingly and well.

It is no easy task to collect 1,000 tons of wild strawberries. Comrades, go to other counties and ask the people to do it. They would probably be dumbfounded and would not even attempt it. Yet, the people of Changsong have become a powerful unit fully capable of carrying out that sort of work. Who should take the initiative? The chairman of the county Party committee and the chairmen of the ri Party committees should take the lead.

In no other county have I found dikes properly built to prevent the land from being washed away. But here in Changsong, the chairman of the county Party committee was the first to carry out the Party's instruction. Things could not go amiss when the county Party committee chairman got up early in the morning and went out to work, earlier than others, with an A-frame carrier on his back. Everybody worked to build the dike.

In this way, they erected houses and domestic animal sheds, collected strawberries and built factories for local industry.

When the foundations were laid for a foodstuff factory, I paid them

a visit and told them that they had better build a protective dike as well, for the site might be flooded in the rainy season. The very next day the county Party committee chairman got the people together and built the dike. Several days later there was a flood, but the construction site was not affected.

There is no special secret in building up a county. Solutions will be found for everything if the chairman of the county Party committee accepts the Party's policies promptly and leads the masses, setting an example for them in action.

If the chairman of the county Party committee takes a couldn't-care-less attitude, sleeps late and shows up after eight o'clock in the morning, he will never mobilize the masses or build up the county properly.

With this joint conference as a point of departure, we should rectify the shortcomings in our county work, increase the role of the county and develop county work on a higher level in all spheres of local industry, agriculture, commodity distribution, education, culture, public health and so on.

We have more work to do now that the economic foundations of the country have been consolidated, the output of products has increased and the living standards of the people rapidly improved.

The living standards of our people are incomparably better now than in the past when they lived on gruel. As many comrades pointed out in their speeches at yesterday's session, those people who were once so poor that father and son had to share one suit are now rich enough to buy even raincoats and overcoats for their children. Today those who starved and shivered in the cold, with neither shelter nor food, in the past not only live in tile-roofed houses and eat their fill but want better foods and articles of everyday use as well as more cultural amenities.

Who should satisfy such great demands of the people? None other than the county Party committee, the county people's committee and the county agricultural cooperative management committee, because it is precisely the county that explains and brings home the Party policies

to the masses and that is directly responsible for organizing their implementation.

If the brains of the chairman of the county Party committee get rusty and county work stands still, it will be impossible to secure the political, economic and cultural development of the local areas or raise the living standards of the working people.

I do not mean that there is a serious mistake in the work of our counties at present. The defect is that some counties are developing rapidly while others are progressing slowly. All counties should advance as swiftly as Changsong and Sakju, without disparity between their rates of development.

2. ON FURTHER DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY

The necessity of developing local industry was extensively discussed at the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, so I will briefly stress some points only.

Each county should have some local industries in order to fully play its role as the supply base for the countryside.

When it has local industry, the county can not only procure and process in good time the products turned out by the peasants and supply plenty of foodstuffs and articles of daily use to the peasants and the residents of the workers' districts, but also give more incentives to the peasants for production.

If the products produced by the peasants, particularly vegetables, meat, fruit, milk and the like, are not bought quickly, the peasants will lose their incentive for production; even when these products are bought, precious farm produce will spoil if not processed rapidly. The county should therefore develop local industry, quickly buy up and process the farm produce and ancillary products turned out by the

peasants, and thereby not only satisfy the demands of the people for consumer goods but also stimulate the peasants to produce.

If we fail to develop local industry and build only big factories under the central authority, we will be faced with many difficulties in transporting raw materials and supplying products.

How difficult it would be if we built foodstuff, textile, paper and other factories only in the cities, and had to bring raw materials from all parts of the country, press oil and produce textiles and then send them all back to the consumer areas! Suppose we made soy sauce and bean paste in Pyongyang only, and then distributed them to the remote mountain areas. We would have to bring in beans, make the soy sauce and bean paste and then send them all the way back there. In short, it would be a two-way transport operation. However if, in the provinces, we manufacture various products with raw materials available right on the spot, and supply them to the people there, such wasteful use of our transport resources will be obviated.

It is a very reasonable policy to develop local industry close to the source of raw materials and directly linked with consumer areas.

Furthermore, without developing local industry, it would be impossible to make full use of the abundant raw materials and other resources of our provinces. Local industry brings large profits to the state from the exploitation of raw materials—such as wild plant fibres, hemp fibres, fibres recuperated from rags and wild fruit—which abound in local areas.

In addition, medium- and small-sized local factories can be built in large numbers with a small investment and in a short space of time, and they can go into production quickly. The construction of big factories calls for a huge state investment and requires a long period of time. Needless to say, those industries which need massive equipment and advanced techniques and require large investments, such as the iron and steel or chemical industries, should be managed under the central authority, but those which require simple equipment should be developed on a local basis.

It stands to reason that, simultaneously with the development of

large-scale centralized industries, medium- and small-scale local industries should be developed for the advancement of light industry.

Local industry is also very important in ensuring the general development of all areas of the country.

Our country remained agrarian for a long time, so a great part of the population lived in the countryside. With the growth of industry, the ratio of the rural population is decreasing today, but we have adopted a policy of preventing the concentration of excessive population in the cities.

In capitalist countries the population is excessively concentrated in the cities; in no respect is this good. In our country, where socialism is being built in conditions under which capitalism did not develop well, there is no need to allow an undesirable concentration of the population in the cities, as in capitalist society. Factories should not be concentrated in the cities only, but built in different places according to the specific features of the provinces. What a splendid job it is to build factories and develop industry in all parts of our country with its beautiful mountains and rivers!

In regard to the labour problem, there is still much extra manpower in our rural townships and workers' districts. If we make effective use of this extra labour force, we will be able to run as many local factories as we want. This will dispense us from the need to build additional houses and hostels for workers.

What need is there for concentrating factories in the cities and taking manpower out of the countryside? Only by building many factories for the production of foodstuffs, textiles, paper, etc., in each city and county, will we be able to produce plenty of goods and develop light industry with locally available raw materials and labour, without large-scale investment, and thus we will be free to allocate more state investments to the construction of power plants, iron and steel works, railways and harbours, to develop heavy industry more rapidly and push ahead with our socialist construction more vigorously.

The development of local industry is also very important for

strengthening the nation's defence power.

We stand face to face with the aggressors of US imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction. We should not forget for a single moment that this wolf-like enemy is always watching for a chance to attack us.

In order to strengthen the nation's defence power, it is insufficient to reinforce our armed forces alone. To increase the country's defence potential, the proper distribution of our productive forces, taking into account what would be the requirements for the economic well-being of our people under wartime conditions, acquires great significance.

If factories are concentrated only in towns, it will be difficult to move them in case of emergency and they could be destroyed all at once by enemy air raids. However, if local industrial plants are built in all parts of the country, the problems of food and clothing can be fully solved even if the centralized urban industries are destroyed by war. If each county has a soy sauce and bean paste factory, it will always have soy sauce and bean paste in reserve, and if the local factories alone produce 150 to 200 million metres of fabrics in the future, that will be sufficient to solve the problem of clothing. This will be a sizable contribution to our national defence potential.

Therefore, a policy for extensive development of local industry following the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee was really wise in every respect.

Guided by this policy we have built an average of 10 locally-run factories in each county in a short space of time. At present the output value of local industry accounts for more than one-half of the consumer goods produced in our country. This means that our local industry is now solidly based.

This also means that our light industry has been further developed and brought closer to the sources of raw materials and consumer areas and has been able to process farm produce and other raw materials more quickly and turn out and supply products to meet the varied requirements and needs of the population.

We have already built a foodstuff factory and a textile mill in every county. Almost every county has a farm implement factory and a paper

mill. Some counties even have factories which produce furniture, earthenware and daily necessities. Factory premises are also well equipped.

Therefore, our demand for local industry is now fundamentally different from what it was in the past.

The task facing local industry at the time of the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee was to build factories in every county and draw in extra local manpower to start production, thereby laying foundations for local industry; but, now, we have the task of developing local industry on a higher plane, based on the foundations already laid.

What, then, should we now do to develop local industry to a higher plane, and how?

First of all, the technical revolution should be stepped up so as to mechanize the whole process of production and to gradually introduce automation.

With the development of local industry, more raw material bases should be secured and a great deal of work, but some counties fail to cope with such work because of their shortage of manpower.

Before, when the capacity of local industry was small, we had to weave fabrics with treadlooms, but things have changed today.

All the processes in which handicraft methods are still employed should be mechanized as part of our technical revolution. All processes in local industry should be mechanized as soon as possible, even if they cannot yet be automated.

Only then will physically arduous jobs be eliminated, productivity go up and a great deal of manpower be saved. With the manpower thus saved we will have to develop local industry even more.

Mechanization is also indispensable for improving the quality of products.

Today the people's requirements have increased as never before. Immediately after the armistice, when we were short of goods, people bought them without complaint, despite the fact that the quality of products was somewhat low; but now, when they go to buy a sheet of

paper they want better quality, and they also want beautiful high-quality fabrics. The people are demanding goods in larger quantities and in wider variety. They were satisfied with one kind of bean paste before, but now, they want bean pastes of varied flavours, such as red-pepper bean paste and sesame-and-red-pepper bean paste. When we were in difficult straits, we put up with the shortage of vegetable oil, but now we want to consume more oil, and meat and milk as well.

As you see, the living standards of the people have improved and their requirements have increased so much that we must further develop local industry. We must work much harder than ever to produce more and better goods. For this there is no other way but to introduce mechanization.

It is an objective law that the more the people's living standards are improved, the greater is their demand for high-quality products. We materialists cannot be blind to these inevitable changes taking place about us. It is a major characteristic of our Party's method of work to make a scientific analysis of reality and then to take the measures indicated by that analysis.

In order to meet the ever-growing needs of the people we should improve and reinforce the existing factories, build what we are lacking, and energetically step up the technical revolution so as to increase production and raise the quality of products.

You should not take manpower out of the countryside to build new factories. Since the mechanization of agriculture has not yet been completed, rural manpower must not be diverted to other tasks.

Therefore, the size of factories to be built or enlarged should be in keeping both with the manpower already available in the county and the manpower which can be saved as a result of the mechanization of existing factories.

In some counties there are still large numbers of idle hands. As the chairman of the Sudong County Party Committee said in his speech yesterday, in coal miners' settlements and in the vicinities of ore mines and other big undertakings, not all dependents are yet employed in

factories. Besides, the mechanization of factories can also release much more manpower.

So we still have abundant sources of manpower for the advancement of local industry. The county must actively tap this source of labour and determine the scale of its industry, taking fully into account the size of the available labour force.

Next, the quality of the management in local industry should be improved.

The managerial personnel of local industrial plants have so far accumulated quite an amount of practical experience in factory management.

Formerly, the officials of county Party committees and county people's committees had no clear idea of accountancy and could not calculate production costs well, but now they know how to adjust a balance, examine financial records, in addition to being familiar with the technical processes. The technical qualifications of managerial personnel have improved remarkably, but they are still far below the level required by the Party.

Our managerial personnel should, therefore, improve their competence in factory management, and the employees their technical skills. All staff of local industrial plants should enrol in the correspondence courses given by universities and higher technical schools, just as they do in Changsong County, and should complete them in two or three years.

The managers, Party committee chairmen and chief engineers of local factories must all study. In our country there is an old saying that one cannot learn everything even if one keeps studying until the end of one's days. Some comrades say there is no need for them to study because they are old and their hair has gone grey. You must discard this sort of thinking and all study and study continuously, and raise your qualifications all the time.

In developing local industry we should also devote great attention to promoting modern production practices.

If fabrics are woven with care, dried in the sun, starched and ironed,

they will be of much better quality, but some factories do not bother to do this. Nor can we yet say that all factories are neat and tidy.

Some people, thinking only of their wretched plight in the old days, are content with their present standard of living which is much higher than that in the past. But this is a serious mistake.

We cannot be satisfied with our present living standards just because they are higher than the ones we had in the past. Among the county Party committee chairmen present here there may also be comrades who are satisfied with the factories in their counties because they never had these factories before. But that is not the way to make progress.

In some local factories, modern production practices are still barely present. This defect should be quickly remedied and modern production practices in all local factories should be brought to a high level.

First of all, foodstuff factories should be spick-and-span.

The entire factory should be neat and clean and the workers should strictly observe the rules of hygiene. Facilities for easier work and sanitary environments should be provided for the workers.

Next in importance is to establish reliable sources for supplies of raw materials for local industry. Some local factories have still not developed their own reliable bases for raw materials, without which production cannot be normalized or expanded.

So, in order to further develop our local industry it is important to accelerate mechanization, raise the technical and skill levels of our cadres, workers and office staff, follow modern production practices and establish reliable sources for supplies of raw materials.

Now I shall make a few remarks concerning the tasks confronting the different branches of local industry.

First, the food industry.

It is advisable not to make a county's foodstuff processing plant too big. The same holds true for other factories, but the size of a foodstuff factory, in particular, should be based on detailed estimates of the county's raw materials, manpower and needs.

Because each county has its own soy sauce and bean paste factory, the output of any one such factory should not exceed the demand from the county in question. I think it preferable to have moderately-sized tanks capable of storing approximately 70 days' output.

Since soy sauce and bean paste are essential items in our people's diet, they should be really appetizing. Just as Europeans cannot dispense with coffee and butter, so Koreans cannot go without soy sauce and bean paste. Soy sauce and bean paste have been indispensable items in the diet of Koreans for thousands of years.

If it is well-made, soy sauce enhances the flavour of all accompanying dishes, but if not, it spoils them. We should make tasty soy sauce and bean paste and produce plenty of red-pepper and sesame-and-red-pepper bean paste.

Further, bean curd should be produced in abundance to supply the factory and office workers in the county and the rural population around the county town. Bean curd is a favourite Korean dish.

In making bean curd, you do not need the huge equipment they have in Pyongyang, but you will do well to use a simple motor-driven millstone. The Sakju Foodstuff Factory turns out a large amount of bean curd with simple equipment. It would be a good idea to set up small branch factories to ensure supplies for workers' districts and distant areas.

It is also advisable for a foodstuff processing plant to have facilities for the processing of milk as well as rabbit, goose and other types of meat

With a view to the further development of animal husbandry and the increase of meat production, measures should be taken to ensure meat processing. Speaking of meat-processing plants, you should not think of installing only big ones such as the Ryongsong Meat-processing Factory. Instead, you should install simple equipment. It is preferable to preserve meat by boiling it in soy sauce; this is a favourite Korean dish.

Cow's milk can also be processed easily. But in some areas the milk produced by peasants is not purchased and processed in good time and,

as a result, the peasants' interest in its production is not high. If, soon after its production, milk is procured and processed, the peasants will produce more and the working people will have more dairy products.

Vegetables should also be processed. It is necessary to preserve radishes, cucumbers, garlic, leeks, red-pepper leaves and the like in soy sauce and establish a constant supply of them for the working people.

A cooking oil plant should be built in each county on a fairly large scale. It should press cooking oil from beans, sesame, hempseed and maize embryos. It should also extract as much oil as possible from rice-bran and use it to make laundry soap, while bean oil should be used for food.

We must struggle to extract at least 10,000 tons of oil from maize embryos next year.

When a small county like Changsong extracts 30 tons of cooking oil a year, we can, by working well, certainly reach the target of 10,000 tons.

Each county should fix its production quota for cooking oil—30, 40, 50 or 60 tons—according to its maize output and successfully carry out its plan. Thus, 10 grammes of this oil per capita must be supplied to the population every day and 20 grammes to each worker.

At present some people say that cooking oil is overstocked and does not sell, so they are not interested in producing more. These people do not know the facts. We still have a long way to go before we can start worrying about a surplus of cooking oil.

Soft drink factories should also be built so that the working people can obtain soft drinks everywhere.

You should not only make strong wine from fruit as some counties do, but also produce and supply large quantities of syrup, fruit juice and different kinds of soft drinks. Wine should be made from fruit instead of grain.

It is of importance in all plants for processing foodstuffs to turn out well-made and hygienic products by more intensive educational work among the employees. Foodstuffs should be touched by hand as little

as possible. Equipment should be modernized so that wine or fruit juice can be bottled automatically, not manually, thereby ensuring a high degree of cleanliness and hygienic conditions.

In some places they cook and sell fried vegetables, meat and the like when they are told to process foodstuffs; this is not food processing and is very dangerous from the hygienic point of view. It is preferable that items such as fried vegetables and meat be cooked and sold at restaurants. Foodstuff processing plants should produce items which will not spoil even when stored for a long time. Thus, the products of these plants should be such that anyone can consume them with confidence at any time.

To this end, good personnel with an exceptionally strong sense of responsibility should be allocated to foodstuff processing plants, and should be properly instructed in the rules of hygiene.

In order to increase soft drink production each foodstuff processing plant should acquire a raw material base comprising 50 to 100 hectares of land, in accordance with the decision of the Pukchong meeting. It should thus produce large quantities of apricots, strawberries, plums, cherry and other fruits on its own so that it will not lack raw materials.

In our country, fruit trees can grow everywhere: apricots, peaches, apples, pears, cherry, strawberries, etc., all grow well. In places like Changsong, from now on they should not only make use of wild fruits but plant plenty of fruit trees and process the produced fruit on a large scale.

Our country abounds in varieties of fruit which grow well, but the demands of the working people are not yet fully satisfied, because we do not plant new fruit trees with a will or take good care of those we have. In Sunan and Jungsan, for instance, many apple trees have been planted but they are not weeded well and are neglected. Chestnuts are found everywhere in our country but there are only a few places where they are tended properly. This is just wasting some of the enormous resources of our country.

We should not only plant fruit trees but should take good care of them as well. Existing fruit trees should be tended carefully so that

various kinds of fruit may be harvested abundantly in all local areas, according to the season.

Now, I should like to speak about the textile industry.

Every county has a textile mill, so it is important that it be properly equipped and developed.

In particular, the level of mechanization should be raised in the textile mills. Each mill should twist thin yarn and weave good fabrics by increasing the number of looms and installing twisting machines.

Since it is difficult to equip every textile mill with spinning machines, I think it preferable to build a single spinning mill, under the jurisdiction of the local industry management bureau, and have it spin and distribute yarn to the individual textile mills.

The spinning mill should not be run independently of the textile mills but should be placed under the control of the manager of one of them. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that the spinning mill should be built at the textile mill in the place where the management bureau is located. It may be better to set up a spinning mill at the textile factory in the workers' district and run it with local extra manpower. A large-size textile mill may have its own spinning shop; but in small counties such as Changsong, Sakju and Pyoktong, it would be good to set up a common spinning mill for several counties.

Locally-run textile mills should have a yearly production capacity of 400,000 to 500,000 metres per county, and of 1 to 2 million metres for a big county. Thus, the annual textile output of locally-run factories should be from 150 to 200 million metres, at least, by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

We plan to maintain the level of 250 million metres of fabrics next year and occupy the height of 300 million metres in 1964. Then, the local factories will have to turn out 100 million metres of fabrics.

The question of securing raw materials is therefore a very important one.

Local factories should take more than 50 to 60 per cent of the raw materials they use from their own areas. Therefore, special attention should be directed to establishing reliable raw material bases. Next

year at least 300 to 400 hectares of hemp should be planted in each county, thereby bringing 50,000 to 60,000 hectares of land under hemp cultivation nationally.

But hemp should not be sown in farmland. Fibre crops such as hemp and castor bean should be planted extensively along the roadsides, at the edges of fields, around houses and in the yards of offices and enterprises. As I saw during my visit, the compound of the Changsong Foodstuff Factory is too big. It will do well to plant fibre crops there, leaving only a passage wide enough for a vehicle to go through.

An important task facing the textile mills is to improve the quality of fabrics.

Yarn should be spun thinner and twisted to produce better-quality textiles. Then, raw materials will not be wasted and the cloth will be attractive. The yarn spun from wild plant fibre and fibre recuperated from rags, cloth scraps and the like should be twisted as finely as possible to weave materials for overcoats and winter clothes. Flax and hemp should be used in manufacturing good fabrics for summer clothes. High-quality fabrics must be woven with state-supplied fibre, and it would be a good idea to produce silk fabrics and rainbow-patterned fabrics with rayon yarn.

Qualitative improvement of fabrics requires proper processing and treatment, including bleaching and dyeing at spinning mills. It would be difficult to provide every county with dyeing facilities. It is preferable, therefore, that the management bureau should have the facilities under its control and that it distribute the dyed yarn.

It would also be good to build a clothing factory next to each local textile mill. Large counties may set up clothing factories separately. At any rate, each county should have more than one properly-run garment factory. Each county should thus make and supply work clothes for its workers and peasants, and school uniforms and overcoats for its schoolchildren.

Now, a few words about the paper mills.

Our annual paper output must reach 250,000 tons by the end of the

Seven-Year Plan. Local industry should contribute at least 100,000 tons towards this total. The county paper mills alone, except those in Pyongyang and in the provincial capitals, should produce 70,000 to 80,000 tons of paper.

This year the production quota of the local paper mills is 35,000 tons. You should take good care of their equipment from now on, and strive to bring their yearly output to something like 50,000 to 60,000 tons over the next few years.

The size of a paper mill must be determined in relation to the raw material and manpower resources of the county concerned, on the basis of a detailed evaluation of those conditions.

As for raw materials, straw should be used where it is abundant, and plenty of ground pulp should be utilized in the mountain areas.

In our country every county has trees or straw. Since we can make 100 tons of paper out of 300 tons of straw, we can, therefore, produce more than 300 tons of paper out of only 1,000 tons of straw.

If, however, we use too much straw, it could cause a shortage of caustic soda, so about 70 to 80 per cent of the raw materials used for paper-making should consist of ground pulp. Therefore, it would be logical for the areas with plenty of straw to produce straw pulp and supply it to the places with extensive forests, like Changsong County, and receive ground pulp in return.

It is not so difficult to make timber-grinders. Grinders such as those now being used in Changsong and Sakju can be made quite easily. Such grinders should be made and installed in various localities.

If each county develops its paper industry in this way, each province will be able to meet its own demand for notebooks, wallpaper, floor paper, packing paper and so on.

In addition, filter, carbon, cigarette and other special kinds of paper should be made in some cities such as Pyongyang, Hamhung and Sinuiju. The Light Industry Commission should concern itself directly with this.

Each county should also have a furniture factory.

At present county furniture factories are attached to farm

implement factories, which tend to produce only farm implements and wooden frames for cold-bed rice seedlings, neglecting the production of furniture such as dining tables and wardrobes. Therefore, the furniture factories should be separated from the farm implement factories, and each county should have a separate furniture factory.

Furniture factories should make wardrobes, quilt chests, other chests favoured by housewives, and small Korean-style tables for the aged to dine cross-legged. And chairs, desks, beds and the like should also be manufactured.

You should make these items of furniture in each county and supply them to the villages, instead of trying to bring in ready-made furniture from a distance. It would be a good idea to fix the amount of production in such a way as to satisfy the needs of the county concerned. Lumber towns should manufacture a lot of semi-finished items and send them to other localities where they can be assembled.

Furthermore, each county should build an earthenware factory and manufacture jars, pots and crocks of different shapes and sizes, all necessary for the people's use. Pots, for instance, should come in a variety of shapes and sizes including ones to contain red-pepper bean paste and ordinary bean paste, with each county meeting the needs of the people. For those counties which cannot build earthenware factories for lack of suitable clay, the management bureau should make proper arrangements for other counties to produce extra earthenware and send it to them.

Each county should also set up a maize-processing factory, a rice-cleaning mill and a factory to meet the county's demands for simple articles of everyday use. Furthermore, housewives' workteams and peasants' ancillary production should be organized to make straw hats, rush-mats and other local specialities as well as various grass-made articles.

Every county should make good preparations to ensure that local factories will be fully equipped, reinforced and enlarged by May Day, 1964, so that they may achieve a signal advance in production. Thus, every housewife in townships and workers' settlements should be

given a job so as to increase the monthly income of the household of each factory and office worker to something like 70 to 80 *won* or up to 100 *won*.

What you must be careful about in re-equipping, expanding or newly constructing local factories is to push ahead with the work in a planned and organized way, on the basis of correct assessments of the relevant conditions and possibilities. You should not violate financial regulations by diverting funds illegally in a “Let’s chance it” manner or begin construction projects without having made detailed calculations. The county should submit an estimate to the local industry management bureau after working out the funds and materials which will be necessary. Then the state will supply some steel, timber, cement and the like, and the factories under the central authority, too, will give a defined amount of assistance to the local factories.

At present the province is authorized to use about 5,000 tons of cement; it would be advisable for it to reserve 2,000 tons for itself and distribute the remaining 3,000 tons to the counties. Some steel and timber, too, should be distributed to each county. It is preferable for machinery to be manufactured at factories under the central authority. Those factories should help local factories as much as possible.

When we formed the guerrilla army for the first time, we had all sorts of difficulties because we were unable to get gunpowder, not to speak of weapons. We extracted nitric acid from cow’s urine to produce gunpowder and fought the Japanese imperialists. At present we have big factories, and so it is absurd to say that we cannot build local factories.

The chairmen of provincial Party committees in particular should attend to their work well. If they organize their work well and work with the cadres properly, everything will go smoothly.

Proper work with cadres does not mean replacing the present county Party committee chairmen with other people. They should be educated well and fully roused to action. The chairmen of county Party committees cannot do anything if they are ignorant.

The provincial Party committee chairmen should educate the

county Party committee chairmen well, taking them along on inspection tours. If they go along with county Party committee chairmen for an inspection by train, say, on Saturday and come back on Sunday, it will not interfere with their work on the following day. They should be shown, for example, a paper mill, a machine-building plant, a meat-processing factory, the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Pyongyang Textile Mill and so on.

Some county Party committee chairmen worked at factories before, but that was a thing of the past. Only when they see the huge modern factories of today can they be enlightened. It is good to study by reading books but still better to learn from realities. Just as you have learned much from this week-long stay here in Changsong, so should you see and learn more, making tours of various places. If the provincial Party committee chairmen properly set county Party committee chairmen on the move and if the latter skilfully rouse the masses to action, all the problems in the local areas will be solved successfully.

3. ON THE RURAL ECONOMY

The most important of all the questions we are discussing now is that of rapidly improving the living standards of the peasants in mountain areas. In order to do this, there is no alternative but to produce more grain by making optimum use of the existing land under cultivation and to develop animal husbandry by utilizing the mountains.

Only by developing animal husbandry can we increase the cash income of the peasants and produce enough compost to raise our grain output; and only by increasing grain output can we expand our fodder sources for domestic animals and further develop animal husbandry. Therefore, in the mountainous rural areas it is particularly important to take advantage of the mountains to raise a great number of grazing

domestic animals such as sheep, goats, calves, geese and rabbits.

Each agricultural cooperative in the mountain areas should strive to breed at least 200 head of sheep. Even in flatland areas, such as Sinchon, South Hwanghae Province, there are quite a few cooperatives with hills in their territory. These cooperatives should also raise sheep. Each cooperative should raise sheep in proportion to the number of its farm households—300 head for 300 households and 500 head for 500 households.

Sheep are highly profitable domestic animals that can be bred quite easily with grass alone. Sheep like bush clover, hazel leaves and oak leaves. Cut grass and dry it, and you can chop it to feed them in the winter. One head of sheep brings an income of 150 *won* a year. Marvellous!

Sheep can also be raised well in Ryanggang Province, but they do not raise many there, although the province is certainly not short of grass: it just lacks enthusiasm. The province and the counties have not organized their work properly and have failed to make strenuous efforts to raise the income of the peasants.

Along with sheep, calves should also be bred in large numbers. If a calf is grazed in a valley for one summer, it puts on as much as 70 kilogrammes in weight, which brings you an income of 100 *won*.

Our experiments show that it is quite possible to raise geese with grass only. We can earn 70 to 80 *won* a year from a goose by selling her eggs and raising the goslings for the market. Geese breed at a much higher rate than sheep. Each agricultural cooperative should breed enough geese so that within two or three years every farm household may have a goose.

It is also advisable to raise many rabbits and two pigs per farm household.

You should carry out farm work such as compost production and weeding ahead of schedule through the proper organization of labour, and save as much manpower as possible by extending mechanization. The manpower thus saved should be used to gather wild fruits, plant medicinal herbs and raise silkworms in order to increase cash income.

You should thus see to it that the average per-household income of the peasants in mountain areas will amount to three tons of grain and over 1,000 *won* in cash, thereby raising the living standards of all peasants, if possible, or 80 per cent of them at least, to those of the well-to-do middle peasantry, by 1964.

Now, I would like to tell you about our immediate farm tasks and those confronting the rural economy next year.

The weather has been very bad this year. We had damages from frost, blight and insect pests; we had a severe drought followed by a long spell of rain and repeated floods. We also suffered considerable losses from the recent typhoon and flood.

If we had not far-sightedly carried out irrigation works, afforestation and water conservation projects, we would have had a very bad crop in a year like this. Thanks to the establishment of a fine irrigation system in our country and the united struggle of all the peasants and working people, we can reap a bumper harvest again this year, despite all sorts of natural calamities.

We should not feel satisfied, however. We have not yet reached the 5 million-ton level. On your return to your posts after this meeting, you must take thorough measures to prevent storm and flood damage, stretching straw ropes between crops to prevent the wind from blowing them down, and digging deep ditches for drainage. You must also plant and carefully cultivate vegetables and buckwheat as well as aftercrop maize in those lands where crops were washed away by the flood.

Measures should also be taken as of now to harvest crops as soon as they ripen. Today our people busy themselves planting and tending crops, but once the crops are ripe, they do not take good care of them. We should correct this defect as soon as possible and pay the closest attention not only to harvesting crops in due time but also to threshing them well, and storing and looking after them carefully, so as not to lose even a single grain of cereal.

The task in next year's struggle is to consolidate the successes attained in grain production this year, and, on this basis, to make preparations for reaching a new, higher peak in the future. We should

produce 3 million tons of rice in the future so that all the people in the northern half can eat rice for their daily meals. In order to scale this new height, it is necessary to make full preparations for next year.

First of all, the area of paddy fields should be expanded. We should bring approximately 30,000 hectares of land under rice cultivation next year and then convert another 30,000 hectares into rice paddies by the spring of 1964, thus increasing the area of paddy fields to 600,000 hectares in 1964.

We should increase the area of irrigated paddies and our irrigation facilities for dry fields. To do so, 6,000 to 7,000 water pumps should be sent to the countryside so that every tractor may have one attached to it to lift water. Water should be lifted by tractor-driven pumps in two or three stages: in this way we could irrigate even sloping fields.

Besides, to increase the level of mechanization next year, more than 3,000 tractors and over 1,000 trucks should be sent to the countryside. Larger amounts of chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and weed killers should also be supplied.

Agricultural cooperatives should produce large amounts of compost. In the flatland areas such as Sinchon and Jaeryong where the sources of grass are limited, coal should be used as fuel and, instead, rice straw should be chopped to make compost in large quantities, and peat should also be dug actively.

We should, in this way, continue to hold fast to the production goal of 5 million tons of grain for a year or two and, at the same time, increase the proportion of better grains.

Furthermore, bean and other oil crops should be planted widely so we can produce more vegetable oil.

Animal husbandry should be developed to produce more meat.

Orchards should be well tended so that we can produce more fruit.

Besides, beginning this year 100,000 modern dwellings should be built every year in the countryside to renew our rural villages. Build houses for another 300,000 to 400,000 families, and almost all our peasants will be living in tile-roofed houses, I reckon.

Then the long-cherished desire of the Koreans, that is, to live in

plenty in tile-roofed houses, eating rice and meat soup and wearing silk clothes, will become a reality.

The struggle for accomplishing this centuries-old desire of our people is a really worthwhile and honourable one. We must succeed in carrying out this honourable task before us by waging a vigorous struggle.

4. ON EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL WORK

School education must be conducted properly in order to intensify the struggle against outmoded practices and to accelerate the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

Now we have compulsory secondary education and are making preparations for the enforcement of compulsory technical education, which has already been put into effect in many counties.

However, some counties still fail to give close attention to the proper management of schools and to the preparatory work for the enforcement of the compulsory technical education system.

Graduates from schools will all go to work at local factories and agricultural cooperatives in the future. Therefore, the fulfilment of the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside depends largely upon whether or not the pupils have been educated at school properly.

Pupils must be encouraged to study hard and keep their schools neat and clean. They should also be taught to practise good manners and be of clean personal appearance.

Only in this way can they fully play their role as educated and cultured citizens of a new type when they are launched into society after leaving school. Those who have received good training at school will maintain public establishments, dwellings, clubs and the like in spick-and-span condition and make an effort to lead their daily lives in a modern way.

The pupils of some schools now wear their clothes, caps and Children's Union scarves carelessly.

All this, we can say, is the result of the lack of concern for school work on the part of the county Party committees and county people's committees.

At schools, education should be closely linked with productive labour. Pupils should not be overworked, lest their studies and their physical growth be affected. But moderate physical labour is indispensable. You should engage them in appropriate productive labour which will also be useful to their education.

While planting and tending trees, pupils should learn which trees grow fast and for what purposes different kinds of timber are used. Raising rabbits or sheep, they should also learn the habits of domestic animals and what they eat best.

Small plots of paddy and dry fields should be allotted to schools so that pupils may learn to cultivate them and acquire an elementary knowledge of farming—how to transplant rice-seedlings, how to plant maize and what kind of fertilizer to apply to which land.

Close attention should also be given to developing the physical strength of the pupils and to their emotional education. We should also teach them technical know-how so that all of them will be able to handle simple machines.

All pupils should, in this way, be made into versatile men of a new type, into competent builders of a new society.

The counties should build more schools and pay more attention to the students' life. Why can't you build schools when you can build 100,000 modern dwellings every year in the countryside? Schools should be built, even at the cost of some rural modern dwellings. All the 2.5 million students and pupils constitute our precious rising generation. The more we can do for them, the better.

Next year we should produce more vinyl chloride so that all our students will have footwear, school bags and raincoats made of vinyl.

This year overcoats should be supplied to the pupils in all counties; spring and autumn uniforms should also be made for them next year.

Furthermore, the counties should develop modern and hygienic hospitals and clubs. They should set up more maternity homes and pediatric wards at the county hospitals and, particularly, beautify the county towns further. Thus, every county should be developed along modern and hygienic lines so as to become a Model Hygienic County by August 15 next year.

5. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK

First, let me tell you about strengthening the guidance the provincial Party committees give to industry and the role of the factory Party committees.

The main cause of the defects revealed in the course of this year's campaign to scale the six heights lies in Party work.

As I have emphasized time and again, our industry has now undergone a qualitative change as compared with the past, both in scale and in the level of technical development. Today it is absolutely impossible for a minister or a management-bureau chief to rely only on his personal knowledge in the management of our industry which has diversified and grown considerably in size. The efficient management of our industry requires collective Party leadership. The provincial Party committee should take direct responsibility for industry and give it leadership, and it should rouse the factory Party committees to action and get all Party members on the move.

This question cannot be solved simply by reorganizing a ministry or appointing knowledgeable men to the posts of minister or management-bureau chief. In order to do work in a revolutionary way it is necessary, after all, to rouse the Party organizations to action and to rely on the Party members and the revolutionary working class.

The Hwanghae Iron Works is located near Pyongyang, and therefore many cadres from the central bodies visit it. Recently, it is

said, the chief of the metal management bureau made a prolonged visit to the Hwanghae Iron Works. Nevertheless, the Hwanghae Iron Works is still repeating the same errors it committed in 1959, but no one has been able to correct them.

However often he may go personally to give guidance to a factory, no individual can ever solve the problems without bringing its Party committee into action. The main reason for the poor work in the Hwanghae Iron Works lies in the defective work of the factory Party committee. If the factory Party committee had been well acquainted with the Party policies, it would not have blindly followed the wrong directives sent down from the ministry and would have saved the situation in time.

Lenin blasted to smithereens the Menshevik manoeuvres to turn the party of the working class into a sort of club; he made the party a militant and organized detachment with iron discipline, and developed the leadership of the party organizations to play the role of the general staff of the revolution. It is impossible to win victory in a fierce battle against the enemy if the general staff is not sufficiently strong.

Production is also a battle. For successful production it is necessary, first of all, to efficiently build up the factory Party committee, the general staff of the factory, and strengthen its role.

The greatest advantage of the collective leadership of the Party committee lies in the fact that it can accurately perform the role of a helmsman by steering the right course of action in line with the Party policies, based on a comprehensive understanding of all conditions in the factory and in the fact that it can properly mobilize all the Party organizations, Party members, working people's organizations and all the workers of the factory to struggle for the implementation of the Party's policies.

In order to ensure the collective leadership of the Party committee satisfactorily, it is of primary importance that the Party committee itself should be made up properly. The Party committee should be composed of the core elements who resolutely defend the Party's policies, who are well-versed in the actual conditions of the major

factory departments and who can fully reflect the views of broad sections of Party members and the working masses. Party officials, administrative and management personnel, technicians and core workers should therefore all be included in the Party committee.

The Party Committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works is not made up properly. It is not composed of Party core activists, but of shop representatives selected on a uniformly egalitarian basis from various shops. Thus, the factory Party committee included a telephone-operator and the head of the clinic. Of course, these comrades are all good, hardworking people, but they do not play a central role in production. The provincial Party committee that approved this composition of the factory Party committee is also to blame.

The workers who directly handle the machines know production better than anyone else. When the work was not going properly at the Hwanghae Iron Works, the workers submitted their opinions. However, their leaders did not readily accept their valid opinions.

If it had been well-organized and had done its work properly, the Party committee would have accepted the reasonable opinions of the workers immediately and taken appropriate measures, and could have closely linked the revolutionary spirit of the workers with the scientific knowledge of the technicians. Also, it could have advanced its correct views to the Central Committee in time, instead of blindly following the directives of the ministry.

However, the Party Committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works failed to act as helmsman, nor did it successfully bring into play the creativity of the Party members and the working masses.

When I visited the Hwanghae Iron Works in 1959, I found at first that the work was too spread out, but I could not find specific defects. However, many things were brought to light in the course of rousing the Party organizations to action and from talking with the Party members and workers. The workers stressed that the cause of unsatisfactory work should be sought not outside but inside the factory, and pointed to many grave defects—there was no one to repair

open-hearth furnaces because the workers of the repair and power supply shop had all been transferred to construction work; steel production did not go on smoothly because many furnaces were operated incorrectly when they had not enough gas and so on. We paid attention to the voices of these comrades and took corrective measures, having clearly understood the shortcomings of the Hwanghae Iron Works.

The Party committee should be built up with workers who can give correct opinions on production problems, and an atmosphere should be created in which they can always express their views freely.

The open-hearth shop is at the very heart of the operations of the Hwanghae Iron Works, but the core workers of the shop have only two representatives in the Party committee. This is too small a number. There is no doubt that if five to six comrades from the open-hearth shop had been on the Party committee, they would have put forth many opinions, which would have greatly helped the committee to play its role of helmsman.

You must not neglect your work with intellectuals on the ground that we should rely on the revolutionary spirit of the working class. What is important is that the factory Party committee should properly lead the intellectuals and workers to help each other. Intellectuals have technique and knowledge, but are inclined more or less to conservatism. Workers have a strong revolutionary spirit but they lack knowledge. The factory Party committee should go deeply among the intellectuals and workers and give guidance in such a way as to correctly combine the scientific knowledge of the intellectuals with the revolutionary spirit of the working class. It is also the duty of the general staff to perform this sort of coordination. The Hwanghae Iron Works Party Committee has failed to do this work satisfactorily.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the provincial Party committee in industrial production we built up its economic departments well, and during the recent guidance to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, we took radical measures for considerably expanding the structures of the factory Party committees and

strengthening their leadership. All questions would therefore have been settled smoothly if the provincial Party committee had roused the factory Party committee to action and if the factory Party committee, firmly adhering to the Party's policies, had properly organized the implementation of these policies, relying upon the core elements of the Party and the working class. But it worked only with some administrative cadres instead of with the Party organizations and Party members; as a result, things went wrong. The only way to mobilize the creativity of the masses is for the Party to set forth a correct line of struggle and to set all the Party organizations on the move, strengthening the vanguard role of the Party members for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks.

The masters of the factory are the factory Party committee, all the Party members and workers. It is fundamentally wrong not to rely on the masters of the factory in work.

Working only with the manager and the chief engineer will get you nowhere. It was a great mistake that the Heavy Industry Commission called up only managers and chief engineers for a joint conference and did not summon chairmen of the factory Party committees and active workers. In guiding the factory you must get the factory Party committee and the Party members of the factory on the move.

I have said that the Party committee should stay aft and play a steering role instead of taking upon itself administrative work. Then, there have appeared such detrimental practices as simply spouting empty phrases from behind without knowing anything about how production is proceeding. A resolute struggle must be waged against this tendency. What Party work can the factory Party committee do apart from production? The factory Party committee represents the highest level of production leadership at the factory. The Party committee should deal directly with the organization and mobilization of activities related to production.

The factory Party committee must hold collective discussions on all important problems related to production, formulate correct policies and measures, acquire a detailed understanding of the state of

production affairs, and lead and supervise production all the time so that the Party's policy can be fully carried out in production; and it must conduct the organizational work of mobilizing the Party members and working masses for the implementation of the Party's policy. If you fail to do this and only give scoldings from behind, that is a far cry from guidance.

The Party committee should work not only with the manager and the chief engineer but also with the Party activists, and with the working masses so that they may carry out the Party's policy to the letter.

The manager and the chief engineer should assume responsibility for carrying out Party committee decisions.

It is the Party committee that directs production and bears the responsibility for production. The Party committee should be responsible for all affairs of the factory. That the Party should not take upon itself administrative work means that the Party committee should not take over the functions of the manager and the chief engineer in the technical guidance of production, but neither does it mean that it should stop guiding production. The main task of the factory Party committee is to give correct guidance for production.

The department of heavy industry of the provincial Party committee should also improve its method of work. It is a difficult job for an instructor of this department to lead all the work of a given factory. Guidance for the running of a factory can be given only through the factory Party committee. Through its instructor, the provincial Party committee should be constantly in touch with production conditions at the factory, ensure that the factory Party committee is acquainted with the Party's policy, and rouse it to action. The provincial Party committee should, above all, have its influence over the factory Party committee. It should properly guide the work of activating the Party organizations and working people's organizations, such as the trade unions and the Democratic Youth League organizations in the factory, and of organizing and mobilizing the Party members and the working people. That the provincial Party committee should have control of

industry means, in the final analysis, that it is its duty to keep the factory Party committee on the move so as to ensure production.

If the provincial Party committee, instead of doing such work, digs out the defects of the lower units, reports them to the ministry and waits for it to solve everything, nothing will be solved.

The ministry should be responsible primarily for giving technical guidance and for supplying materials. Direct guidance for production and the work of mobilizing the working masses should be conducted by the provincial Party committee through the factory Party committee.

But the Party work system has not yet been fully established in the guidance of industry. The provincial Party committee fails to rouse the factory Party committee to action properly, and the factory Party committee plays its role as the general staff for the guidance of production unsatisfactorily. Hence, what is most important in the struggle for scaling the six heights is to intensify the Party guidance of industry.

Once the Party organizations are roused to full activity, nothing is impossible. Work goes well in Changsong because the activities of the Party organizations are in full swing.

When we were here last year, we visited the Yaksu Middle School and assigned to them the task of teaching all the pupils to play a musical instrument. It was a very difficult task, and in order to carry it out, I was told, the school Party cell held a number of meetings. At the meetings they discussed the matter seriously and came to the conclusion that in order to teach the pupils to play musical instruments, the teachers themselves had to learn how to play them first. So all the teachers started learning how to play musical instruments as a Party assignment: the chief of school affairs zealously learned how to play the piano during night hours; and all the teachers made great efforts to learn how to play musical instruments. Then, the teachers taught the pupils how to play them. When a Party organization works like this, there is nothing that can stop us.

When you go back to your places of work after this meeting, the

provincial Party committee chairmen should, first of all, re-examine the composition of the factory Party committees and give their main attention to increasing their fighting capacity.

During our guidance visit to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant we laid special emphasis on strengthening the role of the factory Party committee. Many factories have still not introduced the new Taean work system. If you work as required by this system, everything will go well. The provincial Party committee chairmen must wage an energetic struggle to establish the Taean work system in all spheres in order to push ahead successfully with the struggle to reach the six heights.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few remarks on the work of the county Party committee.

The experience of Changsong County shows that success in all county work is due primarily to the proper work of the county Party committee. When the leading officials accept the Party's policies from the bottom of their hearts and persistently strive for their implementation with a firm will, there is nothing which is beyond their capacity. The Party organizations should thoroughly explain and bring home the Party's policies to the masses and organize and mobilize them for their implementation.

Furthermore, the leading officials should always stand in the van of the masses and lead them forward, setting practical examples in all work.

The Changsong County Party Committee properly explained and propagated the Party policies among the masses and actively mobilized them. As the experiences of the Changsong and Sakju County Party Committees show, all the masses can be activated when Party organizational and political work is conducted well and the leading officials stand in the van.

Whether the work of the county goes well or not depends entirely upon its Party committee.

If the county Party committee, as the organ of collective leadership, as the general staff of the county, disseminates the Party's policies adequately and executes organizational work effectively, taking

command of all fronts and all spheres of county work, with the cadres marching in the lead, all problems will be solved.

The county Party committee is the lowest organ that assumes direct responsibility for all county work, including the rural economy, and organizes, leads and implements it. The county Party committee also bears direct responsibility for the living standards of the workers, peasants and all the other inhabitants of the county.

The county Party committee should therefore properly lead the county people's committee and the county agricultural cooperative management committee, steer all branches well, rally the masses around the Party and get all of them on the move.

Moreover, work should be organized and carried out in a revolutionary way. Work once started must be carried to the end, come what may, through vigorous struggle. Work should not be done in a hit-or-miss way.

Success in our work depends, in the last analysis, on whether the masses are fully roused to action or not. The county Party committee, continuously embodying the Chongsanri method in all work, should always go to the masses, hear and meet their demands, discuss with them and take them by the hand.

We have always won victories in the past, and will win more victories in the future. However, we should not rest on our laurels but should keep marching on. We should put an end to indolence and slackness. We should lead a frugal life and dedicate our all to the resolute struggle for the revolution.

I firmly believe that you, comrades, will fully carry out the tasks set forth at this meeting, and thereby bring about a radical change in the political, economic and cultural advancement of our counties.

**SPEECH AT THE BANQUET GIVEN
IN CELEBRATION OF THE 17TH
ANNIVERSARY OF AUGUST 15
LIBERATION**

August 15, 1962

Dear comrades and friends,

On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the August 15 liberation, I would like to extend, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the Republic, warm congratulations to you present here and to the entire Korean people.

Under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, our people, freed from the prolonged Japanese imperialist colonial rule, have won a great victory in the sacred struggle for the freedom and independence of the country and the building of a new society, and have completely changed all aspects of our country in a short time. Our people today are enjoying a new life, happy and fruitful, without any worries, in an excellent socialist country with a solid and independent national economy and a brilliant national culture. Firmly united around the Party, they are continuing their advance towards the pinnacle of socialism in the spirit of Chollima riders with a greater hope and confidence.

Our working people are displaying unusual revolutionary zeal and creative activity in the fulfilment of the Seven-Year National Economic Plan, a magnificent programme of socialist construction set forth by the Workers' Party of Korea at its Fourth Congress; they have already succeeded in carrying out the assignments for the first year of

this plan and are now increasing production and bringing about greater innovations to attain the six goals of this year.

