

**KIM IL SUNG**

**WORKS**

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

# KIM IL SUNG

## WORKS

### 23

*October 1968–May 1969*

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE  
PYONGYANG, KOREA

1985

# CONTENTS

## LET US STRENGTHEN THE TRAINING OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL TO MEET THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Speech to the Faculty Members and Students of Kim Chaek University of Technology, <i>October 2, 1968</i> .....	1
---	---

## THE GREAT ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF THE ASIAN, AFRICAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN PEOPLES IS INVINCIBLE

The Treatise Published on the Occasion of the First Anniversary of the Death of Che Guevara in Battle, in the Eighth Issue of <i>Tricontinental</i> , Theoretical Organ of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, <i>October 8, 1968</i> .....	15
---	----

## ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROLE OF WORKING PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS

Speech to Officials of the Central Committees of the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth, and the Women's Union, <i>October 11, 1968</i> .....	29
1. On the Major Defects in the Activities of the Working People's Organizations.....	29
2. On Revolutionizing and Working-Classizing the Working People More Effectively .....	40
3. On Building Up the Ranks of Hard Cores of the Working People's Organizations .....	70

## FOR THE LARGE-SCALE RECLAMATION OF TIDELANDS

Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of Workers in Charge of Land Development, <i>October 11, 1968</i> .....	77
<b>ON ESTABLISHING REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE AND ORDER IN THE GUIDANCE OF THE ECONOMY</b>	
Speech at a Joint Meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet, <i>October 21, 1968</i> .....	90
<b>ON INCREASING THE FUNCTION AND ROLE OF FINANCE IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION</b>	
Talk at a Consultative Meeting of Financial Workers, <i>October 31, 1968</i> .....	109
1. On Some Principles of Socialist Financial Management.....	109
2. On Specific Tasks of Socialist Finance.....	113
<b>ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN THE CREATION OF REVOLUTIONARY FILMS</b>	
Speech before Film Workers, <i>November 1, 1968</i> .....	129
<b>ON RELIEVING THE STRAIN ON TRANSPORT</b>	
Concluding Speech at the 18th Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, <i>November 16, 1968</i> .....	148
<b>SOME PROBLEMS IN MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION</b>	
Concluding Speech at the 18th Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, <i>November 16, 1968</i> .....	173
<b>GREETING THE NEW YEAR 1969</b>	
Speech at the New Year Banquet, <i>January 1, 1969</i> .....	191
<b>ON FURTHER ACCELERATING SOCIALIST RURAL CONSTRUCTION</b>	
Speech Delivered at the National Congress of Agricultural Workers, <i>February 7, 1969</i> .....	199

1. On Further Accelerating the Ideological, Technical and Cultural Revolutions in the Rural Areas .....	202
2. On Developing Backward Cooperative Farms Rapidly .....	236
3. On Some Tasks Required to Raise Good Crops This Year .....	249

**ON SOME PROBLEMS IN PARTY WORK AND ECONOMIC  
AFFAIRS WHICH MUST BE SOLVED**

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Departmental Heads of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, <i>February 11, 1969</i> .....	263
1. On Improving Party Work .....	263
1) On Managing Personnel Affairs Correctly .....	265
2) On Improving the Dissemination of Party Policy .....	275
3) On Building Up the Ranks of Officials of the Party Central Committee and Improving Their Work Style .....	284
4) On Raising the Role of County Party Committees .....	290
2. On Some Problems in Economic Affairs .....	292

**SOUTH PHYONGAN PROVINCE SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD  
ON ALL FRONTS OF THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM**

Concluding Speech Delivered at a Conference of the South Phyongan Provincial Organization of the Workers' Party of Korea, <i>February 15, 1969</i> .....	302
1. Concerning Economic Work .....	304
1) On the Tasks of Industry .....	305
2) On Some Tasks of Developing the Socialist Country Areas .....	317
(1) On Increasing Agricultural Production .....	317
(2) On Strengthening Backward Cooperative Farms Quickly .....	325
(3) On Undertaking Land Development and Other Rural Construction Projects Successfully .....	330
(4) On Promoting the Cultural Revolution in the Country Areas .....	341
3) On Putting Labour Administration on the Right Track .....	349
2. On Improving the Work of the People's Committee .....	361

3. On Improving Party Work.....	369
4. On Making Provision against War .....	377

**ON SOME THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY**

Answers to Questions Raised by Scientific and Educational Workers, <i>March 1, 1969</i> .....	380
1. The Question of the Relationship between the Scale of the Economy and the Rate of Production Growth in a Socialist Society .....	380
2. The Questions of the Means of Production in Commodity Form and the Use of the Law of Value in a Socialist Society.....	388
3. The Questions of the Peasant Market in a Socialist Society and of the Way to Abolish It .....	399

**ON SOME TASKS OF IMPROVING PARTY WORK**

Speech before the Heads of Departments of the Party Central Committee and Chief Secretaries of Provincial Party Committees, <i>March 3, 1969</i> .....	405
1. On Tightening the Party's Organizational Discipline.....	405
2. On Improving Party Direction of Economic Affairs .....	411
3. On Improving Public Security Work .....	418
4. On Some Aspects of Inner-Party Work.....	421

**LET US PROMOTE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE TRAVELLING  
YOUTH MOTIVATION TROUPE TO ROUSE THE MASSES  
TO IMPLEMENT THE PARTY'S POLICY**

Talk to Officials of the League of Socialist Working Youth after Watching the Combined Performance of the Participants in the Second National Contest of Travelling Youth Motivation Troupes, <i>March 12, 1969</i> .....	429
---	-----

**CONGRATULATIONS TO OFFICERS AND MEN OF UNIT 447  
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY ON SHOOTING DOWN  
THE HEAVY RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT OF THE US  
IMPERIALIST AGGRESSIVE FORCES WHICH ILLEGALLY  
INTRUDED INTO THE NORTHERN HALF OF KOREA  
FOR RECONNAISSANCE PURPOSES**

<i>April 16, 1969</i> .....	434
-----------------------------	-----

**LET US STRENGTHEN THE TRAINING  
OF TECHNICAL PERSONNEL TO MEET  
THE NEW REQUIREMENTS  
OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION**

**Speech to the Faculty Members and Students  
of Kim Chaek University of Technology**

*October 2, 1968*

I should like to start by warmly congratulating the faculty members and students of Kim Chaek University of Technology on the 20th anniversary of its inauguration.

In the course of the past 20 years Kim Chaek University of Technology has trained armies of technical personnel and sent them out to many branches of the national economy. They are now playing an important role at different posts in socialist construction—in our factories and enterprises and state and economic institutions. This demonstrates that Kim Chaek University of Technology has performed a great service, and this is a valuable result of the tireless efforts its teaching staff has made in upholding the Party's educational policy. The university, whose growth coincides with the history of our Republic, has contributed greatly to the country's prosperity, development and socialist construction.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Government of the Republic, I extend warm thanks to the faculty members and students of Kim Chaek University of Technology.

Our Party's educational policy is correct and our achievements in



education are tremendous. This is clearly shown by experience, and foreigners also have a high opinion of our policy and achievements.

Representatives of many countries attending our Republic's 20th anniversary celebrations some time ago were unanimous in their unstinted praise for our educational system and very much envied our pupils and students. They particularly admired our students who actively supported and defended the Party's line and policies and who showed themselves to be firmly united around the Party.

In our country today, students are a source of great pride and a valuable asset and are not a source of trouble and anxiety. This is a great victory won in the implementation of the Party's educational policy.

We have achieved great successes in the development of science and technology as well as in education.

It is true that we still have much to do to catch up with the advanced industrial countries. But under the leadership of the Party our people have performed a great miracle in a short period of time—abolishing technological and economic backwardness, a legacy of the old society, and building a powerful independent national economy with a modern industry and a developed agriculture.

Today our industry has a fairly strong foundation. The foundation of heavy industry is especially robust. This is striking proof of the correctness of our Party's line on the building of the economy, the line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture.

Over the past years we have won truly great victories in socialist construction and, in particular, have achieved a large measure of success in education. However, we must not become in any way complacent about this. We have much more work to do than we have done so far.

Our task now is to raise the level of our industry by relying on the industrial base we have already established. This requires the continued energetic promotion of the technical revolution.

The Party's Fourth Congress set the technical revolution as one of

the central tasks of socialist economic construction. This task is now proceeding successfully, but it cannot be completed within the Seven-Year Plan period. The complete victory of socialism and the laying of the sound material and technical foundations of socialism and communism make it imperative to advance the technical revolution to a higher plane.

The first and foremost task in this is the development of electronics.

This is the age of electronics, and we must make rapid developments in this field. This is essential for the extensive introduction of automation in all branches of the national economy. It will enable us to produce more material wealth with less manpower while making work less burdensome. It will also help us eliminate the distinctions between heavy and light and industrial and farm labour and, furthermore, between mental and physical labour.

The rapid development of electronics is also necessary for the defence industry. With our present industrial base, we can produce all the conventional weapons we need. However, if we are to develop the defence industry so as to manufacture large quantities of modern automatic weapons, we must improve the automation system and electronics. At one time we told you to stop building helicopters and the like. But it is now high time to make helicopters and other types of aircraft and modern automatic weapons such as rockets in our country. You should now put your minds to producing such modern automatic weapons. When we develop electronics, we shall be able to manufacture as many of these modern weapons as we require.

As you see, the development of electronics is very important for the advancement of the country's productive forces, for the final emancipation of the working people from heavy labour and for boosting national defence power.

But electronics is a field which we have only just begun to explore because our country had a very weak industrial base in the past. The industrial base must reach a certain level for the development of electronics. In the complete absence of this base, electronics is out of the question. Today, however, a firm industrial base has been laid and

the engineering industry, in particular, has attained a fairly high level. We can confidently say that it is high time to place the question of developing electronics on the programme. We must do this on a large scale.

Another important question in the field of science and technology, if the technical revolution is to be advanced to a higher level, is to increase the production of light and pure metals and alloy steel.

Of course, the establishment of Juche in the production of iron is very important, and the metallurgical industry should continue to concentrate on the work of strengthening the independence of the iron industry. But the production of light and pure metals and alloy steel should never be neglected. Without expanding their production, it is impossible to advance further in the engineering, electronics and defence industries or to carry out the tasks of the higher phase of the technical revolution successfully.

First of all, the work of establishing our own aluminium production base must be speeded up. Until recently no deposits of bauxite had been found in our country and the technical problem of producing aluminium from nephelite, which we do have, had not been solved. This compelled us to postpone the construction of an aluminium factory. Our prospectors, however, have recently found deposits of bauxite. Therefore, we must speed up the construction of the factory and produce aluminium ourselves as soon as possible. In addition, we must produce magnesium, and further the production of alloy steel and various pure metals including titanium.

The new and higher phase of the technical revolution urgently demands a corresponding improvement in the training of technical personnel. So a very important and honourable task faces Kim Chaek University of Technology, our country's biggest integrated centre for training technological cadres. Until now the university has undertaken the task of training technical workers needed in the stage of industrialization. Now it faces the task of training more technical personnel capable of carrying out the higher phase of the technical revolution.

We have a number of new fields of science and technology to be explored and many scientific and technological problems to be solved. That is why we need larger numbers of competent technical personnel.

Let me give an example.

To raise the cultural and technical levels of the working people as a whole rapidly, we are planning to cover the whole country with a TV network. We have already built a TV broadcasting station with a high tower. However, a wide section of the working people cannot watch television because there is a shortage of TV sets. Although we import a small number every year, this is not sufficient to bring the whole nation within a TV network soon. To solve this problem we must mass-produce TV sets by the hundreds of thousands every year. But we are still unable to do this because our country does not have many electronics technicians and the electronics industry is underdeveloped.

In order to open up new branches of industry and advance industry as a whole to a higher level, technicians are needed in every field. The training of technical personnel must be drastically improved so that our technicians will be able to meet the rapidly growing demands of socialist economic construction.

This is why Kim Chaek University of Technology, an important training centre for technicians in our country, must improve its work. It must increase its enrolment to train more competent technicians.

We must continue to encourage evening and correspondence courses. Since this form of education is an excellent one which enables working people to study and work at the same time, it must be consolidated. It is possible that students following these courses fall somewhat behind their counterparts taking regular courses, but this problem can be solved if the school term is extended a little.

Next, the work of revolutionizing the students must be carried forward unremittingly.

As everyone knows, the building of socialism and communism necessitates the capture of two fortresses, the material and the ideological. Consequently, the ideological revolution must be energetically carried forward as well as the technical revolution. It is

wrong to emphasize only the technical revolution while neglecting the ideological one which is aimed at eradicating backward ideas from people's minds. Nor is it correct to emphasize only the ideological revolution and neglect the technical one. Undue emphasis on one or the other will prevent the successful building of a socialist and communist society.

We must work hard to conquer the ideological as well as the material fortress throughout the course of socialist and communist construction. In the training of technicians, too, the ideological education of the students must be intensified as well as their technological education. The universities must revolutionize all the students, in other words, bring them up to be true communists before sending them out into society. A dynamic struggle is now under way in our country to root out bourgeois, feudal-Confucian and revisionist thinking and all other unsound ideas which still remain in the minds of the working people and to revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society.

Universities, too, must thoroughly revolutionize all their students, as well as the lecturers, by means of an energetic campaign against the old ideas. They must not send into society half-baked graduates who will later need to be reformed. Some of the old intellectuals might need reforming. But why should the new intellectuals who have been trained in our universities need to be reformed after graduation?

Experience shows that as long as the old ideas remain in their minds, people tend to become lazy and degenerate as economic growth gives rise to abundance and makes work easier. Consequently, the ideological education of the working people, and particularly of intellectuals, must in no way be relaxed throughout the course of the building of socialism.

It is difficult for a university to revolutionize the students completely in four or five short years. Therefore, the proper combination of ideological education with science training and of social with natural science is important not only in higher education but throughout the school system, from the early stages.

People who were infected with the theories of time-worn bourgeois pedagogy once claimed that children only needed the cultivation of the emotions, confined to the appreciation of such things as the property of red, blue and other colours, and that revolutionary ideological education should not be given them. They were entirely wrong. People must be systematically given revolutionary education from childhood so that their minds are kept free of all manner of unsound ideas, including bourgeois ideas, and so that they arm themselves firmly with the revolutionary world outlook as they grow up. It is not a good thing to neglect ideological education and then try to rid people's minds of obsolete ideas only after they have already become seriously infected by them. If proper university education is given to those who have received a systematic ideological education from childhood, cases where graduates become objects of reform will not occur.

Kim Chaek University of Technology must not neglect politico-ideological education by giving students only technological education just because it is a technical university. All university life must be so organized as to give the students intensive ideological training to help them enhance their revolutionary world outlook while equipping them with a high degree of technological knowledge. The education programme at the university should be perfected along such lines. Of course, many social science subjects are included in the university's curriculum, as well as technological subjects. In the future, too, importance should be attached to teaching social science, including Party policy.

In revolutionizing students it is important to adhere strictly to the Party's policy on university enrolment. Our experience proves the excellence of the system under which middle school graduates are tempered in the army or in society for a few years before they are admitted to university. We must continue to encourage this.

It is true that, after a break of a few years in their studies, students may have some initial difficulties in tackling technological subjects on entering universities. However, if they are well taught in primary and middle schools, they will not forget what they have learned during

their period of military or civilian service. Even if they have forgotten some, six months or a year of good individual tutoring in university will enable them to catch up rapidly. Having been tempered in society or in the army, all of them will become fine intellectuals meeting the Party's requirements, provided that they are given a good university training.

Some people used to say that to become a genius a person needs systematic studies from childhood, and he should be kept away from all other pursuits. They maintained that middle-school graduates should go straight to university. We cannot agree with their concept. Indeed, if a boy enters university straight from middle school as those people insisted, he might show fairly good progress in certain technological subjects. But his revolutionization will be that much slower, because he lacks social training. This will inevitably lead to the turning out of a half-baked intellectual who will have to go through the process of revolutionization again after he goes out into society. No matter how many there may be, we have no need of genteel, half-baked intellectuals who have to be reformed after graduation. We need Red communist intellectuals who have been working-classed and revolutionized. A few years of social training after secondary education will be of far greater benefit than any "loss" resulting from it. Some people used to allege that demobilized soldiers were only capable of taking a social science course at best, and that if they took a natural science course, they would not be able to cope. This is not correct. Experience shows that demobilized soldiers can become competent technicians if they are given good individual tutoring when they are admitted to technical universities.

We must categorically reject the outmoded opinion which advocates the education of the best brains and stick to the Party's policy on university enrolment. In this way institutes of higher education should turn out fully revolutionized intellectuals who are worthy of this era of the Workers' Party.

To proceed. We must continue to establish Juche thoroughly in all fields.

Some of our people are not yet completely free of flunkeyism towards great powers. Intellectuals, especially, still have a great tendency to do this.

When, then, will our country be rid of flunkeyism? The complete establishment of Juche is conditional on the elimination of flunkeyism, and to abolish flunkeyism altogether we need a higher level of economic development and standard of living and, especially, more advanced science and technology than other countries.

It is true to say that intensified ideological struggle alongside ideological education will help overcome flunkeyism to a considerable degree. But ideological struggle alone is not enough to eradicate it. Only when our country is far more advanced than other countries in all fields of science, whether social or natural, or has at least caught up with them so that our people will no longer cast envious eyes at them over the fence, will flunkeyism finally disappear and Juche be firmly established in our country. Within our time we must put an end to flunkeyism which has been handed down through the ages. This requires accelerated development in all branches of science and technology, as well as the economy. A huge responsibility for this rests on scientists and lecturers.

Here the question arises: Is it possible for our country to outstrip developed countries in science and technology? It is our belief that we can definitely overtake and outstrip them if all of us put our shoulders to the wheel.

Are Koreans inferior to other peoples in intelligence? Cannot Koreans study and solve problems if others can? Cannot we develop science and technology as they do? If the whole Party and all the people buckle down to the job and tackle things with determination, we can and must get ahead of developed countries.

In the realm of social science we can say that we are now making rapid progress.

We have solved many difficult and complex problems of socialist construction in a unique manner suited to the existing conditions of our country. We have accumulated a wealth of valuable experience in the



building of the state, the economy and national defence and in education, culture, health services and all other spheres of the revolution and construction. Our Party's policies are correct, and time is proving their great vitality.

But this should not make us complacent. We have yet to tackle many problems in the social science field. We must continue to develop this science. Society is constantly advancing and so are the revolution and construction. Thus we are confronted with many new problems. Look at our own situation. With regard to systems of management in industry and agriculture, we have formulated correct theories and policies and accumulated a certain amount of experience, but we still have a number of problems in regard to commerce and distribution, for instance. Although the basic principle that socialist trade should be a supply system for the people has been clarified, we cannot yet say that such questions as how to ensure quicker and more equitable supplies have been completely solved. We should not allow ourselves to become complacent, but must make further progress in social science and solve the new, urgent problems arising in the revolution and construction creatively.

We must take note of the fact that natural science in our country is lagging behind social science. Our level is still low in this field and so are our scientists' and technicians' qualifications.

Let me give an example from several years ago.

Some time after we had given guidance at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Officials, we visited a stock farm and held a consultative meeting there with scientists and workers in the field of stockbreeding. I said at the meeting that a wide use of microelements was essential if we were to improve our stockbreeding, and asked whether we had any suitable solution to the problem. Nobody could give a definite answer.

After the meeting, our scientists studied the problem in real earnest and succeeded in using microelements in poultry farming. As a result, poultry farming made rapid progress within a few years. As is the case with all other scientific and technological problems, the use of

microelements is not such a difficult problem to someone who has gone into it. Naturally, science seems difficult to the uninitiated, but you will find it easy as soon as you become acquainted with it. Science which is accessible only to one person serves no purpose, it is not science but magic.

We have hardly begun to explore many fields of science, such as electronics and the metallurgy of pure metals. Our scientists and technicians should make strenuous efforts to open up new areas of science so that they can conquer as soon as possible the new peaks of science which mankind has already reached.

In order to make progress in science we must lay a sound material basis for scientific research.

Despite our great efforts to promote the sciences, the economic conditions and tense situation in our country have prevented us from laying satisfactory foundations for scientific research.

Up to now you have worked hard to make a lot of apparatus for yourselves and to build your own laboratories. This is very good. But your experimental apparatus leaves much to be desired and you have a long way to go to equip your laboratories to the standards required by modern science and technology. In future, you must equip your laboratories better. To do so, you must make all the apparatus you can yourselves and import only that which is beyond your capabilities.

Practical work and field trips should be widely organized. I have heard that you have not yet visited our electron tube factory and semiconductor plant. This is a great mistake. If it is necessary for you to go on inspection tours to foreign countries in order to advance our science and technology, why do you not visit our own factories? If you students of Kim Chaek University of Technology visit these factories you might be able to make creative suggestions for improving their equipment. From now on, the university should organize practical work and field trips on a wide scale. They are indispensable to scientific research.

It is also advisable for you to use foreign books on science and technology extensively.

You should thus take bold steps forward in your scientific research and soon overtake and outstrip advanced countries in science and technology.

The history of industrial development in capitalist countries such as Britain and Japan dates back a century or even a few centuries, but ours, even when counting from the establishment of the Republic, covers no more than 20 years. If we deduct the time spent on recovering from the ravages of war, our modern industry has a history of only a little more than ten years. This, however, should not lead us to think that it will take our country 100 or 300 years to overtake the developed countries. We must and can outstrip them in the near future.

Only a few years ago our agricultural workers considered the production of 4.8 tons of rice per hectare in a foreign country to be something extraordinary. But now the average per-hectare rice yield amounts to 5.7 tons in Mundok and Sukchon Counties, South Phyongan Province, and in Anak County, South Hwanghae Province. So these counties have already outstripped foreign countries.

Now that sound foundations have been laid for stockbreeding it can make rapid progress.

If we apply microelements and vigorously step up the use of chemicals in agriculture, we shall be able to overtake and surpass the advanced countries in the next few years.

In metallurgy we can also reach world levels before long. Even now, for example, we are by no means behind others in alloy steel production. Steel plants in our country have a comparatively long history and have accumulated a considerable amount of experience in alloy steel production. The level of their workers and technicians is very high. The alloy steel produced in our country, though still limited in quantity, is in no way inferior to that of other countries in terms of quality.

In the production of light and pure metals, too, we can quickly overtake and outstrip the advanced countries provided we tackle the job boldly and exert ourselves.

We must intensify our work to establish Juche in the iron and steel industry.

I think it necessary to introduce the crude-steel process which is being studied in Kim Chaek University of Technology to production. Crude steel is said to contain a considerable amount of sulphur. But that does not matter much. It is better to produce steel from domestic raw materials, although it is slightly inferior in quality, than to have to ask other countries to sell coke to us. Moreover, if we promote research on the elimination of sulphur, we will definitely be able to solve the problem. We cannot build up a Juche-motivated iron industry if we are passive, only worrying about the problem instead of daring to attempt to solve it. When the new iron works in the western region is completed, the crude-steel process must be boldly introduced. You must concentrate your energies on research on crude steel and complete it at an early date.

In order to develop a Juche-motivated industry, those raw materials which we still have to purchase from other countries should be sought in our own country by stepping up geological prospecting. Intensified geological surveys will enable us to discover new sources of raw materials.

It would indeed be expecting too much to find every raw material we need in our own country. But in accordance with the Party's policy we must locate every single mineral deposit through intensified geological prospecting, and manufacture substitute materials through the development of science and technology or, if this is impossible, strive to use less imported raw materials. We must improve the independence of our industry in every respect.

South Korea today depends upon the United States and Japan for almost all its industrial raw materials. If they stopped supplying them even for a single day, all its factories and mills would have to suspend operations.

We must not build industries which are entirely dependent on other countries for raw materials, as is the case in south Korea.

Let me emphasize once again that if we want to eliminate flunkeyism towards great powers completely, we must build a stronger economic base in our country and raise our living standards above

those enjoyed in other countries. We should far surpass others in everything—policy and theory, science and technology. To do this, we must make faster progress in social and natural sciences. In other words, the ideological struggle alone is not enough to eradicate flunkeyism. It must be matched by the material base, the building of which requires the rapid advancement of science and technology.

Some people may ask: We are internationalists, so why should we constantly stress the need to get ahead of others? In reply, I should like to ask them: Why should we always tag along at the heels of others? We must catch up with the advanced countries in all spheres as soon as possible. There is nothing wrong in our being in the lead.

It is my firm belief that all the faculty members and students of Kim Chaek University of Technology, one of the most important centres of science and technology in our country, will make new and greater progress in their scientific research and in the training of technical personnel, fully living up to the expectations of the Party.

**THE GREAT ANTI-IMPERIALIST  
REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF THE ASIAN,  
AFRICAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN  
PEOPLES IS INVINCIBLE**

**The Treatise Published on the Occasion of the First Anniversary  
of the Death of Che Guevara in Battle, in the Eighth Issue  
of *Tricontinental*, Theoretical Organ of the Organization  
of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America**

*October 8, 1968*

It is nearly a year now since Comrade Ernesto Che Guevara, an indomitable revolutionary soldier and a true internationalist fighter coming from the Latin-American people, died a heroic death on the Bolivian battlefield. In deep grief, and with burning hatred for the enemy, the Korean people join the revolutionary people throughout the world in commemorating the first anniversary of Comrade Che Guevara's death.

Che Guevara followed the path of sacred battle to bring freedom and liberation to the people, holding aloft the banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle from early youth, and devoted his whole life to the revolutionary cause of the oppressed.

Ever since the curtain rose on the bloody history of the modern bourgeoisie—replacing the medieval exploitation camouflaged by religious and political illusions by a naked, shameless, direct and cruel one and turning the dignity of man into a mere commodity, many communists and revolutionary fighters all over the world have shed

their blood and laid down their lives in the long course of the revolutionary tempest which is sweeping away everything obsolete and corrupt and reorganizing the whole structure of society in a revolutionary way, crushing the ruling circles of that former, cursed society and laying the bases of a free and happy new society. Che Guevara dedicated his precious life to this sacred struggle and thus became an honourable member of the ranks of world revolutionary martyrs.

Che Guevara was an indefatigable revolutionary in battle and a true internationalist champion completely free of narrow nationalist sentiments. His whole life was a fine example of the steadfast revolutionary fighter and true internationalist.

With other Cuban revolutionaries led by Comrade Fidel Castro, Che Guevara carried on a heroic armed struggle which contributed greatly to crushing US imperialism and the dictatorial regime of its lackey Batista, and which led to the triumph of the Cuban revolution. Fired with revolutionary enthusiasm, Che Guevara left triumphant Cuba in 1965 and moved the sphere of his operations, setting up a new outpost where innumerable difficulties and harsh trials awaited him. Everywhere he went in Latin America, he organized and mobilized the masses in armed struggle against US imperialism and its sycophants and fought bravely in the vanguard to the end of his life.

Che Guevara's revolutionary activities made a tremendous contribution to further consolidating the triumph of the Cuban revolution and stepping up the advancement of the Latin-American revolution as a whole.

The Cuban revolution is the first socialist revolutionary victory in Latin America, and it is a continuation, in Latin America, of the Great October Revolution. With the triumph of the Cuban revolution, the Red banner of socialism now flies high over Latin America, which was regarded until quite recently as the hereditary estate of US imperialism; thus the socialist camp has been extended to the Western Hemisphere and has grown much stronger. Today the Republic of Cuba, marching firmly at the forefront of the Latin-American

revolution, is the beacon of hope for the fighting people of Latin America and it casts its victorious beam along the road of struggle. The triumph of the Cuban revolution shook the US imperialist colonial system to its very foundations in the Western Hemisphere and has thrown the whole of Latin America into revolutionary turbulence, dramatically arousing the people to join in the dedicated struggle for independence and freedom. Indeed, the triumph of the Cuban revolution marked the beginning of the disintegration of the system of US imperialist colonial rule in Latin America; it sternly judged and sentenced to destruction that imperialism which had exploited and oppressed the people in this area for so long.

Consolidation of the triumph of the Cuban revolution is not only an important question on which the life or death, the rise or fall of the Cuban people depend. It is also a key factor in influencing the general development of the Latin-American revolution.

Revolution begins with brilliant successes in one country but undergoes a lengthy period filled with pain. Countries whose proletariat seized power within the encirclement of international capitalism are threatened with the danger of imperialist aggression and the restoration of capitalism during the entire period of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. The exploiting classes which have been overthrown always attempt to recover their lost positions, and foreign imperialists continue to engage in invasion and subversive political and ideological intrigue and manoeuvres.

The US imperialists and the reactionaries of Latin America deeply hate and fear the very existence of the Republic of Cuba and are stubbornly and maliciously scheming to crush it. They are working hard to destroy the Cuban revolution so that they may drive out the “spectre” of communism haunting the Western Hemisphere and check the liberation struggle which is spreading like a prairie fire among the peoples of Latin America. While scheming to strangle Cuba by directly mobilizing their own armed forces, the US imperialists are instigating the reactionary dictatorial Latin-American regimes under their domination and subjugation to put political and economic pressure on



Cuba and to suffocate her with their blockade policy.

To attain the ultimate victory of the revolution, the peoples who have gained power within the encirclement of international capital—while reinforcing their own internal forces in every way—should be given solid support by other forces of the world socialist revolution and broad international assistance by the working class and the oppressed peoples of all countries. In other words, successive revolutions should take place in the majority of countries of the world, in several adjacent countries at least, so as to replace imperialist encirclement with socialist encirclement. The barriers of imperialism which surround a socialist country should be torn down so that the dictatorship of the proletariat can become a worldwide system; and one country's isolation as the socialist fortress within the encirclement should be ended with the formation of strong ties of militant solidarity of the international working class and the oppressed peoples of the world. Only then can it be said that all imperialists' armed intervention will be prevented and their attempt to restore capitalism frustrated and that the ultimate victory of socialism has been secured.

Just as the forces of capital are international, so the liberation struggle of the peoples has an international character. The revolutionary movements in individual countries are national movements and, at the same time, constitute part of the world revolution. The revolutionary struggles of the peoples in all countries support and complement each other and join together in one current of world revolution. A victorious revolution should assist those countries whose revolutions have not yet triumphed, providing them with experiences and examples and should render active political, economic and military support to the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world. The peoples in countries which have not yet won their revolutions should fight more actively to defend the successful revolutions of other countries against the imperialist policy of strangulation and hasten victory for their own revolutions. This is the law of the development of the world revolutionary movement and the

fine tradition already formed in the course of the people's liberation struggle.

The Cuban revolution is an organic part of the world revolution and, in particular, constitutes the decisive link in the chain of Latin-American revolution. To defend the Cuban revolution and to consolidate and follow up its victories is not only the duty of the Cuban people but also the internationalist duty of the oppressed peoples of Latin America and all the revolutionary people of the world. In the same way that the defence of the gains of the October Revolution in Russia—which made the first breach in the world capitalist system—was an important question decisive of the fate of world revolutionary development, so, too, the defence of the gains of the Cuban revolution—which made the first breach in the colonial system of US imperialism in Latin America—is crucial to the fate of the Latin-American revolution.

It is of great importance to the defence of the Cuban revolution that the revolutionary movement in neighbouring Latin-American countries should advance. If the flames of revolution flare up fiercely in many countries of Latin America where US imperialism sets foot, its force will be dispersed, its energy sapped, and the attempts of the US imperialists and their lackeys to strangle Cuba by concentrated force will inevitably fail. Furthermore, if the revolution triumphs in other Latin-American countries, Cuba will be saved from the imperialism which hems her in on all sides, a favourable phase in the Cuban and Latin-American revolutions will be opened, and the world revolution will be even further advanced.

For a revolution to take place, the subjective and objective conditions must be created. Each country's revolution should be carried out to suit its specific conditions in which the objective revolutionary situation is created. However, this by no means signifies that the revolution can develop or ripen by itself. It is always the case that the revolution can be advanced and brought to maturity only through hard struggle by revolutionaries. If, because revolution is difficult, we just wait for a favourable situation to come about and fail

to play an active part, then revolutionary forces cannot be developed. Revolutionary forces cannot rise up spontaneously without a struggle; they can be fostered and strengthened only through an arduous struggle. Without preparing for the decisive hour of the revolution, preserving revolutionary forces from enemy suppression while constantly storing them up and building them through positive struggle, it will be impossible to succeed in the revolution even when the objective situation has been created. To turn away from revolution on the pretext of avoiding sacrifice is in fact tantamount to forcing the people to accept lifelong slavery to capital and to tolerate cruel exploitation and oppression, unbearable maltreatment and humiliation, enormous suffering and victimization for ever. It can be said that the acute pain experienced at a revolutionary turning point is always much easier to endure than the chronic pain caused by the cancer of the old society. Social revolution cannot be achieved as easily as going down a royal road in broad daylight or as smoothly as a boat sailing before the wind. There may be rough and thorny problems, twists and turns, along the path of revolution, and there may be temporary setbacks and partial sacrifices. To flinch before difficulties and hesitate in the revolution for fear of sacrifice is not the attitude befitting a revolutionary.

It is the task of revolutionaries of every country to define a scientific, careful method of struggle on the basis of a correct assessment of the internal and external situation and a proper calculation of the balance of forces between friends and enemies; they must store and build up the revolutionary forces by cultivating the nucleus and awakening the masses through the trials of revolution, carrying on an active struggle, yet circumventing the snags and avoiding unnecessary sacrifices at ordinary times. And it is their task to make complete preparations to meet the great revolutionary event. Once the revolutionary situation is created, they must seize the opportunity without hesitation and rise up in a decisive battle to shatter the reactionary regime.

The forms and methods of revolutionary struggle are also determined not by the wishes of individuals, but always by the

prevailing subjective and objective situation created and the resistance of the reactionary ruling classes. Revolutionaries should be prepared for all forms of struggle; and they should effectively advance the revolutionary movement by properly combining the various forms and methods of that struggle—political, economic, violent, nonviolent, legal and illegal.

Counter-revolutionary violence is indispensable to the rule of all exploiting classes. Human history to date knows no instance of a ruling class submissively turning over its supremacy, nor any instance of a reactionary class meekly waiving its power without resorting to counter-revolutionary violence. The imperialists, in particular, cling ever more desperately to violent means of maintaining control as they approach their doom. While suppressing the peoples of their own countries, they brutally suppress all the revolutionary advances of the oppressed nations by mobilizing their military forces in order to invade and plunder other countries.

Under such conditions the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples cannot emerge victorious without using revolutionary violence to crush foreign imperialists and overthrow the reactionary dictatorial machinery of their own exploiting classes which work hand in glove with imperialism. It is imperative to meet violence with violence and crush counter-revolutionary armed forces with revolutionary armed forces.

The revolutionary fires now raging furiously in Latin America are the natural outcome of the revolutionary situation created in this area.

The overwhelming majority of Latin-American countries have come under the complete domination and bondage of US imperialism. Pro-US dictatorships have been established in many Latin-American countries and their economy has been completely turned into an appendage to US monopolies. The US imperialists' policy of aggression and plunder in Latin America is the major impediment to social progress in this area and has plunged the people into unbearable hardship and distress. The US imperialists and the pro-US dictatorships in Latin America set up extensive repressive agencies,

including the army and police, and suppress all forms of revolutionary advance by the people in the most brutal way.

It is obvious that unless the ragged, hungry, oppressed and humiliated people in Latin America bravely take up arms to fight against their oppressors, they cannot attain freedom and liberation.

It is quite justifiable and admirable that under the banner of proletarian internationalism, under the banner of an anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, Che Guevara, together with other Latin-American revolutionaries, took up arms and carried out an active, heroic revolutionary struggle in various Latin-American countries in the teeth of sacrifices in order to defend the Cuban revolution and hasten the day of liberation for the oppressed peoples in that area. The revolutionary people of the whole world express profound sympathy with the brave act of Che Guevara who waged a heroic armed struggle in company with other Latin-American revolutionaries. The brilliant example of Che Guevara is a paragon not only for the Latin-American people in their revolutionary struggle, but for the Asian and African peoples who are also fighting for liberation. It inspires them to great feats of heroism.

Che Guevara is not with us now. But the blood he shed will never be wasted. His name and the immortal revolutionary exploits he performed will go down for ever in the history of the liberation of mankind, and his noble revolutionary spirit will live for ever. Thousands, tens of thousands, of Che Guevaras will appear on the decisive battle grounds of the revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the revolutionary cause which he left uncompleted will surely be won by the struggle of the Latin-American revolutionaries and revolutionary peoples the world over.

Today Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the most determined anti-imperialist front. Imperialism has met with the strong resistance of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and has suffered the heaviest blows from them. Nevertheless, imperialism is trying desperately to recover its former footing and to regain its lost positions in those areas.

The cause of liberation of Asians, Africans and Latin Americans has not yet been realized. So long as imperialism exists anywhere in the world and oppresses and plunders them, the people cannot stop their anti-imperialist struggle for even a moment. The struggle must continue until all shades of colonialism are wiped off the face of the earth once and for all, until all the oppressed and humiliated nations establish their independent states and achieve social progress and national prosperity.

Imperialism will never relinquish its domination over colonial and dependent countries without being kicked out. It is the nature of imperialism to commit aggression and plunder. Imperialism which was not aggressive would no longer be imperialism. It will not alter its aggressive nature before it dies. That is why one must dispel all illusions about imperialism and determine to fight it to the end. Only when a principled stand is maintained against it and a staunch anti-imperialist struggle is intensified can the oppressed nations win freedom and independence; only then can the liberated peoples check imperialist aggression, consolidate national independence, and achieve prosperity for their countries and nations.

US imperialism is the most barbarous and heinous imperialism of modern times; it is the ringleader of world imperialism. It is not only the Asian or the Latin-American or the African countries which are having their sovereignty and territories violated by US imperialism or which are being menaced by US imperialist aggression. There is no place on earth to which US imperialism has not stretched its tentacles of aggression, and wherever US imperialism sets foot, blood is spilled. The US imperialists pursue their constant aim of bringing the whole world under their control. To realize this aim, they continue to carry out invasion and subversive activities against the socialist and newly independent countries and brutally suppress the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This savage aggressive design of US imperialism must be conclusively frustrated. It is clear that world peace cannot be safeguarded, nor can national liberation and independence or the victory of democracy and socialism be achieved

without fighting against US imperialism. The anti-US struggle is the inescapable duty and the principal revolutionary task common to all the peoples of the world.

For the successful defeat of US imperialism, it is necessary to penetrate its world strategy thoroughly.

US imperialism's basic strategy for world aggression at the present stage is to destroy, one by one and by force of arms, the small and divided revolutionary socialist countries and the newly independent countries while refraining from worsening its relations with the big powers and avoiding confrontation with them as far as possible. In addition, it is to intensify its ideological and political offensives in an attempt to subvert from within those countries which are ideologically weak and are reluctant to make revolution and which spread illusions about imperialism among the people and want to live with it on good terms, noisily demanding nothing less than unprincipled coexistence.

On the basis of this world strategy, the US imperialists are greatly increasing their armaments and further reinforcing their military bases and aggressive military alliances so as to attack both the socialist and the progressive countries. They are extensively preparing total and nuclear war and have openly embarked on "local war" and "special war" in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

At the same time, while desperately trying to bribe and manipulate the cowards within the working-class movement who fear revolution, the US imperialists have resorted to a new form of cold war which encourages "liberalization" and "democratic development" in certain countries. They cry out for the "most favoured nation" treatment and the expansion of "East-West contacts and interchanges" and seek, by this means, to infiltrate their reactionary ideology and culture, degrading the peoples ideologically, hampering economic development and thus subverting those countries from within. The imperialists are carrying out sabotage and subversion to prise the newly independent states away from the anti-imperialist front one at a time. While resorting to overt force, they use "aid" as a bait to penetrate these countries and meddle in their internal affairs. The US

imperialists whip together Right-wing reactionaries and pit them against progressive forces, and seek to influence certain newly independent countries to follow the road of counter-revolution.

In other words, wielding an olive branch in one hand and arrows in the other, the US imperialists are plotting to swallow up the revolutionary countries one by one through armed aggression and to subvert the ideologically weak countries through ideological and cultural aggression, combining nuclear blackmail with “peaceful penetration” and repression with appeasement and deception.

The people of the whole world should maintain the sharpest vigilance against such intrigues and stratagems by US imperialism and should be fully prepared to counter the enemy’s aggression in whatever forms it might appear.

In order to develop the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle vigorously, it is important to cement as firmly as possible the militant unity of all areas, countries, parties, people—to cement all the forces which oppose imperialism.

The revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples are closely linked on the basis of common desires and aspirations. When Latin America groans under the imperialist yoke, the Asian and African peoples cannot live in peace; and when US imperialism collapses in the Asian and African areas, a favourable phase will also be created for the national-liberation movement of the Latin-American people. The militant unity and close ties of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples will multiply the anti-imperialist, anti-US revolutionary forces several times, tens of times, and become an invincible force which can successfully frustrate imperialist aggression and the united front of international reaction. Therefore, wherever US imperialism is entrenched, the peoples should pool their strength and strike hard at it.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America there are socialist and neutral, large and small countries. All these countries except the imperialists’ puppet regimes and satellite states constitute anti-imperialist, anti-US forces. Despite the differences of socio-political systems, political



views and religious beliefs, the peoples of these countries, because they are oppressed and exploited by the imperialists and colonialists, oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism and jointly aspire towards national independence and national prosperity. The differences in socio-political systems, political views or religious beliefs cannot be an obstacle to joint action against US imperialism. All countries should form an anti-imperialist united front and take anti-US joint action to crush the common enemy and attain the common goal.

It is true that there may be different categories of people amongst those who oppose imperialism. Some may actively oppose imperialism, others may hesitate in the anti-imperialist struggle, and still others may join the struggle reluctantly under pressure from their own people and the peoples of the world. But whatever their motives, it is necessary to enlist all these forces except the henchmen of imperialism in the combined anti-US struggle. If more forces—however inconsistent and unsteady—are drawn into the anti-US joint struggle to isolate US imperialism to the greatest possible extent and unite in attacking it, that will be a positive achievement. Those who avoid the anti-imperialist struggle should be induced to join it and those who are passive should be encouraged to become active. To split the anti-US united front or reject anti-US joint action will only lead to the serious consequence of weakening the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

To defeat US imperialism, all countries, both large and small, should fight against it. It is particularly important here that small countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America relinquish flunkeyism, that is, the tendency to rely on big powers, and take an active part in the anti-US struggle. It is wrong to think that US imperialism cannot be beaten unless large countries fight it. It would certainly be better if large countries would join small countries to fight US imperialism. That is why small countries should endeavour to unite with large countries. But, this by no means signifies that only such a country can combat and defeat US imperialism. It is clear that a small nation will

not be able to make revolution if it depends on large countries and sits by doing nothing; other peoples cannot and will not make the revolution for it. Even a small country can defeat a powerful enemy once it establishes Juche, unites the masses of the people and fights valiantly, regardless of the sacrifice. This is a very simple truth of our times which has been borne out by experience. The experience of the Korean war demonstrated this truth. And the triumph of the Cuban revolution and the Vietnamese people's heroic war of resistance against US imperialism and for national salvation have eloquently endorsed it.

Moreover, when many countries, however small, pool their strength to fight imperialism, the peoples will overwhelm the enemy by superior forces however strong he may be. The peoples of the countries making revolution should combine their efforts to tear the left and the right arms from US imperialism, then the left and the right legs and, finally, behead it everywhere it raises its ugly head of aggression. The US imperialists are bluffing now. But when the revolutionary people of the world join in dismembering them, they will totter and finally crash into oblivion. We small nations must unite and counter US imperialism's strategy of swallowing us up one by one, by each one of us chopping off its head and limbs. This is the strategy small countries must employ to defeat US imperialism.

For more than 20 years, the Korean people have fought against the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists and for the reunification of the country. The Korean revolution is part of the international revolutionary movement, and the revolutionary struggle of the Korean people is developing within the joint struggle of the peoples of the whole world for peace and democracy, for national independence and socialism. The Korean people are fighting to realize their cause of national liberation and, at the same time, are doing everything in their power to accelerate the advancement of the international revolutionary movement as a whole. Our people unite with all forces opposing US imperialism and consistently support the peoples everywhere in their struggle against US imperialism. We

consider this an important factor in bringing victory to the Korean revolution.

Imperialism is a moribund force whose days are numbered, whereas the peoples' liberation struggle is a new force which aims for the progress of mankind. There may be innumerable difficulties and obstacles and twists and turns along the path of this liberation struggle. But it is the inevitable law of historical development that imperialism is doomed and the liberation struggle of the peoples is certain of victory. The US-led imperialists are desperately trying to check the surging liberation struggle of the peoples, and theirs is nothing but the deathbed tremor of those condemned to destruction. The more frenetically the US imperialists act, the more difficult their position becomes. US imperialism is going downhill. Its sun is setting, never to rise again. The US imperialists will undoubtedly be forced out of Asia, Africa and Latin America by the peoples' liberation struggle. The great anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples is invincible.

# **ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROLE OF WORKING PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS**

**Speech to Officials of the Central Committees of the General  
Federation of Trade Unions, the Union of Agricultural  
Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth,  
and the Women's Union**

*October 11, 1968*

Today I should like to talk to you about improving the work of the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth, and the Women's Union.

## **1. ON THE MAJOR DEFECTS IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS**

The activities of the working people's organizations are of great importance in fulfilling our Party's policy. The activities of the trade union organizations which include all the workers and of the LSWY organizations comprising all young men and women in our country are particularly important. At present, however, the work of these and other working people's organizations contains many defects.

Generally speaking, the major defects in the work of these organizations boil down to two.

One is the kind of defect which stems from the fact that Party organizations at all levels do not give proper direction to the working people's organizations. Needless to say, the Party has already adopted a clear policy on the work of these organizations. However, serious shortcomings are revealed in their work because Party organizations are unable to provide them with proper guidance in accordance with Party policy.

Chief secretaries and organizational department workers of the local Party committees are also deficient in their guidance of the working people's organizations. This is also true of the relevant department of the Party Central Committee. It can be said that this department gives them scarcely any detailed guidance apart from appointing cadres.

Party organizations ought to publicize Party policies amongst the non-Party masses through working people's organizations such as the trade unions, the UAWP, the LSWY and the Women's Union, which are the outer organizations of the Party, and they must implement them by stimulating these organizations to action. This is a basic principle of Party work and a traditional work method of our Party. In spite of this, Party organizations do not work this way at present: they try to take full responsibility for mixing with the masses and educating them, and do not think of doing this work by bringing the working people's organizations into action.

This is more serious in Party information work. In this case the education of Party members and cadres ought to be conducted directly by the information department of the Party, but the motivation work aimed at the mobilization of the masses as well as mass education should be carried out, as a matter of course, through the working people's organizations. Instead of operating in this way, however, workers of the Party information department are now busily rushing around, monopolizing everything. As a result, Party organizations, more often than not, even ask us to increase their staff, while letting

many officials of the working people's organizations waste time, doing nothing in particular.

Party organizational work also contains many defects.

I always say that the organizational department of the Party is a department which gives guidance to the members' Party life. Through the Party life of the members and through personnel administration the Party organizational department should galvanize the working people's organizations into action and direct them to strengthen their members' organizational life. Only when organizational life is strengthened can their members' ideological reformation and revolutionization be successfully carried out and Party policy be well implemented.

But because of inefficient direction by the Party organizational department, the members of working people's organizations do not, at present, display any enthusiasm in their organizational life.

They are not leading their organizational life as faithfully as Party members are pursuing Party life nor do they consider it estimable to follow organizational life as Party members do. I am told that a number of people do not regard their membership of the LSWY, trade unions, the Women's Union, and so on as anything very important; they have joined and are following the organizations, on the naive grounds that they are obliged to do so because under the socialist system everyone else is affiliated with them.

In directing the working people's organizations, Party bodies must ensure that they tighten their members' organizational life so as to train and reform them ideologically, resolve the problems of their individual development and remit their penalties, if any, by organizational recommendations, and involve their members widely in educational work for the masses as well. This will enable them to take pride in doing their duty and in making considerable progress within the organizations. At present, however, Party organizations take everything upon themselves, neglecting to give proper assignments to the working people's organizations and failing to bring them into action. In consequence, the organizations have nothing particular to do

and their members lack a sense of honour about their own organizational life.

Another major defect in the activities of working people's organizations is that they are unable to conduct their work independently in accordance with Party policy and that their officials do not apply themselves to their work with a strong will in order to implement that policy.

As is widely known, working people's organizations are the organizations of ideological education for the broad masses and constitute the outer bodies of the Party. Metaphorically speaking, the outer bodies of the Party can be likened to the flesh in the case of the seed and flesh of a peach. If the seed of a peach is taken as the Party, the flesh surrounding it can be considered as outer bodies. When the peach grows big and ripens well, its seed will be protected effectively and will be able to harden sufficiently. Likewise, only when the working people's organizations carry out their duties efficiently will they be able to unite the masses close behind the Party and make the Party powerful. So the role of the working people's organizations, the outer bodies of the Party, is an important one.

Our experience during the period of struggle also shows that the role played by social organizations in revolutionary work is enormous. In the past when we were engaged in underground struggle, Party organizations worked secretly, doing everything among the masses through social organizations, without drawing attention to themselves.

Of course, the situation is different now from what it was in those days. Then the Party was illegal, but now it is legitimate and is in power, so it does not need to work in the same way as it did then. But even now the work among the masses must be conducted by the working people's organizations, the importance and role of which have not diminished in the least.

At the moment, however, these organizations do not fully play their role as outer bodies of the Party and as mass organizations. As a consequence, their officials still make little effort to show initiative in work nor do they try hard to implement Party policy on their own.

You may be distressed to hear me say this, but I have seldom seen the working people's organizations carry out their work by relying on their own strength in accordance with Party policy. None of the trade unions, the LSWY, the UAWP, nor the Women's Union act on their own initiative.

This inefficiency in carrying out their obligations can be blamed largely on the fact that their central committees fail to discharge their duty.

Needless to say, these committees must study Party policy deeply, place firm reliance on it in their activities and, when a new Party policy is announced, accept it promptly and take detailed measures to implement it before mobilizing every member for its enforcement. To our regret, they do not work in this manner. Officials in the working people's organizations do not study Party policy in depth, nor do they make any effort to find things to do of their own accord. Although the Party sets one task after another, these organizations do not accept them immediately, nor carry them out.

What they are doing now is just to carry out a few shock campaigns. It would be a good thing if these campaigns, when organized by the LSWY or the Women's Union, were participated in by all their members; but this is not the case, and only a few people are mobilized to fuss around for the purpose.

The fact that officials of these organizations are simply busying themselves doing nothing particularly worth mentioning and have achieved nothing, can be perceived just by reading their newspapers. If you had done anything at all, the papers would print a great deal about it, but there is no such news to be found now. The LSWY paper does not print anything new, neither does the trade union paper. These days the newspapers of the working people's organizations confine themselves to reprinting articles from the Central News Agency and the newspaper *Rodong Sinmun*: they have written nothing themselves worth printing. It goes without saying that important articles carried in *Rodong Sinmun* should be reprinted in these papers, but all the other news items should be about their own activities. Only then can the



working people's organizations educate their members in conformity with their respective characteristics. However, so far they have achieved nothing, so they are not even in a position to write an account of their own affairs, having nothing to write about.

The working people's organizations are also not competent in personnel administration at present.

At one time bad elements wormed their way into these organizations and did a great deal of harm, particularly by their inefficient handling of personnel administration. Last year we started to expel some bad elements who had penetrated the cadre ranks of the working people's organizations, and to rebuild them with new officials and ever since then we have paid particular attention to their consolidation. Even when I appointed people as cadres of these organizations and explained to them how they should do their work from then onwards, I stressed the need to take control of personnel administration and build up the ranks of cadres.

However, the personnel affairs of working people's organizations are not yet on the right track. Many posts of cadres remain vacant, the cadres who have been appointed lack the qualities of professional revolutionaries and, what is worse, some comrades work according to their own inclinations. Many workers have become salaried men, and not revolutionaries.

The working people's organizations are particularly bad at the education and training of cadres. I always say that cadres should be trained through intense ideological struggle and criticism. In no way can appeasing them replace their ideological education. All working people's organizations must intensify the ideological struggle to train and raise cadres by means of criticism but, instead, they pander to them without giving them a disciplined education. Because we have neglected the training of cadres through criticism in the past, some of them fear criticism and hate to offer criticism, but prefer only to be praised. Some people, when criticized slightly, blush, tremble and even cry, because they are afraid of being immediately dismissed. It is common to women and men, to those in country areas and in the

capital, to tremble and weep when they are criticized. This is a plain indication that our officials still harbour petty-bourgeois ideas. Why do they weep at criticism? It is possible for cadres to make mistakes in their work and, if so, they must be criticized so that they can be corrected promptly. Criticism should be made all the time; we cannot praise people all the time.

By its very nature, Party work does not give priority to admiration. Praises and awards are necessary to encourage the army units and soldiers who fought well in war and inspire the masses to increase production, but they are not so necessary in Party work. In this work the ideological education of officials by means of ideological struggle and criticism is most important. It goes without saying that the working people's organizations should also apply this method in the education of cadres and other officials.

So far, these organizations have neglected the disciplined education of cadres, with the result that they are unable to train a large number of sound cadres. They should not only raise cadres by themselves to meet their own need but also train large numbers of good cadres to send them to the Party. However, they do not do this. This applies equally to trade unions and LSWY as well as Women's Union. On the contrary, the working people's organizations frequently ask the Party for cadres.

These organizations are also inefficient in their work among the masses, not only among cadres.

For the revolution, it is imperative to unite a large number of people behind the Party. No one can make the revolution by himself. If the revolution could be carried out by oneself, we would have accomplished the Korean revolution a long time ago and would even be able to build communism overnight.

The revolution can be successful only when the masses of the people are educated and rallied closely around the Party, and socialism and communism can be built only through the conscious struggle of working millions.

Therefore, we established the working people's organizations to do good work amongst the masses, mainly among the non-Party masses.

We made sure that each of them set up its central committee and the posts of chairman and vice-chairmen and had a large staff, with a view to getting them to work well among the masses. If they are inept in the work amongst the masses, it means that they cannot fulfil their proper missions nor can they play their role as mass organizations successfully. It is their first and foremost revolutionary task to provide effective education for non-Party masses and thus unite them closely behind the Party and mobilize them forcefully for the implementation of Party policy.

The role of the LSWY is particularly important in work among the masses. As you all know, the LSWY is the reserve force of our Party which consists of all our young people, and so it has a great deal of work to do. We can say that how the LSWY carries out its work amongst youngsters is a very important matter which affects the destiny of our country and people. Only when it works well among the young masses and educates them properly can our revolution continue to advance with vitality.

But, at present, the work of the LSWY amongst young people is unsatisfactory and it lacks the attributes of a youth organization, being unable to radiate strength. As a result of their inefficient work, the LSWY organizations have made our young people feel as though they were old men without a trace of youthfulness. If effective education is given, the fighting enthusiasm of youngsters can be increased out of all recognition. Nevertheless, you have turned them into apathetic people because you were unskilful in your work. Needless to say, the LSWY's present feebleness cannot be attributed to its chairman's inefficient work. It does not only lack vigour today; to speak plainly, it has been like this for some time. It does not give the young people an effective revolutionary education nor is it ready to conduct mass political work in conformity with their characteristics and mentality. If its officials think that the organization of a shock brigade can settle everything, they are grossly mistaken.

The LSWY ought to educate the youngsters properly in order to train a large number of reserves of Party members and turn them into

the Party's militant detachment, possessed of the greatest organizing ability and a strong fighting will. However, it has not done this well, and so it is said that there are still delinquent youths in some places. An analysis of the backgrounds of these youths shows that they are not of landlord or hostile class origin but are mostly sons and daughters of our working people. Although they are not youths of bad origin, they have become delinquent because the LSWY did not give them proper revolutionary education nor organize work amongst young people according to a detailed plan.

Trade unions are also not competent in their work amongst the masses. They have a large organizational structure. Every factory has a number of full-time trade union workers; at some factories we find that they outnumber Party workers. Although they have at present such a large structure and staffs, they do nothing in particular.

This is also true of the work of the UAWP. At present, its lower organizations are completely inconspicuous.

The Women's Union, too, is not skilful in its work amongst the masses of women, and especially in their ideological education.

Because they have neglected the revolutionary education of the masses in the past, the working people's organizations have failed to train large numbers of revolutionaries who are resolved to devote their lives to the fight for the Party and the revolution; what is worse, because they have not carried out political work regularly among the masses, they hardly know about even the preparedness of each of their members or what kind of people they are.

They ought to have educated the masses unceasingly in a revolutionary way and given them constant ideological training, so as to make them stalwart revolutionaries who are ready to remain true to their revolutionary principle even on the gallows and to shout "Long live the Republic!" at the point of death. But they have not done this in the past.

Officials of the working people's organizations should feel responsible for their poor work in the past and accept due criticism for it. We cannot allow you to neglect your work. By nature, communists

do not want to be everybody's friends nor do they want to hear anyone say that they are amiable people. We have lived waging struggles until today, and will continue with struggle in the future, too. We must not compromise with wrong practices, including wasting time at work and living in idleness. Shortcomings must be criticized and remedied at the right time.

The unsatisfactory work of the working people's organizations in the past is related in some degree to the fact that Party organizations gave them no efficient guidance.

All Party organizations should, as soon as possible, correct the defects which have become apparent in their guidance of the working people's organizations and give them superb leadership and should give their officials generous assistance. But, no matter how well the Party directs and helps them, this will be of no use unless the working people's organizations know how to work on their own.

The Party only promulgates policies and supervises whether the working people's organizations carry them out successfully, and deals with personnel affairs for them; it cannot take their work upon itself.

The Party has its own tasks to perform, and the working people's organizations have theirs as a matter of course. Frankly speaking, the working people's organization section of the Party Central Committee, which maintains a staff of only a few people, cannot make suggestions for these organizations day and night nor give specific guidance in their countless affairs.

The duties of the working people's organizations must, without exception, be discharged by themselves.

Now you are provided with all the necessary conditions for carrying out your work with credit.

When we were young, we also conducted a great deal of youth work. In those days it was harder to do the work than it is today; we had to visit young people who lived far from each other and train and awaken them to unite into organizations. We did this secretly, hiding from the eyes of policemen and, when parents were opposed to their sons and daughters taking part in the youth movement, we had to carry

out the work without their knowledge. Even when we intended to call young people together and make a speech, we had to borrow the second room of someone's house, and this was not an easy matter.

The situation now is quite different from what it was in those days. Today all young people lead a collective life in organizations. Working youths are following a collective life at factories and student youths at schools, and rural youths are living and working collectively on cooperative farms. Wherever we go, we cannot meet any young people who have not joined the organization or who live by themselves separated from the collective. There are good clubhouses and schools everywhere and rural villages have democratic publicity halls as well as rooms for the study of revolutionary history; so young people have many places to get together, without having to borrow a room in somebody's house. Today no one tries to arrest those who are engaged in youth work. Our youth officials have a legitimate right to work openly and are even allowed to use cars for their work. The work of the Children's Union can also be done easily now. In bygone days the work was very difficult because we had to work with children who had no access to education because of the lack of schools; but now when every boy and girl goes to school, the Children's Union work cannot but go smoothly provided only that we appoint sound people as its instructors and give them well-designed short courses so as to prepare a few hard cores amongst the pupils.

At present there are no grounds whatsoever to attribute the poor work of the working people's organizations to unfavourable conditions. Rather, the conditions are so good and our officials are so happy that they become lax and become used to being cooped up in their offices. This is the trouble. At present they only put on dignified airs and carry on their work in a slipshod way, sitting comfortably in their offices.

From now on you must improve your work radically. You must eliminate thoroughly the outdated office, clerical method of work, and perform your duties in a revolutionary way. You must lose no time in remedying the shortcomings which have been revealed in your work

and learn what you do not know conscientiously. If you do not make an effort, because of ignorance, you will make no progress, remaining as you are. You have to learn those things which you do not yet know; you must learn to plan the implementation of Party policy dexterously and mix with the masses to organize work and conduct ideological education. If the Party gives you effective assistance and you attack the task with energy, the work of the working people's organizations will develop rapidly.

## **2. ON REVOLUTIONIZING AND WORKING-CLASSIZING THE WORKING PEOPLE MORE EFFECTIVELY**

Today we are confronted with the important revolutionary tasks of increasing the nation's political, economic and military power by successfully building socialism in the northern half of Korea and, at the same time, of carrying out the south Korean revolution and reunifying the country, as well as of dismembering the US imperialists and accomplishing the world revolution in cooperation with the revolutionary people the world over.

In particular, driving the US imperialists out of south Korea and achieving national reunification is our greatest revolutionary task, the fulfilment of which brooks not a single day's delay. In south Korea at present a large number of our compatriots are subjected to all kinds of mistreatment and insult and are starving and in rags, under US imperialist tyranny. The beggars roaming the streets there are daily increasing in number, and many people meet an untimely death every day. We cannot remain mere observers to the wretched plight there nor can we waste even a single day of our precious time. If we pass a day fruitlessly, the pain of the south Korean people will increase by that much, and a multitude of our fellow countrymen will lose their lives. We must, therefore, work harder than ever before, so as to save our

brothers and sisters in south Korea, and must be resolved to fight the Yankees some day for the reunification of the country.

In order to carry out these important revolutionary tasks successfully, we must, first of all, revolutionize and working-classize all the working people to unite them closely behind the Party and strengthen our revolutionary forces still more. Today the revolutionization and working-classization of the working people is the most important revolutionary task confronting all Party and working people's organizations.

We have already given details of this task in the report to the Party Conference and in the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic, and given particular emphasis to it in the report at the 20th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Republic which was held recently. Since the Party policy on revolutionization is clearly set out in our documents, it will be enough if you just study it carefully and implement it as required.

But the revolutionization of the working people is not progressing well at present. Our officials only pay lip service to revolutionization; in fact, they do not yet understand what revolutionization is nor how to carry it out. If an examination were to be held on its concept, probably none of you would be able to answer it correctly. The Party is determined to revolutionize the working people, drawing on your strength, but you have no clear idea of the essence of revolutionization. So the work cannot develop smoothly.

Because they scarcely understand the Party's idea on revolutionization, our cadres cannot even write a worthwhile article on it for the newspaper nor can they write an account of the experience which they have gained in this work. During the past year I have tried to find such items in the newspapers of the LSWY and the other working people's organizations and in the magazine of the Women's Union, but, so far, I have not found anything worth reading.

Even though the working people's organizations have not done anything worth mentioning since the Party's policy on revolutionization was proposed, they should have plans for the future.



But they do not have any well-thought-out ones. The LSWY does not have an effective plan for making young people revolutionary, and this also applies to the Women's Union, trade unions and UAWP for their members. You have travelled around making speeches to appeal for revolutionization and have emphasized it only in words, but, in fact, you have not taken any specific measures nor organized any work. All these organizations must play an important role in revolutionizing the working people, but since you are ignorant of the Party idea and have no effectual plans, the Party policy on the revolutionization of the whole of society cannot be implemented properly.

Needless to say, the Party's information department conducts ideological education to revolutionize the working people, but even this is still done within the outworn, formalistic framework of the past. What this department is doing is no more than compiling texts and sending them to subordinate units, so that they are delivered at lectures or used in study networks, as was the way in the past. Doing nothing else but this is not enough to achieve success in revolutionizing the whole of society. In the last analysis, you are still not working in depth to revolutionize the working people.