Our heroic working class have already exceeded the plan for the first half of this year and achieved splendid success in their efforts for conquering the six heights. They are making great technical innovations in all sectors of the national economy by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and the creative traits of boldly thinking and practising.

The rapid progress of agricultural mechanization and the continuous building and expansion of irrigation facilities have resulted in further strengthening the material and technical foundations of the socialist rural economy, and the patriotic enthusiasm of the peasant masses has been even more enhanced in the fight to attain the goal of 5 million tons of grain.

In our country this year a severe drought was followed by a long spell of rain never seen in the past several decades, with an unprecedentedly heavy flood and then a typhoon. However, we were able successfully to prevent damages from the severe drought and heavy flood this year, because under the leadership of our Party, our people had devoted great efforts for several years to establishing a powerful irrigation system and to carrying out afforestation and water conservancy projects. Thanks to the strenuous efforts of our peasants and all the people, including factory and office workers, and students who gave a helping hand to the countryside, all these calamities have been overcome in exemplary fashion; and we are sure to reap a bountiful harvest of 5 million tons of grain.

All branches of our science and culture have begun to flourish. A large number of new discoveries and inventions, which are of great significance in the development of science and technology, have been made; and our beautiful and powerful national art is blossoming out more brilliantly.

Our people's life is getting more pleasant and joyous with each passing day and the revolutionary stamina of the masses is mounting ever higher.

I am convinced that all our working people will unite more firmly around the Party and keep on a stubborn struggle, thus conquering the six heights for this year without fail and demonstrating once again the mettle of the heroic Korean people who are advancing as riders of Chollima.

All the signal successes achieved by our people confirm the validity and invincible vitality of our Party's policies; they are the outcome of the heroic struggle of our people who are marching forward through thick and thin along the road indicated by the Party.

Availing myself of this liberation holiday, I offer my warm congratulations and hearty thanks to our working class and cooperative farmers and the workers in the sectors of education, science, public health and literature and art, who are continuously performing great and meritorious deeds in socialist construction, by devoting all their energies and creative talents to the country's prosperity and development and to the everlasting happiness of our people.

Also, I send my congratulations and thanks to the officers and men of the People's Army, the men of the security forces and the interior servicemen who are reliably guarding the gains of our revolution and the peaceful labour of our people.

Comrades,

Occupying the southern half of our country for 17 years, the US imperialists have completely destroyed the economy there and turned south Korea into a land of darkness where hunger and poverty, terror and murder prevail. They are now intensifying their plunder and oppression of the south Korean people, aggravating the tension in Korea and more viciously manoeuvring to hinder the peaceful reunification of our country.

The military fascist clique of south Korea are suppressing the freedom and democracy of the people, repressing the free activity of all the political parties and social organizations, and are driving the south Korean people into a tighter corner of unemployment and starvation, ignorance and darkness. And they are selling the national economy in south Korea to foreign monopoly capitalists under the

pretext of using the so-called “economic aid”.

But, no matter how desperately they may try, the US imperialists and the south Korean military fascist clique cannot block the way ahead of the Korean people who are fighting for the country’s freedom and independence and national reunification.

Only when all the patriotic forces of north and south Korea unite their strength and unfold a decisive anti-US, save-the-nation struggle, will the US imperialists withdraw from our country, the military fascist dictatorship will be smashed and the peaceful reunification of the country will be realized without fail.

On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the August 15 liberation, I offer fraternal greetings to the entire south Korean compatriots and extend our hearty support to all patriots and people in south Korea who are stubbornly fighting despite ruthless enemy suppression.

I would also like to extend national, compatriotic greetings to the 600,000 Koreans in Japan who are fighting in an alien land for the reunification, independence and freedom of their country and for their national rights and the right to life; and to all other overseas Koreans.

Comrades,

Since liberation, our people have enjoyed the active support and encouragement of the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries in their struggle for the country’s freedom and independence and the building of a new society. The Soviet people not only helped our people in their liberation struggle against Japanese imperialist colonial rule, but are actively supporting, both materially and morally, the struggle of our people for the country’s peaceful reunification and socialist construction. The Chinese people shed their blood to aid our people in the most arduous time of the Fatherland Liberation War and continue to give active support to our people’s just struggle. The peoples of all fraternal countries—the Democratic Republic of Germany, Romania, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Albania, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland—are sincerely supporting and encouraging the struggle of our people.

Hailing the 17th anniversary of the August 15 liberation today, I

extend hearty thanks to all the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries for their continuous support and encouragement to our people.

On the international arena today, the forces of peace and socialism are overwhelming the forces of war and imperialism.

The might of the socialist camp has grown incomparably and the peoples of the countries of this camp are firmly united. The fact that of late the Soviet Union again launched manned spacecraft in succession demonstrates the invincible might of the Soviet Union and the advantage of the socialist system over the capitalist system. This gladdens the peoples of the socialist countries beyond measure, and greatly inspires peace-loving people the world over.

The fierce flames of the national-liberation struggle are raging without respite in the colonial and dependent countries, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class and other broad sections of the masses is gaining momentum in all capitalist countries.

No matter what desperate efforts US imperialism, the ringleader of international reaction, and its followers may make, they cannot save imperialism which is falling ever deeper into decay and ruin; and all their moves against peace and socialism will inevitably meet a final defeat.

Only when all the peoples of the countries in the socialist camp and the progressive people of the world maintain the sharpest vigilance and wage a more stubborn struggle, will all the aggressive moves of the imperialists be frustrated and a durable world peace be safeguarded.

Under the leadership of our Party the Korean people will, in the future, too, firmly unite with the peoples of the socialist camp and resolutely fight for the common cause of peace and socialism, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

More closely united behind the Workers' Party of Korea, our people will consolidate and develop the successes already achieved, fully display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, keep themselves alert, and make continuous innovations and uninterrupted progress, and thus win an even greater victory.

ON IMPROVING GUIDANCE GIVEN BY THE MINISTRY AND THE MANAGEMENT BUREAU AND STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF THE FACTORY PARTY COMMITTEE

**Speech at the Party Committee
of the Hwanghae Iron Works**

August 30, 1962

Last year witnessed great progress in the activity of the Hwanghae Iron Works. The works was improved in many respects, and the output of pig iron and steel considerably increased. Quite a few houses for workers were built so that the men became more settled. These successes were due to the workers who struggled with enthusiasm to carry out the tasks given by the Party.

But the Hwanghae Iron Works nevertheless has serious shortcomings in its work which must be corrected.

This year our Party has given this works the task of producing 500,000 tons of steel. This, of course, is a difficult task. But you will be quite able to cope with it by making strenuous efforts. Nevertheless, the task is not being carried out properly. The main reason is that, first of all, the ministry and the management bureau are not giving correct guidance to the works and, secondly, the factory Party committee is not efficient in its work.

Today I would like to analyse mainly the causes of the shortcomings in the work of the enterprise and then dwell on the measures to rectify them.

1. ON IMPROVING GUIDANCE GIVEN BY THE MINISTRY AND THE MANAGEMENT BUREAU

The most serious defect in the guidance of the works given by the ministry and management bureau is that the leading officials of the ministry and the management bureau are not working in accordance with Party policies—because they are simply not well aware of these policies.

Party policy is a guide for the leadership of production in enterprises. Without a clear knowledge of Party policy it would be impossible to direct the work of enterprises. Nevertheless, the leading officials of the ministry and those of the metal industry management bureau in particular are not familiar with the Party's policy on this sector. They are aware neither of the tasks which the Party Central Committee has given the Hwanghae Iron Works nor of the shortcomings which it has pointed out previously regarding the operation of this works.

Our Party has stressed the need to develop production continuously in such a way as to capture one height and then, normalize production before attaining a new and higher objective by constantly maintaining equipment in good shape and continuously raising the rate of its utilization.

During its guidance of the Hwanghae Iron Works in 1959 the Party Central Committee already pointed out that there had been great fluctuations in production because of too much construction and too little attention given to production. It gave the explicit task of concentrating efforts on the maintenance of existing equipment and putting production on a normal basis by grasping the main link without fail. The need for efficient management of enterprises and regular

production was also emphasized by the Second Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee. If the leading officials of the ministry had made a profound study of the Party's policy and directed production according to it, they would have prevented the recurrence of fluctuations in production at this works, fluctuations which were due to too many construction projects being undertaken.

The Party Central Committee clearly defined that one of the primary duties of the ministry was to ensure conditions for the good operation of factories and enterprises. However, ministerial officials were not zealous enough to implement the Party's instructions, with the result that the operation of enterprises is not ensured properly.

These officials were so ignorant of the Party's policy that they even went to the length of standing in the way of the struggle of the workers and technicians to implement the policy. When the workers and technicians of the works were all striving to put into effect the Party's instructions on mixing domestic with imported coal in producing iron, the officials of the ministry and the management bureau hesitated to give their technical assistance as they should, and on various pretexts even hindered the workers and technicians from implementing the task in time.

At present vice-ministers and chiefs of management bureaus make frequent tours of enterprises. But they give them no help in their work, because they direct the enterprises arbitrarily, instead of carefully studying the Party's policy and the tasks given the enterprises by the Party Central Committee and of guiding them strictly in accordance with the policy and the tasks.

Everyone knows that the socialist revolution and socialist construction can be successfully carried out only by the united efforts of broad sections of the working people. If the joint struggle which involves large numbers of people is to be successful, everyone's movement must be coordinated under a single policy. It is the Party that organizes and guides the struggle of the masses under its unified leadership.

If it is to give correct leadership to the revolution and construction,

the Party must have a single policy, so that the entire membership take concerted action in accordance with this policy, if every one of the more than one million members should act in his own way, our Party would be unable to lead any kind of mass struggle.

The Party line is decided on collectively at the Party congress, the plenary meeting or the Political Committee meeting of the Party Central Committee, representing the entire membership. Every Party member is bound in duty to know the Party's line thus defined and to implement it to the letter. If a member of the Party is ignorant of its policy or neglects its implementation knowingly, then that is not an attitude faithful to the Party.

The leading officials of the ministry and the management bureau must make a deep study of Party policy and possess the revolutionary habit of implementing it, come what may.

Another major shortcoming in the work of the ministry is that its officials refuse to listen to the voice of the masses and work in a subjective and bureaucratic manner.

We have been combatting this practice over many years now, but quite a few of the ministerial officials are still handling things in a subjective manner and are working in a bureaucratic style. The subjective and bureaucratic method of work fundamentally conflicts with the communist idea and with the revolutionary method of work.

Whoever tries to solve problems by drawing on his own small brains, ignoring the strength of the masses, will not avoid failure. Even scientific and technological inventions are not at all made by the work of the small brains of a few masters of science or doctors: scientists and technicians can make inventions only by delving deeper into the problems discovered and raised by the working masses in the course of their productive activity. Since the building of socialism itself is done by the masses and for the masses, leading officials should give primary attention to mobilizing the strength and creative enthusiasm of the masses.

In order to mobilize their strength and talent, leading officials should first mix with the masses intimately and listen to their voice.

The workers know about production better than anybody else. Smelters know how to increase iron output better than anybody else, and building workers know how to improve housing construction better than anybody else. Therefore, leading officials must not work in a subjective and bureaucratic manner but must rely on the masses, believing in their boundless creative strength, making plans and working out measures to implement them in consultation with the masses. There is no harm in consulting your subordinates even on problems on which you are sure and you think you are right.

The main reason why the Hwanghae Iron Works is failing to carry out the task of steel production this year is precisely that the officials of the ministry and the management bureau have worked in a subjective way, believing in their own small brains, instead of relying on the masses and adhering to the Party's policy. If the ministry officials had visited this works and widely discussed with the workers and technicians how to fulfil the assignments given by the Party—what was the problem to be solved in this connection and what should be done for that purpose—so as to take correct measures, everything would have been settled smoothly. However, the officials of the ministry and the management bureau reckoned that a big furnace should be built in order to produce 500,000 tons of steel and that the construction of the furnace could be completed quite easily in a matter of three months. This was a subjective estimate they made at their desks without even consulting the workers, and it was then simply dictated to the men bureaucratically.

Of course, it may be necessary to build a new furnace in order to increase steel output, but it is more important to take measures to make the best use of existing equipment—for instance by ensuring the timely repair and maintenance of the furnaces, adequate supplies of gas and expansion of the casting ground.

That was the requirement of the workers of the enterprise. But the officials of the ministry rejected the good suggestions of their subordinates and ordered them to build a new furnace, saying that it was a project to put flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry. From the

point of view of the state it might be regarded as such. But when viewed within the scope of the ministry or the management bureau, it was a project as large as building a big factory. In spite of this, such overambitious construction job was undertaken—with the result that neither the construction project nor the works' normal production was carried out properly. If the officials of the ministry and the management bureau had concentrated their efforts on the repair and maintenance of the existing equipment in accordance with the Party's policy, and as suggested by the men, at least 400,000 tons of steel would be turned out this year without difficulty.

The ministries and management bureaus are not properly implementing the Party's instructions that officials should discard their subjective attitude in planning and should always go to the field to draft plans in consultation with the broad masses of the local people. They are still planning by rule of thumb in their offices, without going to the workplaces. It is obvious that such subjective plans can be neither scientific nor practicable.

On receiving the control figures from the Party Central Committee or the Cabinet, the officials of the ministries and the management bureaus should go to the factories, discuss the matter with factory Party committees and fully consult the workers before drawing up their plans. Of course, the best way is to go to factories and get to know the situation and work out the plans before they are given the control figures.

In case the planned targets from the central authorities are found higher than expected by the factory, they must hold a factory Party committee meeting, explain how it comes about that the planned targets are higher and discuss concrete measures to carry them out. At present no such measures are taken, and tasks are imposed upon lower echelons, regardless of how the latter may feel. Such a work attitude must be thoroughly corrected.

The most important thing in improving guidance to enterprises by officials of ministries and management bureaus is to implement thoroughly the Chongsanri spirit and method.

In short, the Chongsanri method means giving substantial assistance to one's subordinates. Basic to this method is that leading officials go to lower echelons, help them to solve problems on the spot, give assistance to their subordinates and let everyone know his duties clearly and then work of his own accord.

Ministries and management bureaus should supply materials to enterprises, give them technical assistance and promptly settle all problems raised by lower echelons.

If there is a transport problem in the iron works the ministry and the management bureau should go into the situation and then bring the matter to the Ministry of Transport or the Party Central Committee so that corrective measures can be taken—for instance by providing locomotives in case where these are needed, or by improving the organization of transport by sending a guidance commission, in case there is anything wrong in this field. When leading officials have given their subordinates certain tasks they should always guide and assist them so that the latter will work strictly in accordance with Party policy. Directing subordinates, of course, does not mean meddling in their work all the time. Excessive intervention holds back workers from displaying creativity in work. In any case, guidance should be given to help subordinates to perform their tasks by their own efforts; if you simply urge them to do what they are told to do, without giving them substantial help towards that end, problems will never be solved.

When things do not go well at lower echelons there must be something wrong—say, shortcomings in organizing work, shortage of supplies or lack of understanding. This is similar to the case of a crying baby. When it cries there must be reasons: it may be hungry, or perhaps sick. Ministerial officials should closely look after their enterprises just as a mother takes care of her baby.

At present, however, quite a few ministerial officials give a good dressing down to their subordinates who raise problems, and act as if grave shortcomings on the part of the latter had been revealed. That is a bureaucratic style of work that can never be tolerated. That is why subordinates hesitate to report their headaches to their superiors.

When we went to Chongsan-ri in 1960 there were many shortcomings in the work of the agricultural cooperative there. The most serious was that they did not concentrate their main efforts on farming.

Shortcomings were revealed not only in the management of the cooperative but also in Party work. The ri Party organization did not have regular meetings, and the county Party committee, too, was neglecting organizing work, while sitting about and committing bureaucracy. So we stayed there for several days, having talks with the managerial staff and members of the cooperative and its Party members, holding meetings, reorganizing workteams so as to focus all their efforts on farming, and taught them how to work and made sure that the officials of the county Party committee frequently visited ri to help their subordinates.

The guidance to the lower units should be given in this way. Instead, if they go around like a tourist or if they neither mix with the masses nor help their subordinates, even though they may remain at a place for a long time, that is not real guidance.

The chief of the metal industry management bureau stayed at this works for several months. But he never showed up at any of the Party meetings. Instead, he spent his time simply ordering people about, this way or that way, arbitrarily, and without consulting the officials of the works. He referred to no one when he stopped the quarrying of limestone, which was then under way in accordance with a decision of the factory Party committee.

Of course, the chief of the metal industry management bureau can give this enterprise advice about various matters related to its work. But it is quite unjustified to supersede the management of the enterprise by issuing orders, even without acquainting himself with the actual situation. The iron works must have been quarrying limestone with a definite purpose and after due consideration, not blindly. Therefore, he should have been prudent enough to ask why they were doing it, and then consider carefully whether it was urgent or not. If he had found that the job could wait, he could have advised the factory

Party committee accordingly and got the quarrying suspended. But he did not even attempt to ascertain the real state of affairs, and simply disposed of the matter arbitrarily. This was a typical act of bureaucracy.

Persons like the chief engineer of the Heavy Industry Commission and the chief of its economy planning bureau openly slandered the Party policy: they complained that they were being constantly urged to carry out inspections of the lower units, even when things were going smoothly and as planned; and they pointed out that, by contrast, capitalists, while lying in their homes with fans whirling, were able to ensure production. They remained in their offices, working in a bureaucratic way, and never visiting factories. Because their heads are steeped in capitalist ideas, these people have no idea of the fact that capitalists use money and power to force their workers to work. No wonder that work does not go well under the leadership of such people who retain bourgeois ideas.

Our cadres, whoever they are—political workers or economic officials or whatever else—should maintain the principle of giving priority to political work and applying the Party method.

This principle means mixing with the masses, explaining Party policy to them, and showing them clearly the purpose and significance of the assignments given for each period, so that all the people get down to the revolutionary tasks with a high level of political zeal and awareness. In order to carry out this principle, leadership personnel should avail themselves of all occasions to educate their subordinates, collectively at meetings, and individually while, for example, walking together. Unless they do such political work, they will not succeed in any work. After all, the current failure to increase production is due to poor political work and to neglect of the Party method of work on the part of officials. Single-handed, neither the minister nor the chief of the management bureau would be able to attain the target of 500,000 tons of steel. To attain this goal you should have done your political work properly, so that not only the workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works but those of all other sectors relating to this works could be mobilized as

one man. But you have neglected this work. Reluctance to use domestic coal in production is also due, in the final analysis, to inadequate political work. Had the officials of the ministry and the enterprise explained to the men clearly the Party's policy of using domestic coal, they could have saved much more imported coal. But the result of inadequate political work was that, though the workers of the coke oven shop made coke by mixing domestic with imported coal, in accordance with Party policy, the officials in charge of the blast furnace shop are not using it, saying that it is of poor quality. Admittedly, the coal from Anju is inferior to that from abroad, but it is by no means unusable. Ferro-coke was once introduced in production, but nowadays it has been discarded.

Bearing deeply in mind that success in any revolutionary task largely depends on whether political work is given priority or not, leading officials must decisively intensify their political work among the masses.

The above-mentioned shortcomings of the guidance which has been given by the ministry are not confined to the Heavy Industry Commission.

Other ministries, too, have these shortcomings, though in varying degrees. They should therefore pay attention to these matters and draw lessons from them.

2. ON IMPROVING THE WORK OF THE FACTORY PARTY COMMITTEE

In order to improve the activity of the iron works and increase production, the factory Party committee should enhance its role, while the ministry should radically improve its guidance.

Factories in our country are the property of the entire people, including the working class. These factories are in direct charge not

only of the managers and the chief engineers, but also of the factory Party committees which manage the factories on behalf of the Party, which is the defender of the interests of the working class.

When factories were small in scale, a manager alone could easily run his factory. But the situation today is different. The Hwanghae Iron Works, for instance, has grown much larger in scale. The employees have considerably increased in number and its output, too, has risen enormously. In the present circumstances in which our national economy is developing so rapidly and factories are growing ever larger in size, it has become quite impossible to run a factory by the intelligence of a single manager. The new situation urgently requires collective leadership in the management of factories and enterprises.

For this very reason, our Party has replaced the system of one-man management by the system of collective leadership by the factory Party committee.

From now on, everything in a factory or enterprise totally depends on how the factory Party committee functions.

If it is to play its role to the full as a body of collective leadership, the factory Party committee must in the first instance be organized properly.

The factory Party committee should be composed of Party members who are strong in the Party spirit and capable of resolutely struggling to implement Party policies and carry out the assignments given by the Party, and of playing the hard-core role in the management of the factory.

The Party Committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works, however, has not been organized on this principle. As it was pointed out in a speech, the committee included comrades from secondary sectors such as a telephone operator, the head of the rest home, and a worker of the daily-necessities workshop. No doubt, all of them are good Party members by class origin. But there should be no need to select precisely the telephone operator and the head of the rest home—out of several thousand Party members in the factory—to be elected to the factory Party committee, which is composed of little more than 40

persons. Because of this defect in the makeup of the committee, the opinions of the Party members and the masses have not found full expression in the committee, and, accordingly, the committee has been blind to the actual situation of the lower units.

The responsibility for such a composition of the factory Party committee rests upon the Organizational Department and the Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee, but the provincial Party committee is to blame more than anyone else.

The provincial Party committee should have organized the factory Party committee responsibly, but it paid no attention to the matter. The makeup of the factory Party committee is a very important factor that decides the work of the factory. It is seriously wrong that the provincial Party committee has neglected such an important matter.

The Party members of this works are also to blame for the inefficient organization of the factory Party committee. The Party committee is directly elected by the Party members. If they had thought prudently over what comrades should make up the factory Party leadership, they would not have elected such incapable people to the factory Party committee. But the Party members of this works did not care who would be on the factory Party committee. They simply followed one another, and allowed comrades working in secondary sectors to be elected.

We should get completely rid of this practice and see to it that the factory Party committee is made up of first-rate members who can play the hard-core role in the implementation of Party policy.

What is important next in enhancing the role of the factory Party committee is that proper assignments should be given to its members and to the officials of the factory, so as to ensure that they will all be active.

The factory Party committee has the heavy responsibility of ensuring that the production tasks of the factory are fully carried out and, towards this end, of imbuing the Party members and the working people with Party policy, and of mobilizing all the workers, technicians and office employees. It is clear that one or two persons,

such as the factory Party committee chairman and the manager, cannot fulfil that responsibility. If it is to perform its role satisfactorily as a collective leadership body, the factory Party committee should give explicit assignments to each of its members and to the leading personnel of the works, so as to keep them all on the move.

The factory Party committee should give concrete assignments to each official, to meet the specific conditions of the works; it should specify what the manager should do, what the chief engineer should do to organize production and ensure the technical supervision of the work, and what each department chief and workshop manager should do.

After the assignments are given, the Party committee should supervise their implementation, to see if they are carried out properly and to ensure by Party efforts that that will be the case. And the Party committee should make sure that the vice-chairman in charge of organizational work strengthens the Party's organizational efforts and intensifies the Party life of the members on the one hand, and on the other should see to it that the vice-chairman in charge of information work clearly explains Party policies and the decisions of the factory Party committee to the members and other workers. In this way all the Party members and the masses will clearly understand the revolutionary tasks of the works and implement them willingly.

Not only the staff of the factory Party committee's departments, but also all its members and the hard-core Party members, should participate in this work.

The factory Party committee members' main jobs are, of course, themselves Party assignments. But in addition to these main duties, each member of the committee should be given political assignments. Suppose a certain workshop manager is a member of the factory Party committee, then in addition to the revolutionary duties of a workshop manager which he is supposed to perform in good faith, he may be given an assignment to educate a Party member who is lagging behind, or an assignment to help an unskilled Party member to raise his technical level to a certain degree in a specified period of time. If the

workshop manager himself has a shortcoming he may be given an assignment to rectify it or to improve his own qualities as a Party member.

It is of particular importance for guaranteeing the correctness of the factory Party committee's guidance that the system of collective discussion be strengthened.

Since it constitutes the highest leadership of the factory, the factory Party committee must discuss production and other important matters collectively.

At the Hwanghae Iron Works the members of the Party committee are not dispersed over a wide area, so a meeting of the factory Party committee or of its executive committee can be held immediately whenever a problem arises.

If the executive committee has to discuss something important that should be brought to the knowledge of many people, it can call workshop managers and other officials—not to mention the members of the executive committee—to its meeting.

When holding its Political Committee meeting, the Party Central Committee invites the directors of its departments and ministers as the occasion requires. When more important questions are to be discussed, it convenes an enlarged plenary meeting to permit more people to participate.

Likewise, the factory should convene a meeting of the factory Party committee, a meeting of the latter's executive committee, or a meeting of the general membership to suit the character of the topic in question so as to let an appropriate number of Party members participate in the discussion.

Even under the difficult conditions of the guerrilla struggle against the Japanese imperialists in the past, we made it a rule to discuss all matters collectively at the Party committee. In case of a division of the guerrilla army, the divisional Party committee discussed matters and decided on the plan of action, while in case of a regiment, the regimental Party committee did the same; and on this basis, the divisional or regimental commander concerned issued the orders. That

was why the orders of the commanders were unfailingly carried out and why we always won our battles against the enemy.

The system of collective leadership is now also in force in the People's Army. When we organized the People's Army soon after liberation, we introduced the system of one-man management by the commander, on the foreign model. But we found it no good. So we adopted the system of collective leadership for the People's Army. Now all division and corps commanders say that the system of collective leadership by the Party committee is good. They say that they do not make mistakes in their work, because all problems are discussed and decided at the Party committee and orders issued on that basis, and that they find their work much easier than before, because political workers ensure that the commanders' orders are implemented.

In factories, too, production will go smoothly and the managers will find their work easier if they make a point of getting all matters discussed collectively at their Party committees.

A manager's orders or instructions alone are not enough to ensure production. Even if he issues an order, production will not be ensured unless the masses are activated. Production can only be successful when Party organizations are active and enlist the Party members and other working people. The manager should therefore get his orders and instructions discussed collectively by the factory Party committee before they are finalized, instead of simply issuing them arbitrarily, on his own. This will enable the manager to eliminate arbitrariness, bureaucracy and *laissez-aller* from his work, his orders and instructions will carry more weight and will be implemented better.

It is advisable that even the orders and directives from the ministry and the management bureau be discussed at the factory Party committee. If these orders and directives are found, during discussions in the factory Party committee or the executive committee, to be contrary to Party policy, the matter must be reported to the Party Central Committee.

So far the Party Committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works has not handled these matters properly: it tolerated the chief of the

management bureau acting in his own way at the works, and it obeyed orders and directives from the ministry and from the management bureau which were contrary to Party policy.

Differences may arise between officials of the works in their activities. In that case they must hold a collective discussion and settle the issue. If there are differences between the manager and the Party committee chairman, the factory Party executive committee should meet to discuss the matter. If the issue is not settled at the executive committee, it must be brought to the factory Party committee. In case that committee finds it difficult to reach a conclusion, the issue must be reported to the Party Central Committee for settlement. But I think there should be few problems which cannot be solved through collective discussion by the factory Party committee.

Collective leadership of the factory Party committee can be ensured by getting the proposal items widely discussed beforehand by the Party committee or its executive committee, and also by letting all the workers implement the decisions obligatorily. No matter who made what suggestions, a decision which has been adopted by the Party committee after collective discussion, represents the collective will of all members of the Party committee. If any member should refuse to implement a decision which has been collectively agreed upon by the Party committee, or if he should try to evade responsibility for it, because he does not like it, collective leadership would not be ensured.

At present some comrades think that the manager alone is to blame if production does not go well. This is mistaken. For the fulfilment of the production target of the factory, not only the manager but also the members of the factory Party committee, including its chairman, should be responsible.

But Party workers must never issue orders and instructions on administrative affairs, production problems or technical matters, ignoring the manager, allegedly to ensure the collective leadership of the Party committee. The Party committee chairman should always help the manager to implement Party decisions correctly and make

sure that the subordinates carry out his orders and instructions.

Of course, the manager cannot and must not give orders and instructions contrary to the decisions of the Party committee. But it would be impossible for the Party committee to discuss all problems, including minor affairs related to production, just for the sake of collective leadership. The Party committee must work out its policy and decide on basic measures, and then let the manager give detailed orders and instructions for their implementation in good time and establish strict discipline by which everyone obligatorily carries out his orders. Without such discipline it would be impossible to manage the factory and to direct production.

Another important thing in strengthening the collective leadership of the factory Party committee is to improve the work method and work style of the officials.

Even if the factory Party committee is made up of the most excellent people, it will be unable to organize and mobilize the masses properly in the implementation of the revolutionary tasks, nor will it succeed in its work, unless the officials improve their method and style of work.

Bureaucratic methods still persist in the work of the officials of the Hwanghae Iron Works Party Committee. Because of their bureaucratic style of work, Party organizations are not active enough and the Party committee is not properly aware of the actual situation of the works. And not only that. The intentions of the Party committee are not promptly communicated to the lower echelons, nor are useful suggestions from the latter always brought to the attention of the former—and even when the Party committee is informed of such suggestions, it ignores them instead of dealing with them promptly. Being unaware of how matters stood at the lower units and even how the works' production plan was being properly worked out, the Party committee was unable to play its proper role as master of the works: instead, it just blindly followed the instructions of the ministry and the management bureau.

All Party workers, including the chairman of the factory Party

committee, should get completely rid of such bureaucratic methods, give priority to political work in all matters and thoroughly acquire a revolutionary approach to work.

Not only the factory Party officials but also the administrative officials should do their work by the Chongsanri method. Even administrative officials must not think that everything can be done merely by issuing orders and directives: if their work is to be successful, they, too, must give precedence to political work and must work among the people. The manager should work with the chief engineer, the chief engineer with the technicians, and all the leading personnel with their subordinates at all times.

What is of particular importance in the leading officials' approach to work is the setting of personal examples.

Cadres all come from among the workers and peasants, and they are supposed to fight for the interests of the workers and peasants. Therefore, the Party committee chairman, the manager and all other leading officials of the works should mix with the men and lead them in solving difficult problems while working along with them.

Nothing will be impossible if the leading officials show personal examples in their work. Today the farmers of Changsong County, a remote mountain area, are as well-off as the people in the plains. This is due to the fact that the Party workers there set personal examples in all their work.

In a heartfelt response to the Party's call to put our mountains to good use, the Party officials of Changsong County have striven to lead the masses in answering the call. Party cell chairmen became shock brigade leaders and actually climbed mountains, carrying bags with them, ahead of other people; and when local industry factories were built, the county Party committee chairman had been the first to go to work with an A-frame carrier on his back.

Encouraged by the example shown by the county Party committee chairman, all the working people as well as other leading officials of the county volunteered for the fight to implement the Party's policy, and thus an outstanding success could be achieved.

In the works, too, if leading officials go to the workplace and, spades in their hands, direct production while themselves working alongside the workers, the men's will to work will grow.

A couple of hours devoted by the Party committee chairman or other officials to working among the men will be significant, not merely in helping the men in physical labour, but also because, in the process of working among the men, they will be able to acquaint themselves with the actual conditions of the lower levels, get to know the men's difficulties, explain Party policy to them and help the men to solve their problems in time.

It is also very good for their own self-improvement that leading officials should participate in shop-floor work. By doing this they can understand just how hard such work is and acquire a correct attitude towards it. They can also raise their technical and skill levels in the course of such work. And one or two hours of working among the men every morning will be beneficial to their health.

However, I was told that the chief of the metal industry management bureau had never once shown up at the blast furnace or at the open-hearth furnace to work with a shovel during the whole six months of his stay in the Hwanghae Iron Works. Hence, it is obvious that he could do nothing but commit bureaucracy.

Officials who sit at their desks day and night are liable to forget their past and shout orders to their subordinates like aristocrats or bureaucrats.

Their indifference to the workers' living conditions is basically due to the fact that they have become ignorant of the men's feelings because they do not go to the fields to work among the men.

Leading personnel must not regard their present posts as something of a birthright. The Party has appointed our officials to their important posts because it wanted them to work harder than anyone else—for the Party and the revolution, for the country and the people. It is a manifestation of the high trust placed in them by the Party and the people.

All those in the posts of leadership must bear this in mind, mix with

the masses, work with them, strictly observe discipline and always lead the masses in carrying out the Party's policies.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to touch on the need for our intellectuals and workers to unite firmly by helping and learning from each other.

Most of the intellectuals in our country today are sons and daughters of workers and peasants. They are a new generation of intellectuals, educated and brought up by our Party under the people's government, after liberation. True, some of our intellectuals come from families which were well-to-do in the past. But today they are all faithfully serving our Party and people and the working class. So workers should not give them a wide berth simply because they come from bad families: on the contrary, they must try to unite with them.

Meanwhile, intellectuals should make conscious efforts to mix with workers, work alongside them; and they and the workers should help and learn from each other, because they are all serving the working class. If the intellectuals behave in this way, the working class will never give them a wide berth or avoid their company.

The intelligentsia and the working class must help and learn from each other. Only when they truly unite, can they achieve greater success in production.

If intellectuals think that they have nothing to learn from the working class, they are grossly mistaken. They should learn from the working class to be infinitely loyal to the Party and the revolution, to be strong in will, and to cultivate a sense of organization and discipline. They should also learn from the living experience of the working class—experience which has been accumulated for long years in productive practice—and should test their bookish theories by applying them to practice while working in cooperation with workers. This will help the intellectuals in consolidating and enriching their knowledge and in transforming it into practical knowledge.

Workers in turn should learn science and technology from intellectuals. Just as the knowledge of intellectuals is useless unless it has been tempered by the practical activity of the working class, so the

rich experience of the working class is not worth much unless it has been integrated with scientific and technical knowledge. For this reason, workers should make a strenuous effort to learn science and technology from intellectuals.

If the working class and intelligentsia teach and help each other in this way, the latter will learn the strong will and revolutionary spirit from the working class and thus will be able to display boldness and courage in all its activities, while the former will gain knowledge from the intellectuals and be able to see all matters from a scientific and technical point of view.

Thus, if the working class reaches the level of the intellectuals, and if the latter is fully imbued with the idea of the former, our socialist construction will be accelerated.

3. ON VIGOROUSLY WAGING A 120-DAY CAMPAIGN

We have only 120 days left to reach the six goals. We can say that we have now started the final assault on the six heights.

It is true that no small success has already been achieved in the struggle to attain those heights. But if we do not persevere in our strenuous efforts we may not succeed in securing them. During the remaining 120 days we must therefore launch an even more intensive attack.

Though it is a huge and difficult task to capture the six heights, we can and must carry it out.

It is of tremendous political and economic significance to carry out this task.

The occupation of the six heights will not only make our country wealthier and stronger, and enhance the external prestige of the Republic, but also vigorously encourage the patriotic struggle of the

people in the southern half against the US imperialists and the traitorous Park Chung Hee clique.

Securing the height of 1.2 million tons of steel in particular is very important in developing our country so that it will become rich and powerful. In general, the strength and wealth of a country is assessed by the amount of its steel output. This is because a large steel output can ensure the development of the nation's economy and defence capabilities, as well as a rapid improvement of the standard of living of the people.

When the Japanese imperialists began to produce a large amount of steel in the past, our ancestors were unable to follow suit. When they invaded our country, armed with 5-chamber rifles, our volunteers had nothing better than flintlock muskets with which to fight the enemy. So our ancestors inevitably saw their country seized by the Japanese imperialists.

But today, the situation is fundamentally different. We are now producing quantities of steel by our efforts, and will produce more than 2 million tons of steel a year by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

There is, however, a strain on our efforts to capture the height of 1.2 million tons of steel this year. The Hwanghae Iron Works in particular is lagging behind in steel production. The Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Songjin Steel Plant and the Kangson Steel Plant all say that they can carry out their assignments. So whether or not we occupy the steel height for this year depends entirely on the struggle of the workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works.

In order to capture the steel height in the short period remaining to us, we should launch a 120-day campaign.

The most important thing in this campaign is to thoroughly eliminate fluctuations in production and maintain normal output. This was the important task we emphasized when we came here in 1959, but production has not yet been put on a regular basis at this works. Without putting an end to the fluctuations in production it will be impossible to increase output steadily.

For the normalization of production you should, first of all, see to it

that the existing production equipment is maintained and repaired regularly, operate it well technically and strictly observe the technical regulations and standard norms of operation.

If you neglect these requirements, accidents will occur, and production will be hampered seriously and thrown off balance.

If you are to ensure the steady operation of the production equipment, you should have a certain quantity of spare parts in stock. Otherwise, you will have to stop your whole machine even if only a particular part is damaged. Therefore, you should not divert the workers of the repair and power supply shop to construction or other jobs but should use them solely for the repair and maintenance of your equipment and for making spare parts.

Secondly, you should ensure a regular supply of raw materials.

Raw materials are indispensable for production. Machines, no matter how excellent, will not produce without being fed with raw materials. Therefore, if you are to normalize production you must regularly supply raw materials, while keeping your equipment in good shape.

In order to ensure a continuous supply of raw materials factories should have some raw materials in reserve. This is particularly necessary at an iron works, where the production processes are continuous.

At the moment this iron works has no raw materials in reserve, so that production is greatly hampered—for there is an immediate shortage of raw materials whenever supplies from the ministry are delayed even a little. Irregularity in supplies of raw materials is precisely one of the major reasons for the serious fluctuations in production which take place at present. If the iron works keeps a certain quantity of iron ore and coal in reserve it will be able to eliminate the fluctuations in iron production.

The ministry should supply adequate quantities of iron ore and coal so that all the iron works can normalize production even in winter. The ministry should take measures to get the Hasong Mine, the Jaeryong Mine and the Unnyul Mine to supply larger quantities of iron ore to the

Hwanghae Iron Works and, if necessary, to bring iron ore even from the Musan Mine, so that this works can have a definite quantity of iron ore in reserve.

Thirdly, you should properly organize the labour force.

Success in production depends largely on work organization. However efficient the equipment you have, and however adequate the supplies of raw materials you get, you will not achieve any particular success in production unless you organize the labour force properly.

The most important thing in work organization is to provide enough manpower to keep production going.

The 120-day campaign which we are now going to wage will be a very strenuous one. If this campaign is to be won, you must see that every worker turns up for work every day, without a single man being absent from his job even for one day. In this tense struggle, some people may well become ill or tired. Therefore, a little extra manpower should be allocated to such difficult yet crucial sectors as the blast furnace shop, the steel shop and the coke oven shop. Reserve manpower is nothing special: just as a football team has a few alternate players who stand by at a match, a workshop may keep a few extra men who will replace tired men so that all can take some rest in turn. These extra men are reserves. If work is organized carefully in such a way as to ensure rest at appropriate intervals, even the men doing difficult work can recover quickly from fatigue. Another important thing in work organization is to have a proper mixture of technicians, assistant technicians, and skilled and unskilled workers.

Combat experience in the army shows that a unit with very many recruits may have some difficulty in fighting, but no major difficulty if each of its squads has only one or two recruits. Likewise, the Hwanghae Iron Works, which has many skilled workers, will not have difficulties in production even if several freshmen are allocated to each shop. You should therefore see to it that the engineers, assistant engineers and skilled workers in the factory are appropriately allocated, so as to strengthen each link in the whole chain of production and so that, in this context, unskilled new hands are recruited boldly and given jobs.

Next, I will touch on capital construction.

Capital construction should be undertaken to solve urgent problems before anything else.

An urgent problem in the Hwanghae Iron Works is the expansion of the casting ground. The construction of a blooming shop and a sifting ground is important, but this is not so urgent as the expansion of the casting ground.

The screening of iron ore, if it poses as an urgent matter, can be done at the mine by allocating a few more men there. But the casting operation cannot be done outside the iron works. So the Hwanghae Iron Works must quickly solve the problem of its casting ground before anything else.

Along with this, you should strive to solve the problem of transport and normalize the operation of the furnace for preliminary processing as soon as possible.

In solving the problem of transport, you should determine the orders of priority and begin with the most urgent task. If, instead, you attempt to tackle all problems—including even the task that can wait till next year at once, you may well fail to deal with those problems which call for an immediate solution.

It is advisable that the State Planning Commission discuss in detail with the officials of the iron works the problems of transport which require immediate solutions. And, if necessary, the officials of the Ministry of Transport should also be mobilized to help the iron works.

I would like to proceed to discuss a few tasks for next year.

The central task next year is to consolidate the heights to be secured this year. Next year we will not give you such a heavy task as you have received under the plan this year. But you should not think that the plan for next year will by any means be easy to perform.

If you are to consolidate the heights occupied this year, you should make better preparations and put production on a steady basis. And then you should build solid foundations on which to reach new and higher objectives. It will not be easy to make all these preparations within the next year. You should closely examine next year's plan,

item by item, by ensuring the active participation of all employees of the iron works in discussing it.

In planning, you should first ascertain the most critical matter, concentrate your efforts on it and tackle each problem one by one.

The main thing to be discussed in planning should be how to maintain existing equipment in better shape and how to use it more effectively. You must not undertake—as you have done this year—so many capital construction projects simultaneously that they simply get out of hand. Such a shortcoming must not occur again.

Next year you should also intensify the struggle for technical innovation.

The Party has entrusted the metallurgical industry with many tasks of solving new technical problems, but the officials of this sector have solved none of them properly. They are not even trying to put into practice the results of their own research, nor are they willing to adopt in the production process those innovations which have been evolved by the workers. That is why they are not making rapid technological progress and why they are failing to achieve the greater number of successes which would otherwise be possible in production.

Next year you must concentrate your efforts on solving the technical problems on which action has been called for by the Party. Since you will not be given any new production assignments next year, you should try to use more coal from Anju and make extensive experiments with ferro-coke and pellets.

In view of this year's experience it is desirable that next year the planning officials of the ministry come to the works in person and work out the plans for capital construction and production, in collaboration with the officials of this undertaking.

Some comrades in the iron works said that next year's plan for steel production would be a little too difficult to implement. You had better discuss this question further, taking into consideration the fact that the preliminary processing furnace will be put into operation next year. If that is really beyond its capacity, the Hwanghae Iron Works should not be forced to accept the figures of the plan, even if that should mean that

other iron works and steel plants will have to be given greater assignments.

Technical tasks, too, should not be forced upon this works. Officials of the State Commission of Science and Technology should come to the works, make detailed investigations and, on this basis, assign feasible tasks to the works—for instance, by specifying how much Anju coal should be used, and in what proportion ferro-coke should be introduced. If unreasonable and impossible tasks are imposed upon the works, it will only result in hindering production.

It would be advisable for the Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee, the Secretariat of the Cabinet, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Metal and Chemical Industries to organize guidance groups, send them to the Hwanghae Iron Works to look closely into questions of capital construction, transport, production, etc., and to solve real problems.

And the factory guidance system should also be studied further.

The organizational structure of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, if it were to be adopted without modification, would not fit the Hwanghae Iron Works well. The basic principles of the Taean system should be thoroughly observed. But the organizational structure of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant need not be copied.

The Taean Electrical Machinery Plant and the Hwanghae Iron Works are different from each other both in their technical processes and in the sizes of their workshops. The shops of the former are mostly small, but those of a metallurgical works are much larger. Therefore, the Hwanghae Iron Works can have departments which do not exist in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant and it can dispense with those of the Taean plant which are unnecessary at Hwanghae. Its workshop organization, too, must necessarily be different from that of the Taean plant.

The Hwanghae Iron Works and other metallurgical works should set up organizational structures which can contribute to the efficiency of the shops, just as the Anju Coal Mine enhanced the role of their pits. On this topic we had better hear the detailed opinions of the officials of the works over about a month, instead of rushing the matter.

Furthermore, you should give close attention to training reserve cadres, so that the Hwanghae Iron Works can be a cadre-training school.

The Hwanghae Iron Works is the biggest of its kind in our country; it is one of our large metallurgical centres. A large detachment of our working class works here. The Hwanghae Iron Works plays a very great part in the development of our national economy. Only when this works turns out iron and steel as it should, can our machine industry get production on to a regular basis, and only then, too, can the programme of construction be successfully implemented. It would be no exaggeration to say that the Hwanghae Iron Works is indeed the heart of our country's industry.

We can say that the Hwanghae Iron Works holds such an important place in our national economy as did Height 1211 in the Fatherland Liberation War. The soldiers of our heroic People's Army were able to defend the Republic from the enemy invasion by holding out on to Height 1211 at the risk of their lives. Similarly, if the Hwanghae Iron Works does a good job now and secures the steel height with success, the other heights of the national economy will be captured without difficulty. If this works fails to capture the steel height, however, the development of the national economy as a whole will greatly be retarded.

The Hwanghae Iron Works includes nearly all major industrial processes such as metallurgical, electrical, mechanical, coal-combustion and chemical processes. And producing iron and steel is very hard work. Therefore, the workers who have been trained in this iron works will have a wide mental horizon, and profound knowledge on many subjects. They will be quite competent, in whatever factories and enterprises of different sectors they may find themselves. They will be able to cope with whatever difficult tasks may come their way.

I think the veterans of this works will all become excellent cadres if they are given a proper education in enterprise management and political work as well as constant training.

At present, however, the ministry simply cries over the shortage of cadres, but does not think of properly educating these good workers to

become cadres. Cadres will not just fall from the sky. We must train them by practical work.

In order to solve the cadre problem during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we assigned good men to the Seventh Regiment and the Guards Regiment and frequently visited them to teach them everything in concrete terms—how to reconnoitre, how to plan an ambush, how to edit wall newspapers, how to conduct political work, how to pitch a tent, how to build a kitchen and how to cook meals. In this way we made all of them into excellent soldiers and commanders.

The Ministry of Metal and Chemical Industries should guide the Hwanghae Iron Works along these lines, and should develop it into a cadre-training centre.

The Central Committee of the Party, the provincial Party committee and the Cabinet should also give active assistance in this work.

Moreover, the Hwanghae Iron Works should be developed to be a “guards” works like a guards unit in the army.

The title of “guards unit” in the army is awarded to the most exemplary unit, both in battle and daily routine. A unit like the Seventh Regiment of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army is pre-eminently worthy of the title. No matter what difficult missions it was given, this regiment never failed to carry them out. It not only fought well, but was exemplary in the observance of discipline and in every other aspect of army routine. There are many guards units in our People’s Army.

But there is no “guards” factory at present. From now on we should launch a mass movement to develop all factories into “guards” factories.

I hope that the Hwanghae Iron Works will lead this movement and win the honour of being awarded the title of a “guards” works before any other factory.

The Party Central Committee expects a great deal from the Hwanghae Iron Works. You must not fail the Party’s expectations: you must set an example in production, observe discipline well, take an active part in Party life, study hard, lead a simple and frugal life, and become a model in all things, for the working class throughout the country to follow.

ON IMPROVING CITY MANAGEMENT

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Chairmen of Provincial People's Committees

September 5, 1962

City management occupies an important place in the work of the people's committee.

Many people live in cities, and workers' houses and important public establishments are concentrated there. If we are to manage cities properly, we should develop commerce so as to provide the inhabitants with enough daily necessities and, at the same time, take good care of all the city buildings and facilities. City management means the protection and maintenance of working people's houses, public buildings, roads, waterworks and sewerage, parks, pleasure grounds, transport and all other public facilities in cities.

City management in a socialist society is quite different from that in a capitalist society.

In capitalist countries, city buildings and facilities are in the hands of the capitalists, and these are used as a means of exploiting the working people. These people cannot afford their dwellings, to say nothing of cultural and welfare facilities. The capitalists levy on the working people different kinds of heavy taxes, including those on houses, electricity and water supply. All the city facilities, including streets, serve the enjoyment and profits of the rich privileged classes.