That is why, although it is already more than two years since the Party Conference put forward the line on revolutionization, that line has not been implemented, and every task still remains to be done. The revolutionary consciousness of the working people at present is scarcely higher than before, and nothing worth mentioning has been done for the south Korean revolution. We always say, "Let us never forget our brothers and sisters in south Korea" and "Let us work hard to reunify the country". But, in practice, we do not do anything of great importance and only sing the "praises of profound peace" in comfort, making no progress.

In addition, some vicious elements still survive and continue to slander and execrate us. Of course, we do not need to fear their abuse. It is natural for landlords and capitalists to speak ill of us. We confiscated the lands and factories of landlords and capitalists who had lived a life of idleness, and forced them to work to earn their living. So

how can they look on us with favour? It is only when they hate and slander us that we know we have behaved correctly; if they look on us as nice people, it implies that we have already gone wrong. That is why we must not be in the least afraid of being abused by blackguards. If we become afraid of their censure we cannot do our work.

How basely the Japanese imperialists slandered us in the past when we were fighting them. They called us a people's revolutionary army at first, but later they branded us as a "communist army" and then insulted us by calling us "communist bandits". This increased intensity of their slander against us implied that we were always steadfast in the revolutionary struggle. The more they abused us, the more valiantly we fought with firm conviction and the more strongly we advocated our revolutionary principles.

The problem is not that the former landlords or capitalists hurl abuse at us, but that we should prevent the masses from following them and win over all the working people to our side. While rigorously isolating the handful of hostile elements and class enemies, we have to revolutionize all the working people to unite closely behind the Party, and ensure that they will be revolutionary fighters supporting communism and fighting to the last for the complete victory of socialism.

In order to achieve the revolutionization of the working people, we have to study specific ways and means for its accomplishment in detail and prepare the work meticulously.

At the moment some comrades seem to find the term revolutionization a philosophy which is very hard to understand. But they need not think of it as so difficult. Of course, it is a form of philosophy, but it is not a difficult kind of word to understand. Revolutionization means to make everyone support socialism and communism, strive for their realization and dedicate everything to the revolution. In other words, it means that all our working people should be made to do their work energetically for socialism and communism, devote themselves to the completion of the south Korean revolution and to the reunification of the country, and persuade their sons and

daughters to dedicate themselves to the revolution also.

The working people's organizations should, first of all, start with the task of encouraging all their members to be enthusiastic in their work, to take good care of equipment, materials and all other property belonging to the state and society, and to administer the nation's economy carefully, in addition to their own household economy. This is one of the main conditions for revolutionization. Everyone can become a revolutionary when he is fully trained in this way.

Our intention of revolutionizing the working people is to build socialism and communism successfully in the northern half of Korea and, at the same time, to carry out the south Korean revolution with credit. You ought, therefore, to strive to train not only competent workers for the building of socialism and communism in the northern half of Korea, but also revolutionaries who will assist the revolution in south Korea.

The revolutionization of all the working people calls for them to be given a more vigorous ideological education. As we have said on several occasions, revolutionizing people means conducting ideological education and waging an ideological struggle. By ideological struggle we do not only imply criticizing people at meetings all the time. Of course, we must criticize those who deserve criticism, but must well awaken those who do not yet deserve it. By this means, we should steadily educate the working people in revolutionary ideas. The revolutionary ideas we speak of are literally our Party's ideas, our ideology.

Unless ideological education is increased amongst the working people, we cannot continue with the revolution. This is clearly shown by the experiences of other countries. Do you know why a number of countries are now going through a difficult period? It is not because they have failed to develop technology or because their people's standards of living are low, but simply because they have neglected the ideological education of their working people and the ideological revolution.

We must, therefore, continue to increase the ideological education

of our working people, and an important factor in this regard is to eradicate each and every revisionist idea. We must step up this education and thus smash revisionist ideology and theory and imbue all the working people thoroughly with the revolutionary ideas and theory of our Party.

In order to equip the working people with revolutionary ideas, it is necessary to make them study more. In this connection, priority should be given, as a matter of course, to ideological education.

The revolutionization of the working people calls for senior officials to study harder than anyone else. You must not waste time, but study diligently to become revolutionaries and work hard to improve your qualifications so as to direct the masses. Only when one attains a high level of knowledge can one educate others.

Our cadres at present neglect their studies. Many of them scarcely read a single page of a book during the day. They know nothing because they neglect their studies. Those who have a little knowledge give themselves up entirely to empty talk. When we talk to cadres from time to time, we find that they know nothing of either the internal and the external situation. This is proof that they do not read news nor do they study.

At the moment they even barely study important Party documents. Can you recite the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic? Cadres of the working people's organizations ought to learn this programme by heart clause by clause. But, even though you call it the great Ten-Point Political Programme, you have only read it through once. We went to the length of writing a song so as to familiarize the people with this political programme. And yet you do not know it. How could you implement it when you are in that situation?

Our officials are also unaware of the contents of the report made at the 20th anniversary celebration of the Republic. As a matter of fact, this report is a Marxist-Leninist document which makes a correct analysis of the urgent questions set by the world revolution at the present time, and which clearly states the best ways for them to be

solved. The report gives precise answers to a number of important theoretical and practical questions, including those of the period of transition and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the question of class struggle. It specifically refers to the question of how effectively we must defend and consolidate the socialist system under the present circumstances when the enemy continues to attack this system. In particular, the questions of the proletarian dictatorship and class struggle dealt with in the report are very pertinent to your work. However, you show little inclination to make a detailed study of the document. Of course, it can be said that you make a casual study of it, because the information department of the Party insists that you do so. However, you study it in a perfunctory manner. Not only you, but also many other officials do not study it in depth, pretending that they know its contents thoroughly, although they have read it only once. This apathetic study of the report results in the fact that one cannot even find an explanatory article on it. If you study the document in such a manner, you will be unable to arm yourselves fully with our Party's revolutionary ideas and you will not be able to fight revisionism and "Left" opportunism.

At present our officials do not trouble to read newspapers either. Senior officials in the national bodies read them less than people in the lower institutions. Even when they do pick up a newspaper, they only scan the headlines once, and no more. By means of newspapers we put forward the direction and means of implementing Party policy. If they do not read them and learn nothing, how can the cadres in positions of leadership carry out their duties properly?

When we were engaged in the revolutionary struggle, we very carefully read the *Samil Wolgan* which we ourselves published, or the newspaper issued by the Communist International. In those days we received a copy of the newspaper from the Communist International once in a while. We read it in turns, passing it round among us and, when it became worn-out, we repaired it with paste so that it could be read.

At present, however, you can read as many newspapers as you like,

but you do not read them well. Some comrades say that our newspapers have a limited circulation. This is not so. If suitable arrangements are made to make the best use of even the present circulation, everyone will be able to read and study a great deal.

Our newspapers are fundamentally different from those of the bourgeoisie. They manufacture false news and exaggerate things of no importance, in order to attract public interest. But our newspapers are aimed at the education of people, not at making money, so they are very important in raising the people's level of ideological consciousness. However, you do not read them as you should, and so it is obvious that you cannot improve your qualifications quickly.

Whenever cadres of the national bodies meet, we stress the need to read newspapers and to study hard. But now they have all got used to this, and are reluctant to carry it into effect. It is true that they write down everything in their notebooks when we speak, but they do not plan to put it into effect nor do they organize the work in detail. They should not operate in this way.

From now onwards you must study hard. You should not pretend to know what you do not know. You should learn with an open mind. In particular, you should make a close study of the report made at the 20th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Republic. We intend to gather senior officials—including the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees, ministers and vice-ministers—and get them to study that report for about a week at some time in the future. In this way we shall teach them properly how to consolidate the socialist system and to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As well as working hard yourselves, you should firmly establish the habit of studying among the working people.

The trouble now is that our young people and students dislike reading books. In our middle school days, we were absorbed in reading and started to study various books on the social sciences. But students nowadays do not read books willingly. This means that our work with youngsters and children suffers from a large defect. In order to encourage young people and students to read many books, you should

organize matters well, but you do not do so.

Let me say something about the experience of youth work we had when studying in Jilin.

In those days we united in the Anti-Imperialist Youth League the Korean young people in Jilin, Shenyang, Changchun, Harbin and Dunhua regions. In the beginning we gained 7 or 8 comrades who had strong communist consciousness and then, with them at the centre, organized a students' association which included scores of members. After this, affiliates of this association cleaned a certain church in Jilin every Sunday and in return they obtained permission to hold a meeting there.

We formed the organization in this way and then began to teach study methods to young people. First we set up a library on our own. At that time Korean students were all sons or daughters of poor families; few were from rich families. Because we had no money we carried sleepers on our shoulders or gravel on our backs and did other piecework on Sundays to get money and bought many books to set up a small library. We used a small office which belonged to the proprietor of a rice-cleaning mill near the church as a library and installed bookshelves there. These shelves were made by our Korean students themselves with boards which they had obtained from various places.

We encouraged students to read many books by making use of this library. On Saturdays in those days lessons were given at school only in the morning, so the student in charge of the library used to go there on Saturday afternoons to lend books to students. After they read the books, the students had to comply with certain conditions before returning them; they were always made to bring the books with written notes about the contents and their impressions of them. This made everyone return the books only after they had read them.

The library obtained different books to attract the students. It is not necessary to do so now, but in those days we provided books of love stories at the outset, in order to interest people in reading. Needless to say, these stories expressed reformist ideas but, on the other hand, they also contained some things which helped to stir up dissatisfaction with

society. Therefore, although they were love stories, they were not so bad. If these books were kept there, students would be interested in reading them. After the students had acquired the habit of reading, we started to let them read books on the social sciences one after another. When we considered that they had gradually become educated and awakened ideologically through reading books on the social sciences, we lent them other books which were kept on hidden bookshelves.

We kept these books secretly and let students read them after they had made considerable ideological progress. We lent them progressive books published in China as well as books translated in the Soviet Union. In that period leftist books on the social sciences were sometimes also sold in Japan. So we also bought these books and recommended that they should be read.

In those days we adopted these methods to stimulate the habit of studying among the youngsters and children and to encourage them to read many books. You must also use every possible method to establish the habit of studying among young people and students and working people.

While persuading people to read many books, you should often organize public discussions so that they can, for example, be told what books are about.

In the past, we frequently organized public discussions to inform many people about the subject matter of books. We gave a particular person the task of reading a certain book and presenting it on a given Sunday, when we all gathered to listen to him and then hold a discussion. Impressions of a book may differ according to the opinions of the readers, but by listening to them, we could tell whether they had understood its subject matter clearly, and, finally, we could assess their levels of understanding.

After many people had given their impressions of a book in this way at the meeting, we would point out in conclusion the merits and shortcomings of its subject. Through meetings of this kind we educated a large number of people.

The working people's organizations should organize various public



discussions efficiently. They should give everyone an assignment in such a way as preparing a person for representing a particular thing for today and another person for tomorrow and thus stir up in people an enthusiasm for study. This work can be undertaken by the LSWY, for instance, at schools, factories, and in ri, cities, counties and districts. If reading sessions and public discussions are organized everywhere under a well-thought-out plan, it is possible to educate a large number of people.

If you make good use of clubhouses and other similar buildings, and organize public discussions, you can get many people together. If the LSWY, the trade unions, the UAWP or the Women's Union organize things efficiently and put up posters in different places to inform people of the date, place and subject of discussion, the masses at all levels will attend in large numbers. Through such gatherings you should not only be able to educate lots of people but also train them to appear before an audience. Because this sort of work is not organized at present, people are not able to read the writings of other people properly when they take the floor.

Public discussions can be arranged using different kinds of books. Party documents and reminiscences of anti-Japanese guerrillas are freely available, so it is good to let people study them for public discussions. Since there are also good novels in our country, people can be prompted to read and talk about them. You can organize scientific symposia. This will enable the people to learn revolutionary ideas and to gain a great deal and a wide range of knowledge on the social and natural sciences and on literature.

If you are to revolutionize the working people, you should encourage them to write revolutionary plays themselves and appear on the stage. Naturally, their lack of experience may lead to their staging plays which lack artistic merit. This, however, is not a problem.

When we were involved in youth work, we often wrote and staged plays.

Let me cite an example of writing a play in order to educate the nationalists. At one time, factionalists and nationalists quarrelled

ceaselessly in Jilin to claim prominence for their factions. At that time there were three groups called the “Jongui-bu”, the “Chamui-bu” and the “Sinmin-bu”, and people from these groups met in Jilin to arrange a merger. On the way from the school I often visited their meeting place where they were always quarrelling, throwing wooden pillows at each other. Thinking it over calmly, I realized that these people would never accomplish anything. So, with the intention of giving them some advice by means of a play, we wrote a simple one-act play the theme of which was a quarrel between three people.

One day I visited them and said, “You have recently been working hard for the meeting. We invite you to come and see the play we have written.” All the prominent people of the “Provisional Government in Shanghai” and various other organizations came. To start with, we presented an ordinary art performance which they liked and applauded. Then, on seeing the play which showed national ruin because of factional strife, they went away quickly, saying, “Because you cannot reprove us directly, you invited us to this play as a reproof.” So I said to them, “If the play is distasteful to you, stop quarrelling. Why do you quarrel?” They took us to task after seeing the play, which, in the last analysis, proved fruitful. Afterwards, although they had been quarrelling for several months, they merged under the name of the “Kukmin-bu” even though this was only a formal merger.

When engaged in guerrilla warfare we also wrote plays and operas and staged them everywhere—in guerrilla bases and in the mountains—so that young people would not feel lonely and also so that they could be educated.

Even after the battles at Liukesong and Jiaxinzi which were waged at a time when the Japanese imperialists were conducting the fiercest “punitive” operations, we presented an art performance before the people. After these battles a few hundred workers followed us into the mountains with provisions on their backs. Those were very cold days when there was heavy snow and the trees froze and splintered. We had no houses in the mountains. Even at such a time we built a stage in the open air and pitched tents so as to present a play and an opera and to

deliver lectures before the workers for a week.

Under these difficult conditions in the past we produced plays for the education of people. Why do you not do work of this kind in the favourable conditions as today? It is not because you lack experience. The trouble is that you do not organize the work efficiently. Officials of the working people's organizations should learn how best to devise such work, too.

The qualities of young people can be improved when they are encouraged to perform plays and the like often on their own. And the presentation of many such performances will be conducive to the better education of the working people. The performances of actors in theatres alone are not sufficient to educate the masses quickly. This is why both students and workers are urged to stage art performances.

Young people should organize information teams and give public appearances on tour. It is advisable for them to form small mobile groups of art performers, each including an artist, and to tour the rural communities giving performances.

In former days we organized travelling performances on many occasions. In those days there were Korean settlements in the district where we lived, all of which we toured to give public performances.

You should also organize information teams and send them to farm villages frequently. At the moment only professional artists go out occasionally to rural communities for public performances; other people do not think of doing so. It is not true that today all our villages have been enlightened. This also holds good for the workers' settlements. Therefore, education activities should be continued for both rural communities and workers' settlements. Amongst the young workers and students there are those who are endowed with different and unusual talents. If their abilities are enlisted, there is no reason why you cannot arrange tours to rural areas.

Now we have as many places as we want which are suitable for different kinds of public discussions and plays. We have splendid students and children's palaces as well as clubhouses and publicity halls everywhere. Pyongyang alone, for instance, is said to have more

than 80 clubs. Why should we leave such good ones unused without turning them to account? Because I told cadres of the Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee of the need to make effective use of the clubs, they are now organizing some work, but it is far from satisfying the need.

In fact, it is not so difficult a matter to make full use of these clubs or publicity halls. Your efforts will easily make it possible to use clubs effectively. In my opinion, they can be used for discussions about books, for lectures, or for art performances three or four times a week. It is preferable to give such performances several times a week, if practicable. Factory amateur artistic groups, for instance, can give performances at the clubs of their own factories and then at those of other factories. For instance, a performance by the textile mill's amateur artistic group can be presented at the club of the electric locomotive factory after being presented at their own factory club. This arrangement will enable the working people to enjoy many new artistic works.

You should turn clubs into fine places for the education of the working people. You ought to use them for theatrical performances, public discussions, symposia, and for lectures on the revolutionary traditions, history and on the prevailing situation; you should adopt every possible method to put them to great use.

The revolutionization of working people calls for songs to be publicized properly.

In the past when we were engaged in guerrilla warfare, we started with the dissemination of revolutionary songs, because the content of the songs themselves was about the revolution. Because we did this on a broad scale there was no one who was not familiar with these songs when we were in the guerrilla base in east Manchuria. Everyone—children and old folk—in the guerrilla base knew how to sing revolutionary songs.

But now our working people are unfamiliar with even the revolutionary songs because of your failure to spread them. Of course, children know some of them; but adults do not. Worse still, they seem

to think it shameful to learn songs. This is a very mistaken attitude. You should be well aware that the popularization of revolutionary songs is of great importance in revolutionizing the masses, and so should carry on this work efficiently.

While spreading the existing revolutionary songs, you should produce and disseminate a large number of songs which contain our Party's revolutionary ideas.

According to the experience we gained in the period of guerrilla warfare, it was an excellent means of political education to make up songs which were easy to sing and which had a revolutionary content, and popularize them. Yesterday I saw a film produced by the February 8 Film Studio, a film in which I heard a revolutionary song sung in the days of guerrilla warfare. This film is about a woman political worker who opens a night school at a farm village and carries on revolutionary work among the women. It is a reasonably good film.

Since revolutionary songs are explicit in content, their conceptions fully penetrate the minds of those who sing them, even though they hum them. In former days we imbued the young people with revolutionary ideas by spreading songs most of which had been composed by setting revolutionary words to easy tunes.

It is preferable today to make our Party's policies into songs and popularize them. Composers should set these songs to music which is easy to sing. Our officials' efforts will make it possible to turn anything into songs and popularize them. Everything—on the revolutionary traditions, on the goodness of the socialist system, on socialist construction, on calling upon the people to progress towards communism, on appealing to the people for endeavours to assist their brothers in south Korea, on socialist patriotism, and even on urging the people to educate their children well and to manage households with care—can be condensed into songs.

Take the example of persuading the people to educate their children well. What we said at the National Conference of Mothers can be expressed in songs. "The communist way of raising children is

essential to turn them into sound people. To bring up children to be communists, their mothers should be the first to become such. If one is to be a communist, one should abolish selfishness, imbue oneself with collectivist ideas and take an active part in communal labour.” The words should be written simply like this, and that will do.

As for the superiority of the socialist system, a song should be composed on simple lines like this: “Why is the socialist system good? It is good because there are no landlords and capitalists nor are there any oppression and exploitation. It is good because everyone works and can get his share according to the work done and thus lead a prosperous life and eat equally well. It is good because houses are rent-free and children are given free education. It is good because every one will become more highly civilized and better off some day in the future.” When this song is popularized, its ideas will easily penetrate the minds of the people. If these ideas are included in the texts of lectures and propagated, people will probably not pay much attention to them, claiming that they are tired of hearing them. However, this is not so in the case of songs.

A song about the south Korean revolution can also be made up simply. “Why must we accomplish the south Korean revolution? The people in south Korea are our fellow countrymen sharing the same blood. How can we remain passive onlookers while they are being trampled underfoot by the Americans? We can never do so. We must carry through the south Korean revolution. The Americans are our sworn enemy. They insult women and murder our compatriots in south Korea. They are plundering it of all its wealth. So we must fight against them. Who are their stooges? They are landlords and comprador capitalists. We must sweep all of them out as well. In south Korea, too, the people must seize power as in the northern half of Korea.” If this is the meaning of the song, it will fully express our idea about the south Korean revolution.

We should produce a large number of simple songs necessary for the revolution, songs which are easy to sing.

In addition to songs, lecture texts should also be brief and

understandable. Only then will the ideological work succeed among the masses.

The question of making revolutionaries of the working people will not be solved merely by shouting slogans or by adopting a resolution at a meeting. It is not a good thing to shout empty words about revolutionization. Since it is an undertaking to reform the people's thinking and turn them into revolutionaries, you should stimulate their minds for the revolution. Ceaseless struggle alone, without mentally stimulating people for the revolution, is not enough for revolutionization. For this purpose you should carry on an ideological struggle and, at the same time, give people cultural education, including the dissemination of songs, as well as using various other ways of education. This leads to the advent of large numbers of fine socialist builders and of those who will support the south Korean revolution from amongst the working people.

For the education of the masses, it is also commendable to ensure that good speakers deliver lectures about stories by describing in an entertaining way, for example, the novels based on the revolutionary traditions.

In the past Chinese carried on feudalist propaganda through the telling of stories.

When I was studying in Jilin, I went to Beishan Park where I saw Chinese performing "Tangsu". It was reading novels such as *A History of Three Kingdoms* and *Monkey*. Then I saw "Tangsu" for the first time. A blind Chinese man who had learnt the whole of a novel by heart recited it very fluently. His recitation was so good that it was more interesting for me than the delight I should have experienced by reading it myself. Those engaged in "Tangsu" recited novels entertainingly and raised their voices at exciting passages and, when dealing with *A History of Three Kingdoms*, for example, tapped at the window while speaking. During these performances, they would stop speaking at a very interesting and exciting point and tell the audience that they would resume the recital on the next occasion, before asking for money.

When we involved ourselves in youth work we also used this method. Then we got the students' information teams in Jilin to do their work in that way. Chinese students, too, formed many information teams and read revolutionary novels in different places, which was successful. When students who had learnt revolutionary stories by heart recited them before the crowd in parks or at other similar places, they all listened with interest. Policemen usually regarded our gatherings of this kind as doing "Tangsu" by the Chinese, and did not investigate them. As a result, they did not even suspect the complaints about the social system. By this method we propagated revolutionary novels widely. Because our students made detailed preparations before telling stories, many people came to listen and spoke well of them. They praised the students for their talents. By this means we also earned a large amount of money, with which we made up the school expenses of those studying under adversity and bought books for the library which we had organized. If old methods are put to good use for the education of the masses in revolutionary ideology, as we have seen above, they can be very successful.

In our country there used to be something similar to the "Tangsu". Immediately after the armistice I climbed Changgwang Hill, where some 20 old people had gathered. I found one of them telling a story and the rest listening to him. So I said that it was advisable to organize such storytelling and disseminate revolutionary ideas by making use of democratic publicity halls or clubs.

We had the experience of conducting the work of enlightenment, using the second room of someone else's farmhouse as a publicity hall when we were conducting the youth movement. In the days of guerrilla warfare, we could not do so due to battles against the enemies, but when we were engaged in the youth movement we borrowed the second room of someone else's house and papered its walls well before we encouraged one or two intelligent old men, selected and already educated, to carry out information work among old folks. It goes without saying that we did not put up a democratic publicity hall signboard there, but, in fact, it was a publicity room. In those days



some old people did not like youngsters to take part in revolutionary work, for fear of enemy repression. That was why we got old men who were capable of telling amusing stories to do so, and took the opportunity to awaken other old people by this means. Because they had nothing to do in the long winter nights after finishing work in the daytime, they would come, with their tobacco pipes slung on their backs, to the room which we had prepared, intending to listen to storytelling there at night. On that occasion the old man whom we had prepared told various kinds of amusing stories and, in the end, made a few remarks about the revolution for some 15 minutes to this effect: the then society was bad; its reformation would demand the elimination of all the landlords. In this way we organized educational work in keeping with the old men's feelings. Because we used such a method in educational work, the Japanese imperialists were unable to discover it.

In bygone days effective information work was carried out even using the second room of someone else's house. But now you have well-equipped clubhouses and publicity halls, and yet you are failing to put them to proper use for the education of people. At present democratic publicity halls have large signboards outside and their interiors are furnished with pictorial records and with a great deal of equipment, but people do not go there willingly. I told the information department of the Party about this on several occasions, but nothing has yet been done to rectify it.

It is not sufficient for you to hold nothing but lectures and study meetings in clubs and publicity halls. In order to provide good education for the people, you should carry out different kinds of information work in these places to capture their interest, without indulging in dry information work which bores them. In order to do this it is essential to organize storytelling and similar gatherings efficiently. Only then will large numbers of people flock to clubs and halls and be trained quickly.

For the purpose of implanting revolutionary ideas in the working people you can use a variety of methods—making them read books,

holding public discussions, writing and staging plays, popularizing songs, organizing storytelling and lecture meetings, study sessions and talks, and so on. So that the masses can be revolutionized, the working people's organizations should educate them by using these different kinds of political work.

As I pointed out in the report to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Republic, after the establishment of the socialist system the class struggle is carried on by way of raising the people's level of ideological consciousness primarily through the ideological and cultural revolutions. That is why these two revolutions must be strengthened and, to this end, it is not enough to enlist only cultural establishments or artist organizations. All the working people's organizations must be mobilized to provide their members with an effective ideological education.

The ideological education of the working people must not depend on what other people have done, but on what we created, in all respects. There are large numbers of our own writings. You should direct the working people to make an intensive study of these documents as well as the history of our activities during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, our Party's history of struggle in the post-liberation days, and our Party's policies on socialist construction and on the south Korean revolution.

An important factor in the ideological education of the working people is to simplify books for them to study. In other words, this educational work must be conducted in a way which is easy to understand.

At present our officials do not know how to carry out ideological education among the masses in a way which is easy to understand nor do they know work methods by which they could mix with them. This is because they do not have a long experience of work among the masses. If you are going to work with the masses, you ought to know what they are thinking and also their state of preparedness. In addition, you should know their capability of understanding. But you approach them in a dictatorial manner without trying to find out these things.

The ideological work which our officials are now doing shows us that they are doing it in a very complex way so that the masses cannot understand, although it would be comprehensible to everyone if it were to be explained in simple, plain and easy terms. Many of our people have read books written by Marx or Lenin but, if they are asked to explain Marxist-Leninist theories, they only use complicated words which are not clear to others. As a matter of fact, they use them although they themselves do not understand what they mean. They think that only scholarly people use such unintelligible words.

Party documents are written and published using simple words. Nevertheless, some of our scholars think that it is unlearned to use simple language. This opinion is fundamentally wrong. Although Party documents are written in simple language their content is, in fact, profound.

Ideological work must always match the working people's levels. Party documents cannot be properly understood if people are forced to study them without discrimination. At present, some old-line intellectuals or students fail to understand Party documents properly, with the result that they often make theoretical mistakes. So it is difficult to believe that working people at large understand these documents fully and correctly. Therefore, you must explain the documents to them after simplifying them in various forms and ways. You must extract their essence and reproduce it through songs, plays and operas, write articles on them for newspapers, publish readers relating to them for the lower units, and use every form and method including talks and lectures in information work. Of course, young people should be educated in other ways. But it is advisable for the trade unions, the UAWP and the Women's Union to simplify Party documents before explaining them to their members.

Criticism will only be successful once the level of the working people has been raised to a certain degree through persistent education. One will accept criticism of one's errors only after one has been awakened to some extent through the medium of ideological education; one does not willingly accept the criticism that one is selfish

without being shown in what way one has been selfish. It is not until one keenly appreciates the evil of selfishness after receiving education that one fully accepts that one has been wrong. If criticism of selfishness is directed in a dictatorial way at a person who does not know how he has been selfish, he might reply, "Very well, then. If you say I am selfish, I should not work at all. Do everything yourself." So the working people's organizations must concentrate on study and ideological education amongst the masses.

In the process of revolutionizing people it is important to nurture the will to work in them. Every one of us must develop a love of work and take pleasure in it.

We always say that one of the most important problems in communist education is to teach people to enjoy and to like working. Labour is indispensable to the creation of wealth and the well-being of the people. Even in a communist society people must work; they cannot live without working. We must, therefore, fight hard against the outdated idea of shunning work. Even in a communist society we shall still have to continue the struggle against the idea of living in idleness.

We cannot build socialism and communism successfully if we do not educate the people in the spirit of love of work.

We should strongly emphasize the question of developing a love of labour amongst the working people.

The idlers' attitude of hating work must be rooted out from the minds of young people in particular.

Children should also receive good education, so that they become fond of labour from their early years. Some time ago I saw an opera produced by the LSWY. It was based on the old tale that a hog is the only idler, the tale which I told at the National Youth Meeting for General Mobilization. It is necessary to educate people by using this means also.

At present, there are some people among our workers, who dislike work and try to live in idleness. They do not take part in difficult work; they try to do easy work only. In coal mines, for instance, some people shun work in the pit, trying to find jobs on the surface which are not

immediately concerned with coal mining. We found this practice also in North Hamgyong Province this summer.

Some people attribute the cause of this practice to the lack of disparity in wages. Of course, a difference in wages is necessary between the work in the direct sector and the work in the indirect sector, according to the socialist principle of distribution. However, if the workers at a coal mine want to work only in the open air, instead of in the pits, because there is no difference between the wages for direct work in the pits and for indirect work on the surface, they are wrong. This shows that no effective political work has been conducted for people, relying only on material incentives. Being exclusively concerned with material incentives is an expression of revisionist ideology.

In the past we revolutionaries had no such inclinations. In those days we waged guerrilla warfare against the enemy while moving about in the mountains, not because we were given wages by someone else and not for the purpose of obtaining any high-ranking posts. We revolutionaries fought the enemy, overcoming all hardships, not for any reward but solely for the sake of the revolution.

Today some people place reward above everything else and do not want to do difficult jobs, chiefly because the trade unions have neglected political work amongst the working people, although it is also related to poor work by Party organizations. The LSWY is also not doing its work very well. Young people say that they take on hard work but, in practice, they dislike working in coal pits. They should turn out under the slogans, "Let all young people undertake hard work!" and "Young people should go to the sea, the coal mines and the forests!" Is it right for young people to try to do easy work, refusing to perform tedious tasks? For them to have such an attitude means that their ideological viewpoint is already wrong. Our young people should not do that. Trade union, LSWY and other working people's organizations should improve the education of workers so that they will adopt a communist approach to labour.

We do not completely ignore material incentives, but if we are to

induce people to work voluntarily, we should always give precedence to political and moral incentives.

An important task of the working people's organizations is to give priority to political work among their members and so increase the politico-moral incentives to labour. The work of raising the wages and salaries and providing material incentives is performed by administrative officials in accordance with the Party's policy, even though you do not undertake it. The working people's organizations should arm their members politically and ideologically so that they will work conscientiously and so that everyone will take the lead in tackling difficult tasks.

You should work with women efficiently and so encourage them all to take jobs.

To get the working people to work faithfully and all women to participate in social life is urgently required not only for their revolutionization but also for the improvement of their living standards. Only when this requirement is met will goods be mass-produced and the income per household be increased conspicuously.

Today we have every possible condition for improving the people's standard of living still further.

The people now suffer from only a slight shortage of non-staple foods, footwear and winter clothing. But we shall be able to solve all these problems within the next two to three years because we have already laid solid foundations for raising their living standards.

Since we have built a large woolen textile mill where quality winter cloth is now being woven, the problem of overcoats and other clothing for winter use will be solved in the next two to three years. Meanwhile, we have built a good footwear factory in Sunchon recently, and so quality shoes will be mass-produced from now onwards. Then the footwear problem will be solved.

The problem of non-staple foodstuffs can also be settled when many chicken plants are built. In Pyongyang alone many of them are under construction.

In the future when this position is reached, purchasing power will become a problem. If the population's purchasing power is not great, their living standards will not be improved, no matter how rapidly we increase the production of commodity goods.

For this reason, the state envisages that the low wages and salaries under 40 *won* per month will be abolished and the average wage and salary will be raised to 60 *won* during the Seven-Year Plan period. In fact, if we succeed in fulfilling only the plan for next year, we shall be able to increase the wages and salaries by 35 per cent on the average. Then the average wage and salary can be 60 *won*. This is a very high wage level.

However, according to the calculations I have made during the past few days, the income of one person in each household is not sufficient to buy all kinds of subsidiary foodstuffs which we produce. In order to provide the people with better living standards, we shall, therefore, have to ensure that at least two people from a family go to work to earn monthly cash income of more than a hundred *won*.

This, of course, is possible. Working conditions have been created everywhere in our country. Therefore, those who are capable of working should take jobs. If there are no jobs for women, housewives' workteams should be organized for them at least. After this, these workteams must also ensure that each woman receives an income of 40 to 50 *won* in any event.

When the state raises the wages and salaries and when even women work so that the monthly income of each household will exceed a hundred *won*, people will be able to buy non-staple foodstuffs and their living standards as a whole will be considerably improved.

The trade unions, the UAWP, the LSWY and the Women's Union should energetically undertake the revolutionization and working-classization of their members in keeping with the particular characteristics of each organization.

First of all, the activities of the LSWY should be improved. As the reserve force of our Party, the LSWY is an organization which is raising the heirs to our revolution. That is why the stepping up of its

activities is of great importance in strengthening the Party and in keeping the revolution advancing.

The LSWY must concentrate on the ideological education of young people and children. In this work its organizations must not follow the pattern of the trade unions or the UAWP; they should conduct it at a high level in line with their own particular characteristics. If the LSWY follows the activities of the trade unions or the UAWP, youngsters would not be pleased. Because its work is concerned with middle school pupils, university students and those who are prepared to some extent, the LSWY should carry out ideological education to suit their levels.

In particular, the LSWY should turn youngsters and students into practical people who play a full part in socio-political activities. At present, you do not teach them to be people of that kind.

Let me quote the case of students. They seldom participate in any social campaigns or political activities. All that they do is to study at school and go out with shovels on their shoulders to work at construction sites. That will not do. LSWY organizations must assign students a number of different tasks to train them to become political workers. Provided that the LSWY organizes things well, students will be totally active all the year round and, in the course of this, they will receive a great deal of education.

In former days we worked actively with the youth movement. We did it while carrying on an underground struggle and in guerrilla zones, and we also gave active assistance to youth work in the guerrillas' ranks. When we were involved in this work, we frequently gave assignments to young people so as to keep them active. In consequence, there was not a single idle youth.

Even when we were engaged in the student movement in Jilin, some 70 to 80 Korean students were very busy making rounds because we assigned them a constant stream of tasks. They had to carry out these tasks which had been given by their organization in the time which remained after school hours and after they had done their homework. So they had no time to fall into evil ways, nor were they in



a mood to think of other matters. In those days we undertook many things with these students as core elements. During a vacation we gave them the task of each taking charge of a neighbouring farm village for the revolutionization of its inhabitants. In this way we transformed all the villages near Jilin into revolutionary communities. I also took charge of several farm villages myself and revolutionized them all. At that time we built schools in rural areas and got students to give lectures and teach songs.

In addition, we organized a number of kinds of work including staging plays, and assigned students the tasks of writing scripts or producing songs. We gave each of them the task of writing a script or of making up a song and, when they were completed, we gathered together to discuss them, judging what was good and what was bad. Needless to say, they were not skilful at first in script writing and song composition, but they made steady progress in the course of repeating their writing and several discussions. Through holding such debates, young people could learn a great deal about literature and art. In addition, we also organized tennis and various other sports and entertainments on Sundays, thereby gaining their attention.

By organizing student activities as I have shown, we brought them up to be transformers of society, pioneers of society.

The careful organization of youth work makes it possible to turn all youths into revolutionaries. Most of my young colleagues took part in the revolution and even when they did not participate directly, they did not work against us.

It is very important to see that people receive proper education and have a sound world outlook in their youth. Therefore, you should pay particular attention to work among young people and children and educate them thoroughly in revolutionary ideas.

LSWY organizations should work well particularly amongst young workers and students so that they will all become accustomed to socio-political activities. Clubhouses and schools' assembly halls which are to be found everywhere are good centres of operations for youth organizations. They should put these means to effective use for

art performances and for different forms of gatherings including lectures, scientific discussions and symposia, so that students can be mobilized.

LSWY organizations must organize things efficiently to mobilize all young men and women in every sector. They should also work effectively with youth shock brigades. These brigades may include a large number of talented youths, among them poets and good singers. LSWY organizations should carry out organizational and political work expertly to stimulate all of them. Since young people are full of energy, a single night's sleep is sufficient to relieve their fatigue. Therefore, skilful organizational and political work will also bring many successes in construction work.

If youth and students are actively involved in socio-political affairs, they will regard it as honourable, realizing that they are participants in undertaking the transformation and revolutionization of society, and will take an active part in revolutionary work, proud to be transformers and constructors of society.

The role of the trade unions should be increased. It is said that the people with whom they must work number almost 700,000. In order to revolutionize all of them, trade union workers should perform their duties better.

We have already detailed the work of trade unions. We set out the three tasks clearly at the Second National Meeting of the Vanguard Workers in the Chollima Workteam Movement which was held last May. They are: work with people, work with equipment and materials, and work with books. By working with people we mean to conduct the effective education of the working people; by working with equipment, to constantly improve it and introduce new equipment; and by working with books, to encourage people to study hard. After all, these three tasks mean that trade union organizations should carry on the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions properly.

Trade union workers should do a great deal of work to fulfil these tasks successfully. They should also step up ideological education among non-Party people and so reform people of complicated social

origin. This is the central task of the Chollima Workteam Movement. In addition, there are really many tasks which trade union organizations should perform, among them arranging symposia on technical innovations, technical discussions between inventors, and conferences for the exchange of personal experiences concerning the technical revolution.

Now that every factory has its clubhouse, trade unions are able to carry on educational work among the working people as they wish. They should run factory and enterprise clubs effectively without letting them stand idle.

The most important task in the work of trade unions, also, is revolutionizing the working people in a proper manner. We always say that the key to increasing production lies in good work with people. When working people are revolutionized through such work, production, too, inevitably increases. You should therefore conduct political work in various ways and apply yourselves to re-educating and revolutionizing working people.

Next, the role of the UAWP organizations has to be improved.

I am told that at present the number of UAWP members who are not affiliated with other organizations is more than 1.2 million. So it reaches out to an enormous number of people. It should carry out educational work, rather than engage in criticism. Frequent criticism to non-Party people will not achieve successful results.

It is difficult for farmers to study during the summer. But they can study during the winter and spring, that is to say, for six months from November until April. By making good use of this period, the UAWP should encourage farmers to study more. Meanwhile, it is not necessary to publish the UAWP newspaper too often. I have been told that this newspaper is now published once a week. This is suitable.

The UAWP should build up democratic publicity halls and run them properly. Those in rural areas should be built so that people will not feel cold in them. It is advisable to lay down heated paper floors in the halls in a country fashion, instead of putting benches there. Then the floors should be heated so that old folk will come to spend their

time there. As I pointed out earlier, if an old man is chosen as the responsible person and given proper training so that he can read novels and deliver simple lectures, success will follow. Democratic publicity halls should keep Korean chess and similar games. You should see to it that, while playing chess, the players talk about worthwhile matters, thereby arousing people's interest. You should adopt these methods for the education of people; otherwise, if you try to force people to come to the halls for study, you cannot run them properly.

To proceed. The work of the Women's Union should be improved. I am told that the people with whom it must deal now number more than 500,000 women. This is not a small number. The Women's Union should include all the women of housewives' workteams in its work.

The Women's Union should run mothers' schools efficiently. It is said that there are 112,000 mothers' schools throughout the country and that 2,170,000 women attend them. It is an enormous task for the Women's Union organizations just to run these schools as they should do. If they are well run, it will enable women to acquire a great deal of knowledge and you will be able to revolutionize them with the help of these schools.

A mothers' school constitutes a good base for the education of women; it is an important educational centre for them. Therefore, Women's Union organizations should make effective use of them for the revolutionization of women rather than use them simply for imparting knowledge. To this end, you should choose well-qualified persons as teachers of these schools, give them frequent short courses of training and prepare proper lecture texts for them.

Mothers' schools should be skilful in spreading songs. While popularizing the existing ones, they should also make up and circulate new ones, the subject of which is problems such as keeping homes spick-and-span, giving children a good education and other similar problems. The tunes of songs are difficult now, but this should not be so; they should be made simple and easy so that mothers can sing them well.

### **3. ON BUILDING UP THE RANKS OF HARD CORES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS**

The most important factor in strengthening the activities of the working people's organizations is to build up their ranks of hard cores. Hard cores are indispensable for success in the revolutionary struggle or in the work of construction.

Every living thing forms and grows around a nucleus. We can say that this is a law of the development of biological organisms. Fruit also forms and grows larger because of its core, the seed.

Only when it is organized in that way, will the Party also become powerful. But, no matter how dependable its hard core is, the Party will be helpless if the working people's organizations are not sound. And these organizations also need their own hard cores for their stability.

With a view to providing the people with eggs, we have been experimenting with chickens for three long years, which shows that the problem of egg production, too, will be solved only when a breeding farm is established. Although we made every effort in the past to supply the people with eggs, we achieved no success worth mentioning, because we worked without establishing a breeding farm. Of course, we soon learned a lesson from this and made thorough preparations before tackling this task. So we decided to build the breeding farm before anything else, with the idea of creating a core.

The creation of cores is a precondition for anything to progress smoothly.

From our experience of building the Party, the state and the people's armed forces immediately after liberation, we can see how important it is to build up the ranks of hard cores. In fact, the situation in our country immediately after liberation was very complex. At that time there were, within the Party, a number of wastrels, such as the

“Pak Hon Yong group”, the “O Ki Sop group”, the “Yanan group”, the “Irkutsk group”, and others. Backed by their masters and currying favour with and succumbing to them, they were bent on dividing the senior posts amongst their own groups. So we had a great deal of trouble when establishing the Party and people’s government.

At that time, however, we had hard-core elements who had grown up in the course of the arduous revolutionary struggle against the Japanese. Because there were these communist hard cores, though few in number, who had endured all trials and tribulations and had been steeled in the storms of revolutionary struggle, they could give prominence to their leader and closely unite around him and bravely overcome the prevailing difficult situation. Thenceforth, we were able to heroically sweep away the manifold difficulties and trials in each revolutionary period and advance staunchly, true to our revolutionary principles, chiefly because our Party, state and people’s armed forces had emerged from the deep roots of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and had been built up with communist hard cores, who had been trained in the crucible of the armed struggle against the Japanese, as their backbone.

The working people’s organizations should also first create their own hard cores, so as to do their work well; without these cores things will not go well with them.

On the subject of hard cores, you should consider the cadres as such above all others. At the same time, you should select sound people from amongst your rank-and-file members and train them to be hard cores. Only when hard-core elements exist amongst the rank and file, can all members be closely united behind the Party and mobilized properly for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks, in such a way that one person educates ten, ten people a hundred, and a hundred people a thousand. If this is not done, the efforts of only the chairman or vice-chairmen or several department heads of each working people’s organization are not equal to the organizational and political work of educating its members and uniting them behind the Party.

If we had no hard cores to spread Party ideas and carry out

revolutionary tasks in the van of the masses, evildoers might cause mischief. They pretend to work well publicly shouting “hurrah”, but, once they have said this, they do not work conscientiously and have different intentions. In that situation, the Party’s policy cannot be implemented, no matter how correct it may be.

You must, therefore, diligently pursue the work of creating hard cores and of uniting the broad masses behind the Party. Otherwise, you will be unable to make any contribution to the Party and the revolution.

All our officials at present know the theory about the need to create hard cores and are able to speak about it, but in practice they do not know how to do it and their actions are far from following the Party’s intentions.

Since you cannot personally undertake the education of all your members, you must create the hard cores, including cadres of the working people’s organizations in cities, counties, factories and schools, and through them mobilize the broad sections of the masses to carry out revolutionary tasks. Only then can you succeed in your work.

As a matter of fact, if you unite at least 20 to 30 sound youth workers in a faculty within a university, you can ensure that the faculty makes spirited progress in its work. Only five or six hard cores, let alone 30, are enough to carry out enormous tasks. This also applies to middle schools. If you work on ten good hard cores or so from amongst the students and teachers at middle schools, you will be able to carry out your work efficiently.

At the moment, however, you are not very interested in creating hard cores. If you are asked how many hard cores there are among the masses you are working with or who are the cores amongst the youths of a particular factory or school, you do not seem to be able to answer properly. You may see all of them as ordinary young people. If officials do not know who are hard cores or not, and how to train cores, as you do, they cannot develop the activities of working people’s organizations in the direction indicated by the Party.

The most important thing in building up the ranks of hard cores is to prevent untrustworthy elements from joining them. You must under no

circumstances allow scoundrels to find their way into your ranks. You must choose good people in every respect for the ranks. It is a principle that the ranks of hard cores are built up from amongst those who possess the necessary qualifications. When you establish hard cores with good people, then the cores will play the role of multiplying; one core will produce ten, ten cores a hundred, a hundred cores a thousand and thus the ranks will gradually increase. This is the way by which we carry on revolutionary work.

In creating hard cores, you should first build up the ranks of cadres. You should do this and prepare the cadres well so that they will also create hard cores. I am not talking to you about this problem for the first time today. This April I laid stress on it after summoning the senior officials of the working people's organizations.

Needless to say, some complicated problems will become apparent when you build up the cadre ranks. But you have to build up pure ranks to make the revolution. Just as we prevent alien breeds from getting into a breeding farm, you have to be highly vigilant to prevent any doubtful elements from joining the cadre ranks. Failure to achieve this may result in the appearance of lynxes or wolves instead of sound people.

In order to build up the pure hard-core ranks, you must thoroughly eliminate the factionalists from the cadre ranks and wage an uncompromising battle against them.

Factionalists do not change their real nature even after they are promoted as cadres. Before liberation they did serious harm to the development of the working-class and communist movements in our country. Nevertheless, we thought that they would repent and work conscientiously, and for some time after liberation we welcomed them and appointed them as cadres out of a desire to induce them to engage in the Korean revolution with us. We promoted Pak Hon Yong to the important post of a cadre from the same desire. The Party appointed him as the Foreign Minister and even as Vice-Premier. We treated Kim Tu Bong and Choe Chang Ik in the same way.

The factionalists, however, were not satisfied with that and,



hatching their individual plots, continued to make mischief secretly in opposition to the Party and the revolution. So we could not leave these traitors to the revolution where they were, could we? We have never been the first to attack the factionalists when they were inactive. They always provoked us first. Historical experience shows that those who sided with factions in the past continue to oppose the Party and the revolution with hatred in their hearts even after we have forgivingly welcomed them and promoted them as cadres. That is why we must mercilessly smash those who are opposed to the Party and the revolution. We must not yield a single point in this.

We must make no compromise with the factionalists and must become exceptionally vigilant lest they should find their way into the ranks of cadres. Furthermore, we must wage a vigorous campaign to remove the aftereffects of their past actions.

With a view to preventing unreliable elements from joining the cadre ranks, you must get to know people thoroughly.

But nowadays you attach little importance to getting to know cadres well. More than a year has already passed since you took charge of the working people's organizations and started this new task. If you are asked how well you have got to know people during this period, you will probably all be at a loss for an answer.

It is a serious fault that you are not now working hard to get to know people well. As regards the LSWY, for instance, its officials wander about pointlessly, making no attempt to learn more about the cadres under their charge. It seems to me that you do not know the chairmen of LSWY's provincial committees well, and that you work knowing little about the chairmen of its county committees. The national-level cadres of the working people's organizations ought to be familiar with all senior officials of their county and higher organizations.

In order to get to know people thoroughly you should constantly be meeting them for individual talks, for educational purposes or for examination. If, instead, you just remain at your desks all the time, forwarding resolutions or holding executive committee or plenary meetings, you will never know people properly. This method of

working prevents you from discovering the alien elements who shout “hurrah” outwardly but have different ideals inwardly, and at worst, this method may lead you to appoint such knaves as cadres.

Our inquiry into those who committed errors on the subject of establishing the Party’s monolithic ideological system reveals that many of them acted deliberately. Learning a lesson from this, therefore, you should get to know cadres thoroughly and select good people for such posts. There might be numerous double-dealers who look good but cherish different dreams. This, of course, does not mean that you must suspect people without reason. You should trust comrades and frequently entrust them with a variety of tasks to test them. Inspection is indispensable for acquiring a good knowledge of people. Having confidence in comrades and entrusting them with tasks and then judging them in the course of their work—this is the principle of Party work which we always stress.

No sound people have ever been appointed to the trade unions as senior officials. In consequence, the scoundrels did much damage to revolutionary work by making mischief in secret, gnawing away little by little like a rat gnawing a quilt, although they could not oppose the Party openly.

Of course, I do not mean that you should expel everyone who has been working in the trade unions. While conducting ideological training and ideological reformation, you should combine a larger number of good people.

Only when you are on the alert and build up the ranks of cadres with good people will you be able to prevent the infiltration of revisionism. Otherwise, capitalism may revive as it has done in other countries and the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes may show their faces once again.

The working people’s organizations should not wait until the Party investigates and appoints cadres for them; they should make these investigations themselves and submit the matter to the Party. This is the way for you to get to know more cadres and fill the vacancies quickly.

You should not only build up the cadre ranks with good people but should also constantly educate, reform and train them.

I always say that iron which has just come out of the furnace is bright and hard, but that when it is left uncared for in the open air, it becomes rusty and corrodes by the action of oxygen and finally becomes useless. In the same way, cadres will degenerate and become unsuitable for their posts if they do not receive constant education and training, no matter how good they are when promoted. Let me take the LSWY as an example. In fact we made an attempt to build it up with sound people in the past but many of them have degenerated. This is because we confined ourselves to the appointment of cadres and failed to give them worthwhile tasks and proper ideological education.

That is why you should constantly educate and train the cadres so as to prevent their degeneration, just as we must make a habit of polishing, oiling and, when necessary, painting and plating iron in order to prevent rust.

Party organizations should give effective assistance to the working people's organizations in their work of creating hard cores and cadres in particular. It is easy for Party officials to pass judgement on the activities of the working people's organizations, but it is not easy for them to organize their work. Therefore, I consider it advisable for Party workers to do their best to help the working people's organizations to organize their work.

# **FOR THE LARGE-SCALE RECLAMATION OF TIDELANDS**

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of Workers  
in Charge of Land Development**

*October 11, 1968*

The extensive reclamation of tideland is a matter of great importance in our country.

As you all know, our country has a limited area of cultivated land; it has small amounts of fields which are suitable for mechanized farming. At present, we have about 1.8 million hectares of rice and dry fields apart from orchards and mulberry fields, of which only 1.3 million hectares can be made suitable for the use of machinery after land re-alignment. The remaining 0.5 million, even if re-aligned, are unfit for the purpose.

In order to increase grain output and mechanize farm work in our country, it is imperative to bring tidelands under cultivation.

Reclaimed lands are vast plains where machines can be used for every kind of farm work. Therefore, a small amount of manpower is needed to tend them.

If the percolation system of irrigation is introduced in these lands, salt will be quickly removed with the consumption of small quantities of water and six tons of rice can be reaped per hectare without question.

We have vast stretches of tidelands on our west coast which can be cultivated after reclamation.

At present a certain country, which has no supplies of stone, is said

to be importing it to dam up the sea to a depth of 80 metres. In comparison with that country, we have very favourable conditions for tideland reclamation. The tidelands on our west coast are so shallow that the bottom is exposed at low tide and we have inexhaustible reserves of stone. If we wall off the sea in the tidelands as that country does, we shall be able to obtain more than 0.5 million hectares. This area is equivalent to one third of the total grain crop area we have now. If we reclaim all the tidelands in the north and the south of Korea, we shall get more than 1.2 million hectares of land, which is an area in which to grow enough grain to feed 20 million people.

Tideland reclamation is really an interesting large-scale project for remaking nature. If we carry out this work successfully, we shall be able not only to expand the area of arable land and increase cereal production so as to solve the food problem satisfactorily but also to set a good example to future generations. The reclamation of vast tidelands will enable us to convince posterity that they will be prosperous even though the population increases, and they will follow our example and develop the tidelands on their own and thus solve the food problem.

We must undertake tideland reclamation on a large scale to obtain much more land and pass it on to future generations.

For a long time, I have been planning to start this project on a large scale. But the plan has been impossible until now because it was beyond our capabilities.

However, things are different now. Our industry today produces lorries, excavators and bulldozers. From next year onwards it will produce many heavy lorries and large excavators as well. The Tokchon Automobile Plant plans to manufacture a thousand 10-ton lorries alone next year. Recently I visited the Ragwon and Pukjung Machine Factories to consult officials there about the production of excavators and marine engines. They confirmed that they are able to manufacture many large excavators and different kinds of marine engines. If we have these engines we can make floating excavators and dredgers. In short, our engineering industry is now in a position to produce lorries, excavators, bulldozers, floating excavators, dredgers and many other

items of machinery and equipment which are necessary for reclaiming the tidelands.

From 1970 onwards cement production will also show a considerable increase.

Since we have got the basis of our own powerful industry which can produce different kinds of machinery, equipment and materials necessary for tideland reclamation, we are perfectly able to undertake the project.

The Fifth Congress of our Party to be convened in 1970 will debate the draft Six-Year Plan. During this plan period we intend to designate the transformation of land as an important task and to undertake huge nature-remaking projects, particularly the large-scale reclamation of tidelands.

Some time ago groups of field surveyors investigated the tidelands on our west coast, where they found as many as 120,000 hectares of tideland which is topographically favourable and comparatively simple to reclaim. That is: 50,000 hectares in North Phyongan Province, 42,000 hectares in South Phyongan Province and 28,000 hectares in South Hwanghae Province. We must reclaim them without fail.

If, out of the 120,000 hectares of tideland, about 10,000 hectares are reclaimed as reed and salt fields and reservoirs, 110,000 hectares will be used as paddies. Supposing that we harvest six tons of rice per hectare from the 110,000 hectares of reclaimed paddies, we shall be able to reap 660,000 tons, and this will enable us to solve the food problem of the growing population to a considerable extent.

Needless to say, the reclamation of 120,000 hectares is a prodigious task but it is not beyond our power. I think we are fully equal to the task. You, too, must never flinch or waver; you ought to have confidence. To have confidence is important in any work. Workers in the land development sector must preserve great confidence and strive to reclaim 120,000 hectares of tideland.

Tideland reclamation on a large scale calls for thorough preparations.

A large-scale nature-transforming project of this kind could never be successful if it was started without making any preparations. The next two years, until 1970, must be used as the preparatory period for the project, during which we must survey the tidelands and draw up plans of the projects, lay the material basis and train managerial and technical personnel.

First of all, we must take steps to produce the machinery and equipment needed for reclamation work.

During the forthcoming Six-Year Plan period, too, the manpower situation is anticipated to be as strained as ever. In the period of the new long-term plan we must build chemical and many other factories, re-align the land and rivers and build modern highways, so it is difficult for us to transfer a large amount of manpower to tideland reclamation. However, this does not justify enlisting the farmers in this project; they have to farm in summer and study in winter.

You must not try to carry out such a large-scale nature-remaking project as tideland reclamation by using people to carry loads on their backs. You would not achieve much by doing this.

In the past the Sindo tideland builders worked hard on their project but they were able to build only a portion of the sea-wall for the tideland during the first eight years, because they had to carry loads on their backs as they lacked machinery and equipment. Since 1966, when I went there to investigate the situation and took measures so that a base for the production of building parts was established and machinery and equipment provided, great progress has been made in the Sindo tideland reclamation. In fact, in the following two years they reclaimed a larger area of tideland than in the preceding eight years.

Tideland construction should always be carried out with machines by raising the level of mechanization.

In order to mechanize this construction work we must ensure that automobile factories increase their production and manufacture more heavy-duty lorries. As a result of this some 500 heavy-duty lorries must be sent every year to tideland construction sites.

The output of large excavators must be increased and large numbers

of floating excavators, barges and dredgers must be produced. If the Pukjung Machine Factory makes marine engines as it ought to, it will be possible to build 100 dredgers a year.

If we are to produce various types of machinery and equipment necessary for tideland construction, we must supply the engineering industry with sufficient amounts of steel. Even though we are unable to export a lot of steel, we ought to supply it in sufficient quantities to those who are manufacturing machinery and equipment which are essential for tideland construction.

In addition to sending a large amount of machinery and equipment of all kinds to tideland construction sites, we must build up repair centres: one each in North and South Phyongan Provinces and in South Hwanghae Province. In this way provinces will be able to repair ships, lorries and excavators by themselves.

Cement output must be increased. Tideland reclamation needs a large quantity of cement. I think it advisable for the Haeju Cement Factory to build an additional calcining kiln with a capacity of 250,000 tons. If the workers at this factory launch a shock campaign, they will be able to build it quickly.

In future steps must be taken to study and produce cement which is proof against sea water.

It is important to organize good quarries and bases for the production of building parts. It would be a very good thing to establish these bases and mass-produce cement blocks for the construction of tidal embankments.

We must ensure that a factory is built to produce large quantities of vinyl-coated cable. If these cables are woven into nets and are used to cover the embankments, they will help to lessen the damage caused by waves.

For the transport of materials needed in the project, a railway must be laid prior to the start of full-scale construction. The laying of a railway between quarries and construction sites will make it possible to carry stone without difficulty.

In South Phyongan Province railways must be laid between Onchon



and Namyang, between Onchon and Mayong and between the Kama estuary and Mt. Sokta. The Mayong Quarry has inexhaustible reserves of stone. Originally, this quarry was built on a large scale after the war when I worked as Chairman of the Pyongyang Municipal Reconstruction Commission, and the quality of its stone is so good that it can endure weathering. Therefore, it would be advisable to lay railways between Onchon and Mayong and between Onchon and Namyang to carry the stone from the Mayong Quarry by train so that it can be used for embanking the tidelands in the Onchon, Jungsan, Phyongwon and Sukchon areas. Mt. Sokta in Jungsan County produces a great deal of stone, so if a railway is laid between Mt. Sokta and the Kama estuary, we shall be able to carry stone to wall off the sea around the tidelands. The Onchon-Namyang line should be built along the coast, without encroaching on farmland. You must not try to start the railway projects manually but must make the necessary investments to carry them out on a full scale from next year under the state plan.

North Phyongan Province has sources of stone for tideland reclamation on islets and near the construction sites, so there is no need to construct railways. All that you have to do is to build wharves for ships to load stone.

You must build good roads which will ensure the easy transport of loads by lorries and which will not lessen their expected life span.

Next, tideland reclamation companies should be set up and technical personnel should be trained.

You have planned to organize a number of them, but you need not do so. Even if you set up several, we have neither the manpower nor the machinery and equipment to supply them. Under such conditions the establishment of many such companies has no particular importance, except for wasting manpower.

I think it would be advisable to set up one each in North and South Phyongan Provinces and South Hwanghae Province. North and South Phyongan Provinces should organize the companies on a scale of about 4,000 men, and South Hwanghae Province on a scale of some 2,000.

North Phyongan Province must set up a new company with the

existing Sindo Tideland Reclamation Company as the parent body. I am told that this company has 1,500 workers at present, so it will be sufficient to add a further 2,500 men. But this must not be an excuse for you to try to transfer manpower from the Amnokgang General Irrigation Construction Company, because it will have to build the Paekma reservoir some day in the future.

South Phyongan Province must set up a new company with the existing tideland reclamation workers as its nucleus and by supplementing this with some workers from the construction company for salt fields. If the tideland reclamation company develops salt fields, the construction company for salt fields will not need as much manpower as it has now. It should retain only a small number of workers for the repair of salt fields, and transfer the rest to the new tideland reclamation company.

South Hwanghae Province must establish a tideland reclamation company using mainly workers from the Chongdan and Ongjin Irrigation Construction Companies and from the construction company for salt fields.

The newly-organized tideland reclamation companies must be provided with lorries, excavators, including floating ones, barges, dredgers and other kinds of machinery and equipment.

These companies must concentrate, above all, on the training of machine operators and skilled workers. In other words, they must play the role of a training school for such operators and workers. They must train marine engineers and excavator operators as well as skilled workers for quarrying stone and making blocks. If they carry out the work of training technical personnel for several years under a well-prepared plan, they will be able to train good machine operators and skilled workers.

The operators of important machines such as dredgers should be trained at the factory which builds them, after it has been authorized to have the trainees. So it would be a good idea that, when the dredgers have been completed at the factory, the operators should personally sail them to the construction sites.

The training of many machine operators and skilled workers according to plan from now onwards will enable us to introduce the efficient use of machinery in tideland development in future, and increase the building forces quickly when tideland reclamation is undertaken on a full scale.

According to my experience gained when organizing and leading an army, a well-prepared unit makes it possible to form ten new ones with it as the nucleus. If a new unit has ten per cent of hard-core elements, it will grow into a powerful combat unit rapidly.

This will also apply in organizing a tideland reclamation company. Organizing a unit which conquers nature is analogous to forming a military unit. If we set up three tideland reclamation companies efficiently now, we shall be able to use them as the nucleus for the organization of ten new ones when the need arises.

Each company must reclaim 4,000-5,000 hectares of tideland on an experimental basis, while concentrating on training machine operators and skilled workers. The trial reclamation will give them confidence and a great deal of experience. And it will enable them to assess the types and amounts of machinery and the extent of the manpower needed to reclaim a given area of tideland.

Dwelling houses and hostels must be built for the tideland builders. They must be erected near the construction sites, not as single storey, but as multi-storeyed buildings and in a smart and modern style. This will enable us to transfer these houses to farmers once the reclamation work is completed.

As well as reclaiming tidelands, we must take measures to use the reclaimed land for farming.

The most important thing in farming on newly-reclaimed tidelands is to solve the problem of water.

Tideland farming needs a great deal of water, but now we have limited sources. This situation is common to both South and North Phiyongan Provinces. The solution of the problem of water in tidelands is very important.

To this end we must work out means of making rational use of the

existing irrigation facilities in inland areas along the west coast and, at the same time, undertake a large number of new irrigation projects.

South Phyongan Province must build the Phyongwon reservoir; North Phyongan Province, the Paekma reservoir; and South Hwanghae Province, the Kwangthan reservoir. It would be advisable for you to carry out the project of drawing water from the Ryesong River into Sohung Lake and other reservoirs in South Hwanghae Province.

Small reservoirs of from 10 to 50 million cubic-metre capacity should be built on a trial basis in the reclaimed areas. These reservoirs must be constructed so as to show how low the water gets in the dry season; if they retain water, large numbers of them must be built.

Research must be carried on to remove the salt from sea water so that it can be used as irrigation water.

You must take steps to make the best use of underground water. In the dry season there is little water on the surface of the earth but there is a large amount under the ground. If you pump up the underground water to fill large and small reservoirs, you will be able to solve the water problem for the tidelands even during a long drought. The pumping of underground water will also enable us to solve the problems of industrial and drinking water to a considerable degree. The project of pumping underground water is not difficult and requires only a small expenditure on construction. You must carry out a wide-scale survey of underground water and work positively to discover supplies of water.

You must maintain the existing reservoirs and waterways in good condition to prevent water from leaking out and thereby put an end to the waste of water on the way.

In addition to taking measures to provide water sources for reclaimed tidelands, you must ensure that only a small amount of water is used in tideland paddies.

If a large quantity of water is used in these paddies, we shall have a shortage of water, no matter how large the sources we have. You must find a way to use as little water in tideland paddies as possible.

You should try to introduce the percolation system of irrigation in such paddies. It is simple to apply this system. You have only to dig

trenches at regular intervals and bury pipes which are pierced with holes like a rice-cake steamer. When this system is installed you will be capable of both watering and drainage. I was told that the system could reduce the amount of water consumption per hectare to 2,000 to 3,000 cubic metres.

You must introduce this system on an experimental basis in Changdong-ri, Sukchon County, South Phyongan Province, to see how much water is used in tideland rice fields. You ought to strive to save water not only in these tideland fields but also in other paddies.

It is important in reclaiming tidelands to construct a good network of facilities. You must prepare a detailed plan for that construction and, in accordance with it, make waterways, install watering and drainage facilities and re-align fields so that farm machines can be used.