In a socialist society, however, dwelling houses and all facilities of the city belong to the working people and serve them. When a school, a

hospital, a shop or other public facility is being sited, first consideration is given to the convenience of the working people, and every road and bridge is built on the principle of benefiting them. It can be said that city management in a socialist society is an important service to ensure the urban population an easier and happier life.

In the past several years, the urban population has increased considerably, and cities have become larger as our industry has rapidly developed. At present, city management in our country is of great significance, not only in raising the living standard of urban dwellers but in promoting the building of socialism as well.

Our cities and towns are priceless assets of our people. They have been built on the debris after the war by all our working people, who brought their unequalled devotion into full play under our Party's leadership. It is a sacred duty of all our citizens to love the cities and towns of the country, and to strive for their prosperity. People's committee officials should make greater efforts in the field of city management, with an ardent desire to cherish the country's cities and towns and to ensure a happy life for all our urban inhabitants.

Now, I would like to dwell on some problems that deserve attention with a view to the improvement of city management.

What is most important in this work is to take good care of working people's housing.

If we are to manage houses properly, we should resist any tendency to build them in a slipshod manner. There are no old houses in our cities, because they were all utterly destroyed by the war. All the dwelling houses in our cities and towns have therefore been newly built. Even newly-built houses, however, are not without defects: roofs, for example, are leaking in many new houses. The builders are, of course, to blame for this.

Builders explain that the roofs are leaking because they did not use water-resistant materials in housing construction. They should not just deplore the lack of such materials: they should study ways of preventing leakages without them. In olden days, our ancestors had no roof tiles, to say nothing of water-resistant materials. So they built

straw thatched houses—and their roofs were not leaking. Why, then, should the roof leak in a modern house built with reinforced concrete and cement tiles? Some comrades say that old Korean tiles are rainproof, whereas cement tiles are not. We cannot accept this as true: at present, Korean-tile-roofed houses are also leaking. The point lies neither in the lack of waterproof materials nor in the use of a cement-tiled roof. The problem is that houses are built in a happy-go-lucky manner. The reason for rain leaking in is that they do not make tiles properly nor do they roof the house carefully. In a nutshell, the builders still lack a high sense of responsibility towards the country. It is because the Construction Commission has not educated its subordinates well.

Not only do newly-built houses leak but also their floors are not heated adequately. Construction enterprises should ensure that floor-layers have acquired the necessary practical experience before they are sent to work on sites. But in reality, novices are forced to lay floors, having got no training other than a look at a blueprint. It is therefore only natural that the heating system for floors does not work well.

We must strongly combat the irresponsible behaviour of construction industry officials.

In order to help these officials to acquire a high sense of responsibility, we should intensify the system of inspecting completed buildings, and specify who is responsible for what in construction work. Thus, the builders should be answerable if a roof is leaking or the floor is not heated properly after a house has been built. Without such strict discipline, we would never be able to improve the quality of buildings.

The city management sector must take over buildings of good quality and then look after them, keeping them well repaired so that they do not fall into decay. Even though the construction industry may build comfortable and serviceable dwellings, these cannot be of any real convenience to the working people, nor can they be durable, unless the management sector takes good care of them.

What is most important in the maintenance of dwellings is that they be repaired in time. It would be a good idea to form house repair centres, so as to bring about an improvement in the quality of housing maintenance. Capable people should be placed in the leading posts and good working conditions should be ensured so that these centres may function efficiently.

These house repair centres should know what they ought to tackle in detail. In other words, they should find out what is worth repairing or not, and what is worth taking care of or not, and do their work according to a detailed plan. If they work in such a planned manner, they can ensure quality in repair work with less outlay of money, and get through a lot of work in a short space of time.

I was told that at present housing for some 140,000 families throughout the country is beyond repair. You should repair this housing without spending too much money, so that the occupants will not feel any hardship. You should remove one family after another to new houses to be built, and progressively demolish old ones. Needless to say, you should not demolish solid houses; instead you should see that they are maintained properly.

Counties should form repair teams within the construction corps, to recondition schools, theatres, hospitals and the like in a planned way. Furniture factories should produce furniture and, at the same time, mend school fittings such as desks, stools and blackboards.

Since the General Bureau of City Management was organized, some progress has been made as regards the repair and maintenance of buildings, but the position is still unsatisfactory. Repairs are not done in time, and their quality is very low. If you fail to do minor repairs as and when necessary, you will be faced with having to carry out large-scale repairs costing a lot of money—and, what is worse, many buildings will be simply beyond repair.

When I visited schools I found many windowpanes broken. Because they are left thus, they look ugly and cause discomfort to pupils in their classrooms. Moreover, the buildings would soon become useless. And you will, in the long run, be obliged to undertake major repairs costing a

lot in manpower and materials, or else you will have to build new ones. That would be a great economic loss on the state.

Unsatisfactory repair work is not due to any lack of funds: the fact is that provinces and counties transfer to other purposes monies which have been allocated for repairs, and neglect the maintenance of buildings. Thus provincial, city and county people's committees build schools, hotels and the like, by misusing the funds for repairs. This is wrong. A strong fight against such practices should be waged.

It is unreasonable to build only new houses and to neglect repairs. No matter how many houses may be built, they will be good for nothing if they are damaged and become useless because of failure to carry out repairs in time. You should vigorously resist any tendency to put too much stress on the building of new houses and to make slight of repair work. City management workers should be clearly aware of the fact that while it is important to put up new buildings, it is even more important to repair existing buildings in good time and to take good care of them.

In future it should be made a principle that sufficient money and materials will be allocated for the repair of buildings, even if this should mean somewhat reducing the outlay on new construction projects. People's committee chairmen should always supervise repair work and push it ahead vigorously.

Another important task, in relation to housing maintenance, is to take good care of waterworks and sewerage systems.

It is very important that enough drinking water be supplied to the urban population. But water supply is unsatisfactory at present.

One of the main reasons for the shortage of drinking water is that much of it is used when industrial water would do. A source of drinking water should not be used to meet requirements for industrial purposes.

In the lower areas like Pyongyang, water is found wherever the earth is dug a little. When building a factory you can dig below the water table and make a big tank for storing water. Then you can pump up water when necessary and use it as industrial water. From now on,

industrial water supplies should be ensured by sinking wells wherever possible. This is the most economical and effective method of obtaining such supplies. Nevertheless, the industrial construction sector depends for its water supply on sources with a small outflow, thus hindering the provision of a dependable water-supply service. Moreover, mending water mains uses up many man-hours. This is because the City Management Control Bureau has failed to discharge its duties properly, and instead worked in a casual manner.

The control bureau must strictly supervise such practices, which hamper city management: it must ensure the orderly operation of waterworks and take steps to prevent the wastage of drinking water.

They say they have to install new water mains because of the lack of water at present, but do not think of making effective use of the existing facilities. They do not care about waterpipes leaking, and they simply do not mind when water is gushing out uselessly with the valves opened. We should fight these tendencies.

Building waterworks requires large sums of money. A lot of manpower, cast-iron pipes and other materials are necessary. Therefore, we should repair the existing water facilities promptly and make effective use of them. Nevertheless, if water supplies are not satisfactory, more mains should be laid.

We should take good care of the sewerage system as well as waterworks.

Before liberation, none of our cities had a proper sewerage system. Even in Seoul there were open sewers: only in their own residential quarters, the Japanese imperialists had such sewers. After the ceasefire, we had therefore to devote much effort to installing drains and sewers in Pyongyang. Although of course they cannot be seen, large quantities of materials, including cement and various kinds of pipes and ducts, have been placed underneath the city; and a great deal of manpower was expended in laying these sewers.

But our sewerage system is not yet complete, and many repairs need to be made. The projects for redirecting the sewers towards the Pothong and Taedong Rivers are making scant progress. As a result,

raw sewage keeps flowing into these wonderful rivers. People swim in these rivers, and that is very harmful for health. Why do we make our good rivers filthy? We should no longer allow untreated sewage to flow into rivers.

Although we have fought against it for several years, mines still recklessly discharge polluted water into rivers. This polluted water contains poison, and may kill all fish life and badly affect public health as well. The mines should therefore take steps to purify effluent by means of sedimentation of the poisonous matter, before it is discharged into rivers.

Garbage disposal is a difficult yet important operation which must be handled properly. If it is not so handled, cities and towns are left untidy.

The Japanese capitalists allege that their country is the most civilized in the East, but the cities in Japan are very dirty. Of course, the privileged classes in Japan are leading an affluent life in good conditions. But the people in the city slums are poor and, worse still, live in extremely unsanitary conditions.

Slum quarters cannot exist in the cities of socialist countries, and all our streets should be modern and sanitary. We should make our country the most clean and civilized. At present, foreigners visiting our country say that Pyongyang is kept clean. But we must not content ourselves with this. It is true Pyongyang has become tidier than before, but we must still do a lot of work to build it into a modern city.

The garbage dumps which are to be found at the back of apartment houses should be removed and better facilities for refuse disposal should be designed. The existing dumps can hardly deal with coal ashes: these should be carried by truck and spread on fields. This would help to make the city clean and the fields fertile. In order that all such ashes may be transported to the fields, the city management should be supplied with more trucks.

Provincial capitals like Chongjin, Hamhung and Wonsan should mobilize the necessary means of transport to ensure the prompt disposal of refuse.

Next, it is necessary to tidy up the immediate surroundings of buildings.

At present, both the construction and city management sectors neglect this work. Many neighbourhoods have not yet been tidied up, even though it is two or three years since the construction projects were completed. The Children's Department Store has long been set up, but its backyard is most unsightly. Large numbers of fine houses have been built in Pothong Plain, but not a fence has been erected, not a patch of land turfed, not a sidewalk paved.

Arranging the immediate surroundings of buildings is nothing particular: all it involves is fencing the houses, planting sods, laying paving for sidewalks and wherever else necessary, and digging ditches to drain rainwater. Without these amenities the city cannot be kept clean even if it has fine houses. Now the construction people think that if they have built houses and graded the spaces in front of them, everything is fine. They are wrong. The immediate surroundings of buildings must be properly landscaped.

When designing new projects, those responsible in the construction industry must make provision for the proper landscaping of the immediate surroundings of buildings. If these are not in good order, construction should not be considered as finished. Those neighbourhoods which have not yet been properly landscaped should be finished off by the builders themselves in spring, when they start no big-scale construction, and some other such neighbourhoods should be finished off by mobilizing the government workers every Saturday.

When construction enterprises have finished building houses, including the tidying up of their surroundings, the city management should take good care of them. They should lose no time in replanting turf where it has become too trodden, in replacing broken flagstones with new ones and repairing damaged pavements, or in improving rainwater runoff wherever necessary.

If the surroundings of houses are to be kept tidy, it is imperative to solve the problem which arises from the practice of burying jars of kimchi. The best way is to obviate the problem by ensuring that

vegetable-processing plants produce and supply kimchi for people who live in apartment houses lest the latter be tempted to bury such jars under the ground. The basic problem is that kimchi which is kept inside the house goes sour very soon. If a proper method of solving this problem is thought out, there would be no need to bury the jars outside the house. Ever since the armistice, I have emphasized time and again the need to find a method of deacidifying kimchi, but no solution has yet been found.

Some 200,000 families live in Pyongyang. If each family digs a pit for one jar every year, 200,000 pits would result. When pits for kimchi are dug in a haphazard fashion around apartment blocks, the immediate surroundings become unsightly.

In our era, kimchi-making, too, must be industrialized. If kimchi produced at processing plants are marketed, women's work would be lightened and people could live in a more comfortable way. And if every family were to refrain from making kimchi, the women would be able to use the time thus saved to study, and the surroundings of the houses would become tidier.

If you cannot resolve the problem of industrializing the production of kimchi or deacidifying it right now, you should start building big cellars behind apartment houses to store kimchi jars collectively. The cellars should have tightly-fitting doors, and their inside and outside should be kept clean.

Another important thing in city management is to introduce a municipal central heating system.

The introduction of such a system would make it possible to economize fuel and, at the same time, make the lives of urban dwellers pleasanter and the city clean.

To begin with, Pyongyang should establish a municipal central heating system by using hot water from the thermal power station.

If each household were to continue to prepare meals using coal as at present, even after the establishment of a municipal heating system, fuel consumption would double and the city would remain polluted. Therefore, it would be good to manufacture petroleum cooking stoves

in large quantities, and to use them widely. It is advisable that Pyongyang should try out this idea first.

If the use of petroleum cooking stoves is found to ensure both savings in fuel consumption and an improvement in people's conditions of living, such stoves should be introduced in all the other cities too. They can be used in summer, even before central heating comes into operation.

The gasification of heating poses many problems. Because we do not use natural gas, we need a large sum of money to gasify heating, and in any case gas is somewhat dangerous to use. At present, those countries which have no natural gas disapprove of gasification. It would be better to achieve the electrification of heating, by generating electricity with coal rather than to use gas obtained from that coal.

It would be good to ensure heating in Pyongyang with hot water from the thermal power station, and to cook meals with electric ovens, in addition to petroleum stoves. Then standards of comfort would be raised and the city would be tidier. Big cities such as Hamhung and Chongjin should follow suit in the future.

Next, proper care should be given to the maintenance of road.

In the cities where traffic is busy, it is very important that roads be properly maintained. It can be said that the maintenance of roads is a yardstick by which the standard of civilization of a country can be evaluated. If the roads are put in good shape, the city looks clean and pedestrians also look smart. Otherwise, no matter what fine houses may be built, they cut a poor figure. It is for this reason that the developed countries give priority to road construction in city planning.

In our country, roads are comparatively developed, but their maintenance lags behind. As for Pyongyang, the main streets are looked after fairly well, but alleys are unsurfaced and unsightly. When it rains, it is difficult for people to use the alleys: passersby get mud on their footwear, the wheels of vehicles get covered in mud, and the streets get dirtied. This is the case with Pyongyang—so the situation in county towns and workers' settlements need not be described.

Many roads are still unpaved, and road maintenance in general is

unsatisfactory. No one is willing to repair the damaged roads in time, or tries to plant street trees in vacant spaces. We should rectify this shortcoming as soon as possible and decisively improve road maintenance.

Even though considerable quantities of cement will be required for the purpose, we should surface our roads. Of course, we cannot surface all the roads in the country simultaneously: we should do one road after another, as materials and manpower become available, commencing with those the surfacing of which is urgent and important.

Now in Pyongyang there are many roads which will have to be surfaced in the future according to the long-term construction plan: those which are to be done as soon as water mains and sewers have been laid, those which require surfacing only for several years, pending their elimination, and unpaved bystreets. Since it is especially important to complete the building of the capital so that it will be a really presentable city, all the roads in Pyongyang should be surfaced within one or two years, even though they may need finishing touches later. However, you should not use up excessive quantities of material on roads the widening of which has been postponed until the future or the roads which will be abolished; instead you simply surface them, so that pedestrians and vehicles may not get caught in the mire when rain falls. This will not interfere with the future widening of the roads.

After surfacing the streets in the city, you should embark on the roads in its suburbs. The roads in the outskirts of Pyongyang should be surfaced in two stages: first, those within 40 kilometres from the city and second, those up to 80 kilometres away.

In the provincial capitals, cities and county towns, they should first pave the main streets—that is, the densely populated districts—in one or two years. Even alleys which are much in use should be surfaced with plenty of gravel lest they become muddy when it rains—if you cannot surface them with asphalt or concrete. Thus, the main streets of all our cities and towns should be completely surfaced by 1964, come what may. This will facilitate traffic and make the streets much cleaner.

Along with the surfacing of roads many beautiful and useful trees

should be planted on the roadsides. This will add splendour to our roads while also helping to some extent to develop the national economy.

What is important in planting roadside trees is to choose the right trees. It has been suggested that apple or apricot trees would be appropriate for the purpose. But such trees cannot withstand the conditions in our country where much rain falls and landslides take place. Fruit trees have many merits—blossoming and bearing fruit—but their demerits are that they fail to strike deep roots or to grow quickly and, moreover, they cast less shadow.

It is advisable in our country to plant plane trees or acacia on the roadsides. These are sturdy, grow fast, and have good foliage; and, moreover, acacia flowers are fairly fragrant. They will therefore help to protect roads during the rainy season and afford people fragrance and shade in spring and summer. They could also be used for timber or pulp.

In order to protect roads and put them in better shape we should also plant turf on the roadsides.

It is very important that roads be repaired properly and regularly. However pleasant a road may be, its maintenance should not be neglected. If a road is damaged, it should be repaired promptly. This will make the road durable, serviceable, and always clean.

Next, we should make proper arrangements for parks and pleasure grounds.

Parks and pleasure grounds are not only a recreation centre for the working people but also constitute a fine school which gives youth and children a working knowledge of nature and fosters in them a love for their country and birthplaces. Relaxing happily in well-laid-out parks and zoological and botanical gardens, people can learn at first hand what animals and plants there are in our country and, in this process, develop a love of their birthplaces and of nature in our country.

Our country has so many animals and plants which are beneficial to our people's living, and beautiful to behold. Our magnolia is as beautiful as a peony; it is so fragrant with lovely leaves that we can be

proud of it throughout the world. In our country there are also many catalpas, which are beautiful and sweet-scented. Our ancestors planted the rose of Sharon extensively, but it is not fragrant nor does it bear fruit. Its sole merit is that its flowers bloom for long. It is, of course, good to tend the rose of Sharon well, but there are lots of trees more fragrant and beautiful than it in our mountains and fields.

Besides plants, there are innumerable species of orioles and other birds which are pretty and sing sweetly, as well as of rare animals, in our country. It is said that such a lovely sweet-singing bird as the Korean grosbeak can hardly be found in other countries.

Nature in our country is very beautiful and bountiful. If, therefore, our officials will but try hard, they can create parks and pleasure grounds as splendid as they can want.

But our botanical garden and zoo are poorly arranged, and our parks have not been kept in good order.

At present there are many technicians in the botanical garden, but, instead of raising our own good plants in larger numbers and in a more diverse way, they are only interested in a few famous plants, including roses brought from abroad. They even fail to tend them properly.

If the botanical workers buckle down to collect and transplant the different plants which are spread in every nook and cranny of the country, they will be able to build fine botanical gardens on Rungna Island or along the banks of the Pothong River.

In order to further develop botanical work it would be advisable to create, in addition to the large botanical gardens, smaller ones here and there, where plant cultivation can be specialized according to species. In this way more and more working people will be able to use the botanical gardens for their recreation and to gain, through them, a wider knowledge of the flora of our country.

The case is the same with the zoo. At present the workers in the zoo are content with a few animals brought from other countries, but do not strive to build up the zoo with even one more valuable animal from our own country. The orioles in the zoo, for instance, were caught by others and not by the zoological workers themselves.

Zoological gardens should be laid out in several places. If they really make an effort, the officials concerned will be able to create as many small zoological gardens as they want. If they build aviaries on the banks of the Taedong and Pothong Rivers, or in parks, to keep several beautiful birds like the Korean grosbeak, and set up several aquaria there to breed our people's most popular species of fish, such as goldfish, these would become zoological gardens. It is not difficult to raise such. If only women keepers are taught how to feed them, they can raise them well. Even though such zoological gardens may be open only in summer, our parks will cut a conspicuous figure and make the working people cheerful.

You should not regard the zoo as a money-making venture, as in a capitalist society, where they show elephants, monkeys and the like which are nonexistent in the country concerned. It is necessary to show rare animals, but it is more important to introduce our own animals to the people so as to imbue them with a love of their birthplaces and nature in our country. But the zoo is not at present developed along these lines.

I have said for several years that the zoo cannot claim to play its bit unless it keeps a Korean tiger. I am told they have caught a few leopards now. In the future, they should try harder to catch some brave and nimble Korean tigers, and collect birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes, etc., to make the zoo more attractive. We can then see to it that children and students have a good knowledge of our animals and think about how to use them.

There are many defects in the laying out of our parks. At present we can rarely see any fine trees or beautiful flowers in our parks. Lawns have been taken little care of.

Officials in this sector visited many foreign countries, spending state money to gain experience in laying out parks, but they are of no great help in laying out our parks. I instructed them to transplant many of the clove trees which grow in Yangdok, Maengsan and everywhere in our country, but all they did was to plant a few of them in front of the Grand Theatre. They planted such a fine tree as catalpa only in the

botanical garden but not in parks, so many people do not even know of the existence of such a tree. Many magnolias can be seen in the mountains but not in our parks.

Instead of these fine trees and flowers, our parks are full of negundo trees brought in from abroad. These trees are not fragrant nor do they blossom beautifully. Its leaves become yellow and fall early in autumn, unlike our maple tree the leaves of which turn red.

In the parks there are many plane trees, too. Needless to say, these are good for roadside trees, and can be planted in the parks to some extent. But there is no need to plant so many of them in the parks, because, unlike the roads, the parks are meant to be recreation centres for the working people, so there should be good trees there, fragrant and with beautiful flowers.

Fruit trees are not suitable for sidewalks but are so for parks. This is why, already a few years ago, I said that some peach trees should be planted in Moranbong Park. Even now, however, except for a few on the side of the road leading up to the Tower of Liberation, they can be seen nowhere. We should plant quantities of peach, apricot, pear and other fruit trees, as well as peony, chrysanthemum and various other flowers on Moran Hill. By doing so, we can view peach, apricot and pear blossoms in spring, peony in summer, chrysanthemum in autumn, and varieties of beautiful flowers all the year round.

While building up the existing parks, we should establish new parks in many places.

At present, parks and pleasure grounds are so few and far between that the working people have little opportunity to enjoy themselves on Sundays or holidays. Parks should be created continuously.

Pyongyang once made much ado about building its parks but now it keeps silent on the matter.

Besides large parks, many small ones should be laid out. In cities there is a large population, and the land is densely built up, so every house cannot have its own garden; but if unoccupied spaces are used effectively, small parks can be created in different places.

If you put the backyards of apartment houses into good shape, plant

some trees in them and provide a few benches, the occupants can read in the shade and have a chat in the fresh air. All open spaces between apartment houses should be turned into parks.

In the future, plans for urban construction should be drawn up in this manner. You should thus set up small parks, like Namsan Park or the Children's Park beside the Grand Theatre, in several places throughout the city.

Large-sized pleasure grounds should also be provided.

Because the mountain paths in the Taesongsan Pleasure Park have not been paved, people simply spend their holidays at the foot of Mt. Taesong, but do not climb up to the peak. To remedy this situation, all the paths on Mt. Taesong should, as a matter of priority, be paved—and it would be good to pave them as narrow paths, like those on Moran Hill.

Several pavilions should be built on Somun and Ulji Peaks. Building a pavilion does not cost much. If you erect several wooden pillars and roof them over simply, that will do. You should improve the ponds on the mountain and make sure that there is always a flow of water. In a level area beside the spring, a big house of the temple style should be built, so that people can play chess, read books and drink cider. It should also have entertainment rooms, a library and stands. You need not restore the old fortress walls, but their remains should be carefully preserved as historic relics.

While accelerating the construction project for the Taesongsan Pleasure Park, the main effort should be directed to the building of a Rungnado pleasure ground.

Because there are only a few parks in the city at the moment, many people go on a picnic away out to the Sogam Reservoir in the outskirts. They need not take the trouble to go to such a far-off place for enjoyment, when there is a wonderful place nearby. The Sogam Reservoir is a long way off, inconvenient of access, and its water is not so clear as the Taedong River.

Rungna Island is located nearby and its landscape is very beautiful. If you build an embankment of stones and then create a swimming

place, a small playground, a botanical garden and an aviary, it will become a splendid pleasure ground.

In order to turn Rungna Island into a pleasure ground, you should first build the upstream embankment well. This would prevent the danger of its being washed away by a flood. At present even a little rise in the water level causes great damage. Having built the embankment to prevent flood damage, you should lay out a swimming place. If you sand the bank of the river, pitch several parasols and arrange dressing rooms, it will be a good swimming place. A boating area should also be prepared on Rungna Island. And you should lay out a few small playgrounds for tennis, volleyball, basketball and the like—although a football pitch may prove impossible.

Rungna Island should be developed as if it were a botanical garden, by planting many beautiful flowers and fragrant trees. And a floor area should be laid with concrete and an aviary established so that various kinds of birds can be bred there.

When Rungna Island has been developed in this way, you should build an embankment on the opposite side of the river and construct a big bridge between the island and East Pyongyang, as envisaged in the city plan. In this way the island will become an ideal recreation centre. In the future Yanggak Island, too, should be developed in the same way.

The road to Mangyongdae should be built beside the Taedong River, and many resting places provided along the sidewalk. Mangyongdae is too restricted in area to accommodate many people at one time. The resting places themselves will therefore have to be used as pleasure grounds.

In the future, Mt. Ryongak should be developed as a pleasure ground. It would be good, first of all, to draw on a large scale a master plan for a Ryongaksan pleasure ground. However, no particular facilities will be needed for Mt. Ryongak; it will suffice to build a road so that vehicles can be driven to the temple, install cold-water bathing facilities where springs come out, and erect a big clubhouse.

It would be advisable to remove the tombs around the city to other

places. Graves should not be built near the roads in the city suburbs: public cemeteries should be built far off from the city and out of sight from the roads. If graves are placed in a haphazard manner as now, even a pleasure ground like Mt. Taesong would soon turn into a public cemetery. No graves other than those of revolutionary martyrs should be placed on Mt. Taesong.

There are many mountains in our country, so finding sites for graves is not a big problem. In order to make the city beautiful, we intend to remove graves to places far off from the city. Those graves which are around the city at present should be relocated more than 70 *ri* away from the city,

The roadside tombs of soldiers of the People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, too, should be relocated. They should be removed to fitting locations in the mountains where they should be placed together in separate cemeteries, where flower gardens should be laid out, and where the dead soldiers' names should be carved on monuments, so that their families will know where their dead have been laid to rest.

Rivers should also be improved.

This will make it possible to protect arable land and other precious property of the country from flood damage, and the rivers can also be used for fish breeding and boating. Unless the rivers are improved, our cities and towns cannot be kept tidy. But now people in both town and country neglect this work.

For the sake of the coming generations, too, we should improve the rivers.

To this end, we should give priority to investigating and keeping records of the rivers throughout the country; and, on this basis, draw up a detailed plan. Then we should begin to build dikes, dredge riverbeds, and, so as to fight erosion, lay protective stones, and plant turf and trees where necessary.

The river improvement project should start with the central and suburban areas of Pyongyang, and then be extended to all the other areas. For this purpose, a river improvement station with some 300

workers and several trucks should be set up in Pyongyang. This station should start with a project to build a stone embankment at dangerous spots on the river at Misan-dong. When the river improvement projects are completed, the station will not require all its manpower, but it will continue to need some people to keep an eye on river conditions.

Each province should undertake such projects by forming a group consisting of a limited number of people competent to give technical guidance, together with the necessary labour force most of whom should be drafted. In rural areas such works should be carried out by the manpower locally available.

It would be advisable for the river improvement project in Pyongyang to be put under the Ministry of City Management and for the corresponding projects in each province to be under the Land Administration Bureau.

For the proper care of the rivers in the central part of Pyongyang, a river administration bureau should be organized as part of the General Bureau of City Management.

Next in importance is to regulate traffic properly.

When people think of a city, they first think of busy traffic. The bigger a city is, the heavier its traffic. Unless its traffic problem can be dealt with adequately, it is therefore impossible to manage a modern city. Particularly in our country where both husband and wife go to work, and all children and youths attend school, it is very important to ensure that the traffic meets the public's needs and flows smoothly, and that traffic accidents be prevented.

But at present traffic control in cities and towns is not satisfactory. The major shortcoming in traffic control is that the officials concerned are lacking in dedication to the convenience of the public.

In Pyongyang plenty of buses and trolleybuses are at present in service. But the fleet of buses is not yet used in a rational way, with the result that sometimes large numbers of people have to wait for long periods at bus stops. Of course, it is important that the number of buses and trolleybuses be increased in the future, but it is more important that the existing transport facilities be used rationally. In particular, service

should be more frequent in the rush hours so as not to cause inconvenience to the public.

Workers of the city administration could have arranged some benches at bus stops for passengers, but none of them gives the matter a thought, though they see many people standing there. The workers in this sector in particular should feel some sympathy for the members of the public who are thus inconvenienced. In the future, trees should be planted and benches arranged near bus stops as well as in the vicinity of theatres and cinemas where people foregather in large numbers, so that they can rest or read books or newspapers while waiting.

The bus stops should not be too close together, but should be spaced at appropriate intervals to suit the public convenience. When bus stops are located too close to each other, traffic does not flow smoothly, traffic jams result, and accidents can happen.

In order to prevent traffic accidents, drivers should be more competent and should have a greater sense of responsibility. Of course, there has been no big accident to date. But, due to drivers' carelessness, small accidents continue to happen. Drivers should be selected from among good people, and at the same time, their education should be improved.

With a view to improving city management, the City Management Control Bureau should enhance its role.

This bureau should continuously supervise and control the manner in which the civil establishments and enterprises maintain state-owned buildings, tidy up apartment blocks and use repair funds.

At present, workers in this bureau stay cooped up in their offices and draft regulations, instead of doing their main job. It is not that the City Management Control Bureau has been formed to draft documents or regulations. They should go out to work on the sites. Only then can they draw up realistic regulations.

As they do not supervise or control the maintenance of public buildings in a responsible manner, grave tendencies have become evident.

Repair funds for houses and public buildings are often used for

other purposes. The main reason for this is the failure of supervision or control. If the City Management Control Bureau will strictly ensure that repair funds are spent exclusively for the purposes for which they have been allocated, such practices will not occur.

The City Management Control Bureau should also be responsible for the supervision of factories, enterprises, schools, hospitals and other public buildings, and even for the surroundings of railways located under its jurisdiction, even if these themselves are not objects to be managed or repaired by the General Bureau of City Management.

A countrywide control system should be established for city management: the Cabinet should supervise the Ministry of City Management, while the City Management Control Bureau should supervise the maintenance of all public buildings.

For better city management it is essential, first of all, to intensify political work among the workers in this sector. They assume the heavy responsibility of protecting and caring for the valuable properties of the state and people, and carry out an honoured task to provide convenience for the people. They should consequently be more conscientious and have a greater sense of their duty to serve the country and the people.

The ideological education of city management workers should be strengthened, so that they may be imbued with a spirit of dedicated service to the homeland and the people. This will help them to take better care of state buildings, facilities and properties, and to devote themselves to providing the people with better living conditions.

At present, some of workers in the city administration lack public spirit: they regard themselves as in menial jobs, are not proud of their work, and work in a slipshod manner.

Why should it be a menial job to clean up litter and keep the city tidy? If everyone just sits idly by, without clearing any refuse away, what will be the result? Clearing up litter and beautifying the city is an honourable job: it contributes to managing the city in a cultured way, and serves the people.

Sweeping roads and doing maintenance work on buildings is not

such a difficult job, so even the aged can do it. Some people ask whether it is right to give old men such a nasty job, but this is an erroneous view of labour: everyone with communist ideas will respect the old men more and more for doing such work.

It would be a great mistake to think that this work would be improved by any material incentive. Of course, it may be necessary to improve the economic treatment of the workers in this field, but merely raising their wages a little, without educating them in communist ideas, will not bring about any improvement in this work. If they have no love for the country and the people, they will not try to maintain buildings, roads, waterworks and the like in a responsible manner, nor will they work devotedly to tend parks and pleasure grounds.

In order that cities may be managed properly, not only the workers in this sector but also the public in general should be educated to take loving care of their cities, buildings and facilities. This education has thus far been unsatisfactory.

As I always say, taking good care of state and common property is an important point of communist morality.

We should make particular efforts to bring up children and students with the lofty communist moral character of valuing state property and public establishments. Thus, we should make sure that all the people, including the workers in the city administration, love their city and strive to keep it beautiful and tidy. This is the way to solve all the problems arising in city management.

Only those who have a high revolutionary consciousness of loving the country and the people, can take good care of even a bench in a park, and combat a wrong tendency to litter the streets and the residential areas.

Workers in the city administration should not only equip themselves with communist ideas so as to be more dedicated in their work, but should become first-rate educators of the youth and children. Park custodians should always educate and persuade the children playing in the park: "All this is the property of the people so you should value it. You must not pluck flowers, for everyone must be able to

enjoy them. If someone picks a flower, it will no longer be there for others to see.” And they should have frequent contact with school teachers and take part in meetings of people’s neighbourhood units near the park in order to explain to them the problems of park management. This will contribute to the education of the children, and will associate many people with the work of park management. In this way, if the workers in the city administration enhance their role, and if broad sections of the working people, children and students take part voluntarily in the protection and management of cities, big strides will be made in city management.

These, in general, are the important questions confronting the city management sector.

The chairmen of provincial people’s committees should pay close attention to education, public health, procurement and food administration, construction and local industry, along with the city management.

In conclusion, I hope that you will make a great contribution to making our cities and towns more beautiful and modern, by carrying through all the tasks set forth at this meeting.

**LET US IMPROVE GUIDANCE GIVEN
BY THE MINISTRY AS REQUIRED
BY THE TAEAN SYSTEM**

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Officials
of the Machine Industry**

September 19, 1962

We have discussed for two days the orientation to be given to the development of the machine industry next year.

Before I go into this question, I would like to mention the shortcomings in the work of the machine industry and the measures to be taken to rectify them.

The major shortcoming in the work of the machine industry is that it lacks discipline and order.

The production of modern machinery and equipment is a very precise and complicated undertaking, so the work of the machine industry calls for strictest order and discipline and for the highest degree of precision.

At the moment, however, these requirements are not met in the work of this industry. In particular, no strict order is followed in implementing its plan, and discipline is very lax in cooperative production.

This is not the fault of the factories and enterprises, but is due entirely to the ministry.

So far the Heavy Industry Commission has drawn up plans, based on subjective wishes, without a correct understanding of the demands of the national economy and of the actual situation at factories and

enterprises. Then, after sending such plans to lower echelons for implementation, the commission goes and alters or supplements them haphazardly. Hundreds of items have thus often been added to the plans for the factories and enterprises even before a month has passed since the assignment of the plans. One day, the chairman of the Heavy Industry Commission gives an order that they should manufacture this, and the next day the vice-chairman tells them to produce that. As a result, the state plans are simply all ignored.

If the items covered by such alterations and additions were indispensable for the Heavy Industry Commission, they should have been included in the plan in the first instance. But when drawing up the plan they were careless, and did not even make a detailed estimate of what they would need. And later on, they go and order one thing after another.

Of course, it would be impossible to plan everything correctly: one or two items might well be overlooked. Moreover, when an unexpected task is given by the state, they may be obliged to alter the plan a little, or to assign additional production tasks. In that case they should visit the factory to which they are giving a supplementary task, discuss the matter with the factory staff in detail, and identify any difficulties which may arise in carrying out the new task. If they find it necessary to reinforce the factory's equipment, they should take the appropriate measures. They should also take steps to ensure the supply of materials, and form an idea of how to organize cooperation in production before the new task is assigned. If the factory finds it too difficult to implement the state plan because of the additional production task, the commission should adjust the plan and clearly define the order of priority to be followed in carrying it out. But the commission has not taken any of these measures, and has simply imposed supplementary tasks upon lower units, over and above the tasks which have already been assigned as part of the state plan; and has then, in a bureaucratic manner, urged these lower units to hurry up.

A particularly serious problem is that some officials change plans impulsively and carelessly, and send down supplementary

assignments, even without the approval of the Cabinet or the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee.

Take an example.

This year you comrades sent down an additional task of producing equipment for a metallurgical works. If you wanted to get such a large amount of equipment produced, you should have included it in the plan, and if you intended issuing an additional assignment to produce so much equipment, you should have gone to the lower unit and had extensive discussions with the masses of producers concerning the possibility of fulfilling the proposed new task before you issued the assignment. You should have figured out precisely what machines would be needed for the additional task, and how to organize cooperation between all concerned in carrying it out, and then you should have taken all the necessary measures. But you forced the factory to carry out the task without your having taken any such measures. And worse still, you gave them such a heavy task even without referring the matter to the Cabinet or the Political Committee.

The leading officials in this sector frequently send down such supplementary assignments haphazardly, so that in practice many factories have to do their work virtually without a plan. Thus, neither the Tokchon Automobile Plant nor the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory has a definite plan. Shipyards, too, are working without definite plans. This runs fundamentally counter to the method of managing a socialist economy, which can develop only in a planned manner.

Because unexpected production tasks are imposed on them in this way, factories and enterprises amply cannot carry out the state plan, though they do their best to do so. You say you have a plan, but in reality you have no plan. This has given rise to a very dangerous tendency in the machine industry to think that all they have to do is to carry out their additional tasks, without bothering about whether they fulfil the state plan or not

If there is such an undisciplined unit in the army, it should be disbanded, and if there is such a disorderly and undisciplined Party organization, it should be dissolved.

Cooperative production, too, lacks discipline. Cooperative production should function as smoothly as a pair of gears. At present, however, the machine industry fails to produce goods properly by cooperative efforts.

These practices of ministerial officials—of making plans by rule of thumb rather than on the basis of the actual situation of the lower echelons, of changing their plans frequently, and of sending down many additional tasks—as well as the lack of discipline in organizing cooperative production, have resulted in the piling up of unfinished or half-processed goods at machine factories. Large numbers of machines and equipment remain unassembled merely because of the shortage of a few machine parts such as bearings and electric equipment; and large quantities of other goods are left unfinished after only casting or a little cutting has been done. As I said at the Tae-an Electrical Machinery Plant, we must turn out finished goods. Heaps of half-finished or unfinished goods are useless: they are only a waste of valuable materials and manpower. Probably a very large sum of state funds is thus being wasted or frozen at the machine factories. What a great loss the officials of the machine industry have inflicted on the state, and what a serious crime they have committed against the state!

These shortcomings of the machine industry are explained by the fact that the leading officials in this sector are deficient in their Party spirit.

Our Party has been deeply interested in the development of the machine industry, and this policy remains completely unchanged. As all of you know, even in the difficult war years our Party already took steps to build machine factories and, in the postwar period, made great efforts to create a powerful base for an independent machine industry. Since the struggle for socialist industrialization started on a full scale, our Party has been giving close attention to the development of the machine industry. We have had talks with the workers of this industry several times each year, and whenever we visited a local district, we never failed to inspect any machine factories there.

The Party Central Committee has adopted many decisions for the development of the machine industry. When we were improving the

guidance and management of the national economy to suit the new circumstances, we chose the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant—part of the machine industry—to give the lead in working the new system of industrial management.

But the leading officials in this sector are not living up to the Party's concern and expectations. In particular, they are not operating the Taean work system successfully, although they are in duty bound to do it better than any other sector. They are not striving to emulate the spirit of guidance which was given to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. None of the machine factories are worth mentioning as an example of the proper implementation of the Taean system.

At present, quite a few officials in this sector are asserting that “technique is omnipotent” and that “administrative authority is omnipotent”—though their own technical level is not so high. But technique alone is not enough to solve all problems. We cannot be successful in our work unless we study Party policy and work by Party method. But officials in this sector do not make a deep study of Party policy and documents nor do they work hard to carry out Party policy. They do not zealously oppose any of the tendencies which are contrary to Party policy, and some of them even connive at these tendencies.

The leading officials of the machine industry should do more to stimulate their Party spirit, so that they will acquire the revolutionary habit of informing themselves in detail of the Party's policy on the machine industry, and carrying it out.

The machine industry must do away with such disorderly and undisciplined practices as soon as possible, radically improve the ministry's guidance of the factories and enterprises, and make further innovations in the development of the machine industry.

The thorough application of the Taean work system is the fundamental guarantee for improving the guidance and management of production. The Taean work system is itself an application of the Chongsanri spirit and the Chongsanri method in the industrial sector; and its basic requirement is that the revolutionary mass line should be thoroughly implemented in the guidance of production.

The leading officials of the Ministry of Machine Industry should put an end to the old bureaucratic work method which is characterized by pressing and ordering people about instead of guiding production, and should zealously struggle to establish a revolutionary work system by which superiors go to the workplaces to help their subordinates and find solutions to problems, as required by the T'aean system.

Contrary to the intention of the Party, which requires officials to go down to the lower echelons, many officials still travel about factories by car, as if on a pleasure trip, just checking the amount of output and, before they leave, urging the men to hurry up. This can never be regarded as guidance, nor will it be of the slightest help to factories or enterprises. If we, in giving guidance to Chongsan-ri, had just urged people to do things, asking about figures, before we left—just as is your practice now when purporting to guide factories and enterprises—we would not have helped in any way to improve the management of cooperatives. But at that time we talked with workteam leaders, sincerely discussed matters with Party members and exchanged views even with old people. We thus got to know what they wanted, what the shortcomings were in the management of the cooperative, and how to run the cooperative better and increase agricultural production more rapidly. On this basis, we cut various knots one by one and took the necessary measures.

The leading personnel of the ministry must go down to the shop floor and give guidance in this manner.

The purpose of the minister, vice-ministers and chiefs of management bureaus inspecting factories and enterprises is so that they can thoroughly acquaint themselves with the realities, help their subordinates to solve their problems, and thus encourage them to meet their targets more successfully. So when inspecting lower echelons, leading officials must, first of all, consult and listen to the workers and technicians who are directly engaged in production.

The workers and technicians who are directly engaged in production know about production better than anyone else. Rails are produced by workers and technicians, and machines are also

manufactured by workers and technicians. So, only when they hear the opinions of such producers, can leading officials get a clear picture of the state of production, find out what problems there are, and get to know how to produce with greater efficiency. In a nutshell, you can give correct guidance for production only when you listen to the masses of producers.

Of course, one cannot say that all suggestions of shop-floor workers are correct. Some of these suggestions may be constructive and others may not. The leading officials therefore should assess each suggestion made, be glad to accept good ones and see that they are put into practice. To those workers whose suggestions are not constructive, a good explanation should be given why not. But many of the shop-floor workers' suggestions are constructive, so the leading officials should listen to their voices.

When you are down at the workplace, you should also help producers actively, to say nothing of listening to their voices.

Nevertheless, some leading officials of the ministry, on their tours of inspection of lower echelons, were in the habit of blaming their subordinates for having failed to do something, and of just shouting at them to do it, instead of helping them in the matter. Worse still, such brutish people were actually admired as dynamic men. Such an attitude will be of no help to their subordinates, and will only make them refrain from offering suggestions after that. Why should they make suggestions when they know not only that they would get no help in solving their problems, but also that they would be abused for having made suggestions? Leading officials should not try to find fault with suggestions offered by their subordinates, nor should they abuse them for making them. On the contrary, they should consider each suggestion prudently from various angles and if they see any problems, they should help their subordinates to solve them.

If leading officials listen to the opinions of the masses at the lower echelons and find out the matters at issue in this way, they will avoid falling into subjectivism and rid themselves of the bureaucratic approach to work.

Not only leading officials but also technicians of the ministry should go frequently to workplaces and help the men there. Particularly in view of the fact that technical staffs of our machine factories are not yet competent enough, it is imperative that able technicians help the men on the shop floor in making technical preparations before anything else and in solving the technical problems which crop up in production.

Doing this means precisely implementing the Chongsanri spirit and the Chongsanri method, and following the mass line in giving guidance for production.

Not only in directing production, we must also follow the mass line punctiliously in planning.

Plans must be drawn up to suit the actual conditions of factories and enterprises. But this should never be taken to mean that production quotas should be set low, in a passive way: low production quotas cannot play an active role, nor do they conform to the requirements of the reality of socialist construction in our country. On the other hand, planning too high a target is no good either: such a plan would simply lack feasibility. Targets should therefore be neither too low nor too high. They should accord with both the objective requirements of the national economy and the actual conditions at the lower units concerned.

In order to map out a feasible and dynamic plan, the leading officials of the ministry must go directly to factories and enterprises, consult the producer masses extensively and then draw up the plan in collaboration with them. If planning were to be left entirely to the discretion of the people at lower echelons, the result might be a passive plan, contrary to the Party's intention. Among the lower echelons are those whose level of consciousness is not yet high enough, and those who are not firmly equipped with the Party's ideology. Not all people have a high collectivist and patriotic spirit, nor are they firm in their Party stand. Therefore, the minister, vice-ministers, chiefs of management bureaus and other leading ministerial officials should go down to lower units with the control figures given by the Party,

acquaint themselves with the realities in detail, listen to the voices of the broad masses of producers, and help them work out a correct plan. In other words, the leading officials of the ministry should go to the factories, take their production capacity and their preparedness for production into account and, on this basis, figure out in detail what machines and how many of them a factory can produce, to which task the factory should give priority and which task should be put off a little. In this way the leading officials should specify in the plan how much, and in which month the factory should produce which items of machinery; and they should then do the necessary organizing work. Only then can technical documents, equipment and materials be arranged in advance, as required by the Tsaan system.

In order to prepare a plan in this manner, the officials of the ministry should be given a short course and good briefing before going down to lower echelons, instead of being sent down without any preparations. The leading officials of the factories, including the managers as well as all the shop-floor workers, should be well informed of the Party's intentions so that they can take an active part in discussion of the plan.

Correct planning must be followed by a tightening of discipline under which the plan is implemented to the letter.

When the plans drafted by the ministries have been coordinated by the State Planning Commission and approved by the Cabinet and the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, nobody should be allowed to change them or issue additional assignments arbitrarily. Even if a plan has to be changed or additional assignments have to be given in unavoidable circumstances, such measures must not be taken by the arbitrary decision of a minister or a few other ministerial officials. In such a case a consultative meeting must be held with the participation of the managers, Party committee chairmen and hard-core workers of the enterprises of the sectors concerned, to discuss the matters sincerely, making concrete estimates of the possible supply of materials, manpower and many other factors. The proposed amendment to the plan should then be submitted to the

Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and to the Cabinet for their approval.

You must establish strict discipline in carrying out your plan. If the plan is changed one way or the other as the result of suggestions by a few-impulsive persons, the authority of the state plan will be lost, discipline and order will be damaged, and production will be unsuccessful.

I think you know this well because many of you have experience of military service, and some of you have battle experience. If a plan of operation has been mapped out and an order has been given to capture an enemy height, the commander should lead all his men, without the slightest vacillation, to carry out the order. Instead, if, when confronted with a difficult situation, he gives up his attack on the height and tries to sidetrack his forces to a ravine, his battle formation will break apart and the battle will end in failure.

The same is true of the struggle for production. Once a plan has been worked out and approved, it must be carried out to the end. If the plan is frequently changed during its implementation, the factories and enterprises concerned will find themselves in confusion, and will not succeed with their production. Henceforth you must draw up a scientific plan which conforms to reality. When the plan has been approved, you must carry it out, without modification and under strict discipline. This is the first and foremost task of the machine industry in establishing order and discipline, and an important guarantee for successful production.

Along with this, the machine industry should tighten discipline in cooperative production.

The main reason why this sector is failing to increase production at the moment is that the factories do not receive punctually the goods necessary for cooperative production. This is because of the inefficient coordination of joint efforts and the lack of discipline in cooperative production. In consequence, the automobile plant, for instance, often finds it impossible to finish the assembly of automobiles because they have not received a few components which are due from other

factories, although everything else is ready.

Such inefficiency in cooperative production is explained mainly by the fact that a proper system for managing the joint efforts has not been established. Hence the need to set up a separate department within the Ministry of Machine Industry to ensure the coordinated management of cooperative production. It could be named the supervisory bureau of cooperative production or the department of cooperative production.

The State Planning Commission could have a cooperative production headquarters to organize cooperative production in a rational manner, and directly manage and undertake the manufacture of lorries, tractors, excavators and similar machines. But it seems difficult for the State Planning Commission alone to cope with the problems of managing cooperative production.