You must not assign this construction work to the Agricultural Commission. Because farmers have to grow crops, they have no time to do it. The master in charge of tideland reclamation is the Tideland Development Management Bureau of the Cabinet; so it ought to carry out the project. The bureau must wall off the sea and construct a network of facilities in the tidelands so that crops can be grown there before they are transferred to the Agricultural Commission.

When 120,000 hectares of tideland are reclaimed in the future, we must organize new cooperative farms and set up counties there. In anticipation of this you must start taking the necessary measures now.

In line with the intentions of this consultative meeting you must work out specific measures for large-scale tideland reclamation in future, and the Cabinet must adopt decisions on them.

Lastly I should like to speak briefly about providing the people with good supplies of subsidiary foodstuffs.

To supply enough subsidiary foodstuffs to the people is a matter of great importance which we cannot neglect in the slightest. We should not treat this problem lightly just because we are busy on construction work. While carrying out construction work, we must solve this problem satisfactorily.

In this regard, it is important to solve the problems of vegetables,

eggs and meat, and we can say that the vegetable problem has been basically resolved in our country. From now on we must make efforts to solve the other problems.

In recent years we have built a number of modern chicken plants. In the past year alone we established many chicken plants—one in Kaechon County which is capable of producing 10 million eggs annually and a modern one in Kangso County. At present, the Kangso Chicken Plant produces 30 million eggs in a year. If it organizes its work well, it can turn out 100 million. In Taean we have also constructed a chicken plant with an annual capacity of 20 million eggs. The construction of many chicken plants in recent years has enabled us to produce 600 million eggs annually, but we ought not to rest content with this.

At present eggs are supplied regularly to the people where there is a chicken plant, but this is not the situation where there is no chicken plant. In Songnim, for example, the residents are supplied with abundant eggs because the city has a chicken plant. But in Sariwon which has no chicken plant, the citizens do not obtain the required quantities of eggs.

According to information, in those countries which now produce large numbers of eggs by world standards, the per-capita supply of eggs is 180 to 190 yearly. If in our country 1,500 million eggs are produced in a year, 200 can be provided for each factory and office worker.

Setting a goal of supplying factory and office workers with 200 eggs annually, we must forcefully increase our efforts to build chicken plants. For the present, we must ensure that egg production is put on a steady basis at the existing chicken plants.

Large quantities of fish meal must be produced for the chicken plants. Unless these are provided, chicken plants cannot achieve normal production. If they are provided with a great deal of fish meal, they will be able to save an equivalent amount of bean cake.

In addition to establishing some more fish-meal factories, we must build ships which can manufacture fish meal. Now we have one ship of this type with a capacity of 5,000 tons. We must build more. Of the four 3,000-ton ships which will be built next year, one must be a fish-meal

factory ship. If this ship goes out to sea and catches fish to process into meal, it will be able to produce great quantities of fish meal.

A mass campaign to collect eggshells and send them to chicken plants must be launched.

An important factor in placing egg production on a normal basis is to carry out hygienic and anti-epidemic work effectively at chicken plants. Otherwise, chickens will die in large numbers. So chicken plants must be strict in hygienic and anti-epidemic work. At the same time, rigid control must be exercised to stop the breeding of other chickens around chicken plants.

The price of eggs must be reduced. If they are expensive, the people cannot buy them even though they are being mass-produced. You ought to cut the egg price a little next April or May. Since there are still places without chicken plants, an immediate cut in this price might give rise to a practice whereby people buy eggs cheaply and sell them dearly in places without chicken plants. To eliminate this practice, we must build chicken plants everywhere and establish a uniform price for eggs throughout the country.

We must arrange matters carefully so as to supply the industrial and office workers and urban residents with more eggs at a low price.

The rural population should breed many chickens of their own to obtain eggs. Since the farmers produce eggs on their own for their own consumption, the state should not purchase eggs from them.

Chicken and duck meat must be efficiently supplied.

To this end, it is imperative to build refrigeration plants. At present chicken plants produce a great deal of meat, but because of a lack of proper refrigeration facilities it is difficult to store.

From this winter onwards we must start the construction of refrigeration plants on a large scale. Next year Pyongyang alone will produce 7,000 tons of chicken and 3,000 tons of duck—10,000 tons in all. This suggests that 30,000 chickens and ducks are killed every day. A refrigeration plant must be built in Pyongyang so that chicken and duck can be stored, and cold-storage facilities must be installed in all grocery shops.

Refrigeration plants must be built not only in Pyongyang but also in Songnim, Kangso County, and Nampho where large numbers of workers live.

In the future the Kwangpho Duck Farm alone will produce 5,000 tons of meat in a year. The production of that quantity of meat means slaughtering 8,000 ducks each day, and a large refrigeration plant is required in Hamhung to store it.

If we are to get industrial and office workers to buy sufficient subsidiary foodstuffs, we must reduce prices and, at the same time, raise wages and salaries.

At present, each person's average monthly income is 48 *won*. This amount is not enough to buy supplies of all the non-staple foodstuffs, even though prices are reduced. If each household is to buy the vegetables, eggs, meat, fruit and so on, which will be more plentiful in future, it must have at least 60 *won* per month. Therefore, it is necessary to raise the average income to about 90 *won*. Then, a dual-income family will have 180 *won* monthly which will enable them to buy all the subsidiary foodstuffs to be supplied, leaving a large margin. In the future, when the prices of non-staple foodstuffs are cut and the average income of the industrial and office workers is raised to 90 *won*, our people's standard of living will reach a world-high level.

For the present we must ensure that their wages and salaries are increased by 30 to 35 per cent so as to make the average about 60 *won*. Even this rise will enable dual-income families to enjoy a prosperous life.

If we are to raise their wages and salaries, we must boost industrial production radically. In addition, we must take steps to increase the per-household monthly income. This income will rise considerably if a large number of home industry workteams are organized and housewives work there.

When the per-household income of the factory and office workers is increased, they will demand modern household goods in greater quantities. That is why we must devise ways of increasing the production of refrigerators, TV sets and other modern household items.



# **ON ESTABLISHING REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE AND ORDER IN THE GUIDANCE OF THE ECONOMY**

**Speech at a Joint Meeting of the Political Committee  
of the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet**

*October 21, 1968*

Today I should like to speak about establishing revolutionary discipline and order in implementing the Party's economic policy by ministries, bureaus and other organs which are in charge of economic direction, and about some problems of improving economic work at the moment.

At present there are many defects in the work of these organs. The major one is the lack of strict discipline in the implementation of Party and Cabinet decisions and state plans.

As you all know, Cabinet decisions and national economic plans are state laws which have to be carried out. But some officials consider that these decisions and plans can be carried out or ignored.

A number of factories and enterprises at present cannot fulfil their production plans as they should, partly because there is no adequate provision of raw materials or because there is a shortage of electricity. But the main reason is lax discipline in implementing the Party and Cabinet decisions and state plans.

When I made inquiries about why insufficient steel was now being produced at the Kangson Steel Plant, I was told that the plant had been unable to produce properly for about 15 days because of the short

supply of crude oil. A long time has elapsed since Party and Cabinet decisions were adopted on the need for factories and enterprises to keep three months' supply of crude oil and other important fuels and raw materials in reserve. However, senior officials of the Kangson Steel Plant did not organize their work in conformity with the Party's policy. Recently an abundant supply of crude oil was offered to them, but they took only enough for one month's use, on the pretext that they had no tanks to store it. As a result, their steel production is now held up for lack of crude oil.

Because of its failure to produce silicon steel sheets for electric motors which are included in the state plan, the Hwanghae Iron Works has created difficulties for various sectors of the national economy.

Some time ago when I visited Kaechon County, the officials there told me that they would produce two tons of meat in each crop-raising team of all cooperative farms by developing animal husbandry in line with Party policy, and they asked me to solve the problem of fodder crushers. So I studied the matter and learned that many fodder crushers were in store at factories, but that they were incomplete because of a lack of electric motors which, in turn, had not been manufactured due to a short supply of silicon steel sheets. At present machine factories have large numbers of machines which have not been finished for want of electric motors. In spite of this, however, senior officials of the Hwanghae Iron Works do not bother to take positive steps to produce the silicon steel sheets for electric motors.

Nowadays we can often see, amongst some ministerial officials, the unsystematic practice of arranging their work in a slovenly way to suit their own convenience.

When the suggestion was made to drain the Yonphung Reservoir so that repairs to the dam could be carried out, a vice-chairman of the Agricultural Commission accepted the suggestion on his own responsibility without obtaining approval from the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet. Because this reservoir is filled with water pumped from the Taedong River, the discharge of water for the repair of the dam can only be allowed when the river is full. If the reservoir is

to be refilled, after being drained, when the river is low, its flow will be further diminished in the lower reaches because a great amount of water has to be pumped into the reservoir. This could cause salty water to flow up the river and harm the Kiyang irrigation system, as well as making it impossible to supply sufficient water to the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant. Without considering this, however, the vice-chairman of the Agricultural Commission permitted the discharge of all the water in the Yonphung Reservoir at his discretion when the flow of the river was no more than 60 tons per second. What an irresponsible and serious action this was!

There are also many other practices which show a lack of discipline and order in implementing Party and Cabinet decisions.

This lack of discipline, system and order in administrative and economic work is mainly attributable to the fact that ministers do not do what they are supposed to do. Although the vice-chairman of the Agricultural Commission committed the offence of letting all the water out of the Yonphung Reservoir, the chairman of the commission was not informed of this fact.

In order to play their role effectively, ministers should first establish discipline thoroughly in accepting and carrying out Party and Cabinet decisions without condition. At present, however, they neither organize the work of implementing these decisions nor do they supervise their implementation effectively. What is worse, some of them are said not to have drawn up plans to implement a Cabinet decision even two or three months after its adoption. It is because ministers themselves pay no attention to Cabinet decisions and neglect the organizational work needed to put them into practice that discipline in their implementation is lax.

Some ministers work in a careless manner without giving sufficient thought to their actions. Because officials in the Ministry of Metal Industry have installed a 3,000 cubic-metre oxygen separator at the Kangson Steel Plant without having made detailed calculations, the situation is such that the separator is almost always standing idle. If it had been installed at the Hwanghae Iron Works, instead of the

Kangson Steel Plant, it would be used very effectively at present.

Unsystematic working methods on the part of officials of this ministry can also be seen in the fact that although they constructed a seamless steel pipe shop with a capacity of 50,000 tons, they took no steps to provide it with spare parts, with the result that it is incapable of working up to its capacity because it has run short of these parts not many years after its construction. State Planning Commission officials are also largely responsible for this situation.

Another defect to be found amongst ministers and other officials in charge of guiding the economy is the tendency to avoid responsibility for their work. It is said that at present some officials do not give rapid decisions on the problems raised by subordinate units for fear of being punished. If officials commit errors in the course of their work, they may be punished for them. Punishments are always aimed at educating people to work properly and at rectifying their shortcomings; they are not intended to spoil people. Shirking responsibility for work from fear of punishment is neither the trait of a Party member nor the attitude of a revolutionary towards his work.

Some ministers not only work irresponsibly, but also act according to their own ideas, giving little heed to Cabinet instructions. They should not consider themselves to be special beings. The Party appointed you to ministerial posts with the expectation that you would implement Party policies efficiently and work in a responsible manner for the good of the country and the people. We do not need the kind of minister who does not implement Party and Cabinet decisions nor follows the Cabinet's instructions carefully or who tries to accept no responsibility for his work.

If we permit such unmethodical practices as being perfunctory in carrying out Party and Cabinet decisions and acting at one's own discretion without following directions from the Cabinet, the state cannot fulfil its functions smoothly. We must wage a keen battle against undisciplined and irresponsible practices which are to be found amongst ministers.

Another major defect which appears in the work of ministers is that

they do not depend on local Party organizations nor mix widely amongst the producing masses.

At present, no ministers meet chief secretaries or officials of the economic departments of the provincial Party committees to inquire about the state of affairs at the factories and the work of personnel under their control or attend meetings of factory Party committees or Party cells to listen to the opinions of the masses. This shows that ministers work in a bureaucratic manner without relying on Party organizations and the masses.

If they are to get to know the individual conditions at lower units, ministers should visit factories and attend their Party committee meetings frequently. The Party committee of a factory consists not only of its senior officials but also shop managers, workteam leaders, workers, working people's organization officials, and hard-core Party members from various sectors. Therefore, if ministers attend committee meetings and hear what is discussed, they will obtain detailed information about production problems, ways of solving them and the work methods and styles of senior personnel at each factory. With a view to educating junior officials and explaining and bringing Party policies home to the masses, ministers should participate often in factory Party committee meetings and establish constant contact with the masses.

At present, however, some officials do not mix with the masses, conducting ineffectual tours, and work in the manner of a dictator, not knowing the real conditions in the lower units. Even if they do visit factories, they listen only to the words of the managers or chief engineers, instead of those of the workers. What is even worse, they believe whopping lies invented by their subordinates, and use them when reporting to the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet.

Unless these defects which are prevalent amongst ministers are corrected, it is impossible to improve the work of the Cabinet, ministries and other bodies in charge of guiding the economy, nor is it possible to carry out the economic policy of the Party.

In order to improve the work of the Cabinet and ministries it is

imperative for the Cabinet members including ministers to observe the existing order of work strictly.

First of all, they must establish discipline in carrying out the decisions of the Party and the Cabinet. The Cabinet is an executive body to give effect to Party policy, and a Cabinet decision is a legal document for the implementation of that policy. Every member of the Cabinet is in duty bound to implement its decisions to the full. Needless to say, before a decision is adopted at a Cabinet meeting, they can express their views fully and discuss it. But once it is adopted they must carry it out unconditionally. If a problem then arises which calls for an alteration to be made, it should be brought to a Cabinet meeting and discussed again before a new decision is adopted.

When Party and Cabinet decisions are adopted the ministries must take steps for their implementation without delay and report this to the Cabinet, and the Cabinet Secretariat should always supervise and press them to put these decisions into effect. This supervision and pressure is a duty of the Cabinet Secretariat. It should regularly find out how ministries execute Party and Cabinet decisions and report it to the Premier and the Presidium of the Cabinet.

The ordinances and directives of ministries must be examined and approved by the Cabinet Secretariat before they are sent to the lower units, but if there is any urgency, a ministerial ordinance or directive should be issued first and reported to the Secretariat later. If a ministerial ordinance or directive conflicts with Party and Cabinet decisions or state laws, the Secretariat must cancel it.

Ministers should make it a rule to obtain the approval of the Cabinet before they deal with alterations to the production plan, changes of the production indices, the disposition of state property and other issues which are of national importance, or relate to other sectors. From now onwards, ministries must refrain from doing things arbitrarily—changing production indices or altering the state plan at their discretion.

Organizations in charge of economic management must set up a proper work system.

As far as the work system between the minister, vice-ministers and management bureau directors is concerned, the vice-ministers are aides to the minister, and the directors are each responsible for a ministerial office. Therefore, they are subordinate to the minister in work, and not to vice-ministers. The directors must report their work, in principle, to the minister and organize and carry on their work according to his instructions.

The economic departments of the Party Central Committee are held responsible for inspecting the implementation of Party policy by ministries and bureaus. However, they have no authority to give orders and instructions to ministers. They should, when ministries show any failing in carrying out Party policy, have it rectified through the ministerial Party committees concerned.

Ministers must work in close cooperation with local Party organizations. They should inform the provincial Party committees concerned of alterations to production assignments or new economic tasks given to their subsidiary factories and enterprises which are under the guidance of local Party organizations, and of new measures adopted by their ministries to carry through a Party or Cabinet decision.

The order of work I have spoken about today is not new; it is one which was established a long time ago and has been enforced ever since. Ministers should strictly observe this national order and maintain discipline in carrying out Party and Cabinet decisions and state laws, thus achieving greater successes in socialist economic construction.

Now I should like to refer to some problems concerning economic work.

We must secure reserves of materials for the use of the Cabinet in order to bring the national economic plan to a successful conclusion.

This year many sectors of the national economy have suffered considerably because they were not supplied with materials as planned. This failure to provide materials can be attributed to the tense situation created in the country, rather than to bad planning. Following

the *Pueblo* incident, our Party adopted a number of measures to increase the country's defence capabilities in order to cope with the current situation, and ensured that large quantities of materials were directed to unplanned projects.

Needless to say, this is an exceptional and temporary phenomenon; it cannot be regarded as something which happens every year. However, we cannot claim that this will never happen again in our country which is in direct confrontation with the enemy and notices appreciable changes in the situation. We must be fully prepared to advance the national economy steadily, no matter what contingency might arise in the future.

If we have steel, cement, timber and some kinds of machinery and nothing else, we can carry out any urgent construction work. So I think it a good idea to set aside, out of our monthly output, a certain percentage of steel, cement, timber and several other important materials as well as machinery and equipment, as reserves for Cabinet use so that they can be made available in case of national urgency.

In the course of economic construction, we may be confronted by unplanned matters concerning the improvement of the people's living standards and other unexpected issues. In such cases, if it has a stock of materials in reserve, the Cabinet will be able to use them effectively. If it does not provide them, it will be obliged, when an urgent task arises, to transfer materials from other sectors to the project, which could cause disorder in the supply of materials.

Reserves of materials for Cabinet use should include only a few kinds of important materials, machinery and equipment, such as steel, cement, timber, nonferrous metals, cables, machine tools and lorries; they need not contain anything else. These reserves should be built up in goods, each by a fixed percentage of their monthly output, and put to use only on the instructions of the Premier and the decisions of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. Even the Commission of Materials Supply has no right to control these reserves.

Putting materials aside as reserves for Cabinet use should not cause anxiety about stockpiling them. It would be a good idea to check them



every quarter of a year and transfer the surplus to other sectors which need them, after altering their numbers in the materials supply plan.

At present this supply plan is approved by the Cabinet Presidium every quarter, but from now onwards it must be approved every month before it is put into effect. The plan has been compiled quarterly, although materials are not supplied three months ahead of use, so various problems arise during that period, and the Cabinet transfers materials from one place to another to meet its urgent needs. If the Cabinet continues to work in this way, the materials supply plan will become unimportant and the Commission of Materials Supply will exist only in name. Since it is impossible to supply materials three months in advance of their being used, the plan should be drawn up monthly and not quarterly.

The commission should compile the materials supply plan for the following month by the middle of each month and have it approved by the Presidium of the Cabinet, so as to provide materials in conformity with it.

Drafting this plan each month does not imply any change in the policy that materials should be supplied three months ahead of use. Raw materials like iron ore and limestone which are used only by the sectors concerned, should be supplied three months ahead of use in accordance with the existing practice. Steel, machine tools and other important materials and items of equipment should be supplied as approved by the monthly plan because they are not provided three months in advance. But, in any event, this is a temporary measure.

From next January onwards, you should make certain of reserves of materials for Cabinet use and enforce the policy that the materials supply plan is submitted to the Cabinet Presidium every month before it is carried out.

The provincial people's committees should establish building-material production centres so as to undertake the construction of rural houses, schools, local industry factories and other similar buildings by their own efforts.

Large-scale rural construction is essential to eliminate the

differences between towns and villages and achieve the complete victory of socialism. We have many construction projects in country areas. We must build dwelling houses, schools and other cultural establishments as well as various kinds of industrial facilities. Within a few years we shall be producing 500,000 tons of fruit annually, and this will require the construction of storehouses. And as our grain production increases rapidly, we shall have to build good, modern warehouses for that purpose.

But local construction cannot be carried on properly if it is treated as a part of the state plan, as it is now, with the construction of central industries. If rural housing construction and other local projects are incorporated with those of central industrial construction, the major effort will, as a matter of course, be directed to the construction of central industry factories, with local construction decreasing in consequence.

It is impossible for the State Planning Commission and the Cabinet, while remaining in the capital, to plan large numbers of local construction projects, including the building of dwelling houses, bathhouses, creches and barbershops in rural communities, nor is it possible for them to give direction to them. Therefore, local construction must be carried out under the construction plans drawn up by local people's committees.

From now onwards local construction must be undertaken after the provincial people's committee has adopted the local construction plan under the guidance of the corresponding Party committee and with the approval of the Cabinet. It is advisable to include in this plan the construction of rural houses, cultural and welfare establishments such as schools, bathhouses, barbershops, and local industry factories, as well as the improvement of medium and small rivers and the building of bridges.

Planning local construction by the provincial people's committee does not run counter to the policy of unified planning. Planning is not unified only when the State Planning Commission controls everything directly. The basic requirement of unified planning is to ensure

centralized and unified direction over the economy. On this basis, it fully conforms with the policy of unified planning that the provincial people's committee prepares the local construction plan and carries it out with the approval of the Cabinet.

If provinces carry out local construction on their own, they should each establish building-material production centres. Without these centres they cannot undertake local construction by themselves. Each province ought to construct a cement factory with an annual production capacity of 50,000-100,000 tons to meet its demand for cement which is necessary for local construction.

Provinces must also increase tree planting and so create solid bases for timber production. Only by doing this can they build houses and schools on their own and undertake other construction as they need. Because of a lack of timber, we are now unable to begin further construction which would otherwise be possible.

If they are to provide timber for themselves, provinces must each plant trees over an area of approximately 1,000 hectares every year, according to plan. This is not such a difficult task for them to do. Only when each cooperative farm in the province plants trees on an area of several hectares, will it be possible to plant a total of 1,000 hectares. State bodies and enterprises in the province should also participate in afforestation. In particular, paper mills, fruit farms and other factories and enterprises which use great amounts of timber should plant trees extensively, so as to produce raw materials for paper production and planks for making apple boxes from the forests created by their own efforts, without obtaining supplies of timber from the state.

In the course of afforestation we should plant only rapidly-growing trees such as poplar, plane and acacia. These fast-growing trees can be used as timber in eight to ten years after they have been planted. If it is accepted that a tree produces one cubic metre of timber, 300,000 cubic metres of timber will be produced from 1,000 hectares if 300 trees are planted per hectare. So, if each province plants 1,000 hectares of trees annually, it can obtain 300,000 cubic metres of timber every year after eight to ten years. With that amount of timber, provinces are well able

to undertake local construction for themselves. Chief secretaries of provincial Party committees and chairmen of provincial people's committees should take charge of afforestation and pursue it energetically.

Provinces must develop and use the building materials found in their local areas. You should not consider using only cement tiles or galvanized iron sheets for roofing when building houses. Galvanized iron sheets, for instance, are urgently needed in central industries and for many other sectors, so we cannot provide them to local areas as well. Provinces should try to use roofing materials which are available in their regions.

North Hwanghae Province, for example, should make greater use of natural slate which is plentiful in its own area as a roofing material. Natural slate roofs are weatherproof and last a long time. In such areas as Ryanggang and Jagang Provinces, which have large quantities of trees, it is preferable to use wooden tiles.

We should increase the role of regional planning commissions.

The aim of setting up the regional planning commissions is to achieve better unified and detailed planning. The commissions should play the role of directing and controlling factories, enterprises and cooperative farms in the appropriate areas so as to compile accurate plans in keeping with the requirements of Party policy and then carry them out efficiently, and ensure that these plans are correctly integrated.

Because the role of the commissions is important in carrying out unified and detailed planning, this summer I went to South and North Hamgyong Provinces and spoke about the need to increase this role. But they still fail to carry out their duties properly.

Because of their incorrect activities, the details of plans are not properly integrated, which leads to many shortcomings in economic work. Let me cite the transport problem as an example. The practice of retransporting raw and other materials continues to occur. In some areas they send cooking oil produced in their county to other localities and bring cooking oil from another county for the use of their own

people. At present rural inhabitants are not supplied with fish on a basis of equality because of incorrect detailed planning.

It can be said that the regional planning commission has discharged its duty only when it has worked out a correct production plan as well as a proper commodity circulation plan so that the people will be provided with goods fairly. At present, however, the commission is failing to play this role as it should.

In order to enhance this role the State Planning Commission should improve its direction, while at the same time provincial Party committees should give direct assistance to the regional planning commissions in their work, with a correct understanding of planning. If such a practice as retransporting becomes apparent because of incorrect planning, provincial Party committees should offer criticism and rectify the matter rapidly.

But provincial Party committees must not instruct regional planning commissions what they should do in the matter of planning. The plan compiled by any one of these commissions is a plan in conformity with the system of unified planning, for which the Cabinet and the State Planning Commission are accountable to the Party.

The provincial Party committee is well aware of the state of equipment and the manpower situation in factories and enterprises within the province, but not of the general problems which arise in production, including the demand for products on a national scale and the conditions of supplying raw and other materials. Therefore, the committee is incapable of instructing the regional planning commission to lower or raise the indices in its plan. If it revises the plan freely, provincialism and departmentalism will persist and, accordingly, the objectivity of the plan would not be assured.

Our Party's policy on unified planning is aimed at eliminating provincialism and departmentalism in economic construction. They are obstacles in the way of building communism. When these are tolerated in planning, the balance between accumulation and consumption and between various branches of the national economy will not be maintained nor will socialist economic construction be

carried out properly. If we are to succeed in the building of socialism and communism, we must do away with them in economic construction and carry through the requirements of the economic laws of socialism.

Provincial Party committees must refrain from meddling in the work of regional planning commissions. If they have any grievances against the plan or have found any flaws in it, they must submit them to the State Planning Commission and the Cabinet or to a Party organization to be corrected.

The work of those institutions dealing with statistics must be improved.

Socialism is, so to speak, statistics and planning. Without statistics, planning is impossible and, in turn, without planning it is impossible to build socialism.

It is as important to ensure objectivity in statistical work as it is in planning work. Only when objectivity is assured in statistics can the state compile accurate plans and give scientific direction to the economy.

To be objective in statistical work, it is necessary to put the institutions dealing with statistics under a unified system.

The statistics agency in each province is now subordinate both to the Central Statistics Bureau and the provincial people's committee, but there is no necessity for it to be attached to the latter. Although the agency belongs to the provincial people's committee at present, it is only for form's sake. Since the statistics issued by this agency are mainly on centrally-controlled industries, the provincial people's committee chairman has little interest in them and does not bother to read daily statistical reports. Therefore, the statistics agency must be separated from the provincial people's committee and placed under a unified system as a state statistics organization. In this way the agency in each province will conduct its statistical work in keeping with the unified system and its staff will only lead their Party life under the control of a local Party organization.

The provincial Party committee should limit itself to the direction

of Party life by the staff members of the provincial statistics agency and refrain from meddling in its statistical work. If local Party organizations interfere in its work, the objectivity of statistics will not be guaranteed nor will the agency play its proper role. Some local Party organizations are said to ask the relevant agencies to overstate statistics on their rice production. This sort of practice must cease.

The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee intends to examine the work of statistics institutions in due course. There are some theoretical problems on the statistical work in a socialist society, which need to be solved, as well as some other matters to be settled in mechanizing statistical calculations. Because the volume of work at statistics institutions is increasing swiftly with the rapid development of the country's economy and the expansion of the economic scale, you must adopt measures for using machines in statistical work.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to some problems in foreign trade.

We must restrict the selling of steel to other countries.

At present there is a shortage of steel because a large quantity of it is exported; therefore, machine factories are not operating at full capacity. We should not sell steel as a material; we should, instead, think of making machines of steel for export. Countries with an underdeveloped industry have to sell unprocessed steel, but why should our country, which has built up a machine industry, sell it as a material? We must operate our machine factories normally even if it means that we have to import steel. Our failure to run our machine factories normally because of the lack of steel, while we are selling it to other countries, shows that our officials do not know how to manage the economy.

From now onwards we should only sell small quantities of steel to assist newly independent countries in their industrial construction and barter a little with a few countries to obtain the raw materials which we need. We must not export it if that means stopping the operation of our machine industry. We should make it a principle to sell steel to other countries only after the needs of our machine industry have been met.

At present, we cannot produce more steel and machinery, which we could otherwise do, because of the shortage of pig iron; so we must sell as little pig iron as possible.

Instead of selling only small quantities of steel and pig iron, we must strive to process large quantities of raw materials for export. Selling raw materials, instead of processing them, is a remnant of our former one-sided colonial economy. It is high time to do away with this. We should organize work along the lines of producing and selling large quantities of different kinds of goods and mechanical products manufactured from domestic raw and other materials.

We must endeavour to produce and sell large quantities of cement.

Our country has inexhaustible limestone and anthracite deposits. If these are made into cement for export, we can earn a tremendous amount of foreign currency. Because we have not yet discovered crude oil in our country we pay great sums of foreign currency for it every year. However, we should not attempt to earn the money to do this by selling steel and agricultural products. We should solve the oil problem by way of producing and exporting vast quantities of cement.

Many countries at present want cement. A large number of countries in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and other parts of the world ask us to sell them cement. If we only sell 500,000 tons of cement, we can buy about 10,000 tons of cotton; if we weave this into various kinds of fabric and sell it to other countries, we can import as much crude oil as we use during a whole year in our country.

It is not difficult to increase cement production by 500,000 tons. We have the bases for cement production and the experience. If we build two additional 250,000-ton calcining kilns, we can produce 500,000 tons of cement. It is also no problem to buy cotton and weave it into cloth. Many countries want to sell cotton and some wish to barter cotton for cement. All we have to do is to build several more textile mills and install weaving machines there. The Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 and the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries must manufacture the necessary machines and equipment so



as to construct more cement factories and textile mills quickly.

We must not export nonferrous metals in the raw state.

We have so far exported considerable amounts of nonferrous metals unprocessed; but if we had processed them before export, we could have earned more foreign currency. We should adopt measures for processing nonferrous metals as soon as possible so that we do not sell unprocessed copper, lead, zinc and other nonferrous metals.

In order to process nonferrous metals we must immediately build the enamel-coated wire and battery factories which are included in the construction plan. I hear that no sites have yet been decided upon for these factories. It is preferable to build the enamel-coated wire factory near the Pyongyang Electric Wire Factory or the Pyongyang Electric Appliances Plant, and set up the battery factory at a suitable place in Phyongchon District, Pyongyang. If these factories are built in Phyongchon District, there will be no housing problem, nor will there be any problem with heating, in particular, because the thermal power station is near at hand.

Next year we must launch a determined campaign to build cement, textile and nonferrous-metal processing factories so that we can bring about a change in foreign exports.

An energetic attempt must be made to replace import materials by our own products.

At present we import such materials as silicon steel sheets, stainless steel pipes and insulators, but if we work a little harder, we shall be able to produce any amount of these ourselves. We should endeavour to do so.

We should also work hard to produce our own light metals. They are widely used. Because they are in short supply we are unable to make those machines which we could do for ourselves. Because we import aluminium, we must build an aluminium factory at all costs.

If officials in the metallurgical and machine industries undertake this task with determination and themselves produce silicon steel sheets, stainless steel pipes, insulators, bearings and some other items which are now imported from other countries, they can save a large

amount of foreign currency and bring about a revolution in machine production.

If we are to export machines, we must make them so that they look good and are of high quality. The truck engines which we are now manufacturing are good and our workers' technical and workmanship levels are high, but the lorries themselves are crude and look ugly because of the failure to provide good steel plates. We must import a certain quantity of cold-rolled steel plates so as to improve the external appearance of lorries. Only by doing this shall we be able to induce foreigners to buy them.

The practice of giving additional orders after trade contracts have been made with other countries must cease. At present ministries request us to issue additional orders, saying that they need one thing or another in greater quantities after the contracts with other countries have already been signed. They must not do so.

Even if we are able to place supplementary orders of what we need with other countries, we shall not obtain it in time. Because socialist countries run a planned economy, they have to alter their national economic plans if they are to fulfil our additional orders. We cannot expect other countries to produce our additional orders by altering their national economic plans. Therefore, supplementary orders give them a bad impression, and we do not always obtain what we need.

In order to do away with such practices, ministries must tell the State Planning Commission, when working out the trade plan for the following year, what items they will have to import. The commission, for its part, must investigate the details of what ministries have proposed, before including them in the trade plan. If some items have been omitted from the plan or have not been contracted for with other countries for one reason or another, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade should inform the ministries concerned quickly. This is the only way in which the ministries will be able to take the necessary measures.