The State Planning Commission should therefore have a cooperative production headquarters which, however, should confine itself to indicating the main orientation to be followed in producing on a cooperative basis and which should direct the joint efforts of the ministries concerned. The organization and direction of specific cooperative operations should be the responsibility of the cooperative production department of the Ministry of Machine Industry.

The cooperative production department should work out its plan correctly and give the right leadership to ensure its thorough implementation.

The department should assign tasks for cooperative production in concrete terms, specifying the items and quantities to be produced, the factories concerned and the deadline. It should take in hand the implementation of the plan at the factories, and direct them to respect the order of priority in production to ensure the success of the joint efforts.

Meanwhile, all factories which participate in cooperative production should make it a rule to give priority to the production of goods for the joint operations. Steel and other metal castings and components, which are manufactured within the framework of the plan of cooperation, must be forwarded to the factories concerned 15 days

to one month in advance of the scheduled deadline for delivery. Whether these items are produced a fortnight earlier or later is not of much consequence to the factories which make them, but can decisively affect the implementation of plans at the factories which are to receive them.

In order to organize cooperative production properly, specialized production should be activated.

It would naturally be impossible for a single factory to produce all the parts of a complicated machine such as an automobile, tractor or excavator, and indeed to attempt to do so would be irrational.

But the leading officials in the machine industry have not properly mastered the development of specialized production: they merely think of expanding existing machine factories and giving each of them the task of producing scores of kinds of goods. What is worse, they often change the kinds of goods to be produced at a given factory. With several “general purpose” factories, and no factories which specialize in the production of individual items, it will be impossible to increase the variety of machinery and equipment or to improve quality, so as to meet the demands of our continuously developing national economy.

In order to promote specialization, the tasks assigned to a given machine factory should, as far as possible, always relate to the production of the same item or items.

If a machine factory is told to make one thing this year and another next year, or if it is given another task before it can produce one thing on a normal basis and so finish its previous task, it will be impossible to achieve specialized production, make the optimum use of equipment, or improve the quality of the items produced.

If a calligrapher is on and off his job, he will be unable to develop his penmanship; if he takes up his pen after a year’s suspension, he will feel his hand tremble and will be unable to write properly. Likewise, if a worker is told to cut one thing today, to repair a machine tomorrow, and cut something else the next day, he will be unable to do anything properly.

Nevertheless, the officials of the Ministry of Machine Industry have been imprudent enough to make frequent changes in the production tasks which have been assigned to machine factories.

They should end this practice and develop specialization by giving fixed assignments to machine factories as far as possible. It would be advisable for the Pukjung Machine Factory, for instance, to specialize in the production of diesel engines. This would make it possible to build many large vessels and thus catch plenty of fish and increase the sea transport capacity. The Ragwon Machine Factory should concentrate on the production of excavators rather than be asked to carry out miscellaneous assignments. Demand for excavators is very high now and will increase in the future: agriculture, and the building and mining industries have a great demand for excavators. To satisfy this demand there should be a factory specializing in the production of excavators.

Specialized production may, of course, be a little difficult in machine plants like the Ryongsong Machine Factory which mostly produce large one-off items. But they, too, can specialize in the production of machines such as compressors. In this way, each machine factory should specialize in the manufacture of one or two main items.

Giving fixed production assignments to the existing machine factories is an important step towards ensuring specialized production, but this alone is not enough.

The development of the national economy, coupled with the technological revolution, demands that we produce a variety of new-type machinery in larger quantities. So the existing machine factories are obliged to receive additional tasks of producing new types of machines to meet the demand. New machine factories should therefore be built to develop specialized production and to widen the variety of machinery.

Of course, it would be a good idea to build many new big machine factories, but it would take a large sum of money and a long time. So this problem should be solved by building small and medium machine factories throughout the country.

Next, you should improve the supply of materials to factories, as is required under the Taaan system.

The basic principle of material supply is that higher echelons get supplies to lower echelons. In other words, the ministries and management bureaus should ensure that the necessary materials are duly delivered to the enterprises, and the enterprises should ensure that they are delivered directly to the workplaces. This would enable producers to concentrate all their efforts on their own work without having to run around trying to obtain raw materials and other necessities.

The current army supply system is the one by which the higher echelons are responsible for ensuring the delivery of supplies to the lower echelons. Weapons, equipment, food rations and all other army supplies are delivered from higher to lower echelons and combat troops.

We set up a new material supply system at the Taaan Electrical Machinery Plant in order to get the mass line implemented thoroughly in economic management by abolishing the outdated bureaucratic method by which the ministries and management bureaus merely issued supply vouchers, got the staff of enterprises to run about endeavouring to obtain materials, and simply urged them to carry out their plans—without even providing them with materials. Material supply agencies have been organized to ensure that the ministries and management bureaus deliver materials in kind to the factories and enterprises, and in a responsible manner. But these agencies are not yet playing their roles properly, so that the factories and enterprises are not receiving adequate supplies of materials, and a large number of their managerial staff have to be diverted to efforts to procure materials.

However hard they may try, factories will be unable to deliver supplies to the workplaces, as required by the Taaan system, unless the ministries and management bureaus first deliver them to the factories. The ministries and management bureaus should take in hand the work of material supply agencies and enhance their roles, so as to ensure that they will supply factories and enterprises with materials in time, and

thus contribute to the attainment of trouble-free production.

Another thing: the collective leadership of the Party committees should be strengthened in the management of factories.

Today, when the sizes of factories have increased incomparably and technical equipment has become strengthened, one man's intelligence is no longer good enough to manage a factory properly, as was the case in the past. Only the collective leadership of the factory Party committee can ensure the successful management of a factory.

In order to strengthen its collective leadership, the Party committee must first be organized well. The Party committee must be composed of hard-core workers from the main production units of the enterprise. The Party Committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works, for instance, should have many smelters from the blast furnace shop and steel shop. Only when those Party members who carry out their revolutionary tasks in good faith in the important production sectors, are on the Party committee, can the Party committee come to understand clearly the various problems which arise in production and management, and solve them correctly.

Along with this, everyone should faithfully accept collective leadership by the Party committee and obey its decisions. The manager, too, should act on the decisions adopted through collective discussion by the factory Party committee: he must never deal with problems arbitrarily. The factory managerial staff must never regard guidance from the Party committee as meddling in their work, or as something of a nuisance.

As the saying goes that you must ask your way even when you know it, you should pool everyone's brains and discuss problems widely, if you are to succeed in carrying out such a difficult and complicated revolutionary task as socialist economic construction. So the factory Party committee must collectively discuss and decide the action to be taken on each problem which arises in factory management and in the implementation of its plan, and all the staff of the factory must do their work in accordance with the decisions of the Party committee.

If its collective leadership is strengthened in this way, the Party committee will be able to find out and correct promptly even wrong instructions that might be given by the ministry and management bureau. If an instruction is given by the ministry or a management bureau, the Party committees should examine whether it conforms to the Party's policy or not. If the instruction is deemed to be correct, they should work out, by collective discussion, the measures to carry it out. In any other case, they should bring the matter before higher authority, up to and including the Party Central Committee, and get it rectified.

To proceed. I would like to mention some measures which ought to be taken for the further development of the machine industry.

Thanks to the correct policy and wise leadership of our Party, a strong base for a modern machine industry was built in our country in a very short time after the war. But we can never rest content with this. Our machine industry still has many shortcomings and many machine factories are not perfectly equipped. We must continue to direct great efforts to this industry, equip our machine factories completely as soon as possible, make up for their deficiencies and accelerate the development of the machine industry, in keeping with the progress of our national economy and the requirements of all-out technological revolution.

Even though we have to put much stress on the development of the machine industry, it would be impossible to confine large-scale investment to this sector nor can we afford to equip all machine factories completely at one go. Therefore, we should rather make a modest investment in the machine industry each year, so as to reinforce casting capacity where it is inadequate, or increase processing capacity where it is insufficient, and thus progressively complete the equipment of machine plants, and reinforce the weak links of this industry one by one.

At present one of the weakest links in our machine industry lies in electrical machinery production. We should create a new base for the production of electrical machinery, while expanding the existing ones, thereby producing more motors and other electrical machines and

equipment. In particular, we should give close attention to the increased production of explosion-proof electric motors.

Our capacity for the production of large-sized machines and special machines is another of the weak links in our national economy. To meet this problem we should build a new heavy machinery plant in the near future.

We could import the complete equipment for a heavy machinery plant from abroad, but it would cost us a large sum of foreign currency and, moreover, it would take us a long time. It would therefore be advisable for us to endeavour to build a heavy machinery plant on our own, drawing on the strength of our existing machine industry, in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

When the Kusong Mining Machinery Factory had built a 6-metre hobbing lathe, I asked the factory officials to produce another and send it to the Ryongsong Machine Factory, and they did so. If each year, each machine factory produces one or two machines for a heavy machinery plant, in the spirit of the days when the “let-each-machine-tool-make-more” movement was being launched, we could build an excellent heavy machinery plant in two to three years. If the leading officials of the ministry organize this work properly and rouse the workers to action, I think they will manage to accomplish this task in addition to fulfilling their production plan.

Training more technicians and skilled workers and improving their quality is another very urgent task for the development of the machine industry.

We should not only improve the training of technicians in universities, but also see to it that the night and factory colleges produce many more technicians.

We should also properly organize the activities to improve the qualifications of technicians on the job. We should arrange frequent short courses and provide technicians with good conditions for study.

We should see to it that the technicians acquire a revolutionary habit of study, making it a rule to study two hours every day. Some people say that two hours’ study every day would interfere with

production. This is an unreasonable view. The purpose of technicians' study is to enable them to become more efficient in production, so their study can never be an obstacle to production. Because our machine industry is young, our technicians are not yet very experienced and their skills are still modest. Unless they improve their qualifications by hard study, our technicians will not be able to develop the machine industry rapidly.

Technicians should not only make strenuous efforts to master their own specialities, but also study diligently the Party's idea and policy. If they think they knew everything and neglect to study, simply because they have been to a university, they may become lazy and depraved and lose the Party spirit. In the long run they will disregard the Party, behave arrogantly towards it and even come out against it. All our workers should therefore study and understand Party policy deeply, while not neglecting study even a moment. Those who are not yet engineers or assistant engineers should study hard to acquire these technical qualifications, and those who are engineers and assistant engineers should make strenuous efforts to deepen and broaden their technical knowledge.

In addition, mechanics should be kept on the same job a long time. Only then will they be able to raise their technical and skill levels, and only then will the ranks of skilled workers grow. You should see that workers who have been in the machine industry for ten to twenty years account for at least 30 to 50 per cent of the labour force in each machine factory. Now that we have made a little history with our machine industry, we can do so if we organize well and tackle this task properly.

ON FURTHER DEVELOPING THE MINING INDUSTRY

**Speech to the Party Committee Chairmen
and Managers of the Ore and Coal Mines**

September 24, 1962

I have already told the Vice-Premiers about the problem I am going to explain to you today. A Vice-Premier must have conveyed my words to the gathering of the ministers, and you must have been given your tasks. But I gave a second thought to the matter and it did not seem proper that tasks should have been assigned in this way. I think it will be necessary to call upon all Party organizations and members in the mining industry to implement the Party's intentions thoroughly.

If they do not have a clear understanding of the Party's intentions of further developing the mining industry, the Party organizations and members at coal and ore mines might implement the Party's decisions and instructions perfunctorily or virtually ignore them in self-complacency.

Today I would like to emphasize this question once again for the Party committee chairmen and the managers of these mines to ensure that the Party organizations in the mining industry are made fully aware of the Party's policy and mobilize the members for the thorough implementation of this policy.

During our recent inspection of the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Songjin Steel Plant, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, the Kilju Pulp Mill and other factories, we were keenly aware

that, because the mining industry was lagging behind, in none of these sectors was production proceeding normally.

In their struggle to attain the six targets this year, the iron works and steel plants have not done a good job and the fertilizer factory and the pulp mill have not done better. This is mainly due to the fact that the mining industry has not supplied them with sufficient quantities of raw materials and fuel.

At present the iron works and steel plants have ore reserves scarcely for two or three days. The situation is such that the period when they can work with ten days' ore reserve lasts, at best, no longer than several days in a year. The Kim Chaek Iron Works which has fulfilled its plan, to say nothing of the Hwanghae Iron Works which has failed to carry out its plan, has almost no ore reserve. The chemical factories have only two to three days' reserve of limestone—which, however, is so abundant in our country.

Unless we can ensure an adequate supply of iron and other ores, it will be totally impossible for us to talk about the development of the metallurgical industry or the preferential growth of the machine-building industry.

Unless the mining industry moves forward, the tasks of the technological revolution will also not be carried out successfully. If we are to carry out the technological revolution, we must produce greater quantities of various kinds of ores, including nonferrous and alloy-element minerals, to say nothing of iron ores.

Our country has large deposits of gold, silver, copper and other nonferrous minerals. So our Patriotic Song says, "The country of three thousand *ri*, So rich in silver and in gold you are,..." But it is useless merely singing of the abundant silver and gold: treasures prove of real value only when they are mined for use. What use of would they be if they were left buried underground?

In spite of these rich nonferrous mineral resources, which are indispensable for the country's industrialization, we are now feeling the shortage of those metals because we do not produce them in sufficient quantities and because we are no good at processing them.

We do not mine enough copper, although it is abundant in our country; nor are we getting mercury, although we could if we really tried. As a result, production is held back considerably. During our recent inspection of the Pongung Caustic Soda Factory we found that, although they had built a large caustic soda electrolyzer, they were not producing soda to capacity, because of the shortage of mercury. Mercury is found in our country but we still cannot extract it by ourselves because we have not got the know-how. Foreigners are successfully producing it—even by outdated methods. But we, knowing neither outdated nor modern methods, just throw it away, instead of extracting it.

Such being the case, the mining industry fails to meet the domestic demands for iron ores, nonferrous and nonmetallic minerals, nor does it carry out its export plan. As you know, mining is one of the most important sources of foreign currency in our country. But it is the mining industry which shows the worst results in implementing the foreign currency plan.

Let us take an example. How are you implementing the export plan for magnesite—of which our country, alone of all the socialist countries, has an untold wealth of deposits? According to the report of the Minister of Foreign Trade, only 90,000 tons—out of some 200,000 tons which we have contracted to export this year—have so far been exported. Lead and zinc are likewise not being exported as planned.

The coal situation is no better than the ore situation. There are many large coalfields in our country and large deposits both in the northern and western regions. Yet we suffer a coal shortage every year.

At the Kilju Pulp Mill, I found that it had a reserve of coal for only three days. Iron works and steel plants, too, are not working properly because of the short supply of fuel.

During the winter when the demand for coal is great, and in the rainy season when the weather is unfavourable for coal production, blast furnaces, cement kilns and boilers frequently come to standstill because of a shortage of coal. The development of our metallurgical

and chemical industries is thus greatly handicapped by insufficient coal production.

All this shows that things are not going well in our metal and coal mines.

What, then, are the reasons for this inefficiency in the mining industry? I think the reasons are two.

The first reason is that the state plan has provided for large investments in the manufacturing sector but has allocated only small amounts to the mining industry. If the mining industry—which constitutes the first stage of the production process—is to be kept ahead of the manufacturing industries, it is necessary to concentrate funds on this sector. But this has not been done: investments have been concentrated on the manufacturing industries only.

If the mining industry does not move ahead of other sectors and fails to provide adequate supplies of raw materials and fuel, it will be impossible to develop the manufacturing industries rapidly. It is therefore obvious to everybody that the preferential development of the mining industry is a law of economic progress. That is why the Party has long emphasized the need to keep the mining industry ahead of the manufacturing industries. At the December Plenary Meeting last year, too, I urged that the mines should accumulate reserve stocks equal to at least three months' consumption. To do this, investments should be concentrated on mines so that they can undertake capital construction and reinforce their equipment. Without investments there would be no output from mines.

But the State Planning Commission has not given sufficient priority to the development of the mining industry. And the Heavy Industry Commission has arbitrarily diverted to the manufacturing industry even the small amount of money which had been allotted by the State Planning Commission for the mining industry. As a result, the mines which are supposed to supply iron ores to the Hwanghae Iron Works, can only feed one of the two blast furnaces of this works. And since the mines have to meet their targets with such limited capacity, they send more muck than iron ore to the works. Finding it impossible to use the

ore supplies without screening them, the iron works has had to build a screening plant at great cost. The muck is washed off in the screening plant—and only the small amount of ore which is left can be fed to the furnace. This is the actual state of affairs at the moment. Of course, an iron works does need a screening plant of a certain size, but you must know that the primary purpose of such a screening plant is not to remove such large quantities of muck. If the money which was needed for the construction of the screening plant had been used instead to install the proper equipment at the mines, good-quality ores could have been supplied in greater quantities and the furnaces could have worked to capacity.

Then why have the State Planning Commission and the Heavy Industry Commission not concentrated investment in the mining industry? Because the officials of these commissions have not studied the Party's policy—to say nothing of putting it into effect.

When we say we are carrying out our revolutionary tasks with credit, it means, after all, that we are implementing the Party's policy thoroughly in all spheres. If one were to depart from Party policy, the implementation of any revolutionary task would be inconceivable. But among the officials of the State Planning Commission and the Heavy Industry Commission there appeared in the past some people who made very little of Party decisions and instructions. The former chief of the economy planning bureau of the Heavy Industry Commission went so far as to regard Party decisions and instructions as something like reference materials. No wonder that work did not go well at the hands of a man with such an ideological makeup. In order to revitalize the mining industry, such people must first correct their attitude towards Party policy.

Another reason why they failed to concentrate investments on the mining industry is that the officials of the State Planning Commission and the Heavy Industry Commission have not rid themselves of their bureaucratic approach to work.

Leading officials now and then go to inspect manufacturing industries such as machine factories and iron works, but not ore or coal

mines—where things are rugged: they can go by car right up to the front gate of a machine factory or an iron works and then carry out an inspection of it quite easily, but they have to make a bumpy journey across mountains and passes to get to an ore mine or a coal mine, and then go down into the pit.

It is in the nature of the mining industry that investment in this sector does not yield tangible results as rapidly as it does in the manufacturing industry. So one can hardly decide where to invest and how much unless one goes and makes very close investigations into the situation at mines. At present, however, officials of the State Planning Commission and the heavy industry sector do not bother to make bumpy journeys to mines: they just issue orders and instructions from their desks. That is why they are ignorant of the real situation and why they are in no position to make correct investment decisions.

In addition, manufacturing industries like the metallurgical and machine-building industries generally undertake capital construction only when expanding their production, but the mining industry has to carry on capital construction not only when production is being expanded, but continuously—on such jobs as the building of pits, which requires very considerable investment. If, therefore, we continue, as we do now, to neglect investment in the mining industry we will be unable to ensure even simple reproduction in this sector, to say nothing of extended reproduction. The officials of the State Planning Commission and the heavy industry sector should understand clearly that the neglect of investment has retarded the development of the mining industry.

The second main reason why things are not going smoothly with the mining industry is that efficient technical guidance is not given for the solving of complex problems in time.

There are, indeed, now many technical problems which our mines have to solve—for instance, in their installation of machinery and equipment and in their introduction of new methods of coal mining. But no one even attempts to tackle these problems.

At coal mines, different people will say different things on a given

technical matter, and we can hardly decide whose suggestions we should accept. The situation is such that a new “policy” is adopted simply to mark the appointment of a new chief of a management bureau in the ministry.

Such a practice cannot be tolerated any longer. We must find the right technical solutions to the problems confronting the metal and coal mines.

We have no doubt that our scientists and technicians can find these solutions. The question is how to organize and mobilize their efforts properly. We must see that a large group is formed of electricians, geologists, machinists, and chemists and other scientists to solve problems one by one, by their joint efforts. In the case of the Pukchang Coal Mine, for instance, they can clearly define what kinds of machinery and equipment are appropriate for the mine and what method of coal-cutting should be used in view of its geological conditions. If, instead, you simply grumble day and night that things are difficult at the Aoji Coal Mine because of the heavy earth pressure, and that work is not successful somewhere else because of some other difficulties, no solutions will ever be found.

Production is not going on a normal basis in the mining industry because the State Planning Commission and the Heavy Industry Commission do not concentrate investments on this industry and do not give solutions to their technical problems. As I said at every plenary meeting, a serious shortcoming is that the seasonal reductions in production have been eliminated neither at our ore nor at our coal mines. These mines do not produce properly because of frosty weather in winter, because of the winter wounds which must heal up in spring, because of the rainy season in summer, because of flood damage control in autumn. So, in the end, an abnormal production situation simply persists throughout the year.

The abnormal production situation in the mining industry results in turn in an abnormal production situation in the manufacturing industries. If industrial production is to be effected on a normal basis, many problems must be resolved—such as keeping machinery and

equipment in good condition, ensuring adequate supplies of raw materials and organizing the labour force efficiently. Of all these problems, the timely delivery of raw materials is the most important. It is useless to urge the Kim Chaek and the Hwanghae Iron Works to normalize production unless they receive sufficient quantities of iron ore. Machinery and equipment, however efficient, avail nothing if not fed with raw materials.

To normalize industrial production and ensure its rapid development, you must keep sufficient iron ore and coal in reserve, and to do this you must concentrate investments on the mining industry and solve its complex technical problems.

What, then, should be done to concentrate investment on the mining industry?

First and foremost, we must amend the national economic development plan.

The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee recently defined next year's control figures for the development of the national economy, got them passed at a plenary meeting of the Cabinet and sent to each enterprise concerned. After that we inspected the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Songjin Steel Plant, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and the Kilju Pulp Mill to acquaint ourselves with the situations, and found that many things were wrong with the control figures which had been issued.

The major shortcoming is that still due attention is not given to the mining industry when investments in capital construction are being planned. The coal industry in particular has suffered from the lack of investment, though the same can be said of ore mines. The plan has allotted a large sum for the construction of kilns at cement factories, but only a small sum for the coal industry.

Of course, the construction of these kilns is necessary. But what is the point of building additional kilns when the existing ones cannot be operated to capacity, because of the shortage of coal? The quickest way to increase cement production at the moment is to invest more money in coal mines rather than to build kilns, so as to increase coal

mining capacity and, as a result, be able to run the existing kilns without interruptions. However, as it is, investment is neglected in the coal industry and large sums are provided for the construction of kilns—with the result that neither the coal nor the cement output can be increased.

Let us take another example. Of course, it may be necessary to construct a screening plant at the Hwanghae Iron Works, but it is more urgent to concentrate investment in the Hasong or the Jaeryong Mine and provide them with excavators, bulldozers and similar machines and equipment. The Jaeryong Mine is now sending muck to the Hwanghae Iron Works and I do not think that they alone are responsible for this: they have no alternative, because they have not enough mining machines and equipment with which to carry out their plan. So they are sending muck, which is easy to dig, instead of ore, although they know they are deceiving themselves.

In order to develop industrial production we should establish solid bases to ensure supplies of raw materials, fuel and power by concentrating investments on the mining industry. But we can see that this year's national economic development plan does not ensure a proper balance between production and the supplies of fuel and raw materials, because too much emphasis has been put on investment in the manufacturing industry. The plan provides for barely sufficient supplies of raw materials and fuel to meet the needs of any industrial sector, and contains no provisions whatever for reserves.

Mine and railway accidents and other unforeseen events may occur. Therefore, factories cannot have confidence in their ability to maintain output unless they have at least a fortnight's or a month's supply of raw materials and fuel in reserve.

Some people say that it is no good to keep reserves sufficient for a month or two, because this only lowers the rate of turnover of funds, and they even call such reserves frozen funds. They are all wrong.

It seems to me that a suspension of factory operation, due to a failure to deliver fuel and raw materials in time, is worse than such reduction in the rate of turnover of funds as is caused by the keeping of

reserves. You cannot normalize industrial production by working on a hand-to-mouth basis, with the idea of feeding tomorrow the ore which is produced today—and of risking that factories will lie idle tomorrow and the day after, if ore is not brought to the surface today.

Machine factories, for instance, can increase productivity by organizing production lines that can be fed with whatever materials may be available at any given time. But it would be very risky for an iron works or a steel plant to organize production on a hand-to-mouth basis with only a day's supply of ore.

Therefore, from next year on we should make a major increase in investment in the mining industry, so that it may get ahead of the manufacturing industries. To this end, we should re-examine and revise next year's national economic development plan on the principle of concentrating investment on the mining industry.

How, then, should we plan such investment in concrete terms?

Investment in the mines for the ferrous metal industry should follow three stages.

At the first stage, investment should be planned to ensure the building up of a month's or six weeks' reserve of ore as a prerequisite for next year's planned output of 1.2 million tons of steel.

At the second stage, investment should be concentrated on preparations for reaching the target of 1.7 million tons of steel in 1965—that is, 500,000 tons more than the figure for next year. At the moment it is difficult to reach even the target of 1.2 million tons of steel, because no investment is being made in the ferrous metal industry and because nothing is done to provide the essential working conditions. So we should direct a great deal of effort to this sector if we are to increase steel and pig-iron output by 500,000 tons over and above the present figure. We must increase investment in capital construction in this sector to carry out the two-stage expansion projects in 1963 and 1964. Only then will we be able to attain the goal of 1.7 million tons of steel in 1965.

At the third stage, the necessary investment should be made to enable the target of 2.2 million tons of steel to be reached in 1967.

Investment in capital construction at the mines for the ferrous metal

industry should be made progressively in these three stages—the effort to capture the first height should be made along with investment in the preparations to secure the second height and the struggle for the second height should go along with investment in the preparations to hit the last target.

At each stage of investment we must follow the principle of giving priority to those mines which have large deposits and favourable mining conditions.

In particular, a large sum of money should be allocated for the Musan Mine which is the most important iron mine in our country. If we concentrate investment on this mine and ensure continuous production there even in the rainy season or winter, we will be able to supply adequate quantities of iron ore not only to the Kim Chaek Iron Works but also to the iron works and steel plants in the western region, albeit for a limited period of time. In order to meet the demand of the iron works and steel plants in this region for iron ores, the Tokhyon Mine will have to be developed. But until this mine starts working on a normal basis, the Musan Mine will have to help out these metallurgical works.

Mining conditions at the Musan Mine are much more favourable than elsewhere. Since it is an opencut operation, quantities of ore can be produced without much effort, except for blasting. But at the Jaeryong Mine the deposits lie deep below the surface so that you have to dig into the ground as far as 60 metres and then put up props there, or strip away the whole depth of 60 metres to bring the ore to the surface. Moreover, the technical problem of mining has not yet been completely solved at this mine. Nevertheless, we do not mean that the Jaeryong Mine or other mines should not be developed. We must develop extensively new mines like the Tokhyon Mine, which is very promising, as well as the existing ones. When we say this we mean that we must concentrate our efforts in the Musan Mine until appropriate measures for the development of new mines have been taken and until these new mines start producing on a normal basis. Priority should be given to ore production at the Musan Mine, even if we have to get an ore-dressing plant built elsewhere in case this mine should not have

sufficient ore-dressing capacity. We must build new railways if transport poses a problem, and we must also give them a little more manpower if their labour force is too small. Thus we will get the Musan Mine to produce a larger amount of ore. We feel sure and certain about this. We must direct our efforts to this mine so as to increase its capacity, while at the same time taking measures for the progressive development of the mines in the western region, as well as for their technical direction.

Next year we will begin with the planning of the development of the Tokhyon Mine, and we must see that the Hasong, Jaeryong and Unnyul Mines improve their prospecting activities and solve their technical problems as soon as possible. When the western region has become able to meet the demand of the Hwanghae Iron Works for iron ores, the Musan Mine will only have to meet the demands of the Kim Chaek Iron Works. But there would still be no harm in increasing the capacity of the Musan Mine. Someday the Kim Chaek Iron Works will acquire an annual capacity of three million tons of steel, and the Musan Mine will have to feed this iron works on its own.

If we invest in iron mines by stages and in a planned way, gradually improve their working conditions and concentrate investments on major mines while gradually developing other mines, all our iron works will have adequate quantities of iron ore in reserve.

Now, I will talk about the production of nonferrous minerals.

As in the case of the iron mines, investment in our nonferrous metal mines should be made by three stages, and not all at once. It would, of course, be better if we could do it all at once but we are not yet able. Next year, nonferrous metal mines should not plan to undertake big projects in particular, but concentrate investment on measures for damage prevention, so as to ensure smooth and regular ore production even in a rainy season and in winter. Thus, all they have to do is to prepare at least a month's ore reserves. If they achieve this much next year, it will be a credit to them.

They should make good preparations next year, and get down to projects for expansion at the second stage. When these projects have

been finished, they should then concentrate on the task of the last stage.

Why, then, should we keep investment for the development of the nonferrous metal industry in pace with development of the ferrous metal industry?

If we are to effect industrialization, we need not only iron but also copper, lead and other nonferrous metals. The making of machine tools and rock drills demands alloy steels such as high-speed steel, and the manufacture of these things requires various kinds of nonferrous metals as alloy elements. The principle to be followed in developing the mining industry is to ensure a proper balance between the production of iron and of nonferrous metal. Therefore, we should develop the nonferrous metal industry along with the ferrous metal industry so that we will be able to implement the tasks of all-out technological revolution and accelerate the country's industrialization.

Nonferrous metal is also needed for earning foreign currency.

Many things which we badly need—coking coal in particular—are not yet available at home.

Fuel oil is also indispensable for our technological revolution and industrialization. Without fuel it would be impossible for us to reach our targets of five million tons of grain and 800,000 tons of seafood. Tractors cannot plough fields and help to produce grain, and motor boats cannot fish unless they are supplied with fuel. But oil is not produced in our country.

In addition, we have to import crude rubber, gypsum and sulphur. Since the land for cotton cultivation is limited, we also have to import a certain amount of cotton. At present we import 20,000 tons of cotton every year. We will have to continue importing that much cotton even when production at the chemical fibre factories gets on to a normal basis in the future.

If we are to carry out industrialization, we also have to import machines and equipment which are not manufactured in our country. There are many other things we will have to import from foreign countries.

But they will not give us these things for nothing. In order to bring in what we need, we have to give them what they need from among the things we have.

What, then, can we export to these countries? The best thing we can do is to export nonferrous metals.

Our imported goods at present consist mainly of oil, coking coal, gypsum, sulphur, crude rubber, cotton and other similar raw materials, though, of course, machines and other manufactured goods are also imported. So under our present circumstances it would not be a bad idea to export nonferrous minerals.

Since we import a great deal of raw materials from other countries, we should export some of our minerals to them. It is reasonable for us to do so, because we have not yet reached the level where we can sell manufactured goods, though, of course, it would be better if we could export textiles and machinery.

Selling raw materials instead of manufactured goods might be considered a result of lopsided development of our economy. It would be something we should take issue with if, just as colonial countries do, we exported only raw materials, without developing manufacturing industries. But there is no harm in selling raw materials for the time being, until—thanks to the technological revolution and to the industrialization of our country, following the creation of our machine industry and the other powerful bases of our manufacturing industries—the quality of our manufactured products is improved. Moreover, what is the use of keeping these raw materials underground, instead of bringing them to the surface for use when the demand for them is urgent?

The Minister of Foreign Trade finds it difficult to perform his job because he has to import everything we need, while selling only small quantities of raw materials and offering only machines and fabrics which other countries do not want.

So from now on we must bring to the surface the large deposits of nonferrous minerals in our country so as to earn plenty of foreign currency.

If you mine gold, lead, zinc and other nonferrous minerals in large quantities and sell them not only to socialist countries but also to capitalist countries, you will be able to buy coking coal, crude oil and everything you need. At present we have trade relations even with West Germany, England, Switzerland, Sweden and Austria.

No matter how the US imperialists may try to enforce an economic blockade on our country, they will be unable to do so because of the contradictions among capitalists. Capitalists cannot maintain their existence without selling goods, so they compete with each other to sell more goods. They think of making more money by hook or by crook. West Germany and England say that they will give us any kind of goods if we give them gold. We can buy as many machines like oxygen separators, which are indispensable for the iron industry as we want, but only if we pay in gold.

That is why we should try to ensure that our nonferrous metal mines produce large quantities of ores.

But the production of nonferrous minerals is being undertaken in a very lackadaisical manner. We have been talking a lot about the development of the Sangnong Mine over the last few years, but in fact not much has been achieved. Nor has there been any progress in the development of other mines either. In spite of such passivity in the development of nonferrous metal mines, the domestic demand for nonferrous metals such as lead, zinc and copper is increasing from year to year, resulting in a decrease in the quantities which we have available for export.

Magnesite is also being produced in a very lackadaisical way. Magnesite is a white stone. Burn it to a clinker for the market, and you will earn a vast amount of foreign currency. Although we have untold quantities of it in our deposits, we are not producing it properly, so that, to our discredit, we have not fulfilled even our export contracts for several years now. True, we cannot regard our current output of it as small, but it is still far below the figure we have set. We will have to sell magnesite so as to make up for the unfulfilled contracts for the export of nonferrous metals.

If only we discard our passive attitude and tackle the task aggressively, we can produce as much magnesite as we want. Because we try to mine magnesite with a one-track mind at the moment, we fail to fulfil the production plan whenever there is even a little rainfall, a washout in the road or some other minor accident. We must get down to increasing our output of magnesite, fully aware of its importance.

We must get rid of passivism and the limitation in our attitude towards the nonferrous metal industry, and launch a more active struggle to expand our sources of foreign currency.

We should concentrate investment on the production of nonferrous minerals so as to further increase the size of the existing mines and develop new ones.

More investment should be made in the Songhung Mine to increase ore production.

Copper mines should also be expanded and developed so that copper output will increase from the present level of 11,000 tons a year to the 20,000-ton level at an early date.

We should invest not only in large mines but also in medium and small ones, so as to exploit all available resources.

Of course, many problems will crop up in the expansion of the existing mines and in the extensive development of new ones. But if you overcome passivism and get down boldly to the task, you will be quite able to solve these problems.

Let us look at how we developed the Songchon Mine in the past. At that time many technicians objected to the project, saying that it would be impossible to develop the mine and that even if the mine was developed, it would prove useless. If we had been dissuaded from the project by the technicians, the mine would not have been developed. But we thought boldly and started to develop that mine—and as a result we are now producing large quantities of ore there.

If we are to develop new mines, we should, first of all, provide the geological prospecting sector with proper conditions, and give priority to prospecting. And we should allocate more manpower to mines if their existing labour force is too small; it should be their policy to

mechanize so as to use manpower as economically as possible. If there is a hitch in their hauling system, we should work out measures to help them solve the problem. If they are short of equipment, we should provide them with it.

Thus, by allotting more money to the mines over the next two years, we should make a good start towards ensuring that our present output of nonferrous minerals will double by 1965.

While markedly increasing the output of nonferrous minerals through concentrated investment in the mines, we should intensify the struggle to use nonferrous metals economically.

At present, much nonferrous metal is wasted. Copper and lead are also used unthinkingly.

This is due mainly to inadequate control over the use of nonferrous metal. In the future, we must tighten control to ensure that proper use is made of every single gramme of nonferrous metal. Substitute materials should be used wherever possible.

We should thus do everything to economize in our use of nonferrous metal and we should export as much of it as possible.

In selling nonferrous metals to other countries, we will have to offer ores to some extent, but it must be our policy to ensure that processed goods are exported as much as possible. Yet, this does not mean that we should right now transform our ores into machines for export. What I mean is that we should begin with acquiring rolling equipment and manufacturing copper sheets, cables, electric motors, and similar items for export.

If we double our output of nonferrous metals and economize in our own consumption of them, so as to have the greatest possible quantities available for the manufacture of export items such as copper sheets, cables, electric motors and transformers, we will be able to double our income in foreign currency within the next year or two.

This, in general, is what the Party demands of the nonferrous metal industry.

Next, I want to talk about the coal industry.

As in the case of metalliferous mining, we must concentrate

investment in the coal industry and bring about a marked increase in output. This will enable the other sectors of the national economy to develop quickly.

The coal situation is strained at present, and demand will grow still larger in the future. The Pyongyang Thermal Power Station with a capacity of 500,000 kw is now under construction, and a large-scale Pukchang Thermal Power Station will be constructed. Enormous quantities of coal will be required to feed these thermal power stations. The Pyongyang Thermal Power Station alone will consume 1.2 million tons of coal a year. This means that all the output from the Sinchang Combined Coal Mine will have to be fed to this power station.

But present coal output is not enough to meet the demands of our existing factories and enterprises, let alone the new thermal power stations to be constructed.

Take the vinalon factory for example. Although this factory is one of the best of its kind in the world, it is producing no more than five tons of vinalon a day. There are various reasons for this state of affairs, but most of the problems can be solved readily: boilers are out of order but they can be reconditioned; coal gets wet because it is left out in the open, but there will be no major difficulty in building covered storage sheds. The major problem at the moment is simply the inadequate supply of coal. It does not stand to reason that, after building the vinalon factory, one of the largest in the world, we are debarred from producing as much vinalon as we should, because of an insufficient supply of coal.

As I said a few moments ago, the Kilju Pulp Mill is also not producing regularly because of inadequate stock of coal which they have in reserve. If pulp is not turned out in Kilju, staple fibre will not be produced in Chongjin, and without staple fibre the Pyongyang Textile Mill will have to suspend operation. An inadequate supply of coal will in the long run give rise to such a chain reaction, and disturb the regular operations of factories and enterprises in all sectors of our national economy.

How, then, can it be explained that coal has thus far not been supplied in the necessary quantities, and that this year's coal

production plan in particular is not being carried out?

This is primarily because the Heavy Industry Commission concentrated its attention on the large coal mines and neglected medium and small coal mines. The officials of this commission worked without a proper understanding of the Party's policy on putting efforts into large coal mines. Of course, it is correct to say that efforts should be directed to large coal mines. But this in no way means that medium and small coal mines should be abandoned. In the past, however, the officials of the Heavy Industry Commission allocated neither funds nor manpower for medium or small coal mines. Worse still, they even removed equipment from these mines to large ones. Later, the Party Central Committee was informed of this situation and got it corrected. Because it was small in size, the officials of the Heavy Industry Commission did not even give production assignments to the Sinyuson Coal Mine—although pits had been built there. This was serious, indeed.

Such an excessive emphasis on large coal mines led to the large ones being given too heavy tasks to carry out, whereas the medium and small ones were idling away their time, without any work to do.

Another reason why the coal industry has not made progress is that investment in this sector was too small in comparison with the sector's production plan.

When planning investment in the coal mines at present, the officials concerned take into account only the excavation of headings, without considering the funds needed for the transport system or for the construction of new pits, it is common knowledge that the excavation of headings is not all that is necessary for coal production; you should construct new pits and increase the capacity of the mine's transport system. But as the coal mines are simply forced to dig coal, without having the means to undertake any such capital construction, how can they produce coal?

All this is the result of the subjective and bureaucratic practice of the officials, who blindly order their subordinates about, without any understanding of the real state of affairs at the coal mines. At present,

officials in higher authorities simply issue orders, drawing up plans in a subjective manner without consulting the producer masses, instead of going down to lower ranks to help them solve difficult problems and of giving them practical help.

We must correct this mistake even at this late stage. This year, an adequate amount of money has not been earmarked for the construction of pits or for the transport system. Moreover, the task of meeting the coal production target of 15 million tons has been assigned exclusively to the large coal mines, and the medium and small-scale mines have been regarded as being of negligible account. Judging from the results achieved so far, it seems to me that it will be difficult to reach the target. Yet, we cannot cancel this year's plan, so we must make every endeavour to carry it out until New Year's eve.

But we must not repeat this year's mistakes in dealing with next year's plan.

Next year's draft plan, now on hand, envisages no growth in either investment or production: the level is the same as this year's. If we continue to suffer from the coal shortage as we do this year, we will be unable to normalize industrial production, much less to develop it. Coal is an important source of motive power, but at the moment many of the officials of the State Planning Commission and those of heavy industry do not admit that fact—though they do regard electricity as such a source. The State Planning Commission and the Heavy Industry Commission and everyone else give attention to electricity, but they make little of coal. Such an erroneous view of coal has been precisely one of the main factors which have hampered the development of coal mining. We must boldly correct this mistake and revise next year's plan to ensure the proper development of coal mining.

To begin with, capital construction for coal mining next year should be planned in a big way so as to solve the fundamental problems, not as a makeshift or a stopgap as was the case this year.

Investment should be planned so as to cover the measures necessary for coping with the rainy season, the opening of new pits and the provision of the transport facilities, rather than be confined, as

heretofore, to the excavation of headings.

It would simply not do if, instead of acting thus, you were to confine investment to heading excavation, with the idea of cutting the largest quantities of coal, regardless of other considerations. No matter how much coal you may cut, you will not increase output if the pits are flooded due to neglect of measures to cope with the rainy season, or because of a lack of auxiliary facilities, or if the coal which has been cut cannot be brought to the surface because of a shortage of transport.

But the plan for next year does not envisage much investment in coal mines. I consulted the ministers concerned, and then asked the chairman of the State Planning Commission about it. His answer was that a total of 5 million *won* was planned for the coal mines. With this money you could do nothing more than take stopgap measures. We should invest much more money in coal mining, improve the mine railways, drain the pits and take other radical measures. In this way, we can ensure uninterrupted production even during the rainy season and when there is snow. We will never be able to develop the coal industry if we just go on as we are, having to stop work every time it rains a little or snows or for miscellaneous other reasons.

Furthermore, next year's plan should contemplate increasing coal output by allocating manpower and funds for capital construction works at the medium and small-scale mines.

At the moment, coal mines do not suffer from any acute shortage of manpower: in response to the call of the Party, many young people have taken jobs at the coal mines. So it will suffice to see to it that the new men's technical skill is improved.

The point is that capital construction works should be carried out neatly. As for equipment, we should not equip our mines in a dogmatic way: instead, we should undertake whatever research and develop whatever inventions may be necessary so as to ensure that the equipment installed meets our specific conditions.

If we take these radical measures to increase investment in our large coal mines so that they can normalize production and if we provide good conditions for the medium and small-scale coal mines, we will be

able to secure an enormous increase in coal output in the near future.

Next year's target for coal production should be set at 13 million tons, and its increased production goal at 15 million tons; and we will struggle to reach these figures. Next year we should attain the target of 13 million tons by taking the necessary preparatory measures and then we should normalize production at that level. For 1964, we should ensure an output of 15 million tons, and see to it that 20 millions are produced annually in 1965 and 1966.

These, in general, are the tasks of developing the production of ferrous and nonferrous metals and coal.

It is, of course, by no means easy to implement these huge tasks. If, however, the Party organizations and leading officials of the mining industry tackle them with determination, they will be quite able to carry them out.

Until now, Party organizations have not given much thought to the mining industry, but from now on, all officials of the provincial Party committees and heavy industry departments must give close attention to the problems of this sector. They should inspect metal and coal mines, and go into the pits to acquaint themselves with the real state of affairs, talking with the workers, and helping them to solve promptly the problems which the workers may have.

Another important thing in the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the mining industry is to carry out large-scale capital construction works neatly, on the basis of thorough investigation and detailed analysis. Before making any basic investment in an ore or coal mine we should send a multi-disciplinary group of technicians, including machinists and electricians, to make a thorough investigation of the actual conditions on the spot and to talk with the workers over the course of some twenty days or a month. On this basis, we should work out measures for the mine's development and the plans for the capital construction works to be undertaken. Leading officials in this sector had better go to the field along with the technicians. These development measures and the plans for capital construction works should be discussed at a meeting of the Presidium of the Cabinet and

approved by the Party Central Committee before they are implemented. In this way we will be able to put an end to careless practices in relation to capital construction.

Next year, we should not launch too many capital construction projects; instead, we should concentrate our attention on the existing coal mines, and make special efforts to eliminate seasonal fluctuations and maintain production at a steady rate.

If we are to concentrate investment in the mining industry, it is important that we tap and mobilize the sources of the necessary funds properly. Ministers and chairmen of the provincial Party committees should take steps to reduce less urgent capital construction work in other sectors and concentrate on investment in the mining industry. In particular, they must not disperse their energies in capital construction activities for the manufacturing industries.

As I have just mentioned, the machine industry should not disperse its forces but concentrate on production of the machinery and equipment needed for agricultural mechanization, as well as for the coal and ore mines.

Next year, the Hwanghae Iron Works, too, should not undertake any large-scale construction projects. They should abandon the construction of what they call the screening plant, which is now under way. What is the use of carrying on capital construction without even having the necessary ore and coal reserves? It would be better to concentrate investments in the mining industry than spend money on the metallurgical works. Only after adequate reserves of coal and ores are ensured, should the necessary capital construction be undertaken in manufacturing industry. That would be safe and sound.

While capital construction in other sectors of the national economy is being reduced, it is important for the coal and ore mines not to disperse funds but concentrate them on productive construction. You may waste funds on the construction of managers' offices and other unproductive buildings, taking advantage of my instructions to concentrate investments in mines. You must not do it. Managers do not need magnificent office buildings. They can do their office work with a

bundle of documents near pits or among the workers.

But it is necessary to build houses for the workers. The workers sleep and rest in their dwellings. If you do not solve their housing problem and do not facilitate their getting proper rest, they will be unable to increase their working efficiency, and this will result in a significant drop in output. So their houses should be built by taking necessary steps within the limit of 100,000 houses which have already been planned.

Another thing you must do to ensure success in the implementation of the tasks given to the mines, is to equip their repair and power supply shops properly, and intensify the dissemination of technical skill among the workers so as to attain the optimum levels of utilization of equipment and of productivity.

Ensuring the orderly functioning of the repair and power supply shops is one of the important factors in normalizing production at the mines. At present these shops are not properly equipped, so that machinery and equipment are not regularly inspected and repaired; and it takes a long time for even a minor defect to be repaired, so that machinery and equipment are out of commission for considerable periods. That is why their rates of utilization are very low at present. We must see to it that the repair and power supply shops at the mines are properly equipped as soon as possible.

Along with this, you should take measures to raise the men's technical and skill levels. On my tour of inspection of the Anju Coal Mine last spring I talked with men and found that some of them did not know even what a chain conveyer is, although they had worked in the pit for ten years. There is nothing mysterious about a chain conveyer and yet they did not know what it was. I do not quite understand why they are so ignorant of it, seeing it working beside them for ten years. Because of their low technical and skill levels, the workers cannot repair their machines themselves, even when the simplest mechanism does not function properly. They simply call the repairman into the pit from the surface to do the repair, and they themselves take a rest until it is done. They have to rest because of

machine troubles and various other mishaps, and in fact work for only three to four hours a day.

We should intensify the work of disseminating mechanical skills throughout the labour force, so as to raise the men's technical and skill levels. The skilled miners must, as a matter of duty, share out their knowledge of their machinery and equipment with their unskilled comrades, just as soldiers are taught how to take care of various weapons. Just as soldiers cannot perform their duties properly without being proficient at handling their weapons, the workers will be inefficient in production if they do not have a good knowledge of mining machinery and equipment. The miners should do more to spread technical skill among themselves so that they can take apart and repair their machines and equipment when snags arise, and get to know their performance and the method of their operation.

Training the men in the use of machinery and equipment is not a very difficult job. They can do it if they get down to it boldly. I shall take an example of our experiences during our guerrilla warfare. When we captured a machine gun from the enemy for the first time, none of us knew how to use it. Therefore, we took a soldier of the puppet Manchukuo Army prisoner and asked him to teach us how to shoot, but he was reluctant to teach us, only wasting time. So we ambushed the Japanese, captured their ordnance manual, and studied it to learn how to fire the weapon. As a result, everyone was able to handle the machine gun with skill. Anyone can operate machinery and equipment if they seriously set about learning how to handle them.

In order to let the workers familiarize themselves with machinery and equipment, it is important that various books be published—and in language which they can readily understand. These books should explain the principles of mechanics in simple terms and include pictures so that everyone can read and understand them easily. If a book deals with a chain conveyer, for example, it must explain plainly the structure of the machine, its mechanical principles and the ways to operate and repair it, and be presented in such a way that the men will read it with interest.

In addition, arrangements for practice should be made. It would be a good idea to keep a machine for practical instruction and let the men take it apart, re-assemble it, and practise operating it.

Everyone should study hard, regarding it as an important revolutionary task. It would be a mistake to think that it is only at a university or vocational school that one can study about machinery. A large number of the workers, including ex-servicemen, can acquire technology by themselves. These demobilized soldiers are experienced in handling mortars, taking complicated heavy machine guns apart and re-assembling them, and shooting them efficiently. There is no reason why they cannot operate mining machinery. Everyone should make it a rule to study hard to be good at machinery as soon as possible.

Further, it would be necessary to examine thoroughly the training of technicians and change the orientation of this work somewhat. More should be done to train mechanics. The University of Chemical Industry, the Kim Chaek University of Technology, the Mining University and other training institutions should produce more mechanics.

There are many chemists and metallurgists in factories, but they do not know how to handle machines. When I visited the vinalon factory, I found many specialists in chemistry but not many people could operate the equipment.

Mines, too, want machinists badly. Specialists in mining know about ores, but not mining machines. Even graduates of a university of agriculture at present have a poor knowledge of machinery and are ignorant of electricity and chemistry. It is obvious that such technicians cannot carry out the rural technical revolution successfully.

These shortcomings in the training of technicians were due to the lack of knowledge and experience in industrialization. Practice is the mother of valuable experience and good method.

In the future, machines will do all the work, so technicians who are ignorant of machines may find themselves useless. So it seems to be preferable to increase the proportion of trainees in mechanical engineering from the current rate of 49 per cent to 70 to 80 per cent.

This is the way to meet the demands for machinists in all fields of the national economy and carry out successfully the country's industrialization as well as the technological revolution.

Next, I would like to make a few remarks on providing the workers with decent living conditions.

At present both the managers and Party committee chairmen of factories pay little attention to the workers' living conditions. At the Songjin Steel Plant, for instance, the leading officials are quite indifferent to the workers' living conditions, though they apply themselves to production. This time we have inspected the Songjin Steel Plant, and we can say that it is carrying out the production plan more successfully than any other metallurgical works, but its supply of consumer goods for the workers lags far behind.

With a view to improving the supply of non-staple foodstuffs for the workers, we gave instructions that all agricultural cooperatives in the city of Kim Chaek be transformed into a vegetable supply base for the workers of the Songjin Steel Plant. But this has not been done. We placed the Sangphyong Agricultural Cooperative at their disposal so that they could share out the experience of creating the vegetable supply base, but the officials did not go to this cooperative to organize this work. As a result, they are now unable to supply bean curds and cooking oil—let alone milk and meat—when they could easily do so if they just made a little effort. I asked the reason, and the plant's deputy manager for supplies tried to give me the excuse that they had no processing equipment. Even in remote mountain areas like Changsong, Pyoktong and Sakju, they make bean curds and extract cooking oil by using power-driven millstones. It is absurd that, at one of the largest metallurgical plants not only in our country but in the whole of Asia, they could not produce bean curds and cooking oil because they had no equipment. The fact is that they could not do it not because they had no equipment, but because they were not motivated enough to be really concerned for the workers' well-being. If they had had any real regard for the men, the plant could have made such equipment quite easily, or else they could even have mobilized the housewives, who are several

thousands in number, for the manual production of bean curds and cooking oil.

They are not supplying an adequate amount of fish either. When we went there in May last year, we assigned six fishermen's cooperatives to the supply service for the labour force. But they have totally neglected organizing this operation since then, so that they are not yet meeting the demand of the workers for fish.

As for the sanitary conditions of the workers' district, things are so filthy that the place has nothing worthy of the habitation of the advanced working class.

Indifference to the workers' living conditions is a remnant of the bourgeois ideology. What can we do if we do not look after the workers, when we profess to be working for the working class? We must fight in the interests of the working class in deed, not in word. What is there so difficult about it that you cannot supply the workers at least with bean curds, cooking oil, fish and vegetables?

We must make solid arrangements to ensure that the workers receive adequate supplies of vegetables, bean curds, cooking oil and similar items. First of all, plenty of vegetables and soya bean should be grown in the countryside. At the moment these crops are not produced on a large scale, because of the manpower shortage in the countryside and of the low technical standard of the farmers. So factories should contact neighbouring agricultural cooperatives and help them actively in technical matters and with manpower. Only if they organize work well, will factories be able to give real help to agricultural cooperatives and obtain plenty of non-staple foodstuffs from them.

As I already said at the Kangson Steel Plant, this plant and the Kiyang Tractor Plant have approximately 1,000 technicians, counting only the university and vocational school graduates. If groups, each of 40 to 50 men, out of such a large force were to go to help each of the county's 22 agricultural cooperatives in turn, they would be able to give them a great deal of technical assistance. They could, for instance, show how to operate farm machinery, repair broken-down machines and teach bookkeeping. If you offer manpower to help them, the

agricultural cooperatives can make use of mountain areas and breed fresh-water fish.

There are factories in all parts of the country. If the managers of these factories, their chief engineers, engineers and assistant engineers help the neighbouring agricultural cooperatives just on Sundays, they will be able to solve many problems. If they do this, the output from the countryside will rise, and the factory workers will receive so much more non-staple foodstuffs. If we organize the struggle efficiently, we will be able to provide the workers even with milk, eggs and meat, to say nothing of vegetables, bean curds and cooking oil.

We should supply the workers with plenty of fish as well as vegetables and cooking oil. I think it should not be difficult to increase supplies of fish, since a lot of fish is landed in our country. In our country a large amount of fish is caught in winter, in contrast to the small catch in summer, and we fish pollack almost exclusively. Here the problem is how to ensure fish supplies in all seasons.

No matter how much fish we land, it will be of little use if we do not ensure fish supplies throughout the year. As things are at present, when plenty of fish are caught in winter, they are all brought to the market, and people buy lots of fish at that time. In order to supply fish all the year round, however, we should take measures for the processing of pollack, which are caught in such large quantities in winter.

It is important to produce salted pollack roe and entrails and to market them in spring or summer. Measures should also be taken to store pollack in refrigerators or in other cold storages lest they should turn bad. At present the Pukjung Machine Factory produces refrigerators. If this factory would produce them in sufficiently large quantity and supply three to four of them to each fish-processing plant, the problem of storage would be solved.

We should make energetic efforts to supply the workers with much more non-staple foodstuffs. At present the workers have money but shops cannot meet their demand for goods. I was told that a workteam leader of the Songjin Steel Plant earns 90 *won* a month but cannot find anything to spend it on. At shops, cooking oil and bean curds are out of

stock and they keep only bean paste and soy which are said to be very bitter. No matter how much they may earn, it will be impossible for workers to improve their standard of living unless they can buy consumer goods. If they cannot eat well and rest under proper conditions, they will be unable to increase their working efficiency, and therefore their output.

Close attention should be given to ensuring supplies of non-staple foodstuffs for the workers, and the Party committees should organize this work responsibly by mobilizing the trade union and Democratic Youth League organizations.

At present the trade union organizations are almost indifferent to the workers' living conditions. It appears to me that they do nothing except award Chollima badges. Unlike the trade unions in bourgeois society, the trade unions in our society should be mainly concerned with enlisting the workers to improve their living standards.

Ensuring supplies for the people is important political work. Therefore, Party organizations and their chairmen in particular should devote close attention to this work. A Party committee chairman who is indifferent to this work is not entitled to his office. The Party is the vanguard of the working class. Who will take care of the working class, if not the Party? The aim of our revolution is to provide the working class with a happy life. So whoever neglects this work should be regarded as lacking the Party spirit and class spirit.

The low living standards of our workers at present are due entirely to neglect on the part of the leading officials rather than to any unfavourable conditions. Workers should be provided with living conditions decent enough for them to have adequate supplies of nutritious food and sufficient rest. Only then will they be efficient producers. The same can be said of the army: you cannot expect the soldiers to fight on an empty stomach or if they have not been given the opportunity to rest. Knowing this clearly enough and still neglecting to take care of the workers is an attitude characteristic of bourgeois bureaucrats. Our cadres can never allow themselves to take such an attitude. In the future, Party committee chairmen should

make it their first and foremost duty to provide the workers with decent living conditions and they must make real efforts to implement this duty.

We must improve the supply of those foodstuffs which are rationed by the state, along with the supply of non-staple foodstuffs.

At present, everyone on the supply-roll receives a ration which consists of rice and minor cereals in equal quantities. Things will be different in the future when everyone can afford to eat rice as much as he needs. But I think it is improper to ration food without discrimination at the moment: bigger rations of rice should be allotted to those workers who are on arduous jobs at mines, iron and steel works, chemical factories and similar workplaces.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few remarks on the work of the Party committees in factories and enterprises.

A factory Party committee, as a body of collective leadership, is in charge of the factory. The manager is the man who manages the factory under the guidance of the Party committee. The fact that it is the decisions of the Party committee which the manager has to implement in no way implies relieving him of any of his individual responsibility as manager: it is aimed at bringing collective wisdom to bear against any arbitrary decisions of an individual in the management of an enterprise. It thus offers the prospect of complex technical and economic problems being solved more efficiently.

In this context, what should be the relations between the Party committee chairman and the manager? Neither of them is higher or lower in rank than the other. Under the collective leadership of the Party committee, the manager should discharge administrative and economic functions, and the Party committee chairman should do Party work. The manager must, however, consult the Party committee chairman on all matters. He must not decide matters arbitrarily or without discussing them with the Party committee chairman. Both should be responsible for all matters under the collective leadership of the Party committee.

There is no harm in this. During the anti-Japanese guerrilla

struggle, we had the system of a commander and a political commissar for each division, under which they handled everything by discussion. During the Fatherland Liberation War, too, the army had a system of political commissars, and the orders of a division commander or a corps commander were valid only when they were countersigned by the political commissar. Under this system nothing went wrong; instead, things were better.

In the People's Army at present all problems are discussed by the Party committee, and then orders are given by the division or corps commander. This has made work more successful than it was before. Since this is the case with the army, it is only too obvious that collective discussion by the Party committees at industrial enterprises is better than the system of one-man direction by the manager.

From our recent experience with the Hwanghae Iron Works, we have realized even more keenly the need to strengthen the collective leadership function of the factory Party committee. Had the factory Party committee firmly established the system of collective leadership, it would have ensured correct implementation of Party policy through collective discussion, even though the ministry gave orders and instructions which were contrary to Party policy.

Some comrades seem to dislike the system of collective leadership by the Party committee, saying that discussion by the committee delays things and that it conflicts with the system of one-man direction by the manager. They are mistaken. We have benefited little from the manager's one-man direction system which had been copied from a foreign pattern and adopted dogmatically. It only gave rise to bureaucracy and encouraged our officials to put on airs.

We must, therefore, firmly establish the system of collective leadership of the Party committee. The orders from the ministry and all other matters should be discussed at meetings of the Party committee, in case the Party committee cannot meet, the manager should go ahead after consulting the chairman of the Party committee.

An important thing in this matter is that everyone, and the chairman of the Party committee in particular, should see problems from the

point of view of the Party. If the Party committee chairman, who represents the Party and the working class, should depart from a Party stand, he would be unqualified for his job. If he deviates from a Party stand, the manager and other people should combat such deviation, and see that Party policy is thoroughly implemented in all matters. This should be the principle to be followed in strengthening the work of the Party committee.

If it is to function properly as an organ of collective leadership, the Party committee should be made up of experienced and trained workers and technicians from the important shops of the factory. On this principle the Party committee should continuously seek to improve its own composition.

Next, I would like to say a few words on the matter of strengthening the ties between the factory Party committee and the county Party committee.

The relations between the factory and county Party committees are going very amiss these days. County Party committees are not showing any interest in the work of the Party committees of enterprises in the special, first and second grades, simply because these enterprises are under the direct guidance of provincial Party committees. Let's take an example. The Sinpho City Party Committee has been organized to give guidance to all the fisheries based on Sinpho City. But they do not provide guidance or assistance to the large fishing enterprise just because it is a first-grade enterprise. They are easygoing enough to dawdle with several fishermen's cooperatives and a few third-grade enterprises. They must not work in an offhand manner like that.

The Party committees of factories and mines, for their part, do not try to keep in close touch with county Party committees. The chairmen of the former are reluctant to visit the latter in person for regular consultation, just because their committees come directly under the provincial Party committees. So they know nothing of the work of county Party committees, nor do they receive any assistance from them.

This practice of county Party committees being indifferent to the

work of factory Party committees, and of the latter being reluctant to have any contact with the former for assistance, is mainly due to the fact that the individuals concerned have become bureaucrats, each putting on airs and being rank-conscious in their mutual relationships. Engrossed in comparing the levels of each other's salaries, they do not think of having any effective contact in their work. When we were engaged in the underground struggle and guerrilla warfare, none of us assumed an air of importance; we all fought only for the revolution, regardless of our ranks. Pulling rank is not the behaviour of a revolutionary.

We must see that our officials get rid of the survivals of bureaucracy and departmentalism, and that the factory and county Party committees strengthen their ties. Provincial Party committee chairmen should settle this matter properly.

Whoever they may be, qualified Party committee chairmen or managers of enterprises of the special, first and second grades, which are directly under provincial Party committees, must become members of county Party committees. Even if they are not on a county Party committee, they should attend its meetings and visit its chairman for consultation. This alone will make it possible for them to keep abreast of the work of the county Party committee and to get help from it. No matter what rank a factory Party committee chairman or its manager may hold, they should not avoid consulting the county Party committee, which is an important political organ in charge of the district concerned. If there is no county Party committee but a town Party committee near the factory, they should visit the town Party committee to help them and consult them.

The county Party committee chairmen, for their part, should keep in close contact with the large enterprises to guide in the work of their Party committees, inasmuch as these are located in their districts, although directly under provincial authorities. They should always participate in the meetings of the factory Party committees and criticize them if they make mistakes, acquainting themselves with the relations between the factories and the local population and with the

situation as regards the provision of consumer goods, and should help the factories to solve their problems.

The provincial Party committee's jurisdiction over the factory Party committees covers the approval of personnel assignments and of admission to the Party, the guidance of production, and other major affairs. It does not preclude the need for factory Party committees to have relations with county Party committees. We should strive to correct the defects which have been revealed in the relations between the factory and local Party committees and further strengthen the ties between them.

This is about all what I wanted to say today.

It is advisable that each ministry convene a separate meeting under the guidance of the relevant department of the Party Central Committee to discuss in detail the problems of working out next year's plan and capital construction projects along the lines I have just given.

ON IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF GENERAL EDUCATION

**Speech at the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

October 16, 1962

Now I would like to tell you about some questions which have arisen in improving and strengthening the work of general education.

Today our educational work is taking long strides forward. Before liberation, education was in a very backward state owing to the Japanese imperialists' policy of colonial slave education. As a result, when liberation came, we had no native trained staff of our own. At the time of liberation our country had only a few intellectuals with higher education. Under such circumstances we had to develop education rapidly, before anything else, so as to make our country a prosperous and civilized state by our own efforts. Ever since liberation, therefore, our Party and Government have always laid great stress on education. As a result, great changes have been made and much progress achieved in the field of education.

But while education as a whole has developed rapidly, our control of matters in the educational field has failed to keep pace and, in particular, people's committee officials at all levels fail to guide education properly.

The greatest defect in this regard is that education is left entirely to educationalists, while the people's committees pay no attention to it. These days, quite a few of government officials think that work in

education will make progress if they merely issue directives and ensure the construction of school buildings. So at best, they go out to schools to find out whether there are too few classrooms, and see that a few more classrooms are built. But they pay little attention to such important questions as the quality of education, whether the ranks of teachers are solid enough, whether sufficient textbooks, school supplies and educational equipment and materials are provided, whether educational discipline is maintained, whether communist education is conducted properly, whether education is combined correctly with productive labour, or whether technical education is given in the right manner.

The reason why government officials are indifferent to education may indeed be that they are occupied with other matters, but the main reason is that they do not really appreciate the importance of good education.

Education is a very important revolutionary task and nothing is more important in the activities of the people's committees.

We are now fighting to build socialism and communism. To be successful, we must ensure that while the material and technical foundations of the country are built up solidly, the people's ideological consciousness is remoulded along communist lines. Therefore, our Party is continuing the struggle to lay the material and technical foundations and at the same time to remould the ideological consciousness of the people.

In building socialism and communism, it is important to lay the material and technical foundations, but it is even more important to remould the ideological consciousness of the people along communist lines. Our experience of socialist construction shows that, working efficiently, one can build up the economy quickly to lay the material and technical foundations. But the work of remoulding the ideological consciousness of the people—in other words, the work of rooting out the survivals of outmoded ways of thinking from people's minds and arming them with communist ideology—is a very difficult, complex and time-consuming process. Generally speaking, the remoulding of

people's consciousness falls behind the development of their material conditions. We should therefore direct especially great efforts to remoulding the thinking of our people along communist lines.

Proper education is more important than anything else in the communist remoulding of people's thinking.

Those educated after liberation now form a large proportion of the working people in our society. The people who had finished primary school immediately after liberation and received secondary or higher education are now middle-aged and are working as cadres or playing an important role in various fields. And those who were six or seven at the time of liberation are now 23-24 years old and are participating in the building of socialism. Those who were born at the time of liberation have now finished secondary school and are going out into society to work. We have already established compulsory primary education and are introducing compulsory secondary education. So, if we had given proper teaching in schools in the past, we would have been able to bring up all members of the rising generation to be new, communist types of men and women. But in reality things turned out otherwise.

Remnants of bourgeois and feudal ideas still remain to a large extent in the minds of those who received democratic and socialist education at our schools after liberation and who are now contributing to society. Although they went through the course of compulsory education, they were largely influenced by the old ideas of their parents and of some of their teachers in their school days. Therefore, in many respects they are still greatly swayed by the morality and customs of the old society—as becomes evident from their attitudes towards doing physical labour, managing common property, or towards participating in collective life and modern living.

In our country, compulsory nine-year technical education is now partially in force, and before long it will be enforced in full. Under such circumstances, if the officials of the Party and of state organs pay careful attention to education and ensure that sound education is given in the schools, it will be possible to train every member of the rising

generation into a comprehensively developed new type of person, equipped with considerable scientific and technical knowledge and with communist views.

It is foolish to expect the appearance of new communist-type men and women if education is ignored. Government and Party officials at all levels should fully understand the importance of education in the building of socialism and communism, and pay detailed attention to school education. This is the first question I want to emphasize at today's meeting.

Next, educational discipline should be intensified.

Educational discipline is, in a nutshell, the discipline needed to make the pupils and students study hard. Strengthening educational discipline is one of the most important facets of education. Only when it has been solidly established in the schools of general education will the pupils study well and, after leaving school and going out into society, live and do all their work, including the fulfilment of state plans, as they should. If the schools of general education fail to enforce strict educational discipline, boys and girls will not observe good discipline after entering university or going out into society. Those who are not accustomed to a life of discipline are unpunctual about respecting daily working hours, they indulge in absenteeism, and fail to perform their duties without compunction. Therefore, it is very important to strengthen educational discipline at schools so as to make the pupils familiar with a life of discipline from their childhood.

The most important thing in strengthening educational discipline is to carry out the education programme thoroughly.

To fulfil the national economic plan is the legal responsibility of factories and enterprises, and to carry out the education programme is the legal responsibility entrusted by the Party, the state and the people to the schools. At schools all subjects should be taught strictly according to the curricula and the teaching schedules and, thus, the education programme should be carried out 100 per cent.

In order to implement the education programme thoroughly the role of teachers should be heightened. The teachers should teach all subjects

strictly according to the programme and should strive to convey a clear understanding of the contents of their teaching to the pupils.

The pupils and students, for their part, should observe educational discipline scrupulously.

The first revolutionary task of the pupils is to study. They should attend all lessons without omission and study hard to become honour pupils. At schools, discipline should be enforced and the pupils should be compelled to fulfil their duties satisfactorily.

Above all, discipline in attendance should be enforced thoroughly among the pupils, so as to prevent them playing truant. And whilst at school the pupils should be subject to strict discipline under the guidance and control of teachers.

Next, it is essential to combine education in science and technology properly with communist education.

Otherwise, it would be impossible to train the pupils and students to be the excellent persons needed in socialist and communist society.

If compulsory nine-year technical education is fully introduced in the future, everyone will receive compulsory education for nine years at school after leaving nursery and kindergarten, and then go on to higher technical school and university. Thus, our new generation will lead a collective life during long years of school-attendance, and effective teaching will enable all members of the rising generation to acquire a rich scientific and technical knowledge as well as a noble communist moral quality.

In order to strengthen communist education we should introduce a new subject of that name: communist education. In fact, the textbooks from which boys and girls are now taught contain a great many elements of communist education. But these alone are not enough to give a satisfactory communist education. For this we must have separate communist education, conducted in proper conjunction with scientific and technical education while at the same time incorporating the elements of communist education in the general subjects.

The most important thing in communist education is to cultivate a communist attitude towards work.

Work is the most sacred and honourable of things. All the wealth of society is created by the labour of people. Fine and beautiful houses and up-to-date machines, including motorcars and planes, are all made through the labour of workers. Without labour nothing can be achieved in this world. The workers can be said to be the ablest, most civilized, and the most learned people, and there can be no more proud and honourable people than the working class who serve society and the people by their labour in a socialist society. Therefore, it is very important in socialist education to teach all people to have a correct attitude towards labour.

In the old exploiter society, people were imbued with the evil idea that it was best to live idly. So, people who had a daughter wanted her to become the eldest daughter-in-law of a rich family so that she could live idly, and those who had a son intended him not for a labourer but for a trader who would squeeze others, or a clerk at a sub-county office or a scrivener and the like. Such backward ideas still remain in the minds of some people who lived in the exploiter society of the past. While engaging in farm work, some peasants, though very rarely, intend to send their sons and daughters to cities after they finish school, instead of making them do farming in the countryside.

We should completely eradicate the old thinking and bourgeois morality from the minds of our people and implant in everyone the communist ideological viewpoint and ethic to love and like work. For this, we should, before anything else, strengthen the work of education among the pupils so as to infuse the new generation with a correct outlook and attitude towards labour.

It will not do to overwork the pupils thoughtlessly on the pretext of teaching them to love labour. Even when they are put to work at school, this should be in keeping with their physical development. In accord with the development of their physical strength, the schools of general education should let them do such work as keeping their classrooms clean, maintaining the playground, tending flower gardens and, after school, giving their parents a helping hand and keeping their houses and villages clean.

Another important thing in communist education is to induce people to care for the common property of the state and society, oppose selfishness and acquire the collectivist spirit.

In the old exploiter society people were educated to value only their private property. As a result, they had no collectivist spirit but were imbued with ideas of extreme selfishness, caring only about their own well-being no matter what might become of others.

People are often urged to value common property as their own. This comes of the old habit of holding one's own property dearer than common property. We must implant in the people the habit of caring more for the property of the state and society, even if in order to do so they have to sacrifice their own private possessions.

The education of the pupils in collectivism should be strengthened.

Now some pupils think that if only they study well and become honour pupils, they can disregard everything and everyone else. This is a manifestation of the absence of the collectivist spirit. Admittedly, it would be good if all pupils were to study well and get full marks by their own individual efforts. But since there may be backward pupils it is necessary to cultivate the habit of helping the laggards collectively.

Many of the cadres who have grown up through our school education, work using administrative methods, instead of skilfully conducting political work to enlist the collective power of the masses. This is because they were not properly educated in collectivism in their school days. If, by giving priority to political work, they educate people and rouse the collective body to action, everything will progress smoothly. But as it is, they fail to do so because they do not fully understand the advantages of collectivism.

We cannot say, of course, that education in collectivism was unsuccessful in the past: on the contrary, it scored considerable successes. We can cite as an instance the work of a motivation worker in Rihyon-ri, Sungho District, Pyongyang. Since she thought of her collective first and thought more of her village than herself, she devoted herself fully to educating and remoulding backward people. In this way, she converted the backward village of Rihyon-ri into a

harmonious, united collective, an exemplary cooperative farm.

Education in collectivism should be further strengthened and thus pupils should be firmly equipped with the collectivist spirit. They should thus all be induced to value common property, hold the interests of the state and society dearer than their own, and sacrifice their personal interests to the good of the collective.

An important aspect of communist education is to teach pupils to live in a cultured manner.

Only then can they be made to form the habit of keeping clean, keeping a good appearance and leading an orderly and disciplined life with a high sense of responsibility for society, right from their childhood. If the schools fail to educate the pupils properly, they will lack this sense of responsibility and, accordingly, will act wilfully—failing to have their hair cut, wearing their caps at an angle and infringing propriety.

The Yaksu Middle School in Changsong County teaches its pupils properly to live smartly. When I visited a worker's home in Changsong County some time ago, I looked into the exercise books of his son, a pupil of the school. His exercise books were very clean and in good order. From the exercise books I could judge that the Yaksu Middle School was educating its pupils well. The pupils of this school have good manners, dress themselves neat and trim, wallpaper their dwellings neatly, raise flowers in front of their houses, and live in a cultured manner.

The pupils of the school which fails to give them proper education drop their schoolbags and caps all over the house, keep their exercise books in poor condition, and neglect their home, leaving it in disorder. It is hard to believe that pupils who are used to living in this way from their childhood, will keep their workplaces clean and lead a cultured life when they finish school and go to work at factories or public institutions.

Schools must teach their pupils to keep themselves neat and trim, to wear their caps straight, to walk along the streets in line, and to lead an orderly, cultured life at all times.

The next task is to endow pupils with information capable of practical application.

This means teaching the pupils to tell rice from barnyard grass in the countryside, to handle machines properly in factories and to use what they have learned wherever they go.

Capitalist education does not give pupils and students practical knowledge. In the period of Japanese imperialist rule, students in mortarboards strutted about with briefcases under their arms, but they knew nothing. During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle I met a graduate from an imperial university of Japan and also a graduate from Beijing University of China, but they could not tell wheat from barley, a goose from a duck or a cow from a horse. At the time, I resolved never to train students like them, after taking power.

Yet, our schools fail to impart such practical knowledge properly, so now some pupils scarcely know a drilling machine from a shaper, and have no clear idea why we reduce high tension to low tension when we use electricity. Furthermore, the pupils in urban communities have a poor knowledge of domestic animals such as cows, horses and rabbits, while those in the countryside are unfamiliar with factories and machines.

It will not do to educate pupils like this. We should give them practical and applicable knowledge, if we give them any. In particular, we should teach things about our own country properly to the rising generation. We should inform them clearly of what kinds of animals and plants there are in our mountains and fields, what kinds of fish in our rivers and seas, and what kinds of factories in a given locality.

As for techniques, it is important to teach them live, practical techniques. Our Party is now working under the slogan that each of the working people should master at least one kind of technical skill. Nobody can serve society and the people without having at least one technical skill. When all working people have at least one kind of technical skill, our country will rapidly become rich and powerful. The schools must give proper technical education so that all pupils and

students master at least one kind of practical, working technique.

In order to impart practical information to pupils it is necessary to take measures for teachers and pupils to make frequent educational field trips.

The teachers and pupils cannot acquire practical knowledge purely from books: they must see things for themselves, on the spot. An educational visit to a factory is much better than reading a book about it. If they visit a factory personally, they will be able to grasp the content of the book with ease, but if they only read the book without visiting the factory, they will not be able to understand its content clearly. If teachers and pupils make study tours of many factories, they will come to know what kinds of factories our country has, and will learn all about lathes and drilling machines, blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces, electric furnaces, hydroelectric power stations, and thermal power plants.

Without this kind of practical experience pupils will all become “locked chests of knowledge”, which, as I have always stressed, is undesirable. Knowledge should be practical; knowledge hidden away in the chest is of no use.

Study tours are essential not only for educating the pupils but also for raising the qualifications of the teachers.

Such trips should be organized regularly, particularly in spring or winter, taking advantage of vacations. The teachers and pupils should thus visit factories, enterprises and cooperative farms—and climb mountains and go to the sea, too.

In capitalist society the bourgeoisie go on spring or winter tours to have a fine time, in a grand style. However, our teachers and pupils should make spring or winter trips to gain practical knowledge.

When I visited the Yaksu Middle School in Changsong County on an earlier occasion, I told its principal to organize many trips of inspection to factories, enterprises and cities for the teachers and pupils. Kanam-ri in Changsong County, was called so because it was situated in the midst of rocks. There were just a few houses in the ravine, which was studded with large rocks. There was nothing else to see. It was obvious that the

pupils could not acquire practical knowledge no matter how hard the teachers might explain to them the contents of textbooks. So, I saw to it that the teachers and pupils of the Yaksu Middle School visited the nearby Kusong Textile Mill, Kusong Machine-Tool Factory, Suphung Power Station, Changsong and Sakju county towns, and Pyongyang. As a result, their qualifications improved considerably. This played a great role in raising the general cultural level of the people in Kanam-ri, too. It is important in the building of communism to eliminate the distinction between town and country. If teachers and pupils from country areas make frequent study trips to cities, they can spread urban culture widely throughout the countryside.

It is necessary to organize frequent periods of practical training for pupils to acquire practical knowledge. In particular, the need for practical training is great for pupils in technical schools. If the pupils receive frequent practical training in factory operations they will acquire broad practical knowledge. The technical schools should organize practical training at factories often, so that the pupils acquire practical, wide technical knowledge.

Technical education should be strengthened.

Since the young people who have finished the middle school or the higher middle school possess no technical know-how, they cannot work properly when they come to work at factories.

When I gave on-the-spot guidance to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant I had a talk with two women workers of the same age in a coil shop. One of them was a fifth-grade worker and the other, a third-grade worker. So, I asked them why there was such a difference in their grades in spite of their ages being the same. The fifth-grade worker replied that she had finished a technical school and the third-grade worker, a secondary school. The secondary school leaver had come to the factory two years earlier, but she was still a third-grade worker, while the technical school graduate was a worker of the fifth grade although she had only recently joined the work force. So I asked the workshop manager which of them was the better worker, and he answered that the technical school graduate was much better although

she was only a newcomer. This proves that our Party's line of strengthening technical education is correct.

The graduates from technical school have a start of two or three years compared with secondary school leavers in obtaining skill grade certificates. Since those who have finished the middle school or higher middle school lack basic technical knowledge, they have to work for three years at least in a factory to become fifth-grade workers, but every technical school graduate has one kind of technical skill, and so he becomes a fifth-grade worker as soon as he enters the factory. It is true that when we switch over to the system of compulsory nine-year technical education, the pupils will have to attend school for two years more than when they go to secondary school. But this will be an improvement. Those who have left secondary school go to work at factory two years earlier, but during this period they become at best third or fourth-grade workers.

The technical education system is advantageous both to the state and the pupils. It enables students to acquire one kind of technical skill while they are acquiring general knowledge. Thus, it will greatly contribute to the development of the country's technology and productive forces as a whole. The technical education system is highly effective and the Party is quite correct to enforce it.

The question remains, how best to conduct technical education. If it is done only formalistically, the sole result will be that the students are kept idle for two years.

Success in technical education demands, above all, adequate conditions for practical training in technical schools.

Technical education cannot be effected merely by changing the name of a school to "technical school". Only when the conditions for practical training are provided to match the name of "technical school" will technical education be possible and the schools assume the character of a real technical school. At present technical schools and higher technical schools must be given higher priority in this respect than universities.

It is essential to build properly-equipped practice workshops in all

technical schools and supply them with enough equipment and materials for effective teaching.

Our country is now fully capable of providing the technical schools with the conditions for practical training. Almost every county of our country has one or two large-scale industrial enterprises, which are administered under the central authority, and every county has more than ten local industry factories.

The city and county Party and people's committee chairmen should assume responsibility for mobilizing the factories, enterprises and cooperative farms within their jurisdiction which function as back-up organizations in the field of education, to furnish the technical schools with the requisites for imparting practical training. If the Party and people's committee chairmen organize the work efficiently and the back-up organizations work conscientiously, it will be possible to build practice workshops in all technical schools and supply them with equipment and materials for practical training within one or two years.

Agro-technical schools should be given farming plots for production training. If they have two or three hectares of plots respectively, the students will be able to get good practical training in tending them.

The technical schools should, with the help of their back-up organizations, make vigorous efforts themselves to create such conditions through the mobilization of the teachers and students.

In this all schools should follow the example of the Yaksu Middle School. The teachers and pupils of this school planted around the school various plants found in the Changsong area and are raising herbivorous domestic animals that are kept in Changsong. Around the school we can see geese, rabbits, sheep and all the other herbivorous domestic animals which are raised in the locality. Pupils of the Yaksu Middle School will go from there to the agro-technical school, so it is important that they learn about animals and plants.

Rural schools need not, however, raise too many herbivorous domestic animals on the pretext of creating conditions for practical

training. It will be enough to raise a few of each species as samples, depending on the facilities available.

It is essential to increase the production of school supplies and improve their quality.

We are going to complete the introduction of compulsory nine-year technical education during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. For this, more schools should be built, and textbooks printed in large quantities, but it is still more important to produce good-quality school supplies in sufficient quantities.

At present school supplies are produced insufficiently and, moreover, their quality is very low. Set squares, compasses, pencils and the like, too, are poorly made, and school bags are rough-and-ready.

It is time to raise the quality of the school supplies in our country. Our situation today is different from that of two years ago or last year. If the personnel responsible buckle down to it with determination, it is quite possible to improve the quality of school supplies. Because a large quantity of high-quality vinyl chloride is now turned out in our country, it is well within our power to make decent set squares, pencil cases, school bags and so forth. We can also make various good-quality pencils, compasses and other items as we wish.

We should build factories exclusively designed for the production of increasing quantities of high-quality school supplies. Provinces would do well to build a factory for every few counties for the exclusive production of pencils, set squares and other school materials.

There must be one paper mill in every county. As I have already said at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Officials, if every county had a paper mill, the problem of exercise books and paper would be solved completely by its own efforts.

Schoolbooks must be printed in large numbers.

It is said that every school year new textbooks are in too short supply to go round all the pupils. Even if we fail to do other things, we must print large numbers of textbooks and give all pupils new books in each new school year.

In order to print these textbooks there must be enough paper. It is said that paper has been supplied till now firstly for printing newspapers and then for printing textbooks. Now, however, we should reverse the order. It is more important to print schoolbooks than newspapers. In future paper must be made available first for the printing of textbooks, secondly for newspapers and then for magazines. If the Kilju Pulp Mill turns out some 20,000 tons of high-quality paper next year, we should first earmark about 10,000 tons for the printing of textbooks and the rest should be for newspapers and magazines.

If the paper situation is very strained, we can print textbooks partly on paper turned out by the local industry factories.

We should print primary school textbooks with the best paper. Although middle school textbooks can be printed on somewhat lower-quality paper, we must definitely provide primary school pupils with textbooks printed on high-quality paper.

We should also reinforce the printing equipment so as to put out large numbers of schoolbooks for general education.

We should build more schools. At present residential buildings are being built extensively, but many schools should also be built. We should energetically push ahead with residential and school building simultaneously. I think it advisable to divert 15 per cent of the construction funds for 100,000 rural houses to the building of schools, and in urban areas, where the housing situation is acute, to divert to the same purpose 5 per cent of the funds which have been earmarked for the same number of flats.

The building of schools in the countryside should be undertaken by the city and county rural construction corps, without mobilizing the peasants. This is essential to guarantee the quality of construction.

One of the problems demanding careful attention in technical education is the proper distribution of technical schools.

The location of technical schools should be balanced, with due regard for regional peculiarities and the economic development of the country as a whole. If we allocate the agricultural and the industrial

technical schools without taking into consideration the development of the national economy as a whole, including industry and agriculture, this could possibly result in our having to assign graduates of agricultural schools to industry—say, to engineering—and graduates of industrial schools to agriculture. Therefore, we should examine the distribution of the technical schools generally to ensure a correct balance.

Next, the ranks of teachers should be built up solidly.

For this, the work of teacher training should be strengthened before anything else, so that the universities of education and the teachers training colleges will turn out large numbers of competent teachers.

These are institutions exclusively training teachers. Unless they train many fine teachers, it will be impossible to build up the ranks of teachers.

In order that these universities and colleges may turn out able teachers it is essential to raise the qualifications of faculties and, in particular, to admit good students to them.

It is said that at present the best students are enrolled at other universities, in preference to the universities of education and teachers training colleges. If this is so, these universities and colleges will not be able to train competent teachers. In future, the factory Party and Democratic Youth League committees and other Party and DYL organizations at all levels should select the best young people and send them to the universities of education and teachers training colleges in preference to other universities.

I have heard that some people do not think it an honour to teach, and dislike it. This is a very misguided attitude. Teachers are important workers on the ideological front, responsible for training our rising generation into communists. The Party and the DYL organizations at all levels should clearly acquaint young people with the Party's intention, so that many excellent young people will go to universities of education and teachers training colleges.

The universities of education and teachers training colleges should improve and strengthen the work of educating and training all students

to be fine communists. These universities and colleges ought not to send out graduate teachers who lack the qualities of communists. However many teachers they may train, they are useless without such qualities.

It is necessary to increase the numbers of universities of education and teachers training colleges and overhaul the system of teacher training.

Even though the burdens of the state are growing, we should increase the number of these universities and colleges, setting them up in every province. If we are to train a large number of teachers, we will have to increase enrolment in the universities of education and teachers training colleges considerably. If that is the case, we had better set up these universities in every province and admit as many students as are needed.

A university consisting of the university of education and the teachers training college should be divided into two. Even if these two are housed in one and the same building, they must be divided into two systems working under different presidents. This is indispensable if the students are to receive high-quality teaching.

In order to strengthen the ranks of teachers it is also essential to reeducate those teachers who are on the active list.

The most important aspect of this is turning all teachers into communists by further strengthening their training in the Party spirit, and thoroughly imbuing them with the Party ideological system, the communist ideological system.

Unless teachers themselves become communists, they cannot rear the students to be communists. Now, some teachers do not fully understand the superiority of the socialist system, the reactionary nature of the capitalist system and the true nature of the landlords. Such teachers cannot be said to be equipped with the Party ideological system, the communist ideological system; and while such people remain in the ranks of teachers, the schools cannot fully perform their mission.

Defective teachers should not, however, be dismissed on the pretext

of building up the ranks of teachers with people armed with the Party ideological system. Instead of expelling backward teachers from the ranks, they should be re-educated by the joint efforts of the teachers' collective. The motivation workers on cooperative farms are re-educating even erstwhile merchants into fine people, so how can the teachers' collective fail to educate a few lagging teachers by their joint efforts? Our invariable principle in working with backward people is to re-educate them.

If there are teachers who purposely imbue the students with bourgeois and feudal ideas whilst teaching, or by example, then such fellows cannot of course be left within the ranks of teachers.

A reorientation class for teachers should be organized in the communist universities.

If a reorientation class is set up in every communist university, and competent, fine teachers are enrolled and educated in it, they can be trained to become teachers fully equipped with the Party ideological system. In future, the better teachers should be sent to communist universities to study more and to enhance their Party spirit, so that they may be eligible for the posts of principal or head of educational affairs.

While the teachers are enhanced politically and ideologically, their practical qualifications should also be markedly raised.

Only when they have reached a high intellectual level can they teach the students well. Teachers who have had no university education should enrol and continue to study in university correspondence courses so as to raise their qualifications.

It is wrong to think that if teachers attend university correspondence courses, this will interfere with their teaching. They can take the correspondence course without difficulty while teaching their allotted classes. The experience of the Yaksu Middle School in Changsong County is eloquent of this. When I first visited the school, it had only one teacher who had graduated from a university. So, I told the teachers that they must regard teaching as a revolutionary task and continue to study in a university correspondence course in order to raise their qualifications. The teaching staff followed my advice while

teaching their classes as usual. Now almost all of them have graduated from the university of education or teachers training college, and those who have finished the teachers training college are now following the correspondence course of the university of education. As a result, their qualifications have risen noticeably.

Schools should be staffed with a sufficient number of teachers.

Now there are many cases in which the work of education is hindered in schools by lack of teachers. Naturally, we should neither waste labour by overstating the schools, nor cause difficulties by allocating too small a number of teachers to schools.

Women should be widely admitted to the ranks of teachers.

Although the south Korean puppet clique sell off people to many countries of the world, including Brazil, because they have a surplus of manpower, the northern half of Korea is short of labour. Moreover, men are largely needed in heavy industry and for other hard and arduous jobs, so they cannot be assigned to the field of education in large numbers. Therefore, women should be employed widely as teachers, especially in general education.

If women teach, educational work can be more successful. As they are meticulous and careful, women can teach pupils better than men. But some cadres are still reluctant to take on women as teachers, so that at present there are few women in education. It is necessary to eliminate the remnants of the backward feudal attitude that nothing can be done without men, and to accept a large number of women as teachers.

Some officials think it annoying that women take maternity leave, but this is a mistake. Schools with a large proportion of women teachers should be allocated more teachers so that the classwork is not impeded even if the women teachers are duly granted maternity leave. And nurseries and kindergartens should be so organized that women teachers can conduct lessons without worries.

Women should also be more frequently promoted to higher posts in the field of education.

It is a wise step to promote boldly women of about 40, who have taught well for very many years, to higher posts in education. Since such

women know the mentality of pupils well, and have rich experience in teaching, they can supervise educational work efficiently.

The social conditions of teachers should be improved.

It is said that in some places teachers are not provided with good living conditions, so that they suffer hardships. This is intolerable. The Party and people's committees at all levels should take care to keep the houses of teachers always in good repair and to supply teachers with clothes of good material. If the people responsible organize things properly, this is quite within their power.

The state should supply teachers with winter and summer clothes. Their clothes must be of good material and be better tailored than those of university students.

Teachers should be socially respected and treated with courtesy.

It is important, of course, to supply them with fine clothes, but it is more important that they be socially respected and that their social position be improved. Only when a social atmosphere is established in which they are respected and treated warmly can teachers do their work well with a sense of pride and honour.

From ancient times Koreans have greatly respected teachers, but this excellent tradition is now disappearing. The fine time-honoured code of morals should not be left to disappear just because socialism and communism are being built.

Some Party and government officials, including chairmen of county Party and people's committees, give the cold shoulder to teachers and do not invite them to sit on the platform at meetings. Worse still, I have heard, they abuse them in the presence of pupils and their parents. This is utterly absurd. Party and government officials should treat teachers politely and encourage pupils and their parents to respect them. If teachers display certain shortcomings, the officials concerned should meet them personally and admonish them courteously. At meetings, teachers should be invited to sit on the platform and should be given the floor. Party and government officials should take them along when going on a guidance trip to ask advice on work, and should respect their opinions.

Further, work with pupils and their parents should be carried out properly.

The most important aspect of work with pupils is education by positive example.

It is often said that nowadays the schools educate by means of positive example, but they fall short of the mark. Coercive methods such as punishment should not be used in school. Rather, pupils should be encouraged positively.

Education of people by positive example is a very superior method. This method is most effective for us Koreans because of our character. The method of punishing, abusing and threatening does not fit our character. When we are encouraged and educated by positive example, we Koreans are soon influenced into avoiding transgressions. That education of people by positive example is the best method, is a conclusion I have drawn from my practical experience in the course of a long revolutionary struggle. In recent years, we have seen to it that positive educational methods are generalized, and the results have been very favourable.

In schools there should be extensive education, with examples being drawn from heroic battles during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the Fatherland Liberation War and from the period of socialist construction. Many such impressive examples should be published in newspapers and magazines, for the pupils to follow.

It is also necessary to create positive examples within the schools and thus to contribute to the broad education of the pupils.

The experience of a teacher of the Changjon Middle School in Pyongyang in educating the pupils by this method offers a good model for all teachers. This teacher's experience should be widely generalized among the education workers of the country.

In education, work with the parents is as important as work with the pupils themselves.

In the education of pupils, parents play a big role. Upon investigating the cause of violation of discipline by pupils, or of defects revealed in their lives, we find in most cases that their home

education has been wrong somewhere—either their grandmothers have been overindulgent to them or their mothers have imparted bad habits to them.

In order to educate pupils properly, work with parents should be strengthened. If work with parents is conducted well, they will not only exert a good influence on their children by their exemplary life but also keep them under control and out of mischief at home. This will greatly assist the work of the teachers.

Teachers should help the parents as educators and the parents should assist the teachers as the guardians of the pupils. In this way, they should help each other to organize the education of pupils.

If work with parents is conducted effectively, it is possible to educate not only the pupils but also the parents themselves. The Yaksu Middle School of Changsong County has achieved great success in working with parents, by introducing the system whereby one teacher takes charge of five families of pupils. Under the guidance of the county and ri Party committees, the teachers of this school each take charge of five families and educate the pupils and their parents as well. They regularly visit the houses in their charge and work with the parents, not only to solve problems arising from the education of the pupils but also to educate the parents themselves.

It is necessary to organize regular parents meetings to ensure closer cooperation.

It is not a bad idea to set up a committee of parents and to have such meetings frequently. In an exploiter society like south Korea the school authorities call meetings of parents for the purpose of exacting money and taking bribes from them, but in our country parents meetings are called to discuss educational matters.

After consultation with the ri or factory Party committees schools should regularly hold meetings of parents. I think it proper to call meetings of parents at least two or three times a year.

It is not good policy simply to criticize the faults of pupils at these meetings, for then the parents will become loath to attend them.

A short time ago I saw an art performance by pupils of the Yaksu

Middle School in Changsong County and the pupils in the mountainous region played *kayagum* skilfully and performed gymnastic dances well, too. As their performance was so commendable, I gave instructions for it to be shown to their parents. I am told that all of the parents wept to see the performance of their children, and could scarcely believe that it was really their own children on the stage. After that, their interest in the school increased and they hold the teachers in high esteem, it is said.

Instead of just criticizing the faults of pupils at parents meetings, the teachers, having prepared their pupils, should let those who are good orators make speeches, those who are good singers sing songs, those who are good at gymnastic dancing perform gymnastic dances, and those who are good tellers of fairy tales tell fairy tales. Only then will the parents attend parents meetings willingly and with interest, and be concerned about the education of their children.

In conclusion, let me summarize some of the points that have been raised.

It has been proposed at today's meeting to set up a preparatory committee for compulsory nine-year technical education, but it is unnecessary to set up a separate body. If such a committee is set up, the role of the chairmen of people's committees will be weakened. The people's committees are expected to give guidance in education, trade, public health services, city administration and construction work, and, most important of all, to supervise education. Therefore, the job of enforcing compulsory nine-year technical education should naturally fall to them.

School buildings should be properly maintained.

Splendid schools have been built, but they are in a bad condition due to poor maintenance. Although their windowpanes and chairs are broken, nobody admits responsibility in the matter, and so they are not repaired quickly. The state makes a considerable appropriation for school repairs, but in some places the money is diverted to other purposes and the schools are left out of repair. This kind of thing should not recur. And greater repair expenses should be allocated where necessary, depending on the specific conditions of individual schools.

The repairs to rural schools should be put in the hands of the county rural construction corps. Each corps should have a workteam purely for the regular repair of schools and kindergartens. If the rural construction corps should be short of manpower, we can give them as many work hands as are needed.

Schools should be provided with sufficient gymnastic appliances. According to investigations, some schools are not adequately furnished with such appliances. Next year some money should be spent on making such equipment as iron bars, parallel bars, basketball stands and so on for schools according to the national standards. In addition, schools should have teachers specializing in physical culture and sport.