When you have to import any materials or equipment for an urgent reason after trade contracts have been made, you should not attempt to

give supplementary orders for them; you should go directly to the foreign markets and buy them with foreign currency. Our banks should keep a fixed amount of foreign currency in reserve for this purpose.

The export plan for each month should be carried out without fail.

We ought not to ask other countries for what we are obtaining from them while failing to provide them on time with what has been specified in the contracts. If we do not supply other countries on schedule with what we promised, they might be unwilling to give us coking coal and crude oil, for instance. Therefore, we must not fail to fulfil our contracts with other countries every month.

If we have made a contract to barter steel for coking coal and crude oil, we have to supply it. It is advisable to use the steel manufactured in the first and the last ten days of each month for domestic production and to allocate what is produced in the middle ten days to export. This will enable us to meet the needs of different sectors of the national economy for steel and carry out our export plan.

# **ON INCREASING THE FUNCTION AND ROLE OF FINANCE IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION**

**Talk at a Consultative Meeting of Financial Workers**

*October 31, 1968*

Finance in a socialist society supplies funds in order to balance reproduction on an enlarged scale, develop production steadily at a high rate and systematically improve the people's standard of living, while distributing the bulk of the gross social product and of the national income to all sectors of the national economy.

The socialist state thus controls the management of institutions and enterprises. This financial control contributes greatly to the rational use of manpower and materials, to the fulfilment or overfulfilment of the plan, to the systematic growth of state savings and to the development of socialist ownership in all sectors of the national economy.

Therefore, the senior officials in charge of state and economic bodies and the management personnel of enterprises must pay close attention to increasing the function and role of socialist finance.

## **1. ON SOME PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT**

If they are to manage the socialist finances properly and implement the financial policy of our Party correctly, financial workers must

establish our Party's monolithic ideological system. As the Political Programme of the Government of the Republic has pointed out with great emphasis, we must establish Juche and adhere to the line of independence in all spheres. If we are to advance further, we must solve all problems of the revolution and construction by our own efforts. The financial sector, like other sectors, must establish the Party's monolithic ideological system and keep firmly to the Juche stand. This is the way to manage finances properly.

Financial affairs must be dealt with in accordance with our Juche idea—the absolutely correct Marxist-Leninist guiding principle of the Korean revolution—and with our Party's policy, an application of this idea; and finances must be managed strictly in keeping with the Taean work system established by our Party.

Only when you manage the finances by equipping yourselves with our Party's monolithic ideology and by establishing Juche, can your financial management faithfully serve our revolution and construction. You must not look up to other countries by being affected with flunkeyism and forfeiting Juche. The financial sector must reject flunkeyism and thoroughly prevent the infiltration of revisionism.

Recently, I learned that certain people were going to raise the prices of goods. I cannot understand why. A steady price reduction in a socialist society for the systematic promotion of the material and cultural welfare of the people is a phenomenon governed by law. So we cannot say that it is normal to raise the prices of goods. A certain country is introducing free enterprise and the decentralization of economic management by which local authorities and enterprises draw up plans and dispose of profits as they please. This is, in the long run, equivalent to the capitalist method of economic management.

A socialist society must be governed by socialist economic laws. Otherwise, it is impossible to build socialism successfully. The economy in a socialist society must always be managed by the socialist method, as required by the laws of the socialist economy. If it adopts a capitalist method of economic management, the socialist economy may go bankrupt.

Now I am going to talk about some matters of principle, which arise in managing the socialist finances in conformity with socialist economic laws and in the interests of our revolution and construction.

Firstly, the national income must be distributed rationally so as to balance saving and expenditure.

Saving and expenditure in a socialist society are closely related. Saving in this society aims at improving the people's future standard of living, whereas expenditure is required to meet immediate needs. Establishing a proper relationship between them means rationally integrating the matter of accelerating socialist economic construction with that of raising the people's standard of living. It also means correctly balancing the interests of the whole of society and the personal interests of the working people, the interests of the future and those of the present. We should spend while saving, and we should save while spending. If we neglect saving and overstress spending, we shall be unable to carry on reproduction on an enlarged scale; if we emphasize saving too much and neglect spending, we shall be unable to meet the immediate needs of the people. So we must balance them in such a way as to increase saving quickly and as a matter of priority, and steadily augment expenditure for the people. This is very important in planning the national economy and in financial work. Balance between saving and expenditure is not, of course, immutable. It undergoes constant changes, and it is natural that it should do so. The point is how to maintain this balance in a planned manner to suit the level of the nation's economic development and in accordance with the political and economic tasks set forth by the Party during a given period.

A proper balance is essential in planning the national economy, and particularly in financial work. Of course, saving and expenditure are not balanced by the financial sector alone, nor is this balance adjusted arbitrarily by this sector, for the socialist planned economy is an integration of all economic sectors which are closely linked with each other. But we must remember that, if the financial sector works inefficiently, balance between saving and expenditure can be disturbed

to some extent and that the planned development of the national economy can be held back.

We can say that the state plan has always maintained proper balance between saving and expenditure. Therefore, we have been able to ensure the nation's economic construction and cultural development as well as the improvement of the people's standard of living without the slightest disorder.

But in the financial sector there have, from time to time, been various deviations in balancing saving and expenditure. The attempt to raise the prices of commodities without any reason so as to meet state revenue easily, the case of having tried to lower prices without making a due estimate of the financial sources, and the suggestion to allow the workshops and workteams of enterprises to distribute all their earnings among themselves—all this shows that financial workers have not managed the question of the balance between saving and expenditure properly. We must rectify these former shortcomings in financial management as soon as possible and strive to improve balance between saving and expenditure.

Secondly, our finance must make an active contribution to the implementation of the laws of the socialist planned economy which is to make uninterrupted innovations and continuous advance.

Without such innovations and advance it would be impossible to reach the height of socialism or build a communist society.

The balance of the national economy is important, but it is even more important to maintain a high rate of economic development. The socialist economy is aimed at the steady promotion of the people's well-being by continual technical innovations and by means of a uniformly high rate of production growth. Balance must become the means of attaining this very high rate. A balance aimed at ensuring uninterrupted innovations and continuous advance can only be regarded as a balance to implement the laws of the socialist planned economy.

The duty of finance in a socialist society is to ensure financially the high rate of economic development and economic balance to achieve the high rate.

A plan must be realistic but, at the same time, it must ensure uninterrupted innovations and continuous advance and must be ambitious and dynamic. In this context, finance must also be planned in such a way as to mobilize all reserves for increased production and economy in order to ensure uninterrupted innovations and continuous advance.

Thirdly, it is important in socialist financial management to implement the socialist principle of distribution correctly.

In a socialist society the material and technical foundations are still weak and the level of the ideological consciousness of the people is relatively low. So it is impossible to distribute supplies according to need; we have no alternative but to distribute a share of the spending to each according to the work which he has done.

It is a socialist economic law to distribute according to the quantity and quality of work done. Violation of this principle may dampen the people's enthusiasm for work and hinder progress in production. We must implement the socialist principle of distribution correctly, and making an effective contribution to this is an important task of the financial sector.

These are the basic principles which you must always bear in mind and adhere to in financial management. In other words, the important task of our state finance is to ensure financially the correct implementation of the law of balance between saving and expenditure, the socialist economic law of uninterrupted innovations and continuous advance, and the socialist principle of distribution according to work done.

## **2. ON SPECIFIC TASKS OF SOCIALIST FINANCE**

The first task of socialist finance in implementing these principles is to correctly distribute or redistribute the national income to



comply with the socialist economic laws.

First of all, the Ministry of Finance, in close cooperation with the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Labour, must pay particular attention to defining wage and salary levels scientifically. Wage and salary levels should not be set too high or too low. This is simply a question of how to distribute and use the national income every year. You must first put aside the necessary savings and then decide the share to be spent for the people.

In future the Ministry of Finance, in cooperation with the State Planning Commission and the Price Assessment Commission, must give due consideration to the accurate assessment of commodity prices. If prices are set too high on the pretext of increasing savings, the real income of the people will drop and, accordingly, the balance between saving and expenditure might be destroyed. If you price goods too high in violation of the objective law, simply out of subjective desire, you might even inflict losses on the state, instead of increasing savings. In the past the Ministry of Finance tried to meet state revenues easily by raising the prices of consumer goods, with the result that consumer goods did not sell. So, at the end of each year, the state had to dispose of the unsold goods by lowering their prices, thus losing tens of millions of *won* of money. Of course, this was due partly to the inefficient allocation and supply of commodities on the part of the commercial sector. But the main reason was that prices had been assessed incorrectly. Pricing goods too high at first and then lowering them eventually can never be considered a good practice.

When told to reduce prices, you set them so low for some goods that these items run short, which eventually hampers the growth of state savings.

You must end this harmful practice. Then, you will be able to balance saving and expenditure in the distribution of the national income.

You must share out the national income correctly between individuals and society, and then redistribute it properly. The redistribution of the national income plays a large role in developing

social production and meeting the common needs of society. The financial sector must, therefore, organize not only the distribution but also the redistribution of the national income well.

To do this, it is necessary to draw up and implement the state budget properly.

If it is to do this properly, the socialist state must, first of all, increase the sources of revenue in keeping with the people-oriented character of its budget. This is important.

As you all know, state revenue consists of turnover levies, profits from the state enterprises, income taxes from the cooperatives, taxes from the people, service fees from the non-productive sector including communal amenities.

I shall not dwell on all these items of income, but only on a few important ones which need to be settled.

First, the turnover levies.

The turnover levy is a part of the real social profit which is included in the prices of consumer goods produced by state enterprises and producers' cooperatives.

So, in order to increase state revenue from the turnover levies, it is essential to raise labour productivity, lower the cost by rationalizing the production processes, and thus make a greater amount of real social profit and increase the proportion of the turnover levies which are included in the prices of goods by the amount by which profit has increased. This fully accords with the objective economic laws; and this is the basic method of increasing the national income.

How, then, do our officials deal with this matter? They do not think of rationalizing the organization of production. So they cannot lower the cost nor can they increase labour productivity, with the result that not much real social profit is actually made, and little remains of the gains when the production cost is deducted. But they tend to add exorbitant turnover levies to the cost in the assessment of prices. They are greatly mistaken. What would happen if you produce goods at a high cost and sell them by artificially adding large turnover levies to the prices in the hope of increasing state revenue? In the first place, it

violates the objective law in that it is an attempt to share out a “real profit” which has never been made and does not really exist. In the second place, it is devoid of the spirit of serving the people because it reduces their real income.

At present, there is a tendency among our officials to keep raising the prices of the few kinds of fabrics which are available, allegedly to increase state revenue, by selling those which have been produced at a high cost, instead of ensuring low-cost production. This being the case, the fabrics are so expensive that the working people cannot afford to buy large quantities of them and cannot provide their children with decent clothing, even though the per-capita output of fabrics is more than twenty metres.

If we are to increase the national income and provide our people with good clothing, we must drastically reduce the production cost of fabrics. To this end, we must mechanize and automate the textile production processes and take various other measures to increase labour productivity while at the same time mass-producing durable and attractive textiles with the minimum outlay of materials and funds. It is also necessary to increase the variety of textiles. This is the way to increase the sources of the national income and the real social profit, meet the varied needs of the people, and serve their comfort.

Let me take a few examples.

If a net curtaining for home use is made with a raised floral pattern on it, it will look attractive and save yarn, and will be cheap. But we do not produce such cloth. That is why at the moment curtains are not seen in many homes of factory and office workers. Overcoats woven with thick yarn are said to be fashionable now. This kind of cloth can be easily produced, even by our local industry factories. An overcoat made of it will be good-looking and cheap. We must produce different kinds of cheap fabrics in larger quantities for the working people. At present, only red coating is available for children. From now on, we must manufacture it in chestnut, black and various other colours.

Because of the unjustifiable actions of our officials, the prices of fabrics have kept on rising during the past few years. It is not surprising

that farmers say that fabrics are expensive.

Unless our officials correct this mistaken thinking and work attitude, it will be impossible to improve the people's standard of living rapidly.

We must do away once and for all with the idea of trying to increase state revenue by raising the prices of high-cost fabrics by the addition of large turnover levies. In order to correct the officials' unreasonable attitude to their work, we must fix the rate of turnover levies for consumer goods and establish strict discipline so as to prevent the limit's being exceeded. If the state economy can afford it in future, we shall have to set the range of turnover levies within six to seven per cent for the wholesale prices, and five per cent for the retail prices.

I am told that even foodstuffs for daily consumption including sugar and eggs, in addition to textiles, do not sell well because they are too expensive.

At present sugar has a poor sale at shops because it is too dear. On my recent visit to Hwangju I called at a shop and heard that jam and tinned fruit were not good sellers. Jam is not a very suitable item of diet for our people who live on rice, but sugar is a nutriment which is indispensable for humans, especially for children. Since sugar is produced for the people, especially for children, it is ridiculous that it does not sell well because it is too dear. I think it would be a good idea to reduce its present price of three *won* a kilogram to two *won*. Even two *won* seems a little too high, but we shall have to let it go at that this time because we cannot make too large a reduction at one time. We must reduce not only the prices of soft sugar and sweets but also those of all other foodstuffs which contain sugar—biscuits, syrup, tinned fruit, jam, condensed milk and so on.

From the second half of next year large quantities of eggs will be produced and the supply of other non-staple foodstuffs will also increase. But the purchasing power of the people is a problem.

At present ten thousand eggs are produced every day in Songnim; these are already more than enough. Four hundred hens are brought into the sheds every day, and 120,000 hens will be laying in future. If

each of them yields 220 eggs a year, the number will total 26,400,000. If the city's population is estimated at 80,000, each of them will receive 330 eggs annually—approximately one a day. In spite of the enormous yield, however, the working people cannot afford to buy as many as they want because of the high price. An egg costs 22 *jon* now. If a family of five is to buy five a day, it would cost them one *won* and ten *jon*, which means 33 *won* a month. It would be a different matter if they could live on eggs alone, but they have to buy vegetables and other foodstuffs. So they can scarcely spend 33 *won* out of their income just on eggs. Of course, we can raise wages and salaries to increase the purchasing power of the working people. Even if we raise the average income by 35 per cent, so as to increase the lowest wage or salary to some 60 *won* and the average income to the level of 100 *won* for a dual-income family, 33 *won* spent on eggs will account for one-third of their monthly income. Therefore we cannot solve the problem simply by raising wages and salaries. We must raise them and also reduce the price of eggs. Eggs should be priced on the principle of adding a small turnover levy to the cost. If we add just 2 *jon* to the cost of each egg, nine million *won* of turnover levy will go into the state treasury from the 450 million eggs which will be produced next year. This is no small sum, and it will be enough to build many factories. We should make an accurate estimate of the cost of an egg and reduce it to 12 or 13 *jon* first, and then to 10 *jon*, and make a further effort to reduce it to 7 *jon* at some time in the future.

In order to cut the price of eggs, we must continue to increase their output and reduce the cost. At the rate of a daily supply of one egg to every factory and office worker, though not to farmers, we have to produce 2,400 million a year. So we must keep on expanding egg farms. Furthermore, we must raise the rate of utilization of egg farms, eliminate waste and so cut down the cost to five *jon*. The calculation of egg production cost is said to be inaccurate at the moment. You must look into the matter carefully and get it calculated accurately. Since full-grown hens which lay eggs should be replaced every year, the expenditure on the breeding of their replacements should

naturally be included in the cost.

In conclusion, you must not think of making a large sum of money from the sale of foodstuffs. On the contrary, you ought to reduce the prices of foodstuffs in step with the increase in their availability so that they are accessible to every one. There is no need to say that the price should not be lower than the cost; the state must not suffer a financial loss in the production of foodstuffs. On the other hand, it should not try to make large profits by selling foodstuffs, nor should it regard the prices of foodstuffs as a major source of state revenue. Finance in a socialist country implies a function of using the money earned by the people for their benefit. So you cannot possibly include too high turnover levies in the prices of foodstuffs which are indispensable to the people simply because you have to increase state revenue!

The supreme principle of our Party and Government in all activities is to provide the people with a more prosperous and happier life. Senior officials of the state and economic bodies must always consider how to improve the people's standard of living and strive towards this end. You must, to all intents and purposes, increase state revenue on the basis of raising the people's living standards, not by inconveniencing them on any account. It is necessary for you to understand clearly that the whole reason for increasing state revenue is to bring a happier life to the people.

The present situation prevails because our officials do not try hard. But, if they give the matter more thought, they will be able to make life more convenient for the people while systematically increasing state revenue.

The people's present needs for various kinds of consumer goods are great, but not much of them is in stock in the shops. If we use the waste from factories and enterprises and unused materials which are lying about in local areas, we shall be able to manufacture large quantities of different kinds of consumer goods without a large financial outlay. The production of these items does not require large buildings or heavy equipment. A building half the size of a chicken plant can accommodate single-purpose machines and small items of equipment

to produce large quantities of consumer goods. It is not a big problem to find the manpower for the production of these goods. Nowadays housewives everywhere want to work at factories and ask to be given work to do.

In spite of this, our officials do not try to improve the people's standard of living. In consequence, no fine-tooth combs worth mentioning are available at present nor are there envelopes, picture postcards, diaries, coloured thread and similar things on sale. Even if women want to make Korean costumes now, they have difficulty in getting the material for a neckband, I am told. Buttons, for instance, should be produced in a variety of colours, sizes and kinds—for suits, overcoats and so on. But there are only a few kinds now. You can easily gather a large number of shells for nothing at any of our beaches, and you can produce plastic cheaply. Why can you not make large numbers of low-cost buttons? If you continue to do things as you are doing now, you cannot increase state revenue nor make life more convenient for the people.

We must introduce mechanized operations and produce large quantities and varieties of consumer goods by making wider use of waste and unused materials and locally available natural resources. In this way we shall, in fact, create the national income, increase state revenue and take active steps to improve the people's standard of living.

You must not consider it a nuisance to increase the variety and sizes of goods. You must regard it as an important task of improving the people's living standards and ensure that different kinds of consumer goods are produced in great quantities and sold to the working people at low prices. This task cannot be achieved by holding a single meeting; it requires meticulous organization. In addition, you must determine the kinds, sizes and amount of items to be produced, on the basis of a scientific survey of the people's needs rather than through your subjective desires.

To increase state revenue while meeting the needs of the people, you could produce various items of consumer goods, but, in doing this, you must concentrate mainly on increasing the production of metalware.

The production of razors and various kinds of knives should be increased as well as that of different kinds of fishing tackle, including reels, for the market.

From now on, refrigerators must also be mass-produced for the people. Until a few years ago the supplies of non-staple foodstuffs were not large enough to need to be stored in refrigerators in homes, but now meat, fresh fish, eggs, fruit and similar food items are available in larger quantities, and they need to be stored for a long time. If you make radish cutters for the market, the housewives will buy them. Some time ago I saw the prototype of a radish cutter. It was very serviceable and also capable of pressing noodles or grinding bones. Kerosene cooking stoves and washing machines should also be mass-produced for home use. One Sunday, on my way to Samsok District, I saw soldiers doing their laundry by a riverside, and it was unsightly. We must build a washing-machine factory as soon as possible to produce large numbers of these machines for the people. If you make good refrigerators, washing machines and oil stoves for export, you can earn foreign currency. We should go on producing a large number of sewing machines and bicycles and also mass-produce various kinds of timepieces—wall and table clocks and wrist and pocket watches. It would be a good idea to import a watch plant.

It is necessary to produce various office supplies made of metal. At present there is a great demand for ball-point pens but the output is small. If the task is given to the disabled soldiers' factories, they can make as many as are required. So their production must be organized. We must also produce a large number of typewriters and electronic calculators for office use. At the same time, we must develop the paper industry so as to solve the problem of paper which is indispensable in carrying out the cultural revolution.

It is also necessary to mass-produce low-cost radio and TV sets. I spoke about this at the 20th anniversary function of the establishment of Kim Chaek University of Technology, and I also intend to discuss the matter with the workers of the communication equipment plant and the electron tube factory in the future. Anyhow, from now on, we must



produce large quantities of electronic instruments so as to make the people's life more refined.

The optical instrument factory must increase the output of spectacle lenses and improve their quality. It should also produce binoculars, telescopes and opera glasses.

In addition to the mass production of metalware, we must increase the output of different kinds of plastic goods by developing the plastic processing industry.

We must ensure that the production of metalware and different kinds of consumer goods is organized as a campaign involving all the people. A metalware factory should be extended in Songnim, and the production of metalware should also be increased in Kangson and Kiyang. We have built a knitwear mill in Kangso County, but we should say that, in fact, metalware production suits the local conditions there. The city of Kim Chaek will also be able to manufacture a great deal of metalware. Just as Hamhung is a centre of medium and small chemical factories, so the city of Kim Chaek should be a centre for metalware factories since it has a large steel plant.

Next, we must increase the income from the profits gained by state enterprises so as to expand the sources of state revenue.

The profits from state enterprises, in addition to the turnover levies, constitute a major part of state revenue as a form of distribution of the real social profit made by the socialist state enterprises and institutions.

If we are to increase the profits from state enterprise in the state budget, we must examine the enterprises which do not cover their expenses, reduce the number of such enterprises and ensure that all sectors and units practise maximum economies and manage their affairs most effectively.

If the national income is boosted by increasing the variety and output of consumer goods and by making maximum economies, the turnover levies and the profits from state enterprises will increase. Then, by drawing on them, we can not only expand production but also raise the wages and salaries of factory and office workers, reduce the

prices of goods and take other measures to improve the working people's standard of living.

We must also increase the income from the fees for amenity services so as to increase the sources of state revenue.

As you all know, service fees are a form of redistributing part of individuals' incomes and of including them in the state budget so as to meet the general needs of the whole of society. In a socialist society, the redistribution of the national income through the state budget will, of course, gradually lose its significance with the growth of the income from the socialist enterprises. Particularly in our country today, the bulk of state revenue is obtained from the savings within the socialist state enterprises, and tax revenue from the population accounts for very little. Now that state savings alone can provide all the funds for economic construction and cultural development, we are able to abolish tax once and for all. We have already done away with the agricultural tax in kind, in conformity with the policy published in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, and in the near future we are going to abolish income tax collected from the people. Then, our people will be a happy people who will be the first in history to be free from all taxes.

Here, the question is how to assess the fees for amenity services.

The fees for amenity services in a socialist society are fundamentally different from those in a capitalist society which seek an additional exploitation of the working people. In a socialist society service fees are paid to meet the need for funds for the non-productive sectors which do not contribute to the national income. The redistribution of the national income through the payment of service fees provides the income for the workers of non-productive sectors, and so the needs of the state which cannot be met by individual charges, can be met by society as a whole. So the payment of service fees by the people is, after all, for their own benefit.

In a socialist society it would be too much for the state to bear such a burden, although it would be a different matter in a communist society where the productive forces are so highly developed that each

works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. In fact, now that our people are going to be free from all sorts of taxes, it will not be a very heavy burden for them to pay the fees for amenity services. Moreover, if the state takes even this burden upon itself, the people, who are not yet fully armed with communist ideology, will tend to depend on the state for everything, become indifferent to the economic life of the country and their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance will become dull. At present, many people seem to think that everything is free in a socialist society, and ignore the state budget. They are very much mistaken.

We must rectify this mistaken attitude as soon as possible and ensure that certain amounts of service fees are paid by expanding the network of communal amenities so as to increase state revenue and serve the people's comfort in every way.

The commercial sector must increase the number of repair shops, laundries, barbers' shops, beauty parlours, bathhouses and various other communal amenities. If these facilities are increased, it will be beneficial in all respects—in increasing the per-family income by giving women an opportunity to free themselves from chores and take jobs and in increasing state revenue while making the people's lives more convenient. The rooms on the ground floor of apartment houses, now used as offices, should be vacated for communal amenities to occupy them.

Things are as they stand now because the workers in this sector do not make any effort, but there is a great deal of work still to do to make life more convenient for the people. It would be a good idea to organize a reading room and offer new books to read at a small fee. If a "night of literature and art" or a "concert of famous singers" is organized in a park, a lot of people will come to see it. I was told that in a certain country an admission fee is charged for entering a park and another fee for any performance which is given there. It is unnecessary to charge a fee for entering a park as in that country, but it would not be a bad idea to get the spectators to pay for an art performance. Such a fee would be a small sum, but it would amount to a sizable income if performances

are organized everywhere. It would be a good idea to organize a pleasure-boat service on the Taedong River and introduce a cost-accounting system, instead of a budgetary system, in the management of zoos. If you run a shop and a restaurant at the zoo and sell picture postcards, souvenirs and special dishes made from by-products from the zoo, you will be able to cover costs easily. You will have to charge for films also, rather than show them free. Soft drinks must be sold on a busy street or in public places, but no such things are on sale now. Our country abounds in various kinds of fruits and wild fruits including the blueberry. If you take some interest in the matter, you will be able to offer for sale such things as fruit syrup as needed. Not only fruit syrup but also sweet cold water, milk and bean soup should be sold everywhere.

Commercial workers must always consider how to increase state revenue while providing amenities for the people.

We must correct the imperfections which have become apparent in implementing the Party's financial policy, discard the old method and make a fresh start. We must try to increase state revenue while opposing waste, and must give a great deal of thought to how to increase earnings and must calculate how much they will be.

If you are to implement the socialist state budget properly, it is important to expand the sources of income in many ways and also to disburse and use state money properly.

As you all know, the expenditure of a socialist state budget is composed of spendings on the national economy, on social and cultural measures, on state administration and on national defence.

Of course, this expenditure is not something to be dealt with by the Ministry of Finance alone; it is something to be settled through discussion and cooperation with the organizations concerned. Expenditure on the national economy, on social and cultural measures, on state administration and on national defence are all determined and planned in accordance with the Party's economic policy; they must be subordinated, as a part of the state plan, to the planning of the national economy.

The duty of the Ministry of Finance is to ensure financially the planned development of the national economy by depending firmly on the Party's economic policy. You can only talk about any financial income or expenditure in terms of this policy.

Expenditure on the national economy occupies the most important place in the expenditure of the state budget. These spendings are a factor for enlarging socialist production steadily and for increasing the national income rapidly. The financial sector must give precedence to spendings for the implementation of our Party's basic line of economic construction on giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture, and for the consolidation of the foundations of the independent national economy.

You must also consider expenditure for social and cultural measures to increase the material welfare and cultural level of the members of society, and must disburse a suitable sum for state administration and defence buildup. Especially in the situation where we are in confrontation with US imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction, which is stepping up aggressive moves against the northern half of Korea with every passing day, we must never make light of expenditure on the buildup of our defences, so that we can carry out the decisions of the Party Conference on undertaking economic construction and defence building simultaneously.

The imperialist countries appropriate an enormous amount on military expenditure so as to ensure the maximum accumulation of wealth by the monopoly capitalists, militarization of the economy, preparations for aggressive war, and the expansion of the fascist ruling machines of oppression. But we disburse a large sum of money to increase defence power to ensure the security of the socialist motherland and safeguard the revolutionary gains from imperialist aggression. So it is natural that we appropriate a large sum of money for defence, and this is in the fundamental interests of our revolution and construction.

In addition, the Ministry of Finance must audit and control financial affairs strictly, tighten financial discipline, eliminate all wasteful practices and ensure maximum economies. It must also ensure a

smooth circulation of funds and prevent them from being uselessly frozen and organize an effective use of all idle cash. These are the tasks of the financial sector.

By implementing these tasks you will be able to ensure saving and expenditure, give a strong impetus to economic and defence construction and promote the people's welfare simultaneously and provide a sure financial guarantee for uninterrupted innovations and the continuous advance of our national economy, for making our national defences as strong as steel, and for a steady improvement in the people's standard of living.

In the past the Ministry of Finance interfered in the management of enterprises, insisting on the introduction of an internal accounting system. This was wrong. It need not meddle in industrial administration and in the management of enterprises.

What, then, must the financial sector do in order to manage all its affairs properly? As is the case with all other sectors, it must give complete priority to political work.

It is most important to awaken the people politically and ideologically and encourage them to mobilize all potentials and resources of their own accord. But it is very dangerous to rouse people simply by means of money; it will only degrade them, far from scoring any success in work.

When we took up arms against the Japanese imperialists in the mountains for 15 years, not a single man wanted remuneration.

The decisive factor for success in revolutionary work or in construction is the political awareness and voluntary enthusiasm of the working people who are ready to serve devotedly for the motherland and their fellow countrymen. Therefore, only when we give priority to political work so as to increase the people's communist consciousness and encourage them to voluntary enthusiasm, can we tap all reserves and possibilities and make uninterrupted innovations and continuous advance.

Putting undue stress on material incentives is a revisionist practice and it is very dangerous. As I said before, in a socialist society the

principle of distribution according to work done must, of course, be observed to the letter, and there should never be equal distribution for different work. This difference in distribution is inevitable since products are not in such wide supply as to permit distribution according to need, since the people's awareness has not yet reached the level where everybody works willingly and sincerely and since there are still differences in labour. But if you put too much emphasis on material incentives because you have to make distinctions in distribution, you will stray from the road to socialism and communism. A strict observance of the socialist principle of distribution is sufficient material stimulus. If you go beyond this limit, you will encourage selfishness among the people. The most important question in building socialism and communism is to combat selfishness which has been handed down from the old society and to increase the voluntary enthusiasm of the people. If you get in the habit of moving the people by means of money, you will, in the long run, spoil them and draw them back to capitalism.

You will be able to solve any problems if you give priority to political work so as to move people mainly by awakening them politically and ideologically and implement the socialist principle of distribution correctly.

I firmly believe that financial workers will equip themselves firmly with the Party's monolithic ideology, establish Juche thoroughly, uphold the Party's policy, strive to implement it with a high degree of revolutionary zeal and, in this way, meet the Party's expectations with credit.

## ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN THE CREATION OF REVOLUTIONARY FILMS

**Speech before Film Workers**

*November 1, 1968*

As I stress whenever I see films based on the revolutionary traditions, the most important thing in creating revolutionary films is to depict life truthfully. Only films which represent life richly and deeply are realistic and have educational value.

People enjoy the film *Five Guerrilla Brothers*—Parts One and Two—produced by the Korean Film Studio, because it depicts life accurately. The film is a skilful portrayal of the activities of young village people who belong to an underground organization, including the ways in which they train themselves to be anti-Japanese guerrillas and how they fight, taking up arms against the Japanese. The film gives a vivid picture of the many aspects of the life of the guerrillas—how they carry out information work among the people in the small towns and villages where they are stationed, and how they get along with the inhabitants. I think Part Three of this film will also prove successful, if you take care with it.

There are some unsuccessful films amongst those which deal with the revolutionary traditions. Such films show no deep understanding but are commonplace and lack details of the lives of heroes. They should have described the political, military and human aspects of the lives of revolutionaries in a detailed and truthful way, but they failed to



do so. A film which does not give a factual picture of life is dull and makes no impression on the people, so the audience does not want to see it again.

I watched a recently produced film *Ardent Love for a Comrade-in-Arms* but learned nothing from it. The story-line of this film is that a guerrilla gathers medicinal herbs, while suffering from hunger, in order to treat an injured comrade, but it does not leave much of an impression.

The *Five Guerrilla Brothers* which deals with the life of Comrade O Jung Hup also failed to depict him effectively at first. It is not as though there was nothing in his life worth showing on the screen. His life, both before and after his enlistment in the guerrilla army, deserves to be shown. He not only fought many battles against the enemy, but worked to educate the people at the guerrilla base, and during the time of Arduous March he struck out at the enemy and lived with villagers to educate them. This was not properly dealt with in the film.

Recent films dealing with the revolutionary traditions have very similar plots. Most of them deal with the Nanhutou Conference, the homeward march or some of the battles. Their stories are also very monotonous; they show guerrillas shooting and fighting the enemy, the difficult march and the enemy “punitive forces” in pursuit—that is all. This can also be said about the films on the Fatherland Liberation War. They show only scenes of young people volunteering for the services, of fighting, of marching, and of enemies running away, but there are few scenes showing vivid details of the lives of the heroes.