Technical schools and higher technical schools should have full-time Democratic Youth League workers. It is very important to strengthen the DYL organizations in those schools which have no Party student organizations. Schools should have the requisite number of full-time DYL workers in proportion to the numbers of DYL members.

The provincial, city and county Party committees should convene a plenary meeting and discuss the question of improving and strengthening the work of general education, and take any steps necessary towards this end. They should not confine themselves to discussing the matter just once at a plenary meeting but should always pay careful attention to education so as to bring about a change in general education.

I am firmly convinced that Party and state officials and education workers will bring about great improvement in general education by thoroughly implementing the decision of today's plenary meeting of the Cabinet.

**ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS
OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

**Speech at the First Session
of the Third Supreme People's Assembly**

October 23, 1962

Comrade Deputies,

The elections of the deputies to the Third Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were held triumphantly in the midst of a great political upsurge, in the inspiring atmosphere of the labour campaign to reach this year's six goals.

The participation of all our working people as one man in the Supreme People's Assembly elections, with great political enthusiasm, showed their unyielding determination to firmly safeguard and further consolidate and develop our people's power and socialist achievements and to carry through to victory the revolutionary cause of socialism and communism in our country. The election results have shown our people's absolute support and trust in the Workers' Party and in people's power; they have demonstrated the unbreakable political and moral unity of all the people based on the worker-peasant alliance.

The support and trust our people have placed in the Party and in their state power as well as the political and moral cohesion of our society are the fruits of the long, hard struggle for our country's

freedom and independence and for the building of a new life. They are also based on material foundations—the socialist system established in the northern half of Korea and the free, happy life of our people under that system.

The Korean people fought long and valiantly for national independence and liberation, for their own sovereignty. In the grimmest period of Japanese imperialist rule, the communists and the patriotic people of Korea waged a heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle for 15 years solely for the restoration of the fatherland and the freedom of the people, braving all kinds of indescribable hardship and suffering. After liberation our people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, took power firmly into their hands, upsetting all the machinations of the forces of foreign aggression and of local reaction.

Our people's power is a sovereign power that has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the communists and patriotic people of Korea; it is a great achievement, won by our people through hard struggles under the leadership of our Party. Ours is a genuine people's power that serves the people devotedly and maintains close ties of kinship with them; it is the most democratic and stable power, which relies on the united strength of the workers, the peasants and the rest of the people, and actively draws the masses of the people into state affairs.

Led by a Marxist-Leninist party and having taken power firmly into their own hands, our people are invincible.

Since liberation, our people have gone through many trials and hardships in the struggle to build a new life. Our country took over a backward economy and culture from the old society; on top of this, it was reduced to ashes during the bitter three-year war. With our country split into northern and southern halves, we are building socialism and fighting for reunification, confronting the US imperialists, the ringleaders of world reaction. Our enemies of all hues at home and abroad have never stopped plotting to cause dissension in our ranks and to hold back our progress.

However, under the experienced Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party, and relying on the indestructible vitality of people's power, our people have carried out great revolutionary tasks and tremendous works of construction and have created a wonderful new social system and a new life in a historically brief time span, heroically surmounting all trials and difficulties.

Their experience of life-and-death struggles has firmly convinced our people of the correctness of our Party's policies and the vitality of their own state power. In the Party's policies they see the road to their future victories and, in the people's power and the socialist system which they have achieved under the leadership of the Party, they see the source of their freedom and happiness.

The Chollima Movement, the great driving force of socialist construction in our country, is the clearest expression of the surging revolutionary spirit, the untiring determination to fight, and the unlimited creative powers of our people who have rallied with rock-like unity around the Party and the Government, placing their full trust in the Party, treasuring their state power and the social system, and dynamically advancing towards a brighter future.

No force can ever impair the unshakable dignity and prestige enjoyed by our Party among the masses, wrest from our people their state power and socialist achievements, or halt their great march forward towards the victory of socialism and communism.

1

Comrades,

Thanks to the correct policy of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, and to the heroic struggle of our people, our society has completely eliminated the backwardness and poverty of centuries and made a great leap forward towards progress and

civilization in the last four or five years. We have altered mountains and rivers in our country and radically transformed our socio-economic system, and have brought about tremendous changes in all aspects of our people's material and spiritual life.

An advanced socialist system free of exploitation and oppression has been firmly established in the northern half of Korea. Life has clearly shown that our state and economic systems are the best and most rational forms for our country's present stage of development. With the rapid progress of socialist construction, our socialist system is becoming further consolidated and developed with each passing day, bringing ever greater advantages.

We have not only established an excellent social system but have also laid firm foundations for building up our country's economy on our own.

It was a particularly important and yet difficult task to build the foundations of an independent national economy in our country, which had been a backward agrarian colony in the past. We have successfully fulfilled this task by maximum mobilization of the strength of our people and all our domestic resources on the principle of self-reliance along with the most rational use of aid from fraternal countries.

To consolidate the economic independence of the country we must first rapidly develop industry, and particularly heavy industry.

In our country industrial production has grown at an unprecedentedly high rate and we have completely eliminated our industry's colonial lopsidedness and backwardness.

In 1961 alone our industry produced many more goods than in all the decade since liberation, that is, in the whole period from 1946 to 1955. Thanks to the rapid growth of industrial output, the share of industry in the total value of industrial and agricultural output had already reached 71 per cent in 1960.

The metal and chemical industries have developed rapidly. We have consolidated the fuel and electric power bases of the country and have created our own machine-building industry.

Our heavy industry has been equipped with new technology and has

further expanded; relying mainly on domestic raw materials and other natural resources for its development, it is in a position to satisfy most of our needs for the various means of production, including machines and other equipment.

Thus, the task of laying the foundations of socialist industrialization in our country has been successfully completed. We have established a solid framework for a modern heavy industry which constitutes the basis for the country's political and economic independence and is capable of equipping all branches of the national economy with modern technology.

In the field of light industry, our Party brought about great innovations in the production of consumer goods for the people, with its policy of developing small-and medium-scale locally-run industries side by side with the large-scale industries which are administered under the central authority.

The large-scale light industry factories have been greatly expanded, their technical equipment has been improved, and an average of more than ten local factories have been built in every city and county throughout the country. In addition, we now have our own stable sources of raw materials for light industry.

We have built strong production bases in light industry which now enable us to satisfy by ourselves much of our people's requirements for consumer goods and which, in the future, will be able to supply the population with a greater abundance of different types of high-quality goods.

The problem of agriculture, especially of grain production, has been one of the most difficult we have had to face in building a socialist economy in our country.

Arable land is scarce in our country, the greater part of which is hilly and poor. Our country is hit by drought almost every year and frequently suffers damage from storms and floods. Moreover, our agriculture, which was originally very backward technically and economically, was devastated during the war.

However, by transforming nature through extensive irrigation,

afforestation and water conservation projects and by steadily developing our farming techniques, we have overcome these handicaps, successfully solved the food problem, and laid solid foundations for the rapid development of all branches of agriculture.

Grain output has shown a high yearly rate of increase. In 1961 it reached 4,830,000 tons, that is to say, 1,000,000 tons more than in the previous year. Up to two or three years ago we had to import hundreds of thousands of tons of grain annually from foreign countries, but now we have achieved self-sufficiency in food grains.

Today, a dense network of irrigation channels spreads through the fields in our country, and our agriculture is being further equipped with new technology. Our peasants have not only been freed from exploitation and oppression, but are also being protected from natural calamities and gradually released from arduous labour.

All these successes in the development of our national economy show the correctness of our Party's economic policy of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry and, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. They represent a splendid victory for our Party's consistent line of building an independent national economy.

Only by ensuring the growth of heavy industry in the first place, with the machine-building industry as its core, have we been able to develop light industry and agriculture rapidly, raise the people's living standards steadily, and lay the material and technical foundations for the overall technological reconstruction of the national economy. Only by sticking firmly to the line of building an independent national economy have we been able to transform our country into a powerful socialist industrial-agricultural state in such a short time, eliminating the backwardness inherited from the old society. Furthermore, we have been able to lay our own solid economic foundations for increasing the wealth and power of the country and enriching the life of the people.

The cultural revolution is one of the important tasks in the construction of socialism. Especially when socialism is being built in a backward country, it is necessary to step up the cultural revolution more vigorously.

Thanks to the constant concern of our Party and Government, our

people have made enormous achievements in building a new, socialist culture.

In the field of education we have completely done away with the survivals of the old society and established the most advanced educational system, adapted to the requirements of socialist construction.

Compulsory secondary education has been introduced throughout the country, and a great number of vocational schools and colleges and universities have been set up. The network of evening and correspondence courses has been particularly expanded and a large number of factory colleges and communist universities have been established, thus enabling many working people to receive a higher education without interfering with their productive activities.

In our country there are now more than 2.6 million students studying at over 8,900 schools of all levels, including 93 institutes of higher education. Of this total, as many as 209,000 are university students.

In addition, more than one million workers and peasants are acquiring general knowledge in the working people's schools and working people's middle schools, and all the working people are learning new technology.

Indeed, everyone in our country is studying and making progress; all the working people are mastering science and technology, becoming the educated and cultured builders of a new society.

As a result of the rapid development of secondary and higher technical education, we have already trained a large contingent of more than 160,000 technical cadres of our own and their ranks are steadily increasing year by year.

Had our Party and Government not made great efforts and taken farsighted measures, starting immediately after liberation, to rapidly develop public education, raise the general cultural and technical levels of the working people and produce cadres in large numbers, we would have been able neither to lay the foundations for an independent national economy nor to ensure a high rate of socialist construction. By giving priority to education and cadre training, despite all difficulties, we have created favourable conditions for administering the state and

managing the economy efficiently on our own, and for developing our society at an exceptionally high rate.

In the realm of science, splendid research achievements are also constantly being registered. The scientists and technicians of our country are making great contributions to the development of the national economy and the promotion of the people's well-being by such numerous successes as the completion of vinalon research, solving the problem of gasifying anthracite, undertaking research on semi-conductors and the discovery of new methods for the treatment of different diseases.

Keeping pace with the era of Chollima, our literature and art have also entered a period of full bloom. Thanks to our Party's correct policy in this field and the vigorous creative activities of the writers and artists inspired by this policy, revolutionary literature and art, which faithfully serve the masses of the people, are developing rapidly in our country.

Literature and art are enjoyed by all the people in our country, and there is very broad participation of workers, peasants and the rest of the masses in creative activity in this field. Indeed, our literature and art now belong to the masses and are powerful weapons inspiring them in the struggle to build a new society.

The rapid development of the socialist economy has brought about further improvements in the material and cultural life of our people.

By 1961 the real wages of factory and office workers were 2.1 times those of 1956. In the same period the peasants' income in cash and kind increased 1.6 times and their overall standard of living reached that of the middle or well-to-do middle peasants of the past.

With extensive building of dwellings, the housing of the working people has greatly improved. In only five years, from 1957 to 1961, we built new dwellings with a total floor space of 7.6 million square metres in urban areas and 5.8 million square metres in rural areas.

Today, our working people are free from any worry about food, clothing and housing, and all of them now enjoy a secure life. This means that we have solved the most basic problems in the daily life of our people.

In addition, the working people receive enormous material and cultural benefits from the state. Having abolished tuition fees in all schools, the state provides free education and even gives scholarships to the students in institutes of higher education and vocational schools. A system of holidays with pay has been introduced for factory and office workers, and every year hundreds of thousands of working people enjoy a pleasant time in holiday homes at state expense; and everyone receives free medical care. Numerous nurseries and kindergartens, set up and run at state and public expense, are doing an excellent job in bringing up more than 1,000,000 children, and so enabling women to participate in social labour. Disabled people, old people with no one to rely on, and orphans are all assured of a secure life, thanks to the state.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, when we were deprived of our country and our sovereignty, our working people were badly clothed and starving under double and even triple exploitation and oppression; countless people, unable to make their own living, roamed about begging.

Under the power of the people and the socialist system, however, the life of our working people has radically changed. In one half of the country we have built a new life in which the entire working population, free from exploitation and poverty, live without any worry, working and studying together, helping each other forward for the happiness of all. This marks a great change in the history of our country and in the life of our people.

2

Comrades,

The historic Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea summed up the glowing victories of our people in the socialist

revolution and in the construction of socialism and set the impressive goals of the Seven-Year Plan.

By carrying out full-scale technological and cultural revolutions during the period of the Seven-Year Plan, we will build the solid material and technical foundations of socialism and radically raise the people's material and cultural standards.

Today, socialist construction in our country has entered a new and higher stage.

Our main task was to lay, by the end of the Five-Year Plan period, the foundations of socialism and to transform our backward agrarian country into an independent socialist industrial-agricultural state. To carry out this task we concentrated all our efforts on completing the transformation to socialism in town and countryside, laying the foundations for socialist industrialization, and substantially solving the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

Our main task in the Seven-Year Plan period is to further accelerate socialist construction and turn our country into a socialist industrial state with modern industry and developed agriculture. By thoroughly carrying out socialist industrialization in this period, we will equip all branches of the national economy with modern technology and reach the high level of development of the productive forces characteristic of an advanced socialist society; we should not only solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people more satisfactorily, but enable everyone to live a rich and cultured life.

If the period of the Five-Year Plan was the one in which the great tree of socialism took deep root and its trunk grew strong, then we can call the Seven-Year Plan a period in which the tree will grow, blossom beautifully, and bear fine fruit.

When the Seven-Year Plan is fulfilled, all spheres of our new socialist life will really be in full flower.

Our industry will develop in a diversified way and will be more fully equipped with new technology. Different kinds of machines, equipment and other means of production, as well as various high-quality consumer goods, will be produced in far greater

quantities. As a result of the technological modernization of agriculture, we will achieve a decisive increase in the output of all kinds of farm produce, including grain and animal products, and free the peasants from backbreaking toil.

We will build more beautiful towns and villages and, all of our people will live a decent life.

The construction of socialism in the northern half of Korea is in harmony with the vital interests of the people not just in the north but in the entire nation. The fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will strengthen the revolutionary base in the northern half and make it invincible; it will open up a decisive phase in achieving the peaceful reunification of our country. By fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan we shall also lay more solid material foundations for quickly rehabilitating the south Korean economy and for radically improving the living conditions of the people there in the future.

Thus, our Seven-Year Plan is an impressive programme for the construction of socialism in the northern half of Korea. At the same time, it is a great national programme for building a reunified, independent, rich and powerful Korea and for ensuring the future happiness of 30 million Koreans. This is why all the working people in the northern half are showing extraordinary revolutionary zeal for and patriotic devotion to the fulfilment of this programme, and why the entire Korean people are most interested in its realization.

As was clearly outlined by our Party and the Government of the Republic, in the first half of the Seven-Year Plan we will work hard to put flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry, make use of it more effectively and, on this basis, speedily develop agriculture and light industry and radically improve the people's living conditions. In the latter half of the plan we will put major emphasis on radically reinforcing the material and technical foundations of socialism by expanding centres of heavy industry and improving their technological equipment, while continuing to better the people's living conditions.

We have already taken a big step forward towards the fulfilment of the first half of the Seven-Year Plan. Always responding faithfully to

the call of the Party, our working people showed their unlimited creativity and talents in all fields of socialist construction and successfully fulfilled the national economic plan for 1961—the first year of the Seven-Year Plan—and are performing brilliant feats of labour in their struggle to reach this year’s six heights.

The national economic plan for this year has the six heights, as its main targets, a tremendous and difficult programme envisaging a high rate of growth in both industrial and agricultural production.

Over two months still remain before the end of the year, but we can say with confidence that we have already won a decisive victory in the battle to conquer the six heights.

Agriculture plays a very important part in economic construction under socialism. Only when we bring in good harvests will we have enough to eat and will everything go well in the economic life of the country. The target of 5 million tons of grain is the most important of this year’s six heights.

We struggled under totally adverse weather conditions to reach this height of production. This year our country was struck by a severe drought, followed by a long rainy spell that lasted more than three months and caused four big floods. In addition, we suffered damage from frost, blight, harmful insects, and typhoons. Indeed, we might say this was the year in which our agriculture suffered nature’s worst trials.

But our socialist agriculture has successfully overcome these difficulties. Not only has this year’s grain output not fallen compared to last year’s but we have reaped an unusual bumper harvest in the countryside.

The fact that we have harvested successive bumper crops in recent years and, moreover, have done so again in a year like this one, proves that our agricultural production is not affected by varying weather or other chance factors but, instead, like industrial production, grows soundly and steadily according to the laws of the development of socialist economy.

This brilliant victory in agriculture represents a victory for our Party’s agricultural policy—a victory of the Chongsanri spirit and

Chongsanri method in the countryside. Above all, this clearly shows the superiority of the socialist system of cooperative economy established in our rural areas, the solid material and technical foundations of our agriculture and, in particular, the strength of the irrigation system, of our afforestation and of the water conservation facilities which have been built up by the supreme efforts of the Party, the state and the entire people. This has also been made possible because our Party, imbued with the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method, has given precedence to political work and has actively conducted communist education among the peasants so that they display voluntary enthusiasm and devotion in their work. Our victory in agriculture has also been possible because our Party has thoroughly put into practice the line of providing a material stimulus to arouse the enthusiasm of the peasants for production, by correctly enforcing the socialist principle of distribution and introducing a bonus system for the workteams.

In the course of the fight for the height of 5 million tons of grain, we have strengthened the material and technical foundations of agriculture and furthered the progress of our farming technology. In the countryside our tractor stock now totals 15,000 in terms of 15 hp units, and the level of agricultural mechanization has continued to rise. This year the area under irrigation has been expanded by 30,000 hectares and the amount of chemical fertilizer applied is 13 per cent higher than last year.

Along with grain production, all other branches of agriculture such as industrial crops, stockbreeding, sericulture and fruit growing have shown a high growth rate.

In light industry all efforts have been concentrated on this year's height of 250 million metres of fabric.

The rapid development of the textile industry so as to produce good-quality fabrics in greater quantity is an important task for solving our people's clothing problem satisfactorily. Out to reach the textile production target set by the Party, the workers and technicians in the textile industry have already successfully surpassed the plan for the

first half-year and are now rapidly increasing production in the second half. There is every indication that 250 million metres of fabric will be turned out this year. This is an increase of over 30 per cent on last year's figure and means that the per-capita output of fabrics will reach approximately 25 metres. The proportion of high-quality fabrics has begun to rise gradually, and the rapid development of the clothing industry has alleviated women's work in the home and made it possible to supply the population with better clothes.

This year, our centres of light industry have generally been expanded and strengthened. Expansion projects have been completed in the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and the Kilju Pulp Mill; the existing textile mills have been equipped with 105,000 more spindles; construction projects—such as those for the Hyesan Textile Mill, with 15,000 spindles, the Hyesan Paper Mill, with a production capacity of 20,000 tons, and other new light industry factories—have been successfully carried out. Mechanization has also been vigorously pushed forward in local industry, and all our local factories have been better equipped.

The intensive exploitation of our country's rich marine resources is of great importance for the improvement of the people's standard of living.

Thanks to the correct leadership of the Party, to large-scale state investment and to the devoted labour of the workers in the fisheries, the material and technical foundations of the fishing industry were decisively reinforced in the postwar period, and by 1961 the output of marine products reached 590,000 tons.

On the basis of these achievements, the Party and the Government set the impressive target of 800,000 tons of marine products for this year and are putting great efforts into this sector. Totally inspired by the Party's policy, all our workers in the fishing industry are working heroically to complete this gigantic task, and have already achieved major results. Needless to say, there is no ground for complacency because the main fishing season—November and December—still lies ahead. We are, however, firmly convinced that in view of the results

already achieved, and with the present progress in production and the rising spirit of the workers in the fishing industry, we shall be able to fly the flag of victory, achieving our target of 800,000 tons of marine products.

The struggle to reach the height of 200,000 family dwellings is a glorious one, because by reaching that target, we will improve the housing conditions of the working people and, especially, transform the appearance of our countryside by clearing away the mud huts which have been in existence for thousands of years.

Our Fourth Party Congress set the huge task of building modern houses for 600,000 families in urban as well as in rural areas during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. We set about carrying out this task this year. Such an immense project for housing construction for the working people can be undertaken only in a society such as ours, where power and all the wealth of the country are in the hands of the people and where strong economic foundations have been laid.

So far we have carried out housing construction on a large scale. But never before have we built as many houses as we did this year, nor built dwellings in the countryside for as many as 100,000 families in a single year. Nonetheless, our construction workers are successfully accomplishing this difficult job with the active assistance of the entire people. Decisive results have already been achieved in the construction of rural housing, not to speak of urban housing; now we are in the final stage of housing construction for 200,000 families. This year we will definitely build modern houses for 100,000 families in the cities and the same number in the countryside.

This year heavy industry is confronted with the weighty task of reaching the heights of 1.2 million tons of steel and 15 million tons of coal; and of giving powerful support to our efforts to reach the remaining heights. On the whole our heavy industry has substantially come up to our expectations.

Workers and technicians in the iron and steel industry will also reach their target of 1.2 million tons of pig iron and granulated iron and will produce 1.1 million tons of steel this year. This means that steel

production will fall slightly short of the target, but a 29 per cent increase in the production of pig iron and granulated iron, and a more than 40 per cent increase in steel over last year is a big achievement for one year.

In the coal industry, proper measures were not taken against flood damage, despite the fact that the Party has stressed their importance time and again. As a result, pits were waterlogged after heavy rains and work at the coal face, as well as transportation, was greatly hindered. We thus fell short of the coal production target by a considerable margin. We now expect that coal output will rise by some 10 per cent as against last year. However, if the personnel in this sector had carried out the Party's instructions promptly and correctly, they would certainly have been in a position to reach the height of 15 million tons of coal.

The electric-power, chemical and machine-building industries have all achieved good results and production has sharply increased. Our machine-building industry, in particular, has made an important contribution to speeding up the technological reconstruction of the national economy by supplying large quantities of the equipment needed for the mechanization of agriculture and fishing, as well as metallurgical, chemical and electric-power equipment, and installations for the coal and other mines, and for light industry.

Heavy industry this year has witnessed the construction of many new factories and shops, such as the new medium-plate rolling shop in the Songjin Steel Plant with a production capacity of 80,000 tons, the drawn-steel-pipe shop of the Kangson Steel Plant with a production capacity of 30,000 tons, the Nampho Smeltery nonferrous-metal rolling shop with a capacity of 12,000 tons, the Pyongyang Electric Wire Factory with a capacity of 12,000 tons, the Pongung Caustic Soda Factory with a capacity of 50,000 tons, and the sulphuric acid shop with a capacity of 45,000 tons at the Munphyong Smeltery. At the same time, technical equipment has been improved, advanced production methods and technical processes have been introduced extensively, and productive capacity has been sharply raised in all our heavy industry plants.

Better equipped and strengthened in this way, our heavy industry is now more effective in serving the development of light industry and agriculture and the improvement of the people's living conditions.

This year we have waged a very intense struggle in all areas of socialist construction. This has been a proud and glorious battle for the boundless prosperity of our country and for the happiness of our people; and in it we have won a glorious victory.

Comrades,

Our tremendous successes in the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan open up bright prospects for the radical improvement of the people's living conditions in three or four years' time. To turn these prospects into reality, we must continue the struggle with determination in 1963 and 1964.

The basic task of the national economic plan for 1963 is to consolidate the gains made this year in scaling the six heights, and simultaneously to make preparations for even higher goals. In the following year we shall also direct our efforts to the development of agriculture and light industry and, in the field of heavy industry, we will re-equip and reinforce all our factories and do everything in our power to develop the mining industry. At the same time, in view of the ever-increasing aggressive machinations by the US imperialists entrenched in south Korea, and by the military fascist clique, our Party and Government will pay close attention to further fortifying our national defences.

The radical development of the mining industry is an important task for heavy industry next year. Mining is the primary process in production and, for that reason, unless we give priority to this industry we can hardly develop the other sectors of the national economy at a normal rate.

The Party and the Government, while continuing to develop the processing industry, will concentrate investment in mining during 1963 and 1964, so as to strengthen the material and technical basis of the ore and coal mines, and see to it that the growing requirements of the national economy for various kinds of ores and coal are fully satisfied.

The great historic task we are now engaged in calls for the extensive exploitation and use of our country's abundant mineral resources. In the coal industry we must definitely reach the height of 15 million tons of coal next year and continue to increase output in the future. The ore mining industry should supply enough ore to the iron and steel industry and also increase the output of various nonferrous and rare metal ores and non-metalliferous minerals. It is particularly necessary to step up the extensive exploitation, refining and processing of nonferrous metal ores such as copper, lead, zinc and nickel, and raw materials for alloys, and to expand both the variety and output of the steel and alloys. Only in this way can we fully prepare for a new growth in the development of heavy industry.

To develop the mining industry, we should give priority to geological prospecting. The ranks of prospecting workers and the technical equipment in this field should be further reinforced so as to expand this work and to do it more thoroughly.

We must also continue to make large investments in the power industry and speed up the construction of the Kanggye Power Station, the Unbong Power Station, and the Pyongyang Thermal Power Station, all of which are already under construction, thus guaranteeing their going into operation as planned.

Further development of the machine-building industry is to be an important task throughout the whole period of the Seven-Year Plan. Within the next year or two, rapid progress is expected, particularly in the manufacture of large-scale machinery, which is still lagging behind. We should expand our existing plants for the manufacture of large-scale machinery, operate them at full capacity, and build more new factories to be able to provide enough equipment for the power stations, coal mines, ore mines and other big plants. We should also improve the utilization of equipment in every way and organize production rationally in all the machine-building plants, so that they may supply the national economy with more machinery and equipment.

Although much has been done to consolidate the bases of our heavy

industry in the last couple of years, they have not yet been fully equipped. Therefore, we should energetically continue to push ahead with the work of putting flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry.

All heavy industry plants should be better equipped, and a strict system of inspection and maintenance of the equipment should be established; and the necessary auxiliary equipment and other conditions must be fully ensured, so that fluctuations in production can be completely eliminated. Moreover, we must boldly and positively apply the achievements of science and technology to the production processes, stepping up the mechanization and automation of production processes by bringing into play all our potential resources, and the movement for technical innovation should be more widely developed.

In the field of technology we should pay particular attention to the manufacture of substitutes for those materials and raw materials which are not available in our country. We should do everything possible in the iron and steel industry to make wide use of ferro-coke and pellets, and to raise the standard of iron ore so as to increase iron production while, at the same time, substantially reducing the consumption of coking coal. Measures should also be taken for the extensive application of the oxygen-blast method in the manufacture of iron and steel and to put gasification of coal into practice.

The main task of light industry next year is to maintain production levels, consolidating this year's height of 250 million metres of fabric, and to provide all conditions for the production of 300 million metres in 1964. At the same time, we must improve the quality of everyday necessities and foodstuffs, expand their variety, and markedly increase their output.

To accomplish this task we should, above all, strengthen the raw material bases for light industry and secure a major increase in the capacity of our light industry.

We must fully normalize the operation of the February 8 Vinalon Factory, the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill, and the Hyesan Textile Mill, and increase production in each of the branches which supply

raw materials to light industry. Textile mills and all other light industry factories should make rational use of floor space to install more machinery; they should improve their equipment, and raise the workers' technical and skill levels to boost production at a steady rate.

More than 2,000 locally-run factories in our cities and counties have enormous possibilities for a rapid increase in the production of consumer goods for the people. It is planned that in 1964 local industry alone will turn out 100 million metres of fabric and 40,000 to 50,000 tons of paper and that, within each locality, the considerable local demands for daily necessities and processed food, including soy sauce, bean paste and vegetable oil, will be met. It will be possible to realize this plan when we have developed local industry to a higher stage by carrying through the tasks laid down at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Officials.

The dynamic acceleration of technological reconstruction is most important for the rapid development of local industry. Locally-run factories must get rid of backward artisan technology, introduce mechanization and semi-automation into all production processes, and steadily improve the workers' technical knowledge and skills.

We should consolidate raw material bases for local industry so that most of the necessary raw materials can be obtained in local areas; we should pay close attention to improving factory management and promoting cultured practices in production.

In this way all of our locally-run factories will be made attractive, modern and efficient; they will be equipped with new technology, manufacture various consumer goods—mainly from local raw materials—and greatly benefit the state and the people.

In agriculture next year we should concentrate our efforts on increasing rice output and thus improve the proportion of better grain in total production.

We are now supplying enough food for the entire population and even have a certain amount of grain in reserve. But we cannot rest content with this: we must supply not only enough but also

better-quality food to the working people and thus improve their standard of living.

Our Party and Government have initiated the huge task of increasing rice output to more than 3 million tons within the next few years so that all the people in the northern half can live on rice. This is really a splendid programme which heartens everybody. It is one that we can surely fulfil.

To secure a higher output of grain, especially rice, it is necessary to continue projects for transforming nature.

The state will concentrate efforts on speeding up the construction of the large-scale Amnok River irrigation scheme which will water about 90,000 hectares of fields. In the future the state will undertake a big irrigation project along the Ryesong River to bring under irrigation over 100,000 hectares of rice paddies and dry fields in North and South Hwanghae Provinces. It is also necessary to use the existing irrigation facilities to greater advantage, carry on with the construction of medium and small irrigation projects, and energetically push ahead with the reclamation of land from the sea along the west coast. It is particularly noteworthy that the reclaimed land is yielding good results: more than 4,000 hectares reclaimed last year have already given us an average of over three tons of rice per hectare this year. There is no doubt that as the salinity of these paddy fields goes down, the output of crops will grow. This is very fine, and we should continue this work.

Starting now, we should, by spring 1964, expand the area of paddy fields by over 60,000 hectares, bringing a total of 600,000 hectares under rice cultivation in 1964.

Along with irrigation, land conservation work must be done properly. Drawing on the experience of this year we should regularly and carefully maintain not only our big rivers but also our small ones and, where necessary, undertake improvement projects. We should continue energetically with afforestation and with water conservation work—to plant and tend forests properly, ensure that all river embankments are built on solid foundations and that river beds are

dredged—so that floods even bigger than this year's will cause us no damage.

In agriculture, it is necessary to step up mechanization and chemicalization, to continue improving seed strains, and to develop all sorts of new farming techniques. During 1963, the state will also supply the rural areas with many tractors, lorries, and other modern farm machinery of various types. Next year, 700,000 tons of chemical fertilizers will be applied, and the supply of different chemicals for agriculture and weed killers will increase considerably.

In this way, when we plant rice on 600,000 hectares of paddy fields, expand the double-cropping area, and steadily improve farming technique to increase the per-hectare yield of all kinds of crops, we shall be able to continue harvesting more than 5 million tons of grain annually; of this, rice output will undoubtedly hit the 3 million-ton mark.

With the food problem being fully solved, new possibilities are opening up for the rapid development of stockbreeding.

From 1964 onwards the Party and the Government plan to set aside large quantities of grain for animal fodder. Anticipating a sharp increase in the supply of fodder grain, we should start from now to build up the foundations of our stockbreeding by securing superior breeding animals and increasing their number, and by improving and expanding stalls and veterinary and anti-epizootic establishments. We should not only breed pasture animals but also pigs and ducks on a large scale, so as to bring meat production up to 200,000 tons by 1965.

We should expand the areas planted with different types of oil-bearing plants and fibre crops such as flax, hemp and ramie so as to increase their output, and we should further develop fruit growing and sericulture.

While developing industry and agriculture, we must push ahead with housing construction for the working people. In the future, too, our construction workers must build, in both urban and rural areas, a greater number of modern houses which are more comfortable, attractive and functional for the working people.

By successfully carrying out all these tasks, in three to four years we should be able to radically improve the living conditions of the people and consolidate the economic foundations of the country.

There will be a new, great change in the material and cultural life of our people three to four years later. By then we shall be producing 3 million tons of rice, 200,000 tons of meat, and 300 million metres of fabric; and new modern houses for hundreds of thousands of families will have been built in town and country. This will enable all of our people to lead a life of plenty—to live in tile-roofed houses, eat rice and meat, and wear silk clothes. This means that within our time, the long-cherished desire of the working people of our country will be accomplished. This, indeed, will be a very happy and gratifying thing.

Moreover, in the near future, the compulsory nine-year technical education which we have been preparing for will be introduced universally. Its enforcement will enable us to bring up the whole younger generation as competent builders of socialism and communism, with a knowledge of advanced science and technology. With the continued rapid expansion of higher education as well as the enforcement of compulsory technical education, the total number of our technicians and specialists will exceed 400,000 in two or three years. Thus, shop managers and other higher cadres in all our factories and enterprises will, without exception, be qualified engineers and specialists, or assistant engineers and junior specialists.

This bright prospect is a source of great excitement for all the working people of our country, inspiring them more powerfully in their heroic endeavours. Solidly united around the Party and the Government, our working people are now marching confidently towards new victories with greater hope and courage and with the clear prospect of a bright future. Through their heroic struggle our people, under the leadership of the Party, are sure to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan triumphantly.

In order to successfully carry out the enormous tasks confronting us in socialist construction, we must further enhance the role and function

of the state bodies as a weapon in the construction of socialism and continue to improve the management and guidance of the national economy.

Our Party and Government have taken a series of important measures to reorganize the work of the state and economic bodies as well as to raise the level of leadership of their officials, in keeping with the new, changed conditions. With these measures they have achieved great successes and accumulated valuable experience.

In particular, there has been a great change in the work of the state and economic bodies in the course of generalizing the guidance experience gained in Chongsan-ri. Revolutionary methods of work have been established; leadership has been brought closer to the lower bodies, and higher bodies help those below them; in addition, officials go deeply among the masses to educate, remould, and rally them round and solve all problems by giving full play to their enthusiasm and creativity.

In order to establish the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method more thoroughly in the guidance and management of the national economy, we took new, radical measures this year to reorganize the structure of factory management and to establish county cooperative farm management committees and provincial rural economy committees.

Although it is not long since their establishment, the new systems of management in industry and agriculture are already fully proving their superiority.

The reorganization of the factory management structure made it possible both to manage factories under the collective leadership of Party committees, and to decisively strengthen the leadership and supervision of Party bodies over industry and the Party's political work among the working class. The leading cadres in the factories are now freed from petty tasks and thus able to devote much effort to giving technical guidance for production, and to go deeper among the masses so as to do better work with them. All this is due to the establishment of a clear division of responsibilities and assignments among the different

sections of the factory, to the improvement of leadership and assistance which ministries and management bureaus provide for factories, and to the introduction of a new system in which higher units ensure the deliveries of equipment, materials and consumer goods to lower units.

In agriculture we have set up the county cooperative farm management committees, putting at their disposal agronomists, and bringing under them those state enterprises—such as farm machine stations, local farm implement factories, and irrigation administration offices—which serve agriculture. Thus it became possible to direct agriculture more effectively—not by the administrative method, as in the past, but by the industrial method of management—and more vigorously promote the development of the productive forces of agriculture and, in particular, the rural technical revolution. In addition, by radically improving and strengthening the leadership and the material and technical assistance given by the state to the cooperative farms, we have further enhanced the leading role of state ownership over cooperative ownership. This has also strengthened the production links between town and country and between industry and agriculture, and has consolidated the worker-peasant alliance, enhancing the leading role of the working class in that alliance.

Specialized bodies set up for directing agriculture in the rural areas are also having a very positive influence on the work of the local people's committees. Provincial, city, and county people's committees are now able to give great attention to commerce, construction, education, culture and public health and, consequently, to give better leadership to the work in these fields.

We can say with conviction that these management systems in industry and agriculture initiated by our Party are excellent new forms of managing a socialist economy, forms which are in full harmony with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and with the actual conditions of our country.

The question now is to improve our officials' work methods and decisively promote their level of leadership on the strength of the superiority of the existing management systems. The work methods of

our officials have not yet been completely changed to conform to the new management systems, and the guidance they give still fails to keep pace with the high revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. These shortcomings should be eliminated as soon as possible.

It is important that we first strengthen political work, and in this way steadily heighten the ideological consciousness of the masses and inspire them to participate voluntarily in carrying out the revolutionary tasks. We must continue to hold firmly to the principle of giving priority to political work in all fields and giving a vigorous communist education to the working people in conjunction with education in the Party's policies and, at the same time, of correctly linking this with practical and administrative work as well as with ensuring the optimum material and technical conditions.

Along with this, we should bring leadership closer to the lower units and improve its methods. The important thing in leadership is to establish more thoroughly the revolutionary work method—the method of relying on the masses—and the work system of giving real help to the lower units.

It is the workers and peasants who are directly engaged in production and construction. They know better than anyone else the state of affairs at their places of work and can suggest more new ideas. Therefore, our leading officials should always go deeply among the masses where they should consult them, listen to their opinions, draw on the resourcefulness of the masses to find solutions to problems, and mobilize them to carry out all the tasks which the revolution faces.

The precise aim of giving guidance to the lower units is to help the workers there to correct their shortcomings and get good results in their work. When going down to the lower units, leading officials should not dictate to the workers nor order them about, but should give them practical assistance by kindly teaching them and working with them to solve their difficult problems, so that they can do their work well.

Thus fully practising the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method in all fields, we should make skilful use of the high revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and mobilize the unused reserves and

potential of our national economy to the maximum.

The unlimited creativity and talent of our working people are a decisive guarantee for the success of the great programme of socialist construction.

We should expand and strengthen the Chollima Workteam Movement among the working people and educate and remould all of them in communist ideas, so as to unite them more closely around the Party and give free rein to their revolutionary zeal and creative ability. In this way we will continue to bring about innovations and rapid progress in all fields of socialist construction.

All our cadres and other working people should build up more firmly the revolutionary spirit of opposing immorality and laziness, living a modest life, never letting down their guard and valiantly surmounting every difficulty with a revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

As communists fighting for the revolution, we must always have a spirit of self-reliance. Otherwise, we would lose confidence in our own strength and make no serious effort to develop the internal resources of our country, thus failing to accomplish the cause of the revolution.

Of course, we shall continue to need help and support from the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries and from all the progressive people of the world; that is important to guarantee our victory. But it is not a revolutionary's attitude just to seek aid from foreign countries instead of exerting himself. With that kind of attitude, we could not accomplish the revolution. The decisive factor in the victory of our revolution lies in our own strength. We must build a new society in our country and achieve the final victory of the Korean revolution mainly through our own efforts. This conforms to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and will contribute to the development of the international revolutionary movement.

In building a socialist economy, we should also be firm in our adherence to the principle of self-reliance, and move towards the building of more solid foundations for an independent national economy, promoting economic and cultural cooperation with fraternal countries on this basis.

Building an independent national economy means building a diversified economy, equipping it with up-to-date technology and creating our own secure sources of raw materials, thereby building up an all-embracing economic system in which every branch of the economy is structurally interrelated, so as to produce domestically most of the products of heavy and light industry and the agricultural produce needed to make the country wealthy and powerful and to improve the people's living conditions.

Only by building the economy in this way can we utilize all our country's natural resources in the most rational and comprehensive way, rapidly develop our productive forces, steadily raise the living standards of the people and further increase the political and economic strength of the country. And only by building an independent national economy can we and the fraternal countries meet each other's economic needs, and ensure more effective mutual cooperation and a better division of labour, on the principles of proletarian internationalism and of complete equality and mutual benefit, thus strengthening the power of the entire socialist camp.

Under the leadership of our Party our people have built the foundations of an independent national economy through hard-fought battles. As a result, we have not only strengthened the economic power of the country and raised our standard of living, but have also been able to promote greater mutual cooperation with the fraternal countries and to lighten considerably the burdens these countries bear for our country. This is our due repayment to the peoples of the fraternal countries for their active support and assistance, and it is our important contribution to strengthening the power of the entire socialist camp.

Under the banner of self-reliance, we shall continue to exert ourselves and mobilize our internal resources to the utmost, steadily developing our cooperation with the fraternal countries on the principles of proletarian internationalism. Thus we shall speed up the construction of socialism in our country and contribute to increasing the might of the world socialist system.

Rallied steel-strong around the Party and the Government, our

people will continue their vigorous advance in the spirit of the Chollima riders—courageously surmounting any and every difficulty—and will definitely fulfil the Seven-Year Plan and reach the high peak of socialism.

3

Comrade Deputies,

The great successes achieved in the construction of socialism in the northern half of Korea are exerting a great revolutionary influence on the people in south Korea who are under the colonial rule of US imperialism. These successes are moving the balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution in Korea more and more in favour of the former.

Inspired by the great victories in socialist construction achieved by their north Korean brothers, the south Korean people rose up in a heroic struggle and overthrew the Syngman Rhee “regime” that had ridden roughshod over them for 12 years; and now they keep up a determined struggle against US imperialist colonial rule and the military dictatorship.

Developments in south Korea since the April Popular Uprising show that neither a “legal” replacement of the regime nor the imposition of a terrorist dictatorship by sheer force enables the US imperialists to tide over the political and economic crises in south Korea or to suppress the people’s struggle there for democratic freedom, for the right to live and for the peaceful reunification of our country.

Despite bloody repression by the US imperialists and the south Korean military “regime”, anti-US sentiments are mounting among the broad masses of the people in south Korea, and the patriotic and democratic forces are growing progressively stronger.

In the year and a half following the seizure of power by the military fascist clique, the political and economic crises in south Korea have deepened. The economy has declined further, the people's living standards are deteriorating, and corruption and social disorder is increasing.

In south Korea all the political parties and social organizations have been dissolved, and "martial law" has been in force for more than a year now.

While launching an unprecedentedly barbarous attack on the democratic freedom of the people, the south Korean military "regime" is trying hard to quell the people's discontent, making a lot of talk about the "construction of a self-reliant economy", a "five-year plan for economic development", or "relief for the poor". But no one expects that the south Korean military "regime", a mere tool of US imperialist colonial rule, will ever do any of these things. It has already become quite evident that all this is nothing but hot air.

The economy of south Korea under US imperialist occupation is in a state of irretrievable ruin.

Having seized the key branches of the economy of south Korea, the US imperialists have reduced it to their military appendage and have totally destroyed the south Korean national economy.

Under the pressure of US monopoly capital and comprador capital, national industry in south Korea has been completely stifled and ruined. Owing to the increasing shortage of raw materials and funds, and to growing marketing difficulties, industrial production fell by 9 per cent within just one year after the setting up of the military "regime".

South Korean agriculture has also been totally devastated. The vast peasant masses are still being harshly exploited under the feudalists landlord system. Plunder and exploitation by the US imperialists and the landlords have simply ruined south Korean agriculture. Both the total area of arable land and the area actually planted are steadily decreasing, and agricultural production is still based on backward, mediaeval techniques. Thus, south Korea, formerly a granary, has been

converted into a region of chronic famine and has to import 4 to 5 million *sok* of US surplus grain every year.

The south Korean people are living in untold misery due to economic bankruptcy on all fronts and cruel exploitation at the hands of the US imperialists, the landlords, and the comprador capitalists.

Millions of working people have lost their jobs and are wandering in the streets. As no measures have been taken for their relief, they hover on the verge of starvation. Sixty per cent of all the able-bodied men in south Korea today are either unemployed or underemployed.

The people have been totally impoverished. Nevertheless, south Korea's rulers are exacting increasing taxes from the working people to cover their huge military expenditures. The tax burden on the south Korean people in 1962 was 43 per cent greater than in 1960. As a result of the acute inflation caused by snowballing military spending, commodity prices are steadily rising. As of July this year, commodity prices in south Korea were up by more than 20 per cent as against the end of 1960.

The US imperialists have thoroughly disorganized the south Korean economy and brought unspeakable suffering to the south Korean people, transforming the whole of south Korea into a living hell where mass terror and tyranny prevail. The people's lives and property are constantly threatened by the American robbers, and our compatriots, our brothers and sisters are insulted and murdered by the aggressors. Mass starvation is sweeping south Korea, and many people starve to death almost every day.

This is the consequence of the colonial rule of US imperialism in south Korea and of the traitorous policy of the south Korean rulers.

The only way to save the present situation in south Korea and to relieve the people there from hunger and poverty is to drive out the US troops and achieve national reunification.

Unless the complete independence and reunification of the country is achieved, the Korean people will not be able to live in peace for one minute, nor will the people in south Korea be able to free themselves from their present misery. The achievement of the great work of

national reunification is the unanimous desire of all Koreans, in north and south. It is the supreme national task.

Reunification of our country should be achieved independently and by peaceful means without the interference of any outside forces after driving out foreign troops.

Having turned south Korea into their colony and military base and driven south Korean society into the depths of ruin, the US imperialists are constantly threatening peace in Korea by aggravating tension. They are obstructing the reunification of our country by resorting to all sorts of sinister schemes.

The occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists and their aggressive policy are the root causes of all the misfortunes and sufferings of the people in south Korea; they constitute the main obstacle to social progress in south Korea and to the peaceful reunification of our country.

History has never seen the achievement of independence and reunification when a country is occupied by foreign aggressor troops and is suffering outside interference.

Only by driving the US army of aggression out of south Korea will it be possible to deliver the south Koreans from hunger, poverty and colonial slavery, and to realize the national desire of reunifying our divided country. Those who talk about the reunification of the country while justifying the occupation of south Korea by US troops are, in fact, the opponents of reunification and are agents of imperialism.

There is no reason whatsoever for the US imperialists to station their troops in south Korea: in no way can it be justified. The US army must pull out of south Korea and the Korean question must be settled by the Korean people themselves.

The US imperialists are clamouring that the US army must be stationed in south Korea in order to check “communist aggression from the north”. But they cannot deceive any one with such a lie.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic are consistent in their efforts for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. We have no intention of marching south, we have no intention of solving

the question of Korean reunification by force of arms.

“Communist aggression from the north” is nothing but a subterfuge of the US imperialists to cover up their sinister design to continue the occupation of south Korea, extend their invasion to the whole of Korea and further their aggression in Asia. The people in south Korea should thoroughly expose and frustrate the vicious scheming of the US imperialists to invade all of Korea by pitting Koreans against Koreans.

We consider that the United Nations has no right to discuss the Korean question nor has it any right to meddle in the domestic affairs of our country. The Korean question should not be discussed by foreigners in New York or Washington; it should be discussed in Pyongyang or Seoul by the Koreans themselves.

The question of Korean reunification is an internal affair of the Korean people, and it can be settled by them alone. What grounds do foreign countries have for interfering in the domestic affairs of Korea, and how can they possibly settle the internal affairs of our nation? To try to achieve the reunification of the country by relying on outside forces is an illusion, and is tantamount to leaving the whole of Korea open to imperialist aggression.

The Korean people can, and must, reunify their country through their own efforts.

Reunification of our country is a complicated and difficult task that cannot be performed easily. Only through a hard and long-drawn-out struggle can we accomplish the great task of national reunification; for the US imperialists, the overlords of world imperialism, have occupied south Korea and are now plotting frantically to unleash a new war, pursuing a policy of aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia.

We should achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of our country in a gradual way, through a series of intermediate steps, on the condition that foreign troops are withdrawn from south Korea.

In order to achieve the country’s reunification, it is of paramount importance to eliminate the tension between north and south created by the US imperialists.

The US army should be withdrawn, a peace agreement should be

concluded between the north and the south on refraining from attacking each other, and the armed forces of each be reduced to 100,000 or less. We have proposed this on a number of occasions and have done everything in our power to achieve this end.

Neither north nor south should increase their armed forces nor their armaments; instead, the armed forces should be reduced and tension eliminated so that both sides can concentrate on building up the national economy and improving the living standards of the people.

The US imperialists maintain a 700,000-strong mercenary army in south Korea, grinding the people down. This huge military force in the south has nothing to do with national defence; it is merely an instrument of US imperialism for carrying out a policy of aggression. It imposes an unbearably heavy burden on the people in south Korea and seriously threatens peace throughout Korea.