You would be mistaken if you thought that the anti-Japanese guerrillas did nothing but fight and march through the snow. How could these activities make up the whole of their life? Of course, it is true that they had hard-fought battles against the Japanese under difficult conditions. However, in spite of these conditions, they led a varied life. Where there is a struggle, there is life and vice versa. The anti-Japanese guerrillas used to trek through mountains and fight fierce battles against the enemy, but quite often they went down to villages and lived there in completely different circumstances. In these villages

they met people of different backgrounds, taught them to rise in the struggle or rallied them into organizations.

I should like to give an account of our unit's experience at the village of Liangshuiquanzi on the Tuman River.

Before entering the village I ordered the unit to rest in a mountain and took a man with me, both of us wearing civilian clothes, to study the situation in the village. The people there lived in dire poverty. But there was a large tile-roofed house in that village, so we went there to see what kind of house it was, and asked if we could stay overnight, introducing ourselves as travellers. A man who seemed to be a bailiff came out and refused, saying that there was an inn a little more than a mile away from the village. We asked him again so as to assess his mind. This time too he refused. Later we learned that it was a landowner's house. We left the house and found a hut where a peasant family was eating barley gruel on a mat spread in the yard. They wore shabby clothes. When we asked them if we could stay overnight, the master of the house gladly complied with our request, saying that his home was a poor one, and inviting us to share their meal, although it was a humble one. Although he lived in poverty, eating barley gruel in a hut, he treated people kindly, unlike the landlord.

Having summed up the situation in the village we sent our messenger to fetch the unit. When the unit came, the whole village gave us a hearty welcome. They told us that the house we had first visited belonged to a landlord and that he had both a breeding cow to lease and an ox which belonged to the "people's association". Meanwhile, on the unit's arrival, the landlord hurried to the company commander first and flatteringly invited him to stay at his house, and once he returned home he bustled about, ordering his servants to spread a mat and to do all kinds of things. I told the company commander to take some 50 men to the landlord's house and eat his food. We also advised or threatened the landlord not to exploit peasants, his fellow countrymen.

At that time, while staying in the village for several days, we did a great deal of political work among the villagers.

In the past the anti-Japanese guerrillas did political work among the people in all walks of life in many different ways.

They did it among the workers and peasants, the petit bourgeoisie and intellectuals. They used to make speeches and give musical and dramatic performances to crowds of people. They themselves wrote songs and composed music and plays. Their works were not very artistic, but they had a great influence on the audience because of their very high ideological qualities. Therefore, in many cases people were moved by their performance and volunteered to join the guerrilla army on the spot.

Anti-Japanese guerrillas were very efficient in convincing people by explanatory talks. These would inspire the audience with burning hatred for the enemy and stir them up to take up the revolutionary cause.

Films should not deal exclusively with battles when portraying the struggle of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. Films based on the anti-Japanese armed struggle must give a clear picture of the diverse aspects of their life, reducing the number of battle scenes somewhat.

Revolutionaries should have not only a high degree of political awareness, but also humanity. Therefore, you must not merely stress the political awareness of heroes when making revolutionary films. Over-concentration on this factor may harm the artistic qualities of the works and, on the other hand, undue emphasis on the heroes' humanity may degrade the ideological content. Films must show the political qualities and the humanity of heroes in a balanced way. This is the way to ensure a high level of ideological content and artistic skill in film production.

In portraying the life of anti-Japanese guerrillas it is important to show the process of their development into revolutionaries in a truthful way.

Films dealing with the revolutionary traditions do not truthfully show the process of heroes shaping a world outlook, and that is a defect.

A man's revolutionary outlook on the world is not shaped easily in a short space of time. People read revolutionary books, or sometimes

come across manifestations of class society and understand social contradictions, and in the course of this their class awareness increases gradually until they become resolved to fight for the working class. We can say this also from our own experience.

When we were young we witnessed many instances of Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists oppressing and exploiting the people. While doing this we made a firm resolve to crush the oppressors and exploiters for the sake of the oppressed and exploited.

One day in my middle-school years, when I was coming home after school with my comrades, I saw a capitalist beating a rickshaw-man in the street. I asked why, and was told that the reason was that the rickshaw-man had asked for more money, begging for help to earn a living, because the capitalist who had hired the man had paid too little. Instead of paying him more money, the capitalist was beating him. Though young, I was unable to hold back my surging indignation at the sight. I thought I must teach the capitalist a lesson, and my comrades and I fell upon him. Then he paid more and ran away. We told the rickshaw-man that he should fight such men.

People will become determined to work for the revolution on seeing and experiencing many repugnant and unfair practices which prevail in a class society. This process must be truthfully depicted in films.

Films on the revolutionary traditions must break away from the tendency to produce characters who are a blend of different people.

Films on the theme of the revolutionary traditions have been produced so far by combining facts about the activities and struggles of different people into one story, but you must not do this. Even the men who belonged to the same Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army became what they were through different processes. Workers and peasants became guerrillas by different means, and so did intellectuals. The precise course and content of their struggles are not identical. Nor is the channel by which each man sets out on the road of revolution. Some are committed to the cause of revolution after receiving education and guidance from revolutionary organizations, and others under the influence of prevailing conditions.

However, since our film artists create films by mixing details of the lives of different people, they have to use the same fact over and over again because they exhaust their sources of information after producing one or two films. If you do this you can never give a factual picture of a hero's evolution into a revolutionary. Therefore, you must make it a rule to produce one film based on the history of one man's struggle.

The important task of film artists today is to produce a large number of films which will contribute to revolutionizing the people in all walks of life.

In the reports to the Party Conference and to the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Republic and many other documents we clearly stated the policy of revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society. Our film art must actively assist in the implementation of this policy of our Party.

To this end, not only films about well-known revolutionaries but also those depicting the process whereby people of all levels are revolutionized should be produced in large numbers. These films should deal both with the revolutionary traditions and the present situation.

At present the Korean Film Studio produces films based only on the anti-Japanese armed struggle. Of course, this is a good thing and you must produce more such films in future. But that is not enough. You must also make films which show how the revolutionary traditions established in the crucible of the anti-Japanese armed struggle are now being carried on and developed and how new revolutionaries are growing up with their roots in these traditions. Only then can we improve the revolutionary education of our people and unite them closely behind the Party Central Committee and give the south Korean people more powerful encouragement in their revolutionary struggle.

We speak highly of the film *Soldiers' Pledge* because it skilfully portrays the process by which an anti-Japanese revolutionary fighter takes a direct part in the agrarian reform and in building up the people's armed forces after liberation and by which, under his

influence, the young men, once oppressed and maltreated, are trained to be revolutionaries. Large numbers of films like this are needed, but there are not many yet.

It is well over 20 years since our country was liberated. During this period our people have waged many difficult struggles and in the course of them a large number of people have grown up to be revolutionaries. Film artists must produce many films which give a detailed account of the process by which people of all classes and levels, including the workers, peasants and working intellectuals, have been revolutionized and trained to be revolutionaries since liberation.

The ranks of our working class have taken in a large number of former small and medium merchants and manufacturers. It is considerably more than ten years since they joined the ranks of the working class. Now we should say that they have been transformed in the course of revolutionary struggle. You must produce good films which show how workers grow into revolutionaries through the revolutionary struggle and how former small and medium merchants and manufacturers are revolutionized amongst the working class.

At present there are few films which show peasants being working-classized and trained to be revolutionaries. You must produce films of this kind which are based on the exemplary lives of the peasants.

It is particularly important to make good films which deal with the process of the revolutionization of intellectuals.

Intellectuals in a colonial and semi-feudal society are more or less revolutionary-minded and progressive. As they suffer from national oppression and discrimination by imperialists, they adopt anti-imperialist ideas and also anti-feudal ideas. So they participate in the national-liberation struggle and democratic revolution and also in the socialist revolution and construction.

Some intellectuals, of course, grope in the dark unable to find the way they should go and others waver in the course of revolutionary struggle and betray the cause because of the duality of their character. But most of them are transformed through the revolutionary struggle and fight well to the end. Their attitude towards the revolution depends

on whether or not they have a firm revolutionary outlook on the world.

Although intellectuals in a former society come from rich families, they can fight staunchly for the revolution, if they acquire the revolutionary world outlook. This is confirmed by the experience both of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and of the south Korean people's fight.

There was a young intellectual named Zhang Weihua among the youngsters who took part in the youth movement in the early years of our revolutionary activities. His father was a very rich man who had an *insam* field and a private army of several hundred soldiers. Under our influence, however, Zhang Weihua sympathized with the revolutionary movement and gradually came to support socialism. When we moved into the mountains, determined to take up arms and fight against the Japanese, he followed us to join in the revolution. But we sent him back because we thought he would be unable to withstand the hardships. Later when we met him again, he said that he did not know how to fight and asked me to teach him. So I told him that he should set up a revolutionary organization at a school or elsewhere, propagate communism and actively assist us in our revolutionary struggle. After he left us, he disseminated communism and zealously helped our revolutionary work. Operating behind the enemy lines, he worked hard to keep our forces in touch with each other, and obtained and supplied the materials which we required. When he was doing this he was informed against by a traitor and arrested by the enemy and put to cruel torture. But he kept the secret of the organization. His father bribed the police to release him, but he killed himself by taking photo developer in order to keep the secret to the last. Although he was an intellectual who came from a rich family, Zhang Weihua was reformed in this way and fought well for the revolution to the end of his life.

Many young intellectuals who took part in the anti-Japanese armed struggle fought well to the end. We can cite Comrade Cha Kwang Su as an example. He was an intellectual who fought among us in the early years of our revolutionary struggle. When we were organizing the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, many of the members of the

Down-with-Imperialism Union joined it, but we sent some of them back home as our work required it and some to the USSR for study. At that time I told Comrade Cha Kwang Su that the guerrilla struggle might involve many difficulties and that if it would be difficult for him to endure the hardships, he could go home and fight there. But he refused to go home and fought well in the guerrilla army until the last moment of his life.

Many of the south Korean people who are dedicated to the revolutionary struggle at present are well-to-do and educated. Through struggle those patriots are growing into communists and are fighting heroically defying the gallows.

Believing in the revolutionary spirit of the old-line intellectuals and in cooperation with them, we carried out the democratic revolution, and then the socialist revolution. We are going to take them along to the communist society. But they still retain many survivals of outdated ideas. In order to help the intellectuals rid themselves of the remnants of outdated ideology and faithfully serve the revolutionary cause of the working class, we put forward the policy of revolutionizing and working-classizing them, and are working hard to implement it.

The Party put forward the policy of revolutionizing intellectuals a long time ago, but the motion picture industry is not producing films capable of contributing to the implementation of this policy. At present we have no films which can convince the old-line intellectuals that although they came from rich families they are acknowledged as revolutionaries or which will encourage them to follow the Party as far as the communist society. Some of these intellectuals may still have doubts about their future. Of course, our Party has already given them a reply. But we must also answer them on the screen.

In the northern half of Korea there are many intellectuals who came from south Korea after liberation. We did not force them to come. They could teach at universities in south Korea, but they came of their own accord to contribute to the development of national culture and economy and to the construction of a prosperous, independent and sovereign state. In order to instil revolutionary pride into them and help



them to revolutionize themselves, film artists must produce motion pictures which deal with the revolutionization of intellectuals.

We have seen the Soviet feature film *Ordeal* several times. It is true that there are many things in the film which do not appeal to the sentiments of the Koreans. Many European films including this one deal with triangular love affairs. Westerners greatly appreciate such a love affair, but not the Koreans. This kind of love conflicts with Korean ethics. But the film shows in depth how old-line intellectuals are reformed in the course of revolutionary struggle and trained to become revolutionaries. The heroes of the film, Telegin and Roshchin, are intellectuals. The former is an engineer who has the right ideas from the outset, but the latter is an officer of the White Army who is steeped in imperialist ideas. He comes over to the revolutionary side through a very complicated course. Because of his love for his country he is gradually awakened on revolutionary lines and is finally reformed so as to become a revolutionary.

There are many similar cases amongst our intellectuals. A large number of old-line intellectuals have been gradually transformed into revolutionaries in the course of many stages of revolution since liberation. Under the leadership of the Party, they have taken part in the democratic and socialist revolutions and are now actively participating in socialist construction without the slightest hesitation since immediately after liberation. They are working tirelessly to revolutionize themselves. I think you can make good films based on the experiences of these people.

At the time of the agrarian reform, many of our intellectuals carried out information work among peasants and joined them in the struggle against landlords in the rural areas. You can produce films showing how intellectuals became revolutionaries in the course of this reform.

Films should also deal with the revolutionization of people with complicated socio-political backgrounds.

There are many people of basic class origin among those who joined the “peace maintenance corps” during the temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War. They were duped into joining this

reactionary organization. We have stressed more than once that their affairs should be settled carefully. If we mishandle their cases we may lose many people. This was eloquently illustrated by the experience of the struggle against the “Minsaengdan” during the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

As you know, the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle was made dangerous at first because of the stratagems of “Left” opportunists. When I, commanding a unit, visited another unit in Fusong after the Nanhutou Conference, almost all the members of that unit had been excluded from the fighting ranks on charges of having been involved in the case of the “Minsaengdan”.

On our arrival, a political commissar of the unit produced a bundle of documents which contained the personal histories and details of the suspects. According to this information, none of them seemed to be innocent. The information on more than a hundred suspected persons could not have been confirmed anywhere, even if we had tried to do so. So we held a meeting with some of them. I asked them if it was true that they had joined the “Minsaengdan”. After a long silence they all answered yes. If they had complained of an injustice, I would have gone deeper into the matter. But as they said they had joined the “Minsaengdan” I could not understand why and so I asked the reason. Thereupon, they answered that they had been duped into joining it. When I asked why they had been fooled, they said frankly that although they had never joined the “Minsaengdan”, they were forced to admit the charge.

In fact we talked and talked with them at the meeting which lasted for several days, but we could not get any proof of their involvement in the case. So I summoned all the suspected guerrillas and told them: “It is difficult to tell which of you are involved in the ‘Minsaengdan’ case and which of you are not because there is no proof; I do not want to question you any further, nor do I wish to believe your involvement; If any of you had ever joined it, why should you be suffering hardships in the mountains, instead of living comfortably at home? I declare that there is not a member of the ‘Minsaengdan’ among you comrades

present here; I will not make an issue of this matter, even if some of you did happen to join it, quite apart from those who were innocent from the outset; both should make a fresh start today, fight well from now on, and that is all there is to it.” And then, I told my orderly to set fire to the bundle of documents in their presence.

We reorganized a unit with the men who had been suspected as members of the “Minsaengdan”. After that the unit fought courageously against the enemy. None of them deserted because of hardships.

The anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle taught us a serious lesson which is that we must not suspect people without a reason nor deal with their problems without prudence.

Needless to say, there are differences between those who joined the “peace maintenance corps” and those who were suspected to be members of the “Minsaengdan”. It is true that the former gave armed support to the enemy either intentionally or unintentionally. But you must not tar them with the same brush. Most of those of basic class origin were duped into the “peace maintenance corps” by the enemy because our officials had failed to educate them properly in the past. Some of them repented of their crimes and gave up their lives while fighting the enemy; some fought well during the Fatherland Liberation War and became Heroes of the Republic; and many of them are now distinguishing themselves in socialist construction. Our Party unhesitatingly trusts and welcomes back the people of basic class origin in spite of their involvement in the “peace maintenance corps” and intends to revolutionize them all. In this way we shall give them and their children the chance of rehabilitation.

Since motion pictures play an important role in educating people, they will be very useful in educating those who were involved in the “peace maintenance corps” and their sons and daughters, if we produce films based on typical characters of basic class origin who, after their involvement, were awakened to class consciousness and fought bravely in the Fatherland Liberation War or are now performing feats of labour in socialist construction.

Another important thing is to produce films showing how the

people who have returned from Japan are revolutionized.

Many of them ran small or medium-sized enterprises. You must not cold-shoulder them for this reason. In Japan they, under the guidance of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), fought well in defence of the Republic and their democratic national rights, and since their return they have been taking an active part in socialist construction.

It is nearly ten years since the repatriation of Korean residents in Japan began, but not a single film has been produced about them. This shows that you have many shortcomings in your work. Films must be made about typical repatriates who devote their whole lives to socialist construction.

It is necessary to write good scripts in order to make good motion pictures.

Our motion pictures are too commonplace at present and devoid of any serious content, have too little good dialogues, and their plot development is awkward. In the long run, this is due to bad scripts.

You must not attempt to write a script effortlessly within a few days. It takes a considerable time even to prepare a report to a meeting. So how could you write a script so easily in a short time? Nowadays, however, some writers produce a scenario within a few days as though writing an article for a newspaper. That is why they cannot write good film scripts.

The scripts produced by our writers contain few good dialogues, and this is their biggest fault. It is natural that you cannot make a good motion picture from a scenario which has a poor dialogue and which lacks depth. Scriptwriters must study hard and write good pieces even if it takes them a longer time to do so.

If writers are to create good works, they must have a wide firsthand knowledge, and on this basis study life in detail. The works on the theme of the revolutionary traditions written by some writers in the past are no more than a mechanical arrangement of facts about the people who participated in the anti-Japanese armed struggle. No matter how good the material may be, simply stating the bald facts cannot be considered a revolutionary work of art.

It is to be expected that people with firsthand experience of the revolutionary struggle can write colourfully about it. Experience with foreign revolutionary works shows that participants in a revolutionary struggle write well. The novel *Chapaev*, on which the Soviet film *Chapaev* was based, was written by the political commissar who had fought with the hero during the Civil War. Fadeyev was able to write a lot of revolutionary works because he took part personally in the revolutionary struggle as a writer. I think that in our country, too, people who took part in the anti-Japanese armed struggle should write about it.

It seems necessary for several scenarists to specialize in the production of scripts based on the revolutionary traditions so as to improve their quality. Finished scripts should be evaluated through broad-based discussion.

There is nothing mysterious about writing scripts. Since the policy of our Party at each stage of the revolution is clear, you can be guided by this policy in showing the relationships between characters, based on the facts, and portray them well from an artistic viewpoint.

The best thing is to adapt a script from a novel rather than write it from real life. So we are waiting for the publication of good novels, but such novels are not yet available.

If you are to make a film of Comrade O Jung Hup, you should first write a novel about him or write his biography, and then produce a script. Motion pictures about Comrades Kim Chaek, An Kil, Kang Kon and Jo Jong Chol can also be successful if these are produced in the same way.

I think a script could be adapted from the novel *The Fate of a Woman*. This novel is the story of the chairwoman of a cooperative farm management board. Before liberation she suffered a great deal of hardships, and since liberation she has worked hard to implement the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic. She is still working hard as chairwoman of a cooperative farm management board. Her life is described in the novel *The Fate of a Woman*. If this novel is adapted for the screen, it will make a good piece for class education, and for the younger generation in particular.

When writing works based on real life, scenarists must not set it down mechanically, but must treat it skilfully so as to ensure high ideological and artistic quality. The mechanical recital of facts will devalue the work.

In the film *The Story of a Detachment Commander* the heroine is presented as committing suicide by taking poison when she is surrounded by the enemy. Of course, this did happen during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. But on the screen you need not show it exactly as it was. It would have been better if you had instead shown her jumping out of the window and dying in a heroic fight.

Scenarists must not try to create only epic films.

Of course, we need revolutionary masterpieces. These play an important role in showing the people the process of revolutionary development and in teaching them how to fight for the revolution. Scenarists should, therefore, endeavour to write revolutionary masterpieces. But they must not neglect small-scale films in an attempt to create only monumental films dealing with strategic problems.

It would be very difficult to write a scenario dealing with the strategic problems of revolution. Some writers try to show every phase of the Fatherland Liberation War in one film, but they must not do so. How can a piece of film show the whole development ranging from my radio address on the outbreak of the war to final victory? It is impossible. In creating a work on the theme of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, too, you must not try to show the historical events of 15 long years in the form of a chronicle. This would result in a mere recital of the facts. A masterpiece depends more on its content than its form.

After finishing Part Three of the *Five Guerrilla Brothers*, scenarists should make detailed plans for the production of another great work on the revolutionary traditions. And I wish you to create a masterpiece showing how an old-line intellectual undergoes revolutionary transformation through the struggle for the agrarian reform and other peaceful construction work, the Fatherland Liberation War and the struggle for the postwar socialist revolution and construction.

In addition, you must write many small-scale films.

Scenarists should not overlook even minor events in the past struggle and in life, and should describe them in detail, if they are of sufficient importance. A well-written fragmentary piece dealing with a trivial event can help greatly towards educating people. In this respect, *The River Flows* is a very good film, although simple in content.

I think you can make a large number of small pieces based on the revolutionary traditions. These can show how people from various backgrounds were trained to be revolutionaries and how guerrillas worked among the masses during the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

After the Nanhutou Conference we, while commanding a unit, came to Changbai County and did a great deal of work amongst different sections of the people. As a result, heads of sub-counties joined revolutionary organizations and even the head of the religious organization of Chondoists in Changbai County helped us. However, our scriptwriters try to write works propagating the line formulated at the Nanhutou Conference and the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, while neglecting works which show how the line was actually implemented. Small-scale films should be produced based on the experiences of the guerrillas who worked among the masses of all levels in accordance with the line of the Nanhutou Conference.

There are many typical examples of the activities of women political workers from the anti-Japanese armed struggle. At that time we dispatched women workers to various places and they carried out their revolutionary missions efficiently, whatever the cost. If you write short scripts dealing with these events you will produce good films.

You will also be able to write short scripts on the theme of the south Korean revolution.

The present situation does not permit you to write works dealing with the strategic and tactical problems of the south Korean revolution. So you will have to write about our past experiences so that the south Korean people can follow the example. Our experience of establishing the guerrilla base and of fighting by relying on it in the past can provide the subject of your works.

At the time of the anti-Japanese armed struggle the guerrilla base took various forms—full guerrilla zones and semi-guerrilla zones. The former were liberated areas completely free from enemy rule; and the latter, though in appearance a part of the enemy-held area, were, in fact, under the control of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. Luozigou was a semi-guerrilla zone. People there hoisted the flag of “Manchukuo” in the daytime, but at night they did many things to help the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. By night Luozigou people and youths captured enemy stooges and interrogated or killed them. People in semi-guerrilla zones carried out widely differing forms of mass struggle. They worked hard to obtain food supplies, fought against enemy stooges and protected and helped guerrillas. And they ran schools and performed plays which they had prepared themselves.

The practical struggle showed us that semi-guerrilla zones were better than full guerrilla zones. In the full guerrilla zones the guerrillas had to bear the heavy burden of taking care of the people. Making use of this experience when we established the Paektusan base in Changbai County, we chose the form of a semi-guerrilla zone rather than a full guerrilla zone. A well-written story of the struggle of the people in semi-guerrilla zones will be very effective in teaching the people in the south how to fight.

We have no films which deal with our experience in disorganizing the enemy army or our experience of work among the people in the enemy-ruled area, of information work among the inhabitants after seizing a village or of political work within our units. But if you make good films of this kind, you will be able to teach many things to the south Korean people and revolutionaries.

You must organize the ranks of scriptwriters on a rational basis so that they will be able to create the right proportion of both epics and minor films. It seems advisable to select several writers and let them create epics and get others to write smaller works.

If they are to produce revolutionary films, the film makers must revolutionize themselves thoroughly.

If they do not do this, it will be impossible for film actors to play the



parts of revolutionaries honestly, or for directors to produce revolutionary films properly. At present, actors play the parts of revolutionaries and Party workers unconvincingly, and this is partly because they have no experience of revolutionary struggle and Party work. However, it is impossible for them to experience the life of the anti-Japanese guerrillas or Party work now. So actors will have to work tirelessly to acquire the traits of revolutionaries. The directors must also do the same. Actors and directors ought to read many revolutionary novels and other books, learn about the life of revolutionaries and also lead their daily lives in a way worthy of a revolutionary. Only then can they become good actors and directors and produce revolutionary films.

Artists must work harder than anyone else to revolutionize themselves. Experience of other socialist countries shows that artists are the first to fall victim to the infiltration of imperialist ideas and culture, degenerate ideologically and sink into the abyss of capitalism. That is why they must make strenuous efforts to revolutionize themselves and thus keep themselves completely immune from capitalist ideas.

You are film makers who have been educated in the embrace of our Party and the Government of the Republic since liberation. You must revolutionize yourselves thoroughly and fight on devotedly for the Party and the revolution, for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism. This is the way to prove yourselves worthy of the Party's consideration and the trust it places in you.

Film makers must work hard to improve their qualifications.

They must not be carried away by what they have already achieved. Particularly if they become People's or Merited Actors, they may become complacent, but they must not do so on any account. The People's and Merited Actors must work harder, and all other actors and film makers must endeavour to improve their artistic qualifications.

To this end, they must study hard. All of them should make it a rule to study for two to four hours a day. If they get into the habit of studying, they will be able to study at least two hours every day, however busy they may be. We must launch a strict ideological

campaign against the neglect of study on the part of film makers so that every one of them will acquire the habit of studying hard.

In raising the level of film makers it is very important for them to become familiar with real life. Only then can actors and directors reproduce a high level of authenticity on the screen. In order to experience real life they must mix with the masses. No one who is out of touch with the masses can understand what is happening. Actors and directors must go out and share the lives of the working masses and acquire firsthand experience of real life.

Assignments to produce motion pictures should be suitably allocated so as to guarantee the quality of production.

It seems that at present you are giving too many assignments a year. That is why more effort is being spent on achieving quantity rather than the quality of films. We do not produce films to earn money. If you hastily make films simply giving thought to the carrying out of the state plan, you are liable to commercialize them. We must never do this. Even if you have to reduce the output of films a little, you should make good films with educational value. And you should make very many copies of them so that a wide range of people can see them.

Next, I shall speak briefly about guidance of the sector of literature and art.

Enhancing the role of the General Federation of the Unions of Literature and Arts is an important way of improving the guidance of this sector. The general federation is a social organization of writers and artists. So it must provide ideological training for writers and artists and organize and direct them in order to implement the Party's policy on literature and art. In addition, it should organize creative work and meetings for the joint appraisal of works and also arrange meetings on a wide scale for exchanging information on what has been done.

The Party must give political guidance to this sector.

Supply work for artists has to be improved so that they can live without any discomfort.

## **ON RELIEVING THE STRAIN ON TRANSPORT**

**Concluding Speech at the 18th Enlarged Plenary  
Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*November 16, 1968*

Comrades,

For several days we have been holding serious discussions on the problem of strengthening the work of the transport sector.

As noted in the report and speeches, the transport workers have achieved great success in their work and have made a large contribution to the development of the national economy in recent years. Railway transport, for instance, has made a great deal of progress in this period.

No one can say our successes in the field of transport are insignificant. Without them it would have been impossible to attain a high rate of growth in the national economy. Last year alone, industrial output rose 17 per cent over the previous year. This was possible because raw and other materials, equipment and accessories were transported in good time. It would be wrong to ignore our success and to see only our shortcomings. We must make a correct appraisal of the successes achieved in transport until now.

As transport achievements were mentioned in the report, I shall say nothing further about them.

In railway transport there are some shortcomings in spite of many

successes. There is now a great strain on our transport, particularly the railways. But this does not in any way mean that the Party's policy has been wrong or that the workers in this field have neglected their duty.

The Party has a policy for improving railway transport. There is a clear policy for every aspect: changing over to electric traction, manufacturing heavy-duty wagons and tank cars, extending sidings and introducing technical improvements on railway lines.

Workers in this field have all worked hard and have tried to carry out their Party assignments. Our railway workers are carrying on a strenuous struggle today and are contributing greatly to socialist construction.

On the subject of railway electrification, I should say that this work is proceeding rapidly, although it is somewhat slower than we would wish. The Kowon-Hamhung line was changed over to electric traction last year and the Hamhung-Hongwon line this year. It is not easy to undertake such a vast railway electrification project every year. Other countries would probably be unable to do so, even over several years.

The present shortcoming in the transport sector is that it fails to meet the fast-growing requirements of the national economy. It is a defect which goes with progress—the railways fail to catch up with the transport requirements of the very rapidly developing national economy. So it would be more correct to regard this, not as a defect, but as a question of how to organize transport more efficiently.

We intend to press forward more rapidly and increase the speed of Chollima the way “a man whips the galloping horse,” as the saying goes. That is why we discuss and criticize shortcomings. When we criticize, it is not because the workers have neglected their duties or have been less enthusiastic about their work. Comrade directors of railway management bureaus criticized themselves at this meeting. It is true that they have some faults, but all of them have tried to do their work well, and it is in the course of this work that these shortcomings have been revealed. No one can say that the railway transport workers have done poor work.

I am satisfied that they have ensured a high rate of development of

the national economy by displaying patriotic devotion and creative initiative. I should like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to you and all the workers, technicians and leadership officials in the railway transport sector.

The most important task arising in making innovations in transport and in satisfying the increasing transport requirements of the national economy is to strengthen political work among the workers in this field.

What is most important here is to arm the workers firmly with our Party's Juche idea, its monolithic ideology.

Although I emphasize this point, I am by no means implying that the monolithic ideological system of the Party has not been established among railway transport workers. If it had not been established, today's successes could not have been achieved nor could the national economy have developed so rapidly. But if we are to do more work in future, further develop the railways and ease the strain on transport, all the workers must be armed more firmly with our Party's Juche idea, the revolutionary ideas of independence, self-support and self-defence.

The revolutionary attitude to work should be thoroughly established among the workers so that they always advance towards victory without yielding to difficulties, and devote all their energy, knowledge, skill and talents to the fulfilment of their revolutionary tasks.

Meanwhile, an active campaign must be waged against selfishness, departmentalism, parochialism, nepotism, factionalism, flunkeyism towards great powers, Right and "Left" opportunism, feudal ideas and all other unsound ideas which run counter to our Party's ideology, communist ideology.

Successful resistance to these unhealthy ideas, particularly departmentalism which is rampant in railway transport, will help us to tap many reserves. As has been mentioned in speeches at this meeting, the Hamhung and Chongjin Railway Management Bureaus have indulged in departmentalism in the past to each other's detriment, causing the delay of many trains and a great waste of transport

equipment. Other railway management bureaus have not turned empty freight cars over to one another even when they had many in their sections, thus preventing the transportation of more freight.

Departmentalism is a form of selfishness and an expression of capitalist ideology. It is nothing short of selfishness that has been projected from individuals to departments. The same applies to parochialism. Both departmentalism and parochialism have nothing in common with communist ideology and do a great deal of harm to our revolution and construction.

We must resolutely fight against such remnants of backward ideas and see to it that all workers acquire noble communist ideological awareness which prompts them to help and assist each other and devote themselves to the interests of the state and of society.

Inasmuch as the railways serve all branches of the national economy and all the people, the railway transport workers should possess a higher spirit of working for the state and society than those in other fields. All engine drivers, stationmasters and dispatchers in railway transport and all workers in road and water transport should clearly realize how much production at factories and enterprises will be adversely affected and how much people will be inconvenienced if trains, trucks or ships are delayed even by one hour or carry even one ton less of freight. Only then will they stop practising departmentalism and introduce innovations in transport.

Next, iron discipline should be established on the railways.

Discipline must be maintained in all domains of the national economy and, particularly on the railways, there has to be an iron discipline as in the army. Just as an army with lax discipline falls off in combat efficiency, so the railways, if discipline is relaxed, will not be able to discharge their duties properly. Discipline is the life and soul of the railways. An energetic campaign must be launched throughout railway transport against every single undisciplined practice so as to establish iron discipline and revolutionary order.

What we need is voluntary, not forced discipline. In order to establish discipline, a fine or a penalty can be imposed, but it is far

more important to get all workers to observe discipline willingly. Political work should be intensified among all the workers in railway transport to get them to observe the existing regulations and orders voluntarily, so that the scheduled operation of trains is assured and so that not even a single accident occurs.