The conclusion of a peace agreement between north and south Korea and the reduction of their respective armed forces would, above all, mean relief for the people in the south from the heavy burdens of military expenditure and removal of the tension that has been artificially created between north and south, thereby creating an atmosphere of mutual trust.

The withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea, the conclusion of a peace agreement between north and south, and the reduction of their armed forces would prove to be important initial steps towards the reunification of the country.

The elimination of tension between the north and the south would enable us to take a further step and enter into economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation.

A burning issue in south Korea today is the rehabilitation of its devastated economy and the improvement of the miserable living conditions of the people there. The only way of solving this problem is to establish economic and cultural relations and promote exchanges and cooperation between the north and the south.

Under the leadership of our Party, the people in the northern half have, through a heroic struggle, laid the foundations of

industrialization and built a solid basis for an independent national economy. The economic foundations we have already established in the northern half of Korea are a sure guarantee for the independent development of the national economy of Korea as a whole.

Only when economic cooperation and exchanges between north and south Korea are effected so as to take advantage of the economic foundations built in north Korea, can the industry and agriculture of south Korea be rehabilitated and developed, can the millions of unemployed be given jobs, and the life of its people be generally improved.

We think it is necessary to organize an economic committee composed of representatives of north and south Korea for the purpose of effecting north-south exchanges.

The south Korean authorities, contrary to the will of the Korean people, are now trying to find a way out of their dilemma by bringing in foreign capital. The introduction of foreign capital leads to a state of dependence and national bankruptcy. This will only result in plunging the already ruined south Korean economy even deeper into the abyss of hopeless destruction and in making south Korea more and more dependent on imperialism. The outcome of US "aid" to south Korea over the 17 years since liberation is a striking proof of this.

When the north and the south combine their efforts to exploit our rich domestic resources, relying on the powerful economic foundations of north Korea, our nation will not only be able to stand on its own feet, but also build a modern, rich, powerful and independent state.

When exchanges and mutual cooperation between the north and the south come into effect, we shall be able to take another step towards epoch-making measures for the initial phase of national reunification.

In order to achieve the initial phase of reunification, we consider the establishment of the Confederation already proposed by our Party and the Government of the Republic to be a reasonable step.

Our proposal of a Confederation is aimed at setting up a Supreme National Committee, composed of representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the "Government of

the Republic of Korea” to jointly solve matters of concern to the whole nation, while leaving intact the present socio-political systems in north and south Korea and ensuring the independence of action of the two governments.

Under the Confederation, neither north nor south shall interfere in the internal affairs of the other, nor shall one impose its will upon the other. North and south Korea shall act freely according to their respective political beliefs and jointly settle only those problems of common national interest on which agreement has been reached through the confederative body.

Unlike a confederation of nations with different languages, customs and cultures, the Confederation we propose would be a coming together of two temporarily divided parts of a single nation which has had the same language, customs and culture throughout its long history. Therefore, the establishment of the Confederation of north and south will make it possible for us to do tremendous work for the prosperity of the country and the benefit of the nation—developing the national economy and culture in a coordinated way and jointly exploiting all domestic resources, appearing as one nation in various fields of international activity, and so forth.

The establishment of the Confederation will also promote contacts and mutual understanding, strengthen politico-economic ties between north and south and create an atmosphere of national amity, thereby initiating a very favourable phase in the achievement of the complete peaceful reunification of our country.

We can, and must, achieve the complete reunification of our country by taking these intermediate steps.

As our Party and Government have made clear time and again, in order to achieve that goal, a unified central government, representing all strata of people in north and south Korea, must be set up on the basis of free elections throughout the whole country, conducted on democratic principles.

The guarantee of freedom to travel and freedom of political activity for the people in both north and south Korea, as well as the rejection of

any interference by external forces, are prerequisites for free all-Korea elections.

In south Korea the suppression of the patriotic and democratic movement of the people must be brought to an end at once, and freedom of speech, the press, association and assembly, and freedom to demonstrate and to strike must be ensured. All political parties and social organizations outlawed by the military “regime” must be restored and complete freedom for their activities ensured.

All political parties, social organizations and individual public figures in north and south Korea must be guaranteed freedom of activity in all parts of the country and the freedom to express their political views before the people without any restriction whatsoever.

Only when these conditions are ensured can the Korean people establish an all-Korea central government through genuinely free elections and achieve the complete peaceful reunification of the country.

This stand of the Workers’ Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea on the reunification of the country reflects the interests of the whole nation and the will of the entire Korean people.

Certain persons in south Korea are dead set against the independent peaceful reunification of our country, alleging that its realization would lead to the “communization” of south Korea. Whether the ideal of communism is realized in south Korea or not is a matter to be decided by the south Korean people themselves, and no one can impose it on them. No progressive ideas and social systems can be imposed from outside; they are chosen by the people themselves of their own free will. To oppose the reunification of the country on the pretext of fearing the “communization” of south Korea is to go against the entire people’s earnest desire for reunification and to betray the vital interests of the whole nation.

The rulers in south Korea still persist in their old “theory of wiping out communism for reunification” and are prattling on about building up their strength to “prevail over communism”.

Attempts have already been made to wipe out communism and impose the colonial system on the whole of Korea through the power of imperialism, but this goal has proved completely unattainable. For almost 40 years, Japanese imperialist colonial rule could not stamp out the communist movement in Korea. Syngman Rhee, who had made the extermination of communism his lifetime task, could not achieve his goal even though banking on the power of US imperialism. Rather he was forsaken by the people and met his downfall for his crimes. Some of those die-hards in south Korea who are bent on anti-communism must learn these lessons of history. Anyone daring to follow in the wake of Syngman Rhee will surely meet the same fate as his predecessor.

The reunification of our country is not a question of conquerors and conquered, but of the restoration of national unity in an originally united nation by completely freeing itself from the yoke of imperialism.

The pipe dream of “wiping out communism” or “prevailing over communism” is not only past all hope of realization. It is also a very harmful idea aimed at preventing the reunification of the country and perpetuating a divided nation.

The stand of our Party and the Government of the Republic on the reunification of the country is irrefutable; it is the most fair and reasonable one.

Anyone who truly defends the interests of the nation and is concerned about the future of the country should fight for a better life for the people in south Korea, today in dire straits, and for the country’s peaceful reunification. This is the solemn national duty of every Korean.

In order to achieve the reunification of the country it is most important to promote mutual understanding between north and south in every way, and achieve national amity and solidarity. Antagonism and enmity between the north and the south, and failure to achieve national unity only benefit the US imperialists. The imperialist aggressors fear our national awakening and unity more than anything else. They resort

to every vile scheme to undermine national unity, sow discord and create antagonism within the nation, with the object of achieving their goal of aggression.

All the patriotic people of north and south Korea should decisively smash the US imperialist policy of dividing the nation and close ranks under the banner of the anti-US struggle for national salvation and the banner of national reunification.

We will unite and work together with anyone, regardless of his past record and political beliefs, as long as he defends the interests of the nation and works for the reunification of the homeland.

We can join hands even with those now in power in south Korea if they stop betraying the nation by conspiring with the foreign aggressors, stop repressing the people, and join in the struggle for independent peaceful reunification of the country. But if they refuse to do so and continue to fawn upon the foreign forces and tag along behind them, repressing the people's just struggle for democracy and the right to live, and if they keep on obstructing the country's reunification to the last, it will be an indelible crime never to be erased from our nation's memory, and they will not escape the stern judgment of the entire Korean people.

Unity should be achieved between the socialist forces of the northern half of Korea and the patriotic, democratic forces of south Korea, and the whole nation should unite firmly in the fight against US imperialist aggression and for the peaceful reunification of our country.

All sectors of the people in south Korea—workers, peasants, soldiers, youth and students, intellectuals and others—must rise up bravely in a save-the-nation struggle against the US imperialist aggressors. The south Korean people must fight against the US imperialist policy of aggression and war and determinedly reject any cooperation with the invader army. The south Korean people should put an end to the outrages committed by US troops against our compatriots, our brothers and sisters, and wage a decisive struggle to force the aggressors out of our territory.

The south Korean people must fight both US imperialism and the internal reactionary force conspiring with it.

Under the banner of independent and peaceful reunification, the workers and peasants and all the patriotic, democratic forces of south Korea must form a broad united front for national salvation against US imperialism; they must completely isolate the US imperialists and the internal reactionary forces and, by constantly bringing pressure to bear on the reactionary rulers, prevent them from relying on outside forces.

We are living in a great era of national-liberation revolutions, when all the oppressed nations of the world are valiantly rising up to win their freedom and independence, casting aside the fetters of imperialism and colonialism. The spirit of struggle for national liberation is running high today in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In such an era, how could our wise and courageous nation, which has a long history and culture of thousands of years and which has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions, succumb to the oppression of Yankee imperialism and tolerate colonial slavery? All of us should rise up vigorously and intensify the flames of struggle for the reunification of the nation and the complete independence of the country, fighting US imperialism and its accomplices, the reactionary ruling forces.

When the whole nation is firmly united and fighting a vigorous anti-US save-the-nation struggle, the US imperialist aggressors will finally be driven out of south Korea and the great task of national reunification will assuredly be accomplished.

4

Comrades,

Thanks to the correct foreign policy pursued by our Party and Government and to the heroic struggle of our people, the international

position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been strengthened as never before.

The general international situation today is developing more and more in favour of the revolutionary cause of our people. The might of the socialist camp has grown incomparably, and the forces of peace and socialism are overwhelming the forces of war and imperialism in the international arena.

The Soviet people are pioneering the road to communism, the ideal of mankind. The Soviet Union is carrying out large-scale economic construction for laying the material and technical bases of communism, and the well-being of its working people is being further improved. The Soviet Union is leading the world in scientific and technological development and is registering ever greater achievements in this sphere. All the successes achieved by the Soviet people in building communism increase the strength of the socialist camp and inspire all the peoples of the world who are fighting for peace, national independence and socialism.

The fraternal Chinese people are also making achievements in the construction of socialism.

In all the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, the economy is developing rapidly and the people's standard of living improving.

Today, the socialist camp is the hope and expectation of progressive mankind all over the world; it constitutes the decisive factor in the development of human history.

The strengthening and development of the socialist camp greatly inspires the peoples of the colonies and subjected countries in their struggle for liberation, and further accelerates the process of the final disintegration of the imperialist colonial system.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America hundreds of millions of people have already thrown off the vile yoke of colonialism and embarked upon the road of independent development, and the flames of the national-liberation struggle are spreading and shooting higher.

The South Vietnamese people continue their heroic armed struggle against US imperialism and its stooges. The people of Laos have won a

great victory in their battle to smash the aggressive machinations of the foreign imperialists and internal reactionaries, and to achieve national independence; and the Indonesian people have fought a successful struggle for the liberation of West Irian.

After a long-drawn-out armed struggle, the Algerian people have won their freedom and liberation and have set up an independent national state, and in all African countries still under the colonial yoke, the peoples are bravely fighting against the colonialists.

The heroic Cuban people are resolutely defending the gains of their revolution against the incessant aggressive manoeuvres of the US imperialists. The triumph and development of the Cuban people's revolution is a tremendous revolutionary stimulus to all the Latin-American peoples who are under the yoke of US imperialism. The tide of the liberation struggle is rapidly spreading to all Latin-American countries, and their struggle is continuously surging ahead.

Owing to the rapid growth of the forces of world socialism and the disintegration of the colonial system, the forces of imperialism have been decisively weakened. The internal contradictions of imperialism are being further aggravated and the conflicts between imperialist powers become more acute. The revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people, led by the working class, is advancing in all the capitalist countries. The imperialists are suffering heavy blows from within and from without and are being driven into a tight corner.

Capitalism has outlived its day. The time is already past when imperialism could exercise its sway over the world and perpetrate aggression and pillage at will. Ours is an age of great struggle, an age of revolutionary storm, one in which a fierce class war is being waged throughout the world and in which all the exploited peoples and oppressed nations on earth have come forward to fight for liberation. Imperialism is going to ruin; socialism and communism are triumphing on a world scale.

All the reactionary forces of the world, led by US imperialism, are engaged in the last stages of their desperate attempt to escape their fate.

The US imperialists are resorting to every conceivable means to oppose the socialist camp, suppress the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and the exploited peoples throughout the world and unleash a new war.

The modern revisionists are attempting to undermine the unity of the socialist camp, defend the aggressive manoeuvres of imperialism, and paralyse the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people; and they are faithfully serving US imperialism.

However, all the machinations of the imperialists and their puppets are of no avail. The rapid growth of the world's socialist forces and the steady upsurge of the people's revolutionary struggle is the basic trend of our times, a trend which no force can hold back; and the complete collapse of imperialism and the final victory of socialism is inevitable.

At present the imperialists, led by US imperialism, are trying to find a way out by stepping up the arms drive, increasing international tension and unleashing another world war.

The US imperialists are expanding their armament on a large scale and further strengthening military bases and aggressive military blocs to attack the socialist countries. The Kennedy Administration, the executor of the US imperialist policy of aggression, has embarked on the road of openly carrying out "local wars" and "special warfare" while making extensive preparations for an all-out and nuclear war. By further increasing the military strength of the aggressive NATO and rearming the West German revanchists, the ruling circles in the United States and its satellite countries are creating a dangerous hotbed for war in the heart of Europe.

The US imperialists are now starting a new war racket in the Caribbean. By openly proclaiming their intention to invade Cuba again, they are creating the maximum tension in this area and gravely threatening peace in the whole world.

In Asia the US imperialists continue to occupy the southern half of our country and have turned it into a base for US atomic weapons and rockets. The US aggressors are further reinforcing both their troops stationed in south Korea and their puppet army, continuing to

introduce various weapons of mass destruction into south Korea and are incessantly making provocations against the northern half of Korea.

The US imperialists are also perpetrating open acts of aggression against People's China by occupying Taiwan, an inalienable territory of the Chinese People's Republic, and by giving encouragement to the Jiang Jieshi clique. In South Viet Nam they are carrying on an undeclared full-scale war of aggression.

Especially, the US imperialists have concluded an aggressive military treaty with Japan, reviving Japanese militarism to use it as a "shock brigade" in their Asian aggression.

The current situation demands that the people of the whole world maintain the utmost vigilance against the plots of the US imperialists and their followers to ignite war and that they fight more actively to defend peace.

The mighty socialist camp today stands in the forefront of the struggle for peace. The socialist countries, by the very nature of their social system, ardently wish for peace and pursue a peaceful foreign policy.

In order to realize the socialist countries' proposals for peace, and to maintain lasting peace throughout the world, it is necessary, above all, to struggle vigorously against the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

The source of war is imperialism, and the main force of aggression and war today is US imperialism. There can be no struggle for peace apart from the fight against the imperialists'—and particularly the US imperialists'—policy to commit aggression and ignite war.

Peace should not be begged for; it must be won through the struggle of the masses. The only way for us to avert a new world war and maintain lasting world peace is by steadily increasing the might of the socialist camp, developing the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the liberation struggles of the peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses in the struggle against the imperialists' policy of aggression

and war, and by bringing pressure to bear upon the imperialist warmongers, hitting them hard everywhere by firmly rallying all peace forces and combining all methods of struggle.

The occupation of south Korea by US troops and the US policy of aggression not only hinder the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, but also gravely threaten peace in the Far East. The Korean people will continue their resolute struggle to frustrate the manoeuvres of the US imperialists aimed at igniting another war in our country, and to force them out of south Korea.

Japanese militarism, which is being revived by the US imperialists, is now raising its head as a dangerous force of aggression in Asia. Particularly, the Japanese militarists, through the “ROK-Japan talks” held under the active instigation of the US imperialists, are not only planning economic aggression in south Korea but are also scheming to rig up the aggressive NEATO with south Korea as a member.

The south Korean military “regime” is nothing but a tool of aggression in the hands of the US imperialists—a tool which has been imposed upon the south Korean people. It can in no way represent the Korean people. Therefore, the Korean people will never recognize, but categorically reject any military or economic agreement which may be concluded between the Japanese government and the south Korean military “regime”. When a unified people’s government is established in Korea in the future, all these political and economic issues will naturally be raised and settled anew with Japan. The Korean people strongly denounce the scheme of Japanese militarism to invade south Korea again and the criminal acts of the US imperialists who are actively abetting it.

Our people resolutely denounce the US imperialists for their acts of aggression in Taiwan, South Viet Nam, Japan and other parts of Asia and throughout the world, and we strongly demand the removal of US military bases and the withdrawal of US troops from the territories of foreign countries. We will fight in strong unity with all the Asian peoples to expel the aggressive forces of US imperialism from every part of Asia.

We support the just stand of the Soviet Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic on concluding a German peace treaty and normalizing the west Berlin situation.

Holding high the banner of the anti-imperialist struggle and firmly uniting with the peace-loving people of the whole world, the Korean people will continue to fight resolutely against the manoeuvres of the US imperialists to ignite war and for defending peace in Asia and the world. We will keep a sharp watch-out at all times, strengthening our defence capabilities in every way and arming the masses of the people with the revolutionary spirit. We shall thereby decisively smash any surprise attack by the enemy, firmly safeguard the gains of socialism and solidly defend peace and the eastern outpost of socialism.

The anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggles of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries constitute part of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class, and they are a powerful factor in the preservation of peace. The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic regard it as an important principle of their foreign policy to give active support to the struggles for national liberation.

The Korean people support in every way the struggle of the heroic Cuban people to defend their national independence and the achievements of their revolution and strongly condemn the US imperialists for their aggressive intrigues against Cuba. Our people actively support the Vietnamese people in their fight against foreign aggressive forces and domestic reactionary forces, for the reunification of their country; and we support the Japanese people in their struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. We warmly congratulate the peoples of Laos and Algeria on their victories in the struggle for national independence. And we actively support the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are struggling for freedom and liberation.

Our Party, the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people will continue to fight determinedly against every form of colonialism and national oppression and extend their support and

encouragement to the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples.

We also actively support and express our firm solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries who are fighting against exploitation and oppression by capital, and for their democratic rights and socialism.

Consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and the steady development of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries: this is the immovable cornerstone of the foreign policy of our Republic.

The unity and cohesion of the socialist camp is the most important guarantee for frustrating the imperialist policy of aggression, and for achieving peace, national independence and victory for the cause of socialism. It is the solemn internationalist duty of the parties, governments and peoples of all socialist countries to strengthen their friendship and solidarity and to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp.

The relations among the socialist countries are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; these are state relations of an entirely new kind, fundamentally different from relations among the imperialist countries.

The socialist countries are firmly united by a common social system and by a common ideology and goal of struggle. They cooperate closely and support each other in the struggle against their common enemy for the common cause of socialism and communism.

The relations among the imperialist countries are relations of domination and subjection, whereby a big nation interferes in the internal affairs of a small nation, imposing its will upon the latter and demanding unilateral respect and submission. All the socialist countries, however, both big and small, are completely equal and independent and respect and support each other. Among these countries there can be no such thing as one country interfering in the internal affairs of another or imposing its will upon the other.

Outwardly the imperialist countries proclaim mutual “friendship” and “solidarity”, but behind the scenes they carry on subversive

activities against one another; they advocate “cooperation” and “aid”, but in reality they utilize these as a means of subordinating other countries politically and economically. The socialist countries, on the other hand, maintain relations of conscious and comradely friendship and cooperation as fellow-fighters for a common cause against a common enemy. There can be no backbiting or double-dealing among these countries.

These are the principles on which friendship, solidarity and cooperation among the socialist countries are based. It is for this reason that they can never be shaken and that they display indestructible strength.

Today the imperialists and their henchmen, the revisionists, are viciously scheming to undermine the unity of the socialist camp. At the instigation of the imperialists, the revisionists are slandering the socialist countries and plotting to set them against one another and to overthrow the parties and governments of these countries. We must sharpen our vigilance and resolutely fight these subversive activities.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic, always firmly adhering to the Marxist-Leninist norms for mutual relations among the socialist countries, have worked persistently to strengthen friendship and cooperation with all the fraternal countries and safeguard the unity of the socialist camp. Our country has now established an unbreakable alliance with our neighbours, the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China, under Treaties of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. Friendship and cooperation between our people and the peoples of all the socialist countries are being consolidated and developed still further.

The Workers’ Party of Korea, the Government of the Republic and the Korean people will continue to make every effort to steadily promote friendship, solidarity and mutual cooperation with the peoples of all socialist countries and to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp.

Our country views it as a consistent line of its foreign policy to establish normal state relations with all countries which respect the

freedom and independence of our people, especially to develop relations of friendly cooperation with the independent national states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We will continue to work actively to further cement and promote our relationship with independent national states which have already established friendly state relations with us and to develop amicable relationship with the other Asian, African and Latin-American countries with which we have not yet entered into state relations. We will also endeavour to establish state, economic, and cultural relations with those capitalist countries desirous of having good relations with our country, and to effect trade and cultural exchanges with them based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The revolutionary struggle of the Korean people is an integral part of the struggle of peoples all over the world for peace, national independence and socialism. In the future as well, our Party, Government and people will faithfully carry out their national and international duties, by continuing resolute battles, under the uplifted revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the struggle against imperialism and for socialism and national liberation.

Comrade Deputies,

Today we live in an era of unprecedented prosperity in the history of our country and our nation.

Our country's economy is growing steadily, science and technology is rapidly developing and our national culture is blossoming gloriously. Our cities and villages are growing and taking on a still newer look. The whole life of our people is happy, full of hope and joy, and their material well-being and cultural level improve with each passing day. The entire people is rallied steel-strong around the Party and the Government, and the whole country is bursting with unprecedented revolutionary spirit and creative enthusiasm.

It is most important for us at present to continue our struggle with determination, for the eternal prosperity of our country and the future happiness of the whole nation by firmly safeguarding and consolidating the indestructible unity of our Party, Government and

people and by maintaining and increasing the heightened revolutionary zeal of the masses of the people.

Our Party has set forth an impressive programme for the construction of socialism in the northern half of Korea, and all the working people have thrown themselves as one into the fight to carry it out. By successfully fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan at all costs, the working people, under the leadership of our Party, will make the revolutionary base in the northern half impregnable, and will more forcefully encourage and inspire the south Korean people in their struggle against the US imperialists and their lackeys. The Korean people, under the leadership of our Party, are certain to accomplish the great task of national reunification and win ultimate victory for the Korean revolution.

Our people, who are led by a Marxist-Leninist party, who hold power firmly in their own hands, and enjoy the active support and encouragement of the great socialist camp and of the progressive people of the whole world, will always be victorious in their just struggle.

Let all of us, united firmly around the Party and the Government, march forward courageously for a great new victory!

ON FURTHER DEVELOPING THE TAEAN WORK SYSTEM

**Speech at an Enlarged Meeting of the Party
Committee of the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant**

November 9, 1962

At this enlarged meeting of the Party Committee of the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant, I have listened with interest to the committee chairman's report as well as to the speeches made by other comrades.

This is a meeting of victors, summing up the great results achieved over the past year in the struggle to put the Party policies into practice.

You have completed this year's plan two months ahead of schedule. To fulfil two months ahead of time a one-year, not a three or five-year, plan is an unprecedented achievement for the machine-building industry, an industry which requires precision and a high technical standard.

Because of this, you now have ample time to make technical preparations and to store sufficient raw materials for next year's production and have laid a sound basis for achieving even greater successes in the coming year.

Wherever a hard struggle has been undertaken, various negative aspects—such as equipment suffering considerable wear and tear and becoming unfit for use, or the factory becoming dirty—are also apt to crop up.

The equipment of this factory, however, has been much better

maintained, and the factory as a whole much better kept than before. The Party members and the workers have raised their technical level and are in high spirits; and unity within the factory has been strengthened. Indeed, you have struggled hard, while at the same time keeping everything in order. In this way you have won a great victory in all fields.

This demonstrates conclusively the distinct advantages of the new system of factory management and of directing the process of production, first introduced in this factory at the end of last year.

It must be admitted that the old system of factory management, though socialist, still retained many holdovers from capitalism. Large doses of bureaucracy, departmentalism and selfishness were to be found in that system. Superiors used to shout commands at their subordinates in a bureaucratic way, instead of going down to help the lower units; there was little spirit of cooperation between workshops, and among some people there was a tendency towards selfishness of the “You mind your business, and I’ll mind mine” type. Under the old system, therefore, it was not possible to fully develop the activity and creativity of the workers; people busied themselves over nothing, and no big successes were achieved in production.

The Taean work system is radically different from the old; it is an advanced system possessing many features of communist industrial management. This new system fully embodies the collectivist, communist principle of life: “One for all and all for one.” In this system, superiors help their subordinates, the well-informed teach the less-informed, all the people help each other as comrades, and all the workshops cooperate closely.

When I visited this factory last year, I found that Party officials and administrators were not on good terms, that the chief engineer and the factory manager were complaining about each other, and that there was little unity between the workers and the intellectuals. On this visit, however, I have found that these shortcomings have been eliminated, that everyone is united and working in harmony, and that the communist spirit of life prevails throughout the factory.

When the communist principle is strictly observed in work, bureaucracy and egoism naturally disappear. Innovations in production have been made by many comrades, and they have worked devotedly not to get higher wages, but in the interests of the state and the people. If we allow people to become mercenary, it will be impossible to realize the transition to communism. The transition to communism requires not only economic development, but also the transformation of old ideologies in men's minds. It is important above all else to encourage people to work voluntarily and consciously, that is, in a communist way.

Our work system enables people to work and live in a communist way. It unites all, without exception, and allows their devotion and creativity to develop fully, thus bringing about greater results in production.

The great power of the new work system lies in unity and cooperation and the conscious enthusiasm and creativity of the masses; it is the great power which comes into being when Party leadership penetrates deeply into the lower units.

Such power, of course, cannot arise out of a mere reorganization of the management structure. Other factories have also reorganized theirs, but in many of them the new structure has so far failed to display its full strength.

Only when combined with a corresponding work method will the management structure show its full strength. Repeated reorganization of the management structure is useless if work is conducted bureaucratically. You have been able to achieve great success because you employed the Chongsanri method in handling the new management structure.

Through your devoted struggle over the past year to fully apply the Chongsanri method along with the new structure, you have achieved great results and have clearly proved the great advantages of the new work system which embodies the communist principle of life.

You have learned from personal experience that the communist method of industrial management and operation introduced by the

Party is quite practicable. Moreover, you have played an honoured role as the vanguard in the struggle to firmly establish the new work system, showing all the working people of our country that such a work method and system can be applied in other places too.

All the members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, and all the members of the Cabinet of our Republic are present at this meeting. I have the pleasure of telling you that the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic are very satisfied with your achievements.

All the Party members, workers, technicians, office staff, teachers, and supply and service workers, to say nothing of the factory Party committee, have made great efforts, united as one, to implement the Party's policies. Even the housewives have taken an active part.

As a rule, when we try to break with the old and create the new, we come face to face with difficulties and with people who vacillate. The Party committee and the entire Party membership in this factory, however, have worked consistently and struggled untiringly to implement the Party's policies, valiantly overcoming all difficulties.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I would like to express our gratitude to the members of the factory Party committee, the chairmen and members of the Party-cell committees, all the Party members, members of the Democratic Youth League, the trade union and the Women's Union, and to all the workers, technicians and office staff of the factory, who have fought devotedly to carry through the Party's policies.

Let me stress once again the advantages of the new work system established in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, although you have already mentioned many of them in your speeches.

The first advantage of the new work system is that it fully ensures collective management and operation of the factory.

In the past, the manager had sole authority to decide matters in the factory, and he was also responsible for production. The workers took a negligible part in the management and operation of the factory. All they had to do was to work eight hours, do their own jobs and then go

home. It was a matter of little concern to them whether production was going well in the factory or not.

By contrast, under the new system, the factory Party committee runs the factory as the supreme body of leadership and all the Party members, workers and technicians participate in the management. Responsibility for production does not rest on any one individual, but on all the Party members, workers and technicians, and above all, on the factory Party committee, which is the organ of collective leadership.

When the manager bears sole responsibility and the workers and technicians do not participate in the management of production, the workers are not the masters of production but simply employees obeying bureaucratic instructions and orders. This runs counter to the nature of the socialist system, and makes it impossible to develop to the full the creativity and activity of the working masses.

It is advantageous in many ways for the Party committee to discuss important problems and manage the factory along collective lines.

The Party committee of this factory, I am told, is composed of 35 members. If these members discuss matters collectively, many good ideas can be put forward. The committee includes Party cadres, management cadres, and key workers and technicians. It is, therefore, able to take into full consideration the real conditions in the factory—the mentality and technical level of the Party members and workers, as well as technical preparations and supplies of materials and consumer goods, etc.—before laying down the correct line and taking the appropriate measures.

If the Party committee gives correct collective leadership, it can mobilize all the Party members; and if all the Party members are mobilized, they can stimulate all working people to action. There can be nothing more thorough than collective leadership when all the Party members and all the working people, under the guidance of the Party committee, are consciously striving to increase production and improve factory management. There is no better way of fully drawing upon the collective strength of the factory. If things are worked that

way, all problems will be solved correctly and great innovations will be made in production.

Other factories have failed to make any striking achievements since the new management system was introduced. The main reason is that the Party committees there have not performed their functions satisfactorily. The Party committee at the Hwanghae Iron Works, for instance, failed to draw upon people who could play a central role, and was mainly made up of people engaged in work of secondary importance. The Party committee, therefore, could not effectively fulfil its functions as an organ of collective leadership. As a result, for some time the work in the iron works did not go well. Today, however, by improving the work of the Party committee, they have stabilized production.

You have raised the level of qualifications of the committee members and created conditions for them to express their views fully in order to improve the work of the Party committee. This is very good.

All the achievements of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant have again clearly shown that the first and foremost task in directing production is to strengthen the work of the Party committee and improve the role of the entire Party membership as a vanguard in the factory.

We must continue to improve the role of the Party committee in the factory and of the Party-cell committees in the workshops and assign tasks to each Party member so that the entire Party membership is on the move and all the masses can be mobilized.

Another advantage of the new work system is that it is most effective for the planned management of industry.

As has been shown by the experience of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, in order to ensure correct planning, the new system requires that discussions be held directly with the producer masses and that those personally in charge of directing production draw up the plan.

Planning is one of the most important problems in managing a socialist economy. For better planning, it is necessary to take proper

account of all factors of production, such as the condition of equipment and supply of materials, the available manpower, and the technical level of the working people. Who are most familiar with all these factors? The workers who take a direct part in production.

The workers are well aware of the condition of equipment, of whether or not raw materials are being supplied without difficulty and of whether or not their fellow workers can handle machinery skilfully. Anyone who does not consult with those who are participating directly in production, but instead just sits at his desk making calculations, will not be able to form a realistic plan.

The present textbooks on political economy set many conditions for ensuring good planning. But they do not attach importance to the necessity of carrying out a mass line in planning. I think we ought to compile a new textbook of political economy that will accord with the mass line.

A plan drawn up without the participation of the mass of producers is a subjective plan. And to force such a plan upon the lower units is an act of bureaucracy. The state plan, the plan of a management bureau, the plan of a factory and even of a workshop must be drawn up only after consultation with the actual producers concerned.

Some people, I have learned, allege that the workers are inclined to do only what is easy. This idea is wrong and shows a lack of faith in the revolutionary nature of the workers. The working class is the main force in the building of socialism and communism. Once the workers have a correct understanding of things, they can work out measures for the solution of all problems.

In 1957, when our Party was faced with a most difficult situation, we talked with the workers about measures for overcoming the difficulties. We talked to them frankly about the difficult situation that had been created at home and abroad, and helped them to understand that the only way out was to accelerate economic construction, through economizing and increasing production. As a result, the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant produced 120,000 tons at their blooming mill which, according to its former rated capacity, was only able to turn out

60,000 tons a year. This is an example which shows that when a plan has been worked out after consultation with the masses, and the masses have accepted it as their own, it can certainly be fulfilled, however hard and heavy the efforts involved.

If we had drawn up the plan in Pyongyang without discussing it with the masses, we would have accepted the capacity of the blooming mill of the Kangson Steel Plant as only 60,000 tons and, even if we had planned a target exceeding 60,000 tons, it would not have been reached.

This year the Hwanghae Iron Works has had problems. This is due to the fact that the metal management bureau, turning a deaf ear to the proposals of the workers, has been carrying out its work in a bureaucratic manner. The production targets may have been set a little high, but the plan for this year could definitely have been carried out if the management bureau had discussed it with the workers, taken their views into account, and then taken the necessary steps.

We should always strictly abide by the principle of drawing up plans on the basis of discussion with the producer masses, so that they may then accept those plans as their own.

A plan must be drafted by those who actually direct production. In the past, the metal management bureau left the drafting entirely to the planning workers; those directing production passed on the draft to their superiors without even casting a glance at it, while they themselves handled the work as they pleased, without referring to the plan. That is why there was no plan based on the real conditions of production, and why the direction of production according to the plan could not be guaranteed.

The new work system enables those directing production to draw up the plan through discussions with the workers—the actual producers—inducing them to see the plan as their own; this is a great advantage, we can say.

Another advantage of the Taean work system is that it helps to improve the technical guidance of production and guarantee coordinated guidance of the production process.

Production processes are, in the final analysis, technical processes. Without technical knowledge, we cannot direct production. Production must be directed along technological lines.

Those who are familiar with techniques should direct, in a coordinated way, all the work directly connected with production—from planning to technical preparations and to the production processes themselves.

Under the old work system the different sections connected with production were cut off from each other and there was no general staff to give coordinated direction to production.

The battle in each factory is a battle to guarantee production. Everything must be subordinated to this aim and the person who directs production must take on the role of chief of staff. The planning, preparation and direction of production should be under the control of one person. There will be little coordination if these tasks are divided up among several people.

Who should assume the role of chief of staff in the factory? Possibly the manager or the chief engineer, but whoever does, he should be skilled in technology. The chief engineer would be a good choice, because the manager must see to the general affairs of the factory.

In the army, too, the chief of staff prepares for and organizes the battle. Just as the chief of staff must be proficient in everything—from working out the plan of operations to preparing for and commanding battles—so the chief engineer must know all about production and direct all the different processes in a unified way.

This is a work system created on the basis of experiences accumulated in the course of our long struggle. The experiences of one year in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant have shown that the establishment of a unified general staff led by the chief engineer has great advantages in that it ensures the efficient direction of production.

Furthermore, the new work system has radically improved the role of those sections which serve to ensure that production goes smoothly.

In the past, materials were not supplied on time to those engaged in production.

Superiors issued memos but assumed no responsibility for supplying materials; the responsibility fell on the shoulders of those engaged in production. This compelled shop managers and other responsible personnel to spend most of their time not on directing production but on rushing around trying to get hold of materials. This is a bureaucratic and capitalist method of work.

Now that we have established a system in which the higher levels ensure that the lower levels are supplied with materials, the shop managers are able to devote themselves to their own work without having to worry about materials. They are now able to concentrate all their efforts on the direction of production, the maintenance of equipment and on the improvement of the technical skills of the workers.

The decisive factors in production are people and tools—that is, producers and equipment. The supply of raw materials is important as well, but there are people especially in charge of that; those directing production have only to concern themselves with doing a good job with people and with technical equipment. During my current visit to the factory I talked with shop managers and found that they were not wasting time on securing materials, but concentrating their efforts on the maintenance of equipment, on raising the ideological and technical level of the workers and on directing production. This is very good.

To enable the higher levels to ensure a smooth supply of materials to the lower, it would be advisable to set up, in machine-building factories, warehouses for semi-finished goods. This is especially important in factories which assemble machinery, using many kinds of components and semi-finished goods.

By storing components and semi-finished goods and having them available for supply on time, these warehouses can perform the functions of command posts for cooperation in production between the different sections of a given enterprise. By maintaining close contact with each workshop, they should systematically stock up on the materials necessary for cooperative production, and thus have no difficulty in supplying the sections as and when the materials in

question are needed. They should not limit themselves to just storing goods but should strive to know exactly how many, and what kind of components and materials are needed by each section; they must always keep in stock the materials necessary to meet demand.

The maintenance of a reserve of materials makes it possible to remove imbalances in production. But at present, it often happens that many warehouses, although keeping materials in store, have an excessive amount of unnecessary stock and too few of the items that are really required. If we are to eliminate these practices and ensure a smooth flow of materials and cooperation among different sections of production, stock-keepers must participate in drafting plans and have a thorough grasp of the true state of affairs of production in the factories concerned.

The supply agencies under the management bureau should also be made responsible for the effective functioning of interfactory cooperation in production. In order to create reserves of the materials needed by different factories, the officials of the supply agencies must have a good grasp of the production process and have a say in eliminating rejects, regulating output and shortening production time. In this way, the supply agencies will be able to fulfil the role of command posts for cooperation in production and ensure smooth supplies for the different factories.

If we are to achieve good results in production we must also set up efficient services and facilities to ensure the well-being of the workers.

In the past there were no bodies responsible for tending to the everyday needs of the workers. But under the new work system, services and facilities have been established to ensure that the workers enjoy stable conditions in their everyday lives.

In the Taaan Electrical Machinery Plant a supply committee was organized for this purpose; the committee comprised one deputy manager of the factory for the supply of consumer goods, and representatives of all the bodies in the factory workers' district eligible for supply services, such as government organs, general stores, agricultural and livestock farms, cooperative farms, etc. Thus, a new

supply-service system was established, one fully responsible for providing for the everyday needs of the workers in the district.

In the past all these bodies operated in a departmentalistic way, never attempting to develop close mutual relations. As a result, they failed to furnish supplies to the workers even when they were available.

However, since the formation of the supply committee under the guidance of a deputy manager for supply services, these bodies have begun to work in close cooperation, so as to ensure stable conditions for the workers. This has led to considerable improvement in supply services. We must continue to develop this supply-service system in the future.

As we have seen, one year's experience at the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant confirms that the new work system advanced by our Party has fully shown the advantages of arousing the enthusiasm and creativity of the working masses, of strengthening the direction of production and of ensuring supply services for production as well as for the daily needs of workers.

We deem it necessary to further develop this work system, introducing it in other sectors.

A revolutionary fighting spirit is most important in introducing the new work system. To carry through the Party's policies we must persevere, bravely overcoming all difficulties. This is exactly what we should learn from the experience of the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant. No matter how good the work system may be, you cannot give full play to all its advantages if you lack this fighting spirit.

Now I am going to speak of your tasks ahead.

True, you have had great successes, but you must realize that they are the result of only one year's work. You still have a number of shortcomings in your work and there are still many points to be studied and developed. Your task is to work hard constantly, in order to perfect the new work system on the basis of what has already been achieved.

You must strive to further rationalize the management of the factory and also must make more efforts to improve your methods of

work. The new system is, in a word, a communist system of work. All personnel should master the communist style and method of work, otherwise they will not be able to maintain, let alone improve, this new work system. All of you must, therefore, equip yourselves more fully with the Chongsanri method and Chongsanri spirit.

Moreover, you should constantly pay close attention to strengthening the leading role of the Party in the factory. The Party committee and the Party cells should be strengthened and the vanguard role of the Party members enhanced.

All the Party members and the Party committee are the masters of the factory. Everything is decided, organized and led by the Party.

The factory Party committee accomplished its tasks with credit last year. It discerned the weak points of work in the factory in time, roused the Party members to surmount difficulties, and firmly carried the Party's policies through to the end. In other words, it can be said that the factory Party committee has done a good job standing at the helm. The committee did a good job of educating both Party members and the working masses in our revolutionary traditions and uniting them, and it has also achieved good results in the cultural revolution.

I think it is necessary to improve Party work in other factories as well, following the example of the Party committee of this factory.

There are Party officials who just rush around carrying briefcases. This practice will get no results. If Party officials are simply moving about, rushing here and there from early morning on, like travelling salesmen, they cannot stay at the helm. They should go deeply among the masses to study their work, give them orientations and always offer them help in their work. Yet, in fact, the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee rendered no great assistance to the work of the Party Committee of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. The Party must always take the helm.

Another lesson we should draw from the work of this factory's Party committee is the correct placement of Party forces. Great efforts have been made here, after placing the Party members at important posts, to raise their vanguard role. At present, the Party members in

this factory have acquired a higher technical level and are undertaking more difficult tasks than the non-Party workers.

When we visit cooperative farms, we find many cases of Party forces being distributed incorrectly. Party members are assigned to tasks of secondary importance, fail to achieve good results in production, and fail to stand in the forefront in hard work.

If Party members do easy work and indulge in empty talk, how can they claim to be playing the vanguard role? Party members must first set an example in production. They should take up difficult and important positions in production and, in comparison with non-Party workers, should work more enthusiastically, study technique more earnestly, organize their life in a more cultured way and behave modestly without any trace of arrogance. Only then can the Party members win prestige, be heard among the masses and help them advance.

We must continue to work hard in all fields, in the factories and in the villages, to strengthen the role of the Party members.

Furthermore, it is important to give full scope to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. The spirit of self-reliance means making revolution by one's own efforts. We must arm ourselves with the indomitable revolutionary spirit which will enable us to produce what is lacking, to procure what is in short supply, to learn through study what we do not know, and to surmount all trials and difficulties bravely, never shrinking from them.

We must achieve anything by our own efforts, without relying on the strength of others. We have received aid from the peoples of the fraternal countries, but this is only one of the conditions for accelerating our development. What is decisive is the struggle of our own people.

Take the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant for example. It was built without outside aid. We have built over 2,000 locally-run factories in all parts of the country, all without outside aid. We are now building all our factories, large and small, mainly through our own efforts. We are drawing up technical blueprints and carrying out construction work on our own.

Needless to say, we import some machinery from foreign countries, but this we buy with our own money, we do not receive it free of charge. In the future we will continue to import some necessary machinery. Self-reliance does not mean refusing to use machines made by others. Nor does it mean opposition to learning from others, nor total rejection of foreign aid. The point is that self-reliance should be the basic principle guiding our activities.

It is better, of course, to manufacture machinery by ourselves as far as we can. Last year you manufactured some heavy machinery on your own, and it would be a good thing to turn out more in the future. I fully approve of your suggestion to make more machines by yourselves instead of importing them from abroad.

If we had imported the machines you made last year, it would have taken us three years to obtain them. How can we wait three years when even one day's time is so precious for our construction work? We must boldly manufacture everything we can for our own use.

We have been able to ride Chollima because we have the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. No one helped us to mount him. If someone who does not know how to ride is put on horseback, he may fall and get hurt. We mounted Chollima by ourselves; and we are now galloping forward with a free rein.

We must work harder to reach still higher peaks in the next three to four years. In the first place, we must radically improve the living standards of the people. An important task in this context is to supply the entire population with rice as their staple food. This calls for a production of 3 million tons of rice.

It would be foolish to count on others to help us do this. It is by our own efforts that we must strive to provide sufficient rice as a staple product for all the people.

What should we do to solve this problem? Irrigation projects should be carried out extensively, and more tractors, lorries and chemical fertilizers should be produced. The tasks ahead of you, in particular, are to produce more generators, electric motors and transformers.

The solution of the rice problem will enable us to use other grains as

fodder, and in this way we can also solve the meat problem.

If we work efficiently we will be able to catch more fish: if you turn out more electric equipment, we can build more fishing boats and catch more fish.

It is also well within our capacity to solve the problem of having everybody live in tile-roofed houses.

We have a sound foundation for building a better life in the future. It is fully possible for us to enjoy a decent life through our own efforts. This is our right and no one can deprive us of it.

Furthermore, you must continuously wage a vigorous struggle to improve the quality of products and economize on materials. You all handle copper, mica, silk, and many other valuable materials. If you cut down rejects to a minimum and save these materials, it will bring great benefits to the state.

In order to improve the quality of products, we must increase the technical level of the workers and technicians. Greater efforts should be made to study more extensively both foreign and Korean technical literature and to master the latest techniques. Technicians should never rest content but should carry on a resolute struggle to quickly reach the world's level of advanced technology.

Now, the work of training cadres should be improved. This factory should be a model for other factories and should give them active assistance in this field. You should therefore train many cadres and send some of them to other factories.

All the workers of this factory should be trained as cadres. In the old days, so we are told, it was considered necessary for a person to have both literary and military accomplishments; today it is necessary for you to become cadres armed with both advanced technology and revolutionary ideology.

When you do this, your factory can play a great part in developing the machine-building industry of our country. It is a task of great importance. I should like you to accept this task at this meeting and strive to carry it out.

Next, you should improve the amenities and facilities for the

welfare of the workers. In your hostel I found many things that still need to be improved. If we were to give marks, it would barely “pass”. You should fix up your hostel better so that it may be rated “excellent”. Conditions should be improved in the supply service, and villages and houses should be kept cleaner, and run in a more modern way. You must see that the supply of vegetables is kept up, and that a sufficient amount of cooking oil and some 200 grammes of seafood are supplied to each worker every day. If you get only a “pass” mark in your supply service, you cannot become a cadre detachment. Only after having developed the work in this factory satisfactorily, will it serve as an example for you when you are transferred to another factory as a cadre.

Orchards should be laid out on the hills behind the factory and its surroundings should be kept cleaner. And you must all lead your lives more culturally. We still meet people who pay no attention to their personal appearance. You should ensure that workers and their families are always well-groomed.

We have learned a lot at this meeting from your good experiences. I suggest that the experience accumulated at the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant be popularized in other fields. I wish you even greater success in your future work.

ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPING THE COUNTY COOPERATIVE FARM MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting
of Party Officials and Agricultural Workers
of South Phyongan Province**

November 13, 1962

We have heard the report on the work of the Sukchon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee and listened to speeches by many comrades at this meeting.

The Sukchon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee has clearly proved, through its experiences during a year of work, that the establishment of the county cooperative farm management committees was timely and that the committees offer great advantages as a system of socialist agricultural management.

The first advantage offered by the county cooperative farm management committees is that they give leadership to the rural economy by applying industrial methods of management.

In the past, the people's committees used mainly administrative methods in directing agriculture. In the days of private peasant economy, this was applicable.

But collectivized socialist agriculture cannot be directed by administrative methods. Moreover, since the cooperative farms had been enlarged and had turned into large-scale socialist farms with an

average of more than 300 households and over 500 hectares of farm land each, and as rapid progress had been made in agricultural techniques, it was quite impossible to direct agriculture effectively by the same administrative methods as had been used in the past. Socialist agriculture, which is operated on a large scale and equipped with modern technology, must be directed by industrial methods.

In capitalist countries as well, all large farms worked by machines are run by industrial methods. This shows that even though the capitalist and socialist economies are fundamentally different economic forms, technically advanced large-scale agriculture, of whatever kind, can be managed only by industrial methods.

What is meant by industrial methods of management? They consist of directly controlling, organizing and concretely guiding all the activities of an enterprise—from planning to the organization of production, the development of technology, the supply of materials, the allocation and organization of the labour force and the financial activities of the enterprise.

The keystone of an industrial approach to management is the technical direction of production.

Agricultural production, like industrial production, represents a technical process. When farming was done by hand, with no machinery, technology did not seem to count for much in agriculture. But, as the technological transformation of agriculture has forged ahead, it has become more and more obvious that agricultural production must also be achieved through technical processes.

A modern irrigation system has been established in our countryside now and, moreover, numerous tractors and other farm machines are in operation and chemicals are being gradually applied. Without industrial methods of management and technical guidance, it would be utterly impossible to direct agriculture such as this.

The technical guidance of agricultural production requires measures to ensure an equitable distribution of machines and equipment, and the timely repair and replacement of equipment, as well as to raise the technical and skill levels of the producers and to

provide for the rational utilization of all machines and equipment. The continued carrying out of irrigation projects and good management of irrigation facilities are also necessary. Water control, to take one example, is by no means a simple matter: pumping equipment must be checked and repaired every now and then, and watering and drainage should be effected according to plan. Water control is also a technical process. In addition, electrification and chemicalization must be introduced and all the farming techniques related to land rezoning, to soil improvement and to seed production must be rapidly developed.

We are now in a position where we can neither farm well nor give a lead to farming without technological know-how.

Moreover, we are confronted with the important task of speeding up the development of the productive forces by promoting the technical revolution in the countryside. Technical knowledge is indispensable for directing and energetically pushing ahead with the technical revolution.

Because the cooperative farms were enlarged and their technical equipment was rapidly improved, and because the technical revolution came to the fore as a top priority, immediate task in the countryside, it became absolutely necessary to abolish the old administrative system of agricultural management and establish a new system of management based on an industrial approach.

The question here arises of what size of management unit should be adopted for directing agriculture using industrial methods of management.

A cooperative farm is too small. It does not have enough managerial and technical cadres, nor does it have an economic foundation for effecting the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture. The province, on the contrary, is too large.

Therefore, we chose the county as the basic unit. A county has plenty of technical and managerial cadres and has practically all the state enterprises that serve agriculture—farm machine stations, farm machine repair shops, irrigation administration offices, etc. Besides, each county has around 10,000 hectares of farmland. The county,

therefore, is a suitable unit for directing agriculture using the industrial approach, and it is also a convenient unit for the coordinated utilization of all technical equipment.

The Sukchon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee has achieved great successes in agricultural production through its leadership of the cooperative farms within the county using industrial methods of management. Our experience has shown that, given the actual conditions of our country, the county is the most rational unit to use in giving leadership to the cooperative farms using these methods of management.

Another advantage offered by the county cooperative farm management committee is its organic combination of ownership by all the people with cooperative ownership, and its strengthening of state guidance and assistance to the cooperative economy.

In the past, the tractor-hire station was the main link connecting the cooperative with the all-people, state economy in many socialist countries. It was through the tractor-hire station that the state made technical assistance available to the cooperative economy, and promoted the technical revolution in the countryside. However, even though the tractor-hire station provided technical assistance for the farmers, it could not directly lead the productive activities of the cooperative economy in any comprehensive way.

The rural technical revolution in our country cannot be brought about successfully without making full use, with the powerful support of the state, of all the state-owned technical equipment needed in agriculture. We have, therefore, followed a policy of steadily expanding and strengthening the farm machine stations, irrigation administration offices and other state-owned enterprises that directly serve agriculture, and of promoting the technical revolution in the countryside with these enterprises as the base.

The county people's committees which used to guide agriculture directly were unable to provide technical guidance in this sphere, because they lacked the material and technical means required to assist the cooperative farms. In addition, there was no county organization

that exercised unified control over the various state enterprises serving the rural economy, and so these enterprises did not play their role effectively in the development of agriculture.

We have now set up county cooperative farm management committees and made them responsible for guiding the cooperative farms, using industrial methods of management, based on the unified control over all the state-owned bodies which are directly concerned with the rural economy—farm machine stations, farm implement factories, irrigation administration offices, anti-epizootic centres, etc.—as well as over the relevant technical equipment and technical forces. In this way state ownership is organically combined with cooperative ownership, and the state's technical and economic assistance to the cooperative economy is decisively strengthened.

This has enabled the groups of technicians sent out by the state and state technical equipment to serve the cooperative farms better. Moreover, this created favourable conditions for the continuous renewal and improvement of technical equipment and enabled us to speed the technical revolution in the countryside more actively.

It was generally agreed that rice cultivation makes the mechanization of agriculture very difficult in our country, but the establishment of the management committees has made it possible for the cooperative farms and the technical forces and farm machine stations of the state to work actively towards a solution of this problem by maintaining an organic link between them. As a result, a definite way has been found to mechanize our agricultural production.

The formation of the county cooperative farm management committees has strengthened the cooperative economy, not only materially and technically but also organizationally and economically.

Unlike the private peasant economy—a scattered, small-scale undertaking which develops spontaneously—the cooperative economy is, of course, a collectivized socialist economy which develops according to a plan. However, compared with the state economy, which represents ownership by all the people, the cooperative economy is loosely-knit and organizationally weak.

By organically linking up the cooperative with the state economy, which is a higher economic form, we have done away with the remaining manifestations of disorderliness and spontaneity found in the cooperative farms and have transformed them into an economy more tightly organized, better coordinated and more powerful.

In fact, it may be said that the cooperative farms used to do their work carelessly, without mutual coordination on a county-wide basis. In planning production, therefore, individual cooperative farms could not do a good job of estimating the amount of water, machinery, electric power, materials and other items available and, consequently, their plans would go off the rails.

However, with the organization of the county cooperative farm management committees, the cooperative farms within each county have developed close ties and are now able to work out production plans on the basis of correct estimates of machinery, equipment, materials and everything else. In other words, the cooperative farms now find themselves in a position to develop more systematically, and more according to plan, than before.

The organic combination of state and cooperative ownership has also made it possible to radically improve the management of the cooperative farms themselves. Earlier, each management board relied only on its own strength in its work and, therefore, could not efficiently manage the large cooperative farm, which encompassed about 300 households. The managerial staff of the cooperative farm could not properly handle such complex affairs as labour administration, the management of the farm's finances and property, the fixing of a correct ratio of accumulation to consumption, etc.—to say nothing of drawing up plans. However, by introducing the superior methods of management of the state economy, the county cooperative farm management committees can give appropriate assistance to the management staffs of the cooperative farms so that the latter can deal properly with all these affairs and can thus ensure more effective management of the cooperative farms.

The new system of agricultural management is also fully in line

with the further development of the socialist cooperative economy.

In the future, when the technological reconstruction of agriculture has been effected and when machinery will therefore have replaced manual labour in agriculture as in industry, easing the work of everyone and providing them with abundance, the cooperative economy will be transformed into one owned by the people as a whole.

Some hold that the transition to communist society can be achieved while the cooperative economy is retained, and even go so far as to say that we could go over to communism even if the private economy had been left intact. This is entirely incorrect.

Of course, I do not intend to dwell here on what stages the socialist economy has to go through to achieve the transition to communism, but there is no doubt that, in order to attain communism, the country's economy must anyway be unified under a single form of ownership—ownership by all the people—and that, accordingly, cooperative ownership will have to be converted into ownership by all the people.

The organization of the county cooperative farm management committees is the most rational way of bringing cooperative ownership steadily closer to ownership by all the people, by strengthening the leading role of state ownership over cooperative ownership, and by establishing a closer relationship between these two forms.

Even though, at present, there is a sharp distinction between the cooperative and state economies, in the future, when further advances have been made in mechanization and chemicalization, and when nearly all the distinctions between farm and industrial labour have been eliminated, it will be possible to introduce an eight-hour workday and go over to the wage system in the countryside, as well as in industry.

We plan to introduce the cost-accounting system in the county cooperative farm management committees if they achieve good results in the next few years. The state could see to it that tractor drivers and management committee personnel are guaranteed a minimum wage and draw a large part of their incomes according to the results

registered in production. This would provide an added incentive for the personnel of the state enterprises, like the cooperative farmers, to increase production.

We already have some experience in applying cost accounting with the county as the unit. We did this at the Unggi and Ryongyon Farms, with good results. In the past, state farms in our country often got into the red because they had a low level of mechanization and employed defective management methods. When we raised their level of mechanization and introduced the cost-accounting system in their workteams, the state farms grew profitable and benefited the state.

Even if we introduce cost accounting with the county as the unit in the future, cooperative ownership will have to be preserved for the time being. And, in introducing the cost-accounting system in county cooperative farm management committees, there is no need to treat all of them uniformly. This system should first be introduced in those counties where mechanization is comparatively advanced; you may leave for later such areas as Changsong County, where manual labour predominates.

Thus, when the cost-accounting system is introduced on a county basis and the technical revolution makes more progress in the countryside, the worker-peasant alliance will be strengthened and the ideological influence of the working class on the farmers will be even greater. Moreover, as mechanization forges ahead on a full scale, the differences between the productive forces in industry and those in agriculture will be gradually done away with, the material and cultural level of the farmers' life will be improved and the distinctions between town and countryside will be gradually reduced. This will make it possible for us to develop the cooperative economy to a still higher level.

But we must not be too hasty in transforming cooperative ownership into ownership by all the people.

There are still considerable differences between farm and industrial labour in our country. A great deal of mechanization is still needed in agriculture, as a large proportion of the work is done by manual labour.

Therefore, organizing work and appraising its results is no easy task. You cannot check, stalk by stalk, whether a prescribed amount of fertilizer has been applied before planting the crops or whether weeding has been done, nor can you easily find out whether individual farmers have done their work well or have idled away their time, getting by in the crowd. Moreover, farm labour does not yield immediate results as does industrial labour; the crops planted in the spring are subject to many different work processes before they are harvested in the autumn, and, in addition, they may be influenced by climatic conditions and many other natural factors. It is, therefore, difficult to appraise the labour put in on the basis of its results.

Owing to these diverse circumstances, farmers generally lag behind the workers in the development of their political consciousness and suffer much from selfishness.

It can therefore be said that it would be a grave error to nationalize the cooperative economy hastily or to introduce a pay-by-the-hour system for the farmers in disregard of the differences between industrial and farm labour.

The organic linking up of cooperative ownership with ownership by all the people which we are now undertaking is by no means intended to weaken cooperative ownership or put an end to it at once; on the contrary, it is meant to strengthen it.

It is necessary, under the present conditions, to make a clear distinction between state ownership and cooperative ownership. The farmers also want this.

What we must do today is provide continuous state guidance and assistance to the cooperative economy, thereby further strengthening its material and technical foundations; stimulate the farmers' zeal for higher production; and raise their standard of living rapidly.

For the transformation of cooperative ownership into ownership by all the people, we must, first of all, introduce all-round mechanization in agriculture so that machines do practically all the work and men are needed only in a supplementary capacity; we must reshape the thinking of the farmers by carrying out more communist education among them.

Only by so doing will we be able to transform cooperative ownership smoothly into ownership by all the people and lead the farmers to communism. It is true that more things will become clear in the future as our work progresses, but our experience in the past period and in this year's work has convinced us that our present course represents a correct path to communism.

Now I would like to touch upon the major tasks confronting the county cooperative farm management committees.

In our practical work over the past year, we have clearly realized that the county cooperative farm management committees founded by our Party offer tremendous advantages. We can say that we have found a most expedient way of solving the rural question in the future.

But, with only one year's experience, we cannot yet claim to have perceived all the advantages and shortcomings of the new system of management. In the course of practice we must discover more of its strong points and shortcomings and make continued efforts to further consolidate and develop the new system of management.

First of all, it is essential to consolidate the county cooperative farm management committees, both organizationally and technically. It is necessary to reinforce the ranks of our management committee cadres with educated people experienced in agriculture; to raise their professional level rapidly; and, in particular, to increase the number of technicians. We must actively push ahead with our work of expanding the ranks of tractor drivers, who play an important role in agricultural production, and of improving their technological skill. The tractor platoons and companies should be further strengthened, and the technical and skill levels of the workers of the farm machine stations and irrigation administration offices should be raised decisively. Moreover, the ranks of our technicians in the countryside should be greatly expanded, so that an agronomist or assistant agronomist may be allocated to every cooperative farm work-team and so that the chief agronomist system may be introduced in the cooperative farms, as well.

Thus, the county cooperative farm management committees should

be further strengthened, both organizationally and technically, so that all the departments of the management committees and all the state-owned enterprises under their guidance can carry out their duties satisfactorily.

The important question in strengthening the work of the county cooperative farm management committees is to improve the methods of work of their officials.

Most of the present chairmen of the management committees are former chairmen of people's committees. When they were transferred to the management committees, they brought their old administrative style of work along with them.

A bureaucratic style of work—shouting commands and issuing orders—was harmful in the past, when they worked in the people's committees but it is even more intolerable today, in the management committees.

The management committees themselves should organize and lead production. They will never solve problems by roaring commands and issuing instructions while sitting in an office. The old, bureaucratic, administrative style of work should be completely eliminated and priority should be given to political work in all cases, work with the people being given the first place. Effective work should be done with the technicians, with the chairmen and workteam leaders of the cooperative farms and the farmers. The officials of the management committees should be faithful servants of the people, not those who just give orders and issue instructions.

It would be shameful to become servile minions of the landlords or capitalists or to fawn upon and become servants of the influential, but it is an honour to become faithful servants of the people. Management committee officials should faithfully serve the interests of the cooperative farms and the farmers.

To be a faithful servant of the people, one must thoroughly apply the Chongsanri method to all activities. The Chongsanri method means going down to the grass-roots units to give assistance and solve their most pressing problems, instead of simply imposing tasks upon them

bureaucratically. You should go among the farmers to consult with them and teach them with gentleness; you should study the actual conditions thoroughly and offer concrete guidance and assistance in such a way that the people at the lower levels may willingly accept them.

The Taean system of work should be introduced in production leadership and enterprise management. A system for directing production should be thoroughly established; the level of planning raised; and the supply of fertilizer, agricultural chemicals and other materials always ensured by the higher levels.

If, in the work of the county cooperative farm management committees, we combine the Taean method of industrial management with the Chongsanri method properly, the advantages of the new system of agricultural management will be brought out fully and innovations will be made incessantly in the development of agriculture.

Another important task is that of raising the rate of utilization of equipment.

At present, the county cooperative farm management committees have a considerable amount of equipment and facilities at their disposal. In Sukchon County, there are 262 water-lifting machines, an extensive irrigation system with 400 kilometres of canals and a large amount of equipment—more than 200 tractors plus trucks, different farm machines, transformers, electric motors, pumps, etc. We can say that this is quite a large undertaking, on a par with a top-grade industrial enterprise.

But the rate of utilization of the facilities is very low.

This year the rate of utilization of water has been improved somewhat, compared with last year, as a result of the establishment of a command system in the control of water and a campaign for the more rational use of water. Yet, even now, a lot of water is still wasted.

Those of you who have lived in Sukchon County for a long time are probably only too well acquainted with the miserable existence of our peasants in those days when there were no irrigation facilities. In those

days, a short spell of dry weather was enough to reduce everyone to destitution, forcing them to pack up and set out to beg for food. Therefore, in the difficult days following the war, we launched a truly hard-fought struggle, surmounting all hardships, to build irrigation facilities. At present we are turning out as many pumps as we need for ourselves, but for several years after the ceasefire we had to import them, in the face of great difficulties.

If we fail to make effective use of the irrigation facilities which we set up at the cost of such effort and if, failing to use the water properly, we waste it after it has been brought from places thousands of *ri* away—at the cost of a lot of electricity and money—it is a very serious matter. Not a drop of water should be wasted; every drop should be used to irrigate the paddies and dry fields. Even water which has already been used in irrigation once should be recovered and turned to account again.

You are mistaken if you think that our pumps should be entirely dependent on electricity. If you bring electricity a great distance, over long stretches of cable, to irrigate only a few scores of hectares of paddies and dry fields, it is tantamount to shooting a sparrow with a cannon. It entails a great waste of electricity and materials, and it does not pay.

Wide use should be made of motors not operated by electric power. As many pumps as possible should also be turned out in the provinces. Then, small-sized pumps should be coupled to tractors so as to lift water wherever necessary.

Moreover, the rate of utilization of tractors should be increased drastically. Tractors can be used for various purposes. Yet, at present, most of them are used only in ploughing the fields and for haulage in the countryside.

Onchon County, for example, has received many tractors, but is not making good use of them. A tremendous amount of work can be done by 100 to 200 tractors, yet they are used only to plough the fields and are then left standing idle. Of course, the ministry concerned and the provinces are also to blame, for they turn out only electric-powered

machines—none which can be tractor-operated.

As you have mentioned in your speeches, tractors can be used in weeding and harvesting as well as in ploughing, and they can also be used for pumping water anywhere you want. Tractors can be used for multiple purposes by fitting them with cranes or earth scrapers. Nevertheless, tractors stand idle while the farmers continue to carry heavy loads on their backs, just as they always have. This is all wrong.

Farm mechanization depends on the effective use of tractors. An important task of the management committees being to effect the mechanization of agriculture, it is a serious matter to fail to use tractors effectively or to keep them idle.

The management committees should pay close attention to keeping their tractors in good working order and using them for multiple purposes, so as to promote the mechanization of agriculture.

We must produce various types of farm machines for comprehensive farm mechanization.

We must see to it that besides tractors, other farm machines, suitable for use in our agriculture, are devised and manufactured, in order that all aspects of farm work can be mechanized. It is necessary to make tractors of different kinds, both large and small, in addition to the “Chollima” model.

No farmer is against emancipation from toil. Conservatism with regard to mechanization can be found in the minds of the leading agricultural personnel, but not among the farmers.

Our officials, in particular, have become less enthusiastic about mechanization lately. The main reason for this is that the state provides a voluntary labour force readily. Provinces and counties have fallen into the habit of depending on this voluntary labour force and do not work hard to introduce mechanization.

In our country today, not only the farmers, but the whole nation take part in farming. This, of course, is not a normal situation.

In other socialist countries a great labour force is released from the countryside by agricultural mechanization and allocated to industrial construction, but our country, far from releasing any labour force from

the countryside, has to give it continued labour assistance. Farming in our country is done on an intensive basis, and, for this reason, a considerable labour force will be needed in the rural areas even after the introduction of mechanization. As a matter of fact, mechanization can hardly be introduced in intercropping and mixed planting. And we still have many types of work which are difficult to mechanize, such as is involved in rice transplanting and tending cold-bed rice seedlings.

This is why our Party is following the line of solving the problem of the shortage of an industrial labour force by speeding up mechanization and automation in industry to the utmost, and not drawing off any more manpower from the countryside.

Since the state will not take labour away from the rural areas, the peasants, for their part, should try to hold up their end without receiving additional labour. This requires speedy mechanization.

The experience gained in Sukchon County shows that, if we carry out comprehensive mechanization by the effective use of tractors and other farm machines, we will be able to do farming with the existing rural labour force and free the farmers from heavy work, as is proposed by the state. When labour-consuming operations are performed by machines and the farmers raise good crops by working eight or nine hours a day like workers in industry, we will be able to say that we have generally accomplished a technical revolution in the countryside. Then the farmers will have spare time for study and will be able to enjoy a rest freely in the winter. We must strive to complete this phase of the technical revolution as a first step.

We have created an adequate technical base for agricultural mechanization. Comprehensive mechanization of agriculture is well within our reach, provided we produce large quantities of the great variety of farm machines that we can make, turn out more animal-drawn machines and use them effectively.

We do not as yet have the conditions for introducing automation in the countryside. Therefore, there is no need to go in for excessively intricate mechanization. But it is necessary to employ every possible method conducive to easing the work of the farmers and saving labour.

It would be a good idea either to use animal-drawn machines or to turn out simple, hand-operated machines in large numbers by making improvements on simple farm implements. I do not understand why you do not make carts. Three-wheeled vehicles are preferable in farm villages where the roads are rough, as they are light and handy. If items such as these are made and used, it will be possible to carry loads faster even without the peasants breaking their backs.

There is no need to try to introduce mechanization uniformly in all counties. You would do well to send large numbers of tractors to the flat areas first, and, as for the mountain areas, make and supply the types of farm machines suitable for such terrain.

The policy now being followed by our Party consistently in the development of agriculture is that of effecting mechanization in the countryside, thus freeing the farmers from arduous work and ensuring farm production with the existing rural labour force. The management committees, therefore, should do everything possible to introduce mechanization in agriculture in order to carry through this policy of the Party.

Further, the management committees should exert vigorous efforts to make better use of land. Land is the most important asset in agriculture. Machines and labour are also important, but they are of no use without land. It is, therefore, necessary to increase the utilization of land to the maximum by effective land rezoning and soil improvement.

At present there are too many ridges between the different rice paddies. This is the main reason why in the autumn the actual yields fall short of the crop estimates made by unit-area sampling. Extensive work in land readjustment should be done to remove many of the ridges between the paddies, bringing bulldozers from the construction sector and using "Chollima" tractors fitted with earth scrapers. Furthermore, the edges of fields, the sides of roads and all other available space should be planted with as many crops as possible.

Much of our country's soil is acid, and much is deficient in iron and other micro-elements, calcium and other elements required by plants.

We do not have enough land to introduce crop rotation, and this

compels us to carry out systematic soil improvement. New soil should be spread over the fields on an extensive scale, slaked lime should be applied to the acid soil, and chemical fertilizers and slag should be applied in quantity to poor soil.

Besides, land conservation work must be carried out properly. I have stressed this time and again, yet the results still leave much to be desired. With a view to actively protecting land, river improvement projects must be properly carried out, and the dikes carefully protected.

It is also necessary to work on seed improvement properly. This year, by using selected seeds, per-hectare yields have been increased by more than a ton in many places. We should constantly improve seed strains and sow superior seeds on the right soil. A scientific system of manuring should be established and compost produced according to plan so that it may be applied liberally.

In addition to settling these technical matters, it is very important to do our planning well. The efforts of the management boards of the cooperative farms alone will not suffice. One of the main reasons for this, it appears, is that each management board cannot reckon with the exact amount of water, farm machinery, fertilizers and other materials that will be available. This is why the plans worked out by each cooperative farm—allegedly, on the basis of much calculation—do not conform to reality.

One of our aims in setting up the county cooperative farm management committees was that of improving planning in agriculture. Therefore, the management committees must take planning directly in hand and effect a radical improvement in this work.

What is the essential thing in planning? As the experience of the recent annual work analysis at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant shows, it is consulting the masses in drawing up plans. A plan worked out without consulting the masses expresses only the subjective views of a few persons and can hardly be called a plan. A good plan, one which conforms to reality, must be drawn up on the basis of consultation with the producers.

When you have worked out a plan after consulting with the masses,

you must make it fully known to the producer masses who are to put it into effect. The masses can display creativity and activity in the fulfilment of the plan only when they are acquainted with the target figures, the fighting aims and the methods to be used in carrying it out. One of the most important duties of the county cooperative farm management committees is that of working out accurate plans and giving effective guidance for their fulfilment.

Furthermore, labour administration must be improved. Labour administration is at the moment most unsatisfactory in our country. It is in a very backward state, particularly in agriculture.

Above all, the organization of work is inadequate. This is a major reason why the farmers on many cooperative farms have to work long hours. As a matter of fact, if work were organized well, the peasants could do farming properly even though they put in much less time than they do now.

Furthermore, the rural labour force should be urged not to abandon agriculture and the farmers should be encouraged to settle in the countryside. Effective political and organizational work should be carried out to maintain our rural labour force.

In addition, we must allocate the labour force properly. Irrational allocation of labour—such as assigning younger people to jobs that can be done by the old—should be done away with. The young should be assigned jobs which are suitable for them, and the old should be given those jobs which are within their power. At present, able-bodied men are, for the most part, wandering around with briefcases under their arms on the pretext that they are some kind of leader or are doing some highly technical job, and only the women are left with work. Such a state of affairs must be stopped immediately. As far as possible, the women should be given the lighter tasks, and the men, the more arduous ones. If possible, clerical work such as compiling statistics and bookkeeping should be left to the women, and all the men should do outdoor work. Why should the men do the easy work, leaving the arduous chores to the women? All this is a result of poor labour administration.

The allocation of manpower is not coordinated among the

work-teams; there are many examples of teams with a surplus of men refusing to transfer them to shorthanded teams, out of regionalism. This must be remedied through proper persuasion.

One of the most important aspects of labour administration is that of correctly fixing work norms. In agriculture, unlike industry, this is a very complicated and difficult task. Therefore, we should fix work norms correctly and assess the quality and quantity of work accurately. This is essential in correctly implementing the socialist principle of distribution and further increasing production by giving a greater stimulus to labour.

Furthermore, guidance and supervision of the financial activities of the cooperative farms should be improved and a strict system of management of the cooperative farm property introduced. Among other things, a proper balance should be maintained between consumption and accumulation on the cooperative farms. Some of the cooperative farms consume too much while setting aside only a small quantity for the common fund, whereas others set aside too much for the common fund and fail to pay attention to the lives of their farmers. We should maintain a balance between consumption and accumulation so as to meet the immediate needs of the farmers, yet still set aside an adequate portion of the income for the common fund.

Moreover, technical education for the farmers must be strengthened and technical personnel adequately trained. Everyone should be urged to acquire the techniques needed for the technical revolution in the countryside. The farmers should be made to know the fundamentals of electricity, machinery, hydraulics and biology. They must also be taught well about soil, plants, animals and climate. We must pay great attention to the dissemination of science and technology and to the training of technical personnel in the rural areas.

The ideological education of the farmers is a vital aspect of the work of the county Party committees, which should work energetically to raise the level of the farmers' ideological consciousness.

Such are the immediate tasks of the county Party committees and the county cooperative farm management committees.

The economic task next year, as already set forth by the Party, is to concentrate our efforts on providing sufficient rice for all our people in the coming few years. All efforts must be geared to this struggle. We must see to it that 3,000,000 tons of rice and 200,000 tons of meat are produced annually within the next few years and that the per-capita supply of cooking oil reaches ten grammes a day.

For the fulfilment of these tasks, we must expand the area of rice paddies and increase the per-hectare yield of rice. If we reap one ton of rice more from each hectare of rice paddy, this will be sufficient. We plan to expand the area of the paddies to 600,000 hectares in the future, where we must harvest an average of 4.5 to 5 tons of rice per hectare. Where conditions are more favourable, as many as six tons should be harvested; and where it is impossible, harvests will have to be smaller. But 4.5 to 5 tons should be the average throughout the country. We must strive to reach this target. Therefore, it is necessary to plough the rice paddies more than three times, weed them well, sow high-grade seeds and transplant seedlings in good time.

Furthermore, double-cropping should be extensively introduced in dry farming fields. It should be an easy matter to gather four to five tons of grain per hectare on these fields if dry-field rice or millet is sown after barley is reaped.

In livestock breeding, as you have mentioned in your speeches, it is important that every farmer's household has livestock and that the cooperative farms secure good strains of breeding animals. And you must provide the domestic animals with a good assortment of suitable feed.

To ensure the supply of cooking oil and bean curd, we must cultivate oil-bearing plants such as soy beans, wild sesame and hemp on a large scale. Particularly, plenty of soy beans should be planted. In general, it is advisable to base your farming plans on the tasks mentioned above.

In mechanization, it is necessary to follow a policy of supplying trucks to the mountain districts as far as possible and tractors to the flat lands first. Trucks must be supplied first to such provinces as

Hamgyong and Kangwon, which have the biggest transport problems. In the mountain areas, where tractor manoeuvrability is limited, mechanization based on animal-drawn machines should be pushed ahead for the time being, while, preferably, tractors and trailer farm machines should first be sent to the flat areas where they can be used more effectively. For the present, we should supply tractors in great numbers to North and South Phyongan and North and South Hwanghae Provinces. In North Phyongan Province, there is no need to send tractors to mountain areas such as Changsong: trucks are preferable in such places.

In conclusion, I would like to touch on the duties of the provincial rural economy committees and the central Agricultural Commission.

Until now, the Ministry of Agriculture has played the role of a management bureau, but is incapable of ensuring our agriculture's long-term development in this way. It is advisable, therefore, for the provincial rural economy committees to assume the leadership of production. These committees should perform the function formerly exercised by the Ministry of Agriculture. A provincial rural economy committee is neither a management bureau nor a ministry: it fulfils the functions of both, we can say. Because there are 13 provinces and cities under direct central control, we have, as it were, 13 ministers of agriculture, instead of just one, to direct our rural economy.

A provincial rural economy committee should assist the county cooperative farm management committees in working out production plans, supervise the fulfilment of the plans in the counties, and provide direct leadership in production. It must also supply the counties with farm machines and accessories, fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and other materials. In the future, each provincial rural economy committee should have farm machine plants and farm machine repair shops under its control and see to the farm machine repair work needed in the province.

A provincial rural economy committee must also provide technical guidance for the distribution of crop areas, seed selection, the establishment of a manuring system, the schedule for sowing, the

coordination of manpower.

The provincial rural economy committees should report any knotty production problems they encounter to both the central Agricultural Commission and the Cabinet, and should draw up plans and submit them to these two bodies.

The most important task of the central Agricultural Commission is to study measures for the development of agricultural techniques in our country.

At present there is no one who assumes responsibility for issuing and supervising assignments for research on farm machines; and research work is left to take its own course. The Agricultural Commission should set up a research institute, exercise direct control over farm machine research and give it concrete leadership.

The commission is also responsible for systematically conducting research on seed improvement and seed production, and must organize and direct the study of ways and means to improve the soil, of long-range measures for transforming nature, of fertilizers, soils and other important problems. Its duties also include investigating how to develop animal husbandry, including the improvement of breeding stock, and the ways to promote ancillary production in the countryside.

Thus, the Agricultural Commission must take charge of organizing and directing research on all problems related to the development of agriculture and see to it that the results of this research are incorporated into production without delay.

The Agricultural Commission must set up laboratories, research institutes, experimental farms, pilot plants and the like in many places, and provide all the conditions needed for successful research work.

Moreover, it is also responsible for the supply of materials and farm machinery.

It must also draw up the final drafts of plans and supervise the fulfilment of the current plans.

It must also make suggestions to the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet concerning long-range agricultural plans.

The central Agricultural Commission should also direct the

large-scale projects aimed at transforming nature—projects having to do with water utilization, the creation of windbreaks, the reclamation of tidelands, the improvement of mountain areas and the planting of trees of economic value.

Finally, in reference to the formation of personnel. The Agricultural Commission has the responsibility of training technicians and scientists.

These are the duties which should be carried out by the Agricultural Commission. Each province must take the direct responsibility for the leadership of production, work out plans for the province, assist the counties in drawing up working plans and distribute the allotted materials. The Agricultural Commission need not bother even with the distribution of materials; this should be handled at the provincial level.

It would be a good idea for the Agricultural Commission to consult with the State Planning Commission and just make suggestions as to how many tractors and how much fertilizer should be allotted to each of the various provinces, and for the provincial rural economy committees to do the actual work of receiving and distributing what is allotted to them.

If the Agricultural Commission were to busy itself with such business and were to neglect research and the guidance of scientists, we would have no one capable of projecting the long-term perspectives for our agricultural development.

The role of the Agricultural Commission should be strengthened so that we have a clearer idea of the prospects of our agriculture.

The Central Committee of the Party is very pleased with the results summarized in the report on the work of the Sukchon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee. The comrades on this committee have done a great deal of work even though they have been subject to some criticism. The members of the county cooperative farm management committee are not the only ones responsible for the failure to complete our plans for mechanization. The provincial and central departments concerned must also take their share of the blame.

Only a year has passed since the county cooperative farm

management committees began their work, but they have given ample proof of their value. This is due to the great efforts you have made.

South Phyongan Province has also played an important role in reaching the height of 5 million tons of grain this year.

I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, to express thanks to the staff of the Sukchon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee, the officials of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee and the county Party committees in the province, the officials of the provincial rural economy committee, all the county cooperative farm management committees, and all the cooperative farmers.

**LET US FURTHER CONSOLIDATE
AND DEVELOP THE ACHIEVEMENTS
GAINED IN THE STRUGGLE
TO ATTAIN THE SIX GOALS**

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

December 14, 1962

This plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee has summed up the fulfilment of this year's national economic plan and discussed the main tasks of the national economic plan for 1963 and the ways and means of their implementation.

This year we put forward the ambitious task of attaining the six goals and have achieved a great success, thanks to a vigorous struggle for its implementation. Some of the figures actually reached in the production of goods covered by the six goals fell a little short of the planned figures, but almost all the goals have been attained successfully.

All branches of the national economy have rapidly developed through the struggle to hit the six targets. This year industrial output is to increase by 20 per cent as compared with last year. Such an increase in a single year will be a really proud achievement when we take into account the fact that our industry has now greatly grown in scale, and is so unlike the past. Such a high rate of growth can hardly be found in other countries. Our people are accustomed to rushing ahead at the

speed of Chollima, so they are not satisfied with an ordinary rate of growth. But this year's growth rate is not low.

This year heavy industry has achieved a great success in increasing steel production by 36 per cent over last year.

Agriculture has successfully performed the task of attaining the goal of five million tons of grain even under the difficult conditions of prolonged and severe natural calamities. Grain output has increased year after year in recent years, and in 1961 it increased by one million tons over the previous year, and this year by 170,000 tons over last year.

The fishing and construction industries and the other branches have also scored great successes by waging a vigorous struggle to carry out their plans under very unfavourable conditions.

This year we have succeeded in attaining the six goals and in developing the national economy as a whole, despite many difficulties and bottlenecks. It can be regarded as an unprecedented success.

Through the struggle to attain the six goals this year, we have proved the superiority of the new economic management system—the Taean work system and the system of agricultural guidance—and found out good ways for further consolidating and developing it and also tested the ability of the leading officials. And we have identified the irrationality of some management structures in the economic sectors, as well as shortcomings in management, and we have succeeded in rationalizing them. The struggle to attain the six goals was of great significance for the development of the national economy.

The struggle to carry out this year's national economic plan was marked by many successes but also by quite a few shortcomings.

The main defect is that the officials in the ministries and central organizations worked in a bureaucratic and formalistic manner instead of applying the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method.

They emphasized only in word the need to apply the Chongsanri spirit and method but failed to put them into effect. Some of these officials still persist in bureaucracy and formalism: they go to the lower echelons but do not really mix with the masses, and they work

subjectively without heeding the voice of the masses. These practices are revealed in almost all aspects of economic management—in the drafting and implementation of the plan, in the organization of production and in the giving of technical guidance. Bureaucracy and formalism have also been manifested by scolding the workers in lower units and ordering and shouting commands at them, instead of giving them real help.

Moreover, some workers retain the wrong style of work—they regard administrative methods and their technical know-how as “almighty” in their work, and work by showing off their small wisdom instead of giving priority to political work.

As we have already emphasized several times at the plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee, all revolutionary work can be carried out successfully only by the efforts of the broad sections of the masses under the leadership of the Party. Administrative and technical methods cannot be regarded as “almighty” in managing and running a socialist economy, nor can it be done by the small wisdom of individuals. This problem can be successfully solved only when political work is given precedence to organize and mobilize the broad masses of producers vigorously.

However, some officials still fail to fully meet the demand of the Party that priority always be given to political work, and still depend on administrative and technical methods in their work, or do it by using their small wisdom. This is because old ideological remnants still linger in their minds.

Some officials revealed a lack of tenacity in implementing Party policy. Some senior officials in heavy industry wavered when the battle to reach the six goals started this year. They were neither zealous enough to implement Party policy unconditionally and thoroughly, nor were they courageous; and they failed to organize and direct the implementation of Party policy satisfactorily.

Another shortcoming revealed among the officials of the ministries and central institutions is that they have failed to give proper guidance for technical development.

Our Party put forward the task of all-round technological revolution during the Seven-Year Plan period. But today the technological revolution is not being pushed forward vigorously in all branches of the national economy. Neither is the mechanization of operations properly promoted in the factories and the farming villages, nor are vigorous efforts made to develop the national economy rapidly through technical innovation. This is mainly due to the fact that the leading personnel fail to provide substantial guidance for the technical innovation movement.

At present, the leading officials of the economic bodies fail to give proper direction to scientific research work or to the technical innovation movement, and, in particular, they do not actively mobilize the technical forces for technical innovation. Furthermore, they fail to take proper measures to put together the proposals from technicians and workers for technical innovations and to apply these proposals to the production process. As a result, they boast much of having done research on pellets in industry, and on something else in agriculture. But it is only empty words and in practice there has been little innovation in production.

The leading officials in the ministries and central organizations have not given proper administrative guidance, either. This year the leading officials in the construction industry did not undertake projects on a priority basis but tackled them in a haphazard manner, causing the waste of a great deal of manpower and materials. Many shortcomings have also been revealed in labour administration and in the provision of amenities and of consumer goods for the workers.

The year now drawing to a close has also witnessed many shortcomings in the work of each Party committee and of each Party official.

The main defect in the work of these Party committees is their failure to give proper direction to economic work.

If the Party puts forward a policy, the Party committees at all levels—the organs of collective leadership—should discuss it collectively and take the proper measures for its implementation, they

should mobilize the masses for the struggle to carry it out and should quickly correct any deviations which may be revealed in implementing it. In other words, the provincial, city, county and factory Party committees should give efficient collective guidance and play their steering role properly. Instead of doing this, however, Party committees and officials at different levels simply took administrative affairs into their own hands or tailed after the administrative and economic workers. As a result, they failed to remedy shortcomings in administrative and economic work in time, and made the same mistakes.

The Party committees will not be able to manage and operate the socialist economy properly if they fail to give efficient collective guidance and play their steering role satisfactorily. Today the situation is different from the past, when the minister or the chief of the management bureau or the manager undertook the whole responsibility for direction of the economy. In the past the country's economic power was weak and production was at a low level, and so the economy could be run by individuals. However, today, when its scale has grown as never before, the economy cannot be managed only by the efforts of individuals. If we are to operate the socialist economy properly, we should improve the collective guidance of the Party committees and organize and mobilize the producer masses.

Another defect in the work of the Party committees at all levels and the Party workers is that they have failed to coordinate general guidance properly with specific direction.

At present, Party organizations and officials confine themselves to issuing general guidance, but are no good at creating a model situation at one unit and then generalizing it by coordinating the appropriate specific directions with guidance of a general character. Some Party officials think that, when they receive the Party's decisions and directions, all that they need do is to discuss them once at the Party committee, and then pass them on to lower levels for execution. They are wrong: no problem can be solved by merely organizing work in general terms at meetings.

The Party Central Committee does not confine itself to discussing problems at Party meetings. After discussing and deciding on a particular problem at a Party meeting, we directly give specific directions for the necessary action. In doing thus we confirm the correctness of the policy set forth by the Party Central Committee and also create a model in carrying it out with a view to generalizing its application. The Chongsanri spirit and method and the Taean work system were created in the course of our giving specific guidance after plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee. Party committees should see to it that they adopt the method of combining general guidance with specific directions.

The Party committees have also failed to place the Party members' organizational life on a normal basis.

The Third Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee held last March strongly emphasized the need for Party organizations to strengthen guidance for the Party life of the members, so as to get it on to a normal basis.

If the cadres and Party members are to keep themselves alert and to continue to bring about an upsurge in socialist economic construction, they should improve their Party life. In particular, when the schemes of the revisionists and imperialists become revealed, it is very important to strengthen their Party life and to establish a sound trait of Party life.

At present, however, some Party organizations and Party workers do not give efficient guidance to the Party life of its members, and lay stress only on immediate tasks of administrative and economic work. As a result, the Party life of the members is not put on a normal basis, and some of them fail to lead a sound Party life. Some officials have revealed indolence and slackness, and wavered in implementing Party policy. This is because the Party organizations have failed to give proper direction to the Party life of its members.

The defects revealed in our work this year are those which may occur as we make progress; and it is very beneficial that they have been detected so promptly. Had we failed to spot our defects in time, we might well commit more serious errors in the future, and our progress

would be retarded. Our spotting these defects is in itself a big achievement and shows that our political and ideological level is high.

All Party organizations should correctly analyse and sum up the experience and lessons gained in the struggle to hit the six targets this year and take thoroughgoing measures to correct all defects.

Next, I would like to refer to the basic task of the national economic plan for 1963 and how it should be fulfilled.

As you all know, the Fourth Congress of our Party set it as the basic tasks for the first half of the Seven-Year Plan to put flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry and to use it more effectively and, on this basis, speedily develop agriculture and light industry and radically improve the people's living standards.

In order to tackle this task, we drew up last year's national economic plan and strove to implement it, and so did we this year, too. This year we have striven hard to develop light industry and agriculture so as to solve the questions of food, clothing and housing for the people; and we have also endeavoured to put flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry.

The basic task of the national economic plan for next year should also be defined, on the basis of the tasks for the first half of the Seven-Year National Economic Plan. The basic task of the national economic plan for 1963 is to make better preparations for achieving a radical improvement of the people's standard of living, while consolidating and developing the successes achieved in attaining the six goals. We should never retreat from the heights which we have already taken: we should further consolidate these heights, at whatever cost, and aim at attaining even greater goals in the future.

The major task confronting heavy industry next year is to continue vigorously to put flesh on its skeleton and to concentrate effort on the mining industry. The mining industry, the first process of production, must be decisively strengthened.

Light industry should make preparations to produce 300 million metres of fabrics in 1964, while further consolidating the goal of 250 million metres of fabrics, which has been attained. To this end, efforts

should be directed to firmly building up the existing raw material bases, normalizing production and creating new raw material bases.

In the field of fisheries they should maintain the goal of 800,000 tons of seafood and should strive to increase the share of fish in the production of seafood.

Agriculture should firmly maintain the goal of 5,000,000 tons of grain, and, at the same time, strive to produce 3,000,000 tons of rice and 200,000 tons of meat, as well as to supply more oil to the people.

In capital construction, efforts should be directed to industrial construction, and, in particular, forces should be concentrated on productive construction for the mining industry. Continued efforts should be made to build rural and urban dwellings as well as cultural facilities. In capital construction, strict discipline should be established as regards the undertaking of construction projects on a priority basis: forces should be concentrated on the most important projects, and should not be dispersed over too many projects.

In order to successfully carry out the economic tasks confronting us next year, great changes should be brought about in economic management and in the direction of production.

Firstly, the Taean work system should be set up definitely and the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method applied fully.

The Taean work system and the Chongsanri spirit and method constitute the economic management system and the method of mass leadership which together embody our Party's revolutionary mass line. As required by the Taean work system and the Chongsanri spirit and method, the leading officials should thoroughly abolish bureaucracy and formalism and go deep into the reality in order to help the officials at lower echelons and to solve complex problems; they should always give priority to political work and organize the masses to implement the economic tasks. Moreover, they should direct production and manage enterprises by relying on the Party organizations and on the masses, instead of by showing off their small wisdom.

Secondly, the function and role of all Party committees should be further enhanced.

The provincial, city and county Party committees and the factory Party committees should improve collective leadership and fully discharge the steering function in economic guidance. Meanwhile, they should normalize the Party life of the members, whose ideological education, and that of the working people, the committees should intensify. Thus, a continuous upsurge will be effected in the struggle to implement the Party's economic policy.

Thirdly, the level of planning should be improved.

The main characteristic of a socialist economy is that it develops in a planned and balanced way. Good planning will make it possible to abolish subjectivism and bureaucracy in economic work and develop the national economy at a high and steady rate.

Leading economic officials should correctly map out monthly and quarterly working plans and all other production plans through discussions with the masses, and should strictly observe the principle of carrying out the plans without fail. If the plan is to be carried out, it should be fully communicated and explained to the masses, so that their revolutionary zeal can be definitively enhanced.

Fourthly, cooperative production should be organized properly and ensured efficiently.

In order to guarantee cooperative production, strict discipline should be established in the implementation of the cooperative production plan, and a higher sense of responsibility should prevail. Every factory and enterprise should fully comply with its obligations to contribute items required for cooperative production, so as not to hold up production in other enterprises downstream.

Through the proper organization of cooperative production, we should abolish the tendency to egoism, which has been manifested by each factory and enterprise trying to have everything. We would thus display the superiority of cooperative production.

At present, some officials do not think of concentrating a fleet of lorries at one location and of rationalizing their utilization; instead, they try to have not only a fleet of lorries but a designing office as well. In the future, the construction industry should rationalize the location

of designing offices—which are at present too widely dispersed—and should make intensive use of designers.

Fifthly, the struggle to raise the utilization rate of equipment should be intensified.

To this end, it is necessary to regularly check and repair machines and equipment, and to keep a sufficient stock of spare parts. Machines and equipment should not be overused in all-out attempts to rush production; instead, they should be used normally at all times.

Close attention should be directed to ensuring the proper management of irrigation facilities and ports, and to rationalizing the use of production space and land. In particular, water should be conserved well. In agriculture, water drawn at the cost of valuable electric power should not be wasted by careless use.

Sixthly, the technological revolution should be carried out energetically.

The period of the Seven-Year Plan is a period of the technical revolution. Therefore, all the Party and the entire people should participate in carrying out the technological revolution.

Today we are confronted with the task of emancipating the working people from arduous labour and rapidly developing the national economy by mechanizing and automating all its branches.

Imbued with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, we should vigorously wage the technical innovation movement on a mass scale, so as to economize and produce more. We should procure what is wanting and make by our own efforts what we are now importing.

Each branch of the national economy should strive to maximize the utilization of its machines and equipment. In the agricultural sector tractors are at the moment used only in tilling fields or for haulage but not for other kinds of work. This practice would make comprehensive agricultural mechanization impossible. Irrigation, threshing and many other kinds of work should be done with the use of tractors.

Seventhly, labour administration should be improved.

Leading economic workers should have a correct understanding of the importance of labour administration in managing the socialist

economy and should make every effort to improve matters in this field.

What is important in improving labour administration is to allocate labour rationally. The character, taste, ability and constitution of the individuals concerned should be taken properly into account when jobs are assigned. Healthy people should be allotted to heavy labour, the weaklings and the women to light labour, and the technicians to technical jobs.

Along with rational distribution of labour, work norms should be fixed correctly so that all the workers will overfulfil their assignments.

In addition, wastage of labour should be eliminated and labour should be saved as much as possible.

It is important in improving labour administration to prevent labour turnover. Farm labour should be fixed; and factories, enterprises and institutions should launch a labour-saving movement and should send to the countryside the manpower thus saved. Until now some rural labour has been diverted to industry, but from now on urban and industrial labour should be saved so that it can be sent to the countryside. This is a new policy we are now putting forward.

At the moment, agriculture is confronted with a gigantic task to produce a lot of grain, meat and oil-bearing crops in order to solve the problem of food for the people and to provide industrial raw materials. Under present conditions, when rural mechanization is still at a low level, the implementation of this task demands a great deal of manpower. From now on, large numbers of work hands including demobilized soldiers, should be sent to the countryside.

Eighthly, an innovation should be brought about in capital construction.

An order of priority should be determined properly in the construction industry, and projects should not be launched in a haphazard fashion; instead, the industry's resources should be concentrated on major projects and the overall programme for the industry should be strictly carried out. For this purpose, a properly organized system of construction enterprises and design offices should be set up and their management should be improved so that the forces

of design work and on-site operations are used in a concentrated way.

Ninthly, the supply and services for the workers should be improved.

The services constitute an important political work. Leading officials should clearly realize its importance and should strive to improve this work.

They should set up a proper system to provide non-staple foodstuffs and other supplies in time, to improve the management of hostels, to keep residential quarters in industrial and rural areas clean, to increase commercial links and public amenities including shops, mess halls, barber's shops and bathhouses, and to equip hospitals, kindergartens and nurseries assiduously. They should, as far as possible, provide suitable conditions for the working people's cultural life, and appropriate facilities for their everyday convenience.

In order to improve these public services, the political level and practical ability of the officials concerned should be raised. To this end, short courses could usefully be organized. Even during the difficult days of the Fatherland Liberation War, we established a training school for sergeants major in order to improve the corresponding services for the People's Army. As a result, the services in question were markedly improved. The Cabinet and the provincial people's committees should organize training courses for the chief accountants of the supply services of the institutions and enterprises as well as for the supervisors of hostels.

Tenthly, political and technical study should be intensified among officials, so as to further raise their qualifications.

At the moment some officials do not study hard, claiming that there is no time for study if they are to manage the factory efficiently. This is a wrong tendency. Of course, it is not easy for officials to study while working. However, if they organize their work well, they will be good both at factory management and at study. They should work and study well. The entire Party should intensify political, technical and professional study and thus carry out the task of the technological and cultural revolutions set forth by the Party at its Fourth Congress.