While on the subject of discipline, I must once again stress that people should not be allowed to walk along the railway tracks and that an all-people campaign should be launched to protect the railways.

The main reason why there is no end to railway accidents lies in the failure of Party organizations and the organs of people's power at different levels to educate the people to get them to value and take good care of the railways and consciously observe railway discipline. It also lies in the fact that local Party and government bodies have not taken steps to lay footpaths and build bridges so that people do not need to walk on the railway tracks, and to provide safety and protection arrangements to avoid accidents.

Railway accidents cannot be avoided by the efforts of the railway workers alone. They can be prevented only when all the people value and take good care of the railways and observe railway discipline willingly.

All Party organizations, organs of people's power, working people's organizations and educational establishments must continue to give instruction and carry out information work to get everyone to value and take good care of the railways, a precious asset of the country, and to observe railway discipline voluntarily.

Meanwhile, scrupulous and thorough practical measures should be taken to protect the railways and prevent accidents. Party organizations and government bodies at all levels should quickly locate and investigate danger spots where accidents are liable to occur and build detour roads and bridges.

An important way of satisfying the growing transport requirements of the national economy is the constant and energetic promotion of the electrification of the railways according to the policy which our Party has already set forth.

The only effective way to ease the strain on the railways is to raise the traffic capacity of the existing system by changing over to electric traction. Some comrades propose building new railways or double-tracking, but at present priority should be given to electrification.

Electrification will sharply increase railway carrying capacity in a short space of time.

An electric locomotive can haul 1,500-1,600 tons while a steam locomotive can only manage 700-800 tons. Therefore, hauling capacity can be doubled if the existing railways are electrified, even without laying new tracks.

This graphically shows that electrification is the shortest and easiest way to lessen the strain on the railways in our country and that, consequently, the Party's policy of railway electrification is entirely correct.

Following the Party's policy, we must continue to press ahead with railway electrification. Unremitting efforts will enable us to finish electrifying nearly all of the country's trunk lines in the next few years.

In addition, we should go ahead with the technological reconstruction of the railways—replacement of the existing rails with heavy-duty ones, the mass-production of heavy-duty goods wagons, and so on.

The strength of the rails should be increased to match the increasing tonnage and speed of trains resulting from electrification. Otherwise, they will not hold up and will cause frequent accidents, and electric locomotives will be unable to get up speed and haul large loads. The existing light rails should therefore be replaced by heavy ones soon.

The increased strength of rails requires not only good rails but also good sleepers. Railway tracks with inferior sleepers do not last long.

Moreover, a large number of heavy-duty goods wagons of the 60-ton class should be produced. While we use the present 30-ton freight cars, trains will be unable to haul large loads because they will be too long for the sidings. If we introduce 60-ton freight cars, the length of trains can be cut and, accordingly, there will be no need to



extend the sidings. This will make it possible to carry more goods.

Such things as the replacement of rails with heavy rails, of sleepers with good-quality ones, and the production of heavy-duty goods wagons should be done simultaneously. It is wrong to consider that the mere production of electric locomotives and the laying of cables will suffice without creating these technical conditions. Lacking all these conditions, electrification will not be able to prove its worth.

We should not spare money in changing over to electric traction, replacing rails and sleepers and producing heavy-duty goods wagons.

The Ministry of Metal Industry must, without fail, see to it that the heavy rails needed are produced so as to replace all the existing light rails. It was proposed in the report that 400 kilometres of rails be replaced every year but, in my opinion, it seems better to replace all light rails by heavy ones in a year or two at most.

Sleepers, too, should be quickly replaced by good ones. The output capacity for concrete sleepers must be increased, while the existing capacity is used to the best advantage by supplying reinforcing rods and cement. And the Ministry of Forestry must supply good timber for railway sleepers. If timber is short, good logs should be selected and supplied to the railways before anyone else, even if this entails some delay in other construction.

At the same time, the Ministry of Metal Industry must supply enough steel to the rolling-stock works so that they can turn out a large number of heavy-duty goods wagons. The rolling-stock works are not at present able to produce wagons as planned because of the inadequate supply of steel, although they have the capacity to do so.

We should also produce tank cars. We must at once supply steel plates to the Wonsan Rolling-Stock Works so that it can produce tank cars quickly. By making only some 200 to 300 tank cars to start with, we can overcome the immediate shortage.

Sidings must also be extended at railway stations. As electric locomotives can haul more than twice as much as steam locomotives, it is necessary to extend the tracks a little. I do not think this is such a difficult task.

Electric and diesel locomotives should also be produced in large numbers.

We are now making electric locomotives ourselves, so we can turn out as many as we need, if we produce enough copper.

Steam locomotives now operating in the western region should be transferred to the northern coastal area skirting the East Sea where bituminous coal is plentiful. Diesel traction should be introduced on the lines in the western region which have not been electrified. This requires the manufacture of diesel engines. We should complete the trial production of the 2,500-hp engines for diesel locomotives quickly and go over to mass-production.

As well as the 2,500-hp diesel engine we should also make small diesel engines for shunting. This type of diesel engine is in demand wherever I go, at the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Kangson Steel Plant, for instance. If we order them from abroad, it will take three years to obtain them. Bold measures must be taken to make them ourselves.

Automation should be effectively introduced on the railways. This is essential for economizing on labour, raising traffic capacity and assuring safety in railway operations. Automation must be increased wherever possible.

At the same time, the signal system should be improved. Communication lines for the exclusive use of railway dispatchers should be laid quickly, even if they are not made available for other purposes.

The railways will carry much more goods than now and the strain on transport will be eased, if we take a series of measures—electrify the Pyongyang-Chongjin line completely and the uphill sections leading to Hyesan and the Huichon-Koin line, produce locomotive engines, heavy-duty goods wagons and tank cars in order to overcome the shortage, and improve the technical conditions of the tracks.

Of course, with the national economy continuing to develop apace, we will have to build new railways and double-track lines in the future. The Party is inclined to think it better to lay a new line linking the

western and eastern regions than to double-track the existing Pyongyang-Chongjin line. The Jihari-Sepho line is now under construction, and this is tantamount to double-tracking the Pyongyang-Wonsan line. The new Jihari-Sepho line will increase the traffic capacity of the Pyongyang-Wonsan line, but not that of the Pyongyang-Chongjin line. So we are planning to lay a new line from Unbong to Musan, instead of double-tracking the lines running along the coast. If we have to build tunnels and cross steep grades, it will be better to open another line across the inland region. This will be helpful both for developing the inland areas and exploiting their resources. This project will be undertaken in the Six-Year Plan period.

An important thing which has to be done is to improve the organization of railway transport and thus eliminate inefficient practices such as sending back and duplicating the carriage of goods.

These and other unsound practices still exist and impose unnecessary burdens on the railways and increase the strain on railway transport.

For example, bean oil extracted in Sakju, where many workers live, is sent to other districts, while the working people in that town are supplied with oil brought from another locality. Coal mined in Kangdong is carried to other places while Kangdong gets coal from elsewhere. Timber is brought to Pyongyang from the east coast for making wooden barrels which are then taken back to Sinpho on the east coast. In addition, there are many instances where unnecessary triangular or rectangular routes are followed. This complicates railway transport and gives rise to confusion in production and supply.

The reason for such unsound practices is the failure to carry through the Party's policy of unified and detailed planning in drawing up the transport plan, and the regional planning commissions are largely responsible for this.

If the regional planning commissions had played their role properly, they would not have failed to see these irrational practices, such as transporting Sakju bean oil to Nampho and Nampho oil to another district, but would have certainly put an end to them by asking

the State Planning Commission to take suitable measures. We set up the regional planning commissions to do precisely this kind of work. Yet, although they are heavily staffed, they are not even aware of these irregularities in transport.

The State Planning Commission, the regional planning commissions and other units talk a lot about unified and detailed planning but they are half-hearted in working to implement the Party's line on it.

Unless transport plans are scrupulously coordinated under the present conditions when production has increased rapidly and the volume of transport has grown immeasurably, we cannot abolish unsound practices and, accordingly, cannot ease the strain on transport. Each regional planning commission should have a higher sense of responsibility, obtain detailed knowledge and control of these practices in transport under its jurisdiction, consult with the State Planning Commission and take positive measures to eliminate them.

At the same time, a vigorous campaign must be launched against the practice of working out transport plans in an irresponsible and slipshod manner at factories and enterprises. At almost all factories and enterprises, transport plans are now drawn up haphazardly by the heads of their transport sections alone and then handed over to the railway transport offices; they are neither discussed at the factory Party committees nor examined by the managers. To cite an extreme case, a certain concrete block factory is said to have transported its goods throughout last year without presenting its transport plan, but only asking for the temporary allocation of goods wagons. Of course, temporary allocation of goods wagons involves a fine, but this does not affect the manager at all because the fine is not paid out of his own pocket but from state funds.

The socialist economy is a planned economy in which all production, distribution and transport are carried on in a planned way. Therefore, you must clearly realize that the mismanagement of a plan by any one or in any branch of the national economy will upset it as a whole. When transport plans are drawn up haphazardly at enterprises and then revised

in an unsystematic way, confusion will inevitably ensue on the railways. A speedy end must be put to such irresponsible practices.

In future strict discipline has to be enforced in enterprises to ensure that transport plans are unfailingly referred to collective discussion by their Party committees, approved jointly by the managers and the chief secretaries of the Party committees, and then forwarded to the railway transport offices. They are accountable to the Party and the state for the plans.

Most loading and unloading on our railways today take place on lines exclusively used by factories and enterprises. Accordingly, more efficient handling on these lines acquires a tremendous significance in improving the work of railway transport as a whole.

All factories and enterprises with their own railway sidings should take positive steps to mechanize loading and unloading operations and should create enough storage capacity for raw and other materials, and thus radically reduce the turnaround time of goods wagons.

In many cases, senior workers at factories and enterprises and personnel of ministries and the State Planning Commission concentrate on production and pay little attention to providing storage facilities and loading and unloading equipment for keeping up with the growing volume of production. When working out plans ministries and the State Planning Commission crossed out even the reasonable proposals put forward by factories and enterprises for building store houses for materials and securing loading and unloading equipment, telling them to be patient. This has prevented the speedy transportation of products and the timely unloading of raw and other materials which have arrived at factories, and thus caused goods wagons to remain immobilized for a long time.

When we gave guidance to the Hwanghae Iron Works in 1965, in company with the railwaymen, we checked on the general state of the siding tracks in the factory yards and made a number of suggestions for improving them, establishing a depot for raw materials, installing cranes, starting a locomotive repair shop, and so on. But afterwards, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Metal Industry did

not make an investment in the Hwanghae Iron Works to increase its transport capacity nor did the managing personnel and the Party committee of the works pay any attention to the matter. As a result, the transport problem has now become a handicap to the works. Its transport capacity has failed to keep up with the increased capacity for pig iron and steel manufacture, and production is impeded.

The wharf projects at Sohaeri and the Hwanghae Iron Works have made little progress. This is also due to the lack of concern for transport work on the part of officials of the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Metal Industry. The matter of these wharf projects was raised in 1965 when I visited the Unryul Mine with officials of the State Planning Commission. That year the Sohaeri wharf project made rapid headway because the commission made an investment and the ministry showed concern for it. Since the following year, however, the project has scarcely progressed because it was struck off the list of capital construction undertakings each time the plan was drawn up.

Iron ore is now transported by boat from the Kumsan estuary only every other day. If the Sohaeri wharf were completed, it would be possible to carry iron ore once every day. Had we exerted a little more effort and completed this project, we could transport twice as much iron ore as now and provide the Hwanghae Iron Works with adequate supplies. But because of the slow progress of the wharf project, production is held up, and the problem of iron ore transport causes even greater difficulty in winter. Those responsible have shown a lack of concern about taking far-sighted measures to solve the transport problem as instructed by the Party, and they are only now appreciating the urgency of the matter when it is very late.

The blame for this rests not only on the State Planning Commission and the ministry but on the Party committee of the iron works as well. When the Party's instructions were not being carried out, the works' Party committee should have campaigned to ensure their implementation and should have asked the upper organs concerned to take appropriate measures, but it did not.

Senior economic officials and the managerial staffs of enterprises should quickly correct their mistaken attitude of neglecting the transport question and should always pay particular attention to this as well as to production assignments. They should all make a great effort to relieve the strain on the country's transport.

Factories and enterprises should get on with the work of installing loading and unloading equipment and building storage facilities for raw materials so that railway freight can be handled without delay. In fact, these could be completed easily and quickly if factory and enterprise managements showed any concern for them and aroused the masses to action by proper organizational work. Take a crude oil reservoir, for example. It would be possible to build it if the workers of the factory concerned turned out to dig a pit and line it with concrete on Saturdays or after work hours. Efforts ought to be made to mechanize loading and unloading operations and build raw material storage facilities and crude oil reservoirs at all factories and enterprises which have their own railway sidings, and particularly at the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Kangson Steel Plant, the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and others, which handle a large amount of freight, so that by the second half of next year at the latest, goods wagons will not be left unloaded and therefore they will not be held up.

Furthermore, it is advisable to establish a system of direction and control over the work on railway sidings exclusively serving factories and enterprises.

At present no one is responsible for their direction and control. We must therefore set up in every production ministry a bureau or department in charge of this work. Keeping close contact with the Ministry of Railways, the bureaus should provide enterprises with the necessary materials and accessories, supervise and control the work on their sidings and do organizational work to improve it.

At the same time, the Ministry of Railways should also actively help factories and enterprises in the work on their own sidings and increase its supervision and control of this work.

The next important thing is to use existing locomotive engines and

goods wagons to the greatest advantage. This makes it necessary to strengthen the centres for the production of rolling-stock accessories and the repair depots.

The number of locomotives new at the disposal of factories and enterprises alone is considerable. If they are repaired and used effectively, they will add greatly to the hauling capacity. But people give no thought to this, and only ask for new locomotives. In view of the shortage of rolling stock, we must raise the operation rate of locomotives to the maximum. To do this, we must strengthen the centres for the production of locomotive accessories and the repair depots and repair locomotives promptly and well.

An important task in railway transport is to provide better passenger services.

I have more than once told the railways to improve these services, but the problem has not yet been solved properly.

Passenger coaches are still unkempt because they are not kept clean and tidy. Sweets, cakes, fruit and the like are rarely sold on the trains and it is hard to get even a cup of hot water to drink. It is not easy for a traveller by rail to buy apples even when passing through Pukchong, an apple-producing centre, or to get chestnuts at Sinsongchon which is famous for them.

Our country is not so badly off today as to be unable to supply sweets, cakes, fruit or cider for sale on trains. The point is that railway workers and senior officials of the Party and government organizations are not very ready to serve the people and are lacking in Party and working-class spirit. They claim that they are all working for the people, but in fact they are not and they pay little heed to the people's needs.

Such a mistaken attitude must be rectified at the earliest possible date and service to travellers has to be radically improved.

We should set up a new food-processing factory exclusively serving the railways or place some existing ones under the control of the railways so that working people on journeys will always be supplied with cider, soft drinks, beer and other beverages, as well as confectionery.



Local Party and government bodies should also show concern in this respect and see to it that fruit and other special local products are always on sale for the travelling working people. We must thus ensure that when the train stops at Sinsongchon Station, travellers can buy and eat Pyongyang chestnuts; when it pulls in at Pukchong, they can have the noted Pukchong apples; and at places where crabs abound, they can buy boiled crabs.

In addition, passenger coaches should be speedily repaired and put in good order and kept clean and tidy at all times.

In future we must manufacture many refrigerator vans to supply more fresh fish to the people.

I shall now deal with cadre training in railway transport.

The system of cadre training in this sector has become disorganized over the last few years. It must be put in order at an early date.

It seems good to me to establish a three-stage training system in railway transport—a university for technical cadres, a higher technical school for technical cadres of secondary grade and a training course for junior commanding personnel similar to that provided in the army for noncommissioned officers.

The railway university should be placed directly under the Ministry of Railways and receive the necessary materials from it. The Ministry of Higher Education should only give it educational guidance.

A special faculty should be set up in the university to re-educate the technical and administrative personnel who are already working in railway transport.

The higher transport school now under the Ministry of General Education should remain as it is, but the Ministry of Railways should have its own higher technical school to train technical cadres of secondary grade from among graduates of technical schools and railwaymen. This would be the equivalent of Kang Kon Military Academy in the army.

In addition, there should be a training system for junior commanding personnel in railway transport.

This well-organized cadre training system is essential for the proper

management of the railways which have over 100,000 employees and which are being continually modernized.

All the railway training institutions should be put on a military footing and their graduates must serve in railway transport.

A further matter is that it is advisable to exempt locomotive drivers from military service. They differ from other workers and, in fact, their job is as good as serving in the army. They should be given better conditions. They do harder work than anyone else. They should be provided with good houses near railway stations so that they may relax properly and should be supplied with enough subsidiary foodstuffs as well. They should also be sent to rest homes for a set period in order to have a full rest.

I consider it necessary to improve the dispatchers' conditions, too. A system of appointing assistant dispatchers should be instituted to lessen the dispatchers' burden. Under this system, assistant dispatchers would be required to help dispatchers and to compile statistics when they are busy. This will also serve to train reserve dispatchers systematically. The Party committees of the provinces and central counties should ensure that the ranks of railway dispatchers are made up of good people. And the railways, too, must promote good people to the post of assistant dispatchers.

Next, we must improve the work of the railway stations and tighten Party supervision over railway workers.

Railway stations can be compared to the basic combat organizations or units in the army, such as companies, battalions and regiments. Therefore, the strengthening of the work here is essential for improving railway transport as a whole.

But these important combat units, the railway stations, are not subject to regular control at present because the Railway Ministry Party Committee does not guide and supervise them properly and they do not come under the local Party bodies. I think this is quite wrong. As is the case with all other sections of the national economy, the railways should also receive constant Party guidance and be supervised by the masses. Only then can such erroneous tendencies as departmentalism

and bureaucracy, which are manifested on the railways, be criticized and remedied in good time.

To place railway stations under the respective county Party committees is good in the sense that day-to-day Party supervision can be exercised over them. But the two deviations may recur, which were revealed in the past when railway stations were placed under local Party bodies. One was that county Party bodies frequently summoned railway personnel to all kinds of meetings which had nothing to do with the railways, thus preventing them from attending to their duties properly, and they wielded Party authority and needlessly meddled in railway work, which only caused confusion. The other was that they often transferred railwaymen to other branches to work as cadres.

Because such harmful practices appeared, the railway stations were taken out of the hands of the local Party organizations. They are now directly under the Railway Ministry Party Committee, and only the provincial Party bodies direct and supervise the work of the railway bureaus. Political work does not spread well to railway stations, while the situation is somewhat better with the railway bureaus because they are controlled by the provincial Party bodies.

At any rate, it is necessary to ensure that day-to-day Party supervision is exercised over the railway station workers. But we should prevent the recurrence of the deviations which occurred in the past when the railway stations came under the local Party organizations. Therefore, in future, the railway stations should be placed under the respective county Party committees for supervision. But the following conditions must be strictly fulfilled.

First, local Party organizations should not be allowed to transfer railway workers to other branches at will. This applies to both county and provincial Party bodies. If the need arises to transfer a railway worker, the matter must be submitted to the relevant sub-bureau Party committee for consent, and if he is a cadre, his transfer is subject to approval by the Railway Ministry Party Committee.

Second, local Party organizations must not meddle in railway affairs. If they arbitrarily interfere in the affairs of the railways which

are operated under a unified system of command, it will only cause confusion in railway transport and prevent the railways from doing their work properly.

Although local Party organizations have to get Party members to observe the standards of Party life closely and rouse the masses to help in the work of the railways, they must on no account meddle in railway affairs in this or that way, demanding that this or that kind of goods be loaded, or that more goods of a particular kind be transported to their county.

County Party committees should only be given the right to supervise the railway station workers—to find out whether they have sound ideas, whether they are trustworthy in their Party life and whether they carry out the Party's instructions and policies correctly—and the right to criticize shortcomings, if any, and apply penalties to those who have committed mistakes. If county Party committees do not have the right to do this much, their control will carry practically no weight. But if a serious shortcoming is manifested, it should be reported to the higher Party body.

With these conditions, station Party organizations should be placed under the relevant county Party bodies. I think this measure will be helpful in improving the work of the railway stations.

In addition to railway transport, motor transport must also be further developed.

We now have an incomparably greater number of motor vehicles than in the past, since our own automobile plant has been producing thousands every year. The number of different types such as the 2.5-ton, 3.5-ton and 10-ton trucks and the *Kaengsaeng* car will increase in the future.

Under such conditions, it is very important to use vehicles effectively through the rational organization of motor transport so as to lessen the burden put on the railways and ease the strain on transport.

In motor transport the collective management of vehicles under a unified control system should be further developed.

Experience shows that collective management through the pooling of

motor vehicles on a regional basis has great advantages over the separate management of a few cars at individual offices and enterprises.

First, collective management is in line with the principles of socialism and communism. It is very helpful in fostering the spirit of collectivism among the workers.

Next, collective management is far superior to separate management because it makes it possible to use motor vehicles effectively, organize the concentration of transport, build up repair depots, ensure that the vehicles are regularly checked and overhauled, and so on.

It also has great strength in that the drivers can be educated and supervised systematically and their technical qualifications raised.

As long ago as the Fatherland Liberation War we had experience with the collective management of trucks. In those years we had a lot of transport, but we had very few trucks and their management was loose. So we pooled them and placed them under unified management. This was very effective. Drawing on this experience, we have tried out collective management in the city of Nampho over the past five years, and it has again clearly demonstrated its superiority. At present the volume of freight handled in Nampho is nearly twice as much as before the trucks were pooled, although the number of trucks has remained the same. Senior officials of the Nampho Smeltery and other factories and enterprises in the city told me that collective management was really good, and that production and construction had proceeded without a hitch at their factories and enterprises because materials had been transported on time.

While accumulating experience in the collective management of motor vehicles, we should introduce it wherever possible. It would be a good idea to try it out in such places as the cities of Haeju, Sariwon, Kanggye and Songnim and the township of Kangso, to begin with, by pooling the trucks now at the disposal of different offices and enterprises. In Sinuiju, there was a time when trucks were pooled but then they were returned to the offices and enterprises because of mismanagement. This time organizational work should be done well, so that such a thing will not happen again.

But the pooling of motor vehicles should not be done indiscriminately and hurriedly all at once. If trucks belonging to coal or ore mines are suddenly mixed with those of a county cooperative farm management committee, it might cause great confusion. In counties, therefore, pooling should, without fail, be done gradually after going through a trial stage. And even where cars are pooled in a city where there are large enterprises, a separate transport corps should be organized and attached to these enterprises, while the motor vehicle station is invested only with the authority to check and control the management and operation of the vehicles.

After pooling motor vehicles it is important to manage them properly. The motor vehicle stations should transport goods for the offices and enterprises promptly, under well-thought-out, detailed plans. We are going to equip these stations with radio in the future so that they can direct their trucks efficiently.

In order to make better use of motor vehicles it is important to build up good repair depots and centres for the production of spare parts.

We cannot increase the use of motor vehicles if we do not build up their repair centres and increase the production of spare parts, because many parts wear out quickly and their service life is short.

We should build more motor repair shops to cope with repairs as they are needed and set up firm bases for the production of spare parts everywhere to satisfy the demand fully.

We must reform the system of spare parts supply for motor vehicles. At present spare parts, including tyres, are all supplied through the channels of the Materials Supply Commission, and there are many cases where motor vehicles stand idle because the commission fails to supply offices and enterprises with sufficient parts.

In order to eliminate such situations, it would be a good thing to open spare parts stores where offices and enterprises can purchase what they need, while preserving the system of supplying parts through the Materials Supply Commission. The provincial people's committees should run the stores and see that necessary parts are always in good supply. To this end, they ought to organize the

production of spare parts for themselves, as well as receiving allotments from the Materials Supply Commission.

This will put an end to the wicked waste of allowing motor vehicles to stand idle for a long time because of a lack of parts or of running around to obtain parts as at present.

Next, the drivers' technical skills should be radically improved.

At present there is a serious shortage of drivers and those we do have do not possess a high level of technology and skill. This is because the training of drivers has failed to keep up with the increase in the number of motor vehicles. We must turn out more and better qualified drivers by improving their training and giving them more rigorous licencing examinations. A strict system should be instituted under which a driving licence is only given to the candidate who has taken the necessary technical course and then has become proficient in handling a truck or car by serving as an assistant driver for at least a year. Women should also be taught to drive well. It is especially desirable that women become trolleybus drivers.

One important task today for the development of motor transport is to keep roads in good repair.

Because the roads are rough at present, motor vehicles and tractors consume a lot of oil, their parts and tyres wear out quickly and, consequently, their service life is short and their utilization rate low. We will be unable to meet the demand for motor vehicles, no matter how many we manufacture and no matter how much oil and how many tyres we import at the expense of precious foreign currency, if we do not improve the roads still further and without delay. It would be like pouring water into a bottomless pail. Keeping our roads in good condition, therefore, is a very urgent task facing us today.

The proper maintenance of roads also acquires great importance from the viewpoint of national defence. Only when roads are maintained well is it possible to supply the front with a smooth flow of munitions and provisions in case of emergency.

We must vigorously start constructing roads and put all of them, including arterial roads, in good condition within a short space of time.

Of course, it would be good to pave all roads with concrete, but cement is in short supply and, moreover, it is hardly possible to concrete so many roads all at once.

Therefore, we should ensure that the arterial roads are paved with concrete according to the state plan and that other roads are paved with blocks of granite which abounds in our country.

Granite paving lasts for at least several decades. The Onchon-Nampho section in South Phyongan Province has been paved in this way and it is very good.

In addition to paving, roads should be repaired and reconditioned regularly.

The People's Army units excavated their roads and covered them with weathered granite after gravelling and rolling. They claim that these are not inferior to paved roads. We should also launch a widespread campaign to lay this kind of road.

Road improvements should be carried out through an all-people movement. Not only all institutions and enterprises which have motor vehicles but also residents should regularly repair the roads in their areas. The army must also continue to do this work.

The county people's committees should assign specified road sections to the county cooperative farm management committees, farm machine stations and all other organizations and enterprises which have trucks and tractors, make each of them responsible for the repair and improvement of its assigned section, and should exercise day-to-day supervision of this work.

Furthermore, in order to lighten the burden on the railways, trucks should be used for the carriage of goods as far as possible for distances of up to 20 kilometres. Trucks should be used even for journeys exceeding 20 kilometres if this is reasonable.

Next, bus services have to be improved.

In Pyongyang we still see many people queuing up at bus stops. We must provide more trolleybuses and buses and improve passenger services so that people do not have to wait at the stops. In other cities, too, passenger services should be improved, and in future buses will



run not only between county towns but also between the county towns and the villages.

In addition, since there are now many more bus drivers and conductors, it would be a good idea to build a house of culture for them in Pyongyang to provide them with education and raise their cultural level.

Our country has very favourable conditions for water transport because it is surrounded by the sea on three sides and has many big rivers. Other countries which have no sea and few rivers even dig canals at an enormous cost in manpower and funds. We have good seas and rivers, so why should we not make use of them? If we use them and develop water transport, it will not only lessen the burden on the railways but also enable us to transport larger loads more economically.

We must devote more effort to developing water transport to ease the increasing strain on transport.

It is important to build many ships. It is our opinion that if we are to provide enough vessels for water transport, the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 will have to build many large ships and the Ministry of Land and Marine Transport must ensure that small boats are produced in large numbers.

Furthermore, in order to increase river transport we have to open many new routes.

Developing river transport is very interesting. Because the rivers are not as rough as the sea, the construction of a river port does not require as much manpower and material as a sea port. All you have to do is to drive in several concrete piles and build a pier for boats to come alongside.

We should allot a large number of dredgers for developing river transport and open many routes on big rivers such as the Amnok, Taedong, Chongchon and Jaeryong.

The Amnok River is now being used to a considerable extent. In future it should be used more extensively.

The channels of the Taedong River and the Jaeryong River must be deepened to ensure unobstructed navigation between Pyongyang and Nampho, between Pyongyang and Songhwa, between Pyongyang and

Sariwon via Jaeryong and between Pyongyang and Kangdong. In this way we should be able to ensure that the fruit of Songhwa, the iron ore of Unryul, the rice of Sinchon and Jaeryong Counties and coal from the Hukryong Mine are all transported by boat.

The Chongchon River, too, is navigable as far as Kaechon. Vessels could sail farther up if the channel were deepened a bit more. It would be a good idea to provide conditions for vessels to sail up at least to Kaechon for the time being. Then, coal can be transported from Kaechon to Pyongyang, Nampho, Sariwon and Songnim by boat.

Next, ports must be built on a large scale.

Our country has a great many places suitable for good ports. We must drastically increase their construction in order to improve marine transport.

First of all, Nampho Harbour must be expanded.

At present, the extremely limited storage space of this harbour hinders the swift unloading of cargo, and many ships have to wait their turn, even though there is enough room for them to dock. The storage capacity of Nampho Harbour should be increased so that vessels can unload quickly as soon as they enter the port. As there is no space to store goods at the dockside, it is desirable to set up an open storage ground a little way from the city and convey the cargo arriving at Nampho Harbour there quickly.

As well as the storage space, the wharves of the port should also be expanded. In future, the existing fishery station and shipyard should be moved elsewhere to enable more ships to dock.

The ports of Hungnam, Chongjin, Tanchon, Tasado and Rajin should also be reconstructed and expanded under a long-range programme.

In order to guarantee the success of large-scale port construction projects, two port construction agencies should be set up, one on the east coast and one on the west, so that we can gradually proceed with port construction while accumulating experience and training large numbers of cadres.

It is also necessary to strengthen the training of cadres for water transport. We should enlarge the University of Sea Transport as soon

as possible and increase the number of higher technical schools for this sphere in order to train more technical cadres.

In the light of the projected building of large numbers of ships, we have the urgent problem of increasing the production of marine equipment and accessories. We must meet the demand for radar, automatic steering gear, compasses and radio equipment. To do this, we should set up factories specializing in their production.

While taking these measures to improve and increase marine transport, we should launch an energetic campaign to carry more cargo with the existing vessels.

In the last few years our general transport requirements have sharply increased, but the volume of cargo carried by sea is falling rather than rising. So it is quite clear that the railways have had to bear the greater strain. We maintain that this is largely because the officials in water transport are inactive. From now on, they should be more active in getting more cargo transported by sea and river. We should quickly complete the wharf projects at Sohaeri and at the Hwanghae Iron Works, so as to be able to transport iron ore from Unryul by boat and carry pig iron and materials for rolled steel between the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Kangson Steel Plant, also by boat. As I have already mentioned, both coal and grain should be carried by boat so that we can rapidly increase the volume of goods handled by water transport.

The last thing I want to say on the subject of transport is to stress that all sectors of the national economy and all factories and enterprises should give meaningful assistance to transportation. Every sector of the national economy and every enterprise uses some means of transportation. No one should be indifferent to this matter. The machine-building industry should not lag behind demand in producing and supplying equipment and accessories needed by the railways and other branches of transport. Coal and ore mines should dress coal and ore more thoroughly to prevent the carriage of useless dirt. All branches and units should raise the utilization rate of goods wagons by rapid loading and unloading and take the utmost care of transport equipment.

## **SOME PROBLEMS IN MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION**

**Concluding Speech at the 18th Enlarged Plenary  
Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*November 16, 1968*

I referred in detail to manpower administration in my concluding speech at the 16th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party. So today I am not going to deal with it at length but stress just a few points.

The success of socialist construction depends largely on whether or not manpower is administered properly. Therefore, manpower administration is very important work which must be effectively tackled throughout the course of the building of socialism and communism.

A particularly urgent question in our country today, one decisive to furthering our revolution and construction, is how to alleviate the acute manpower shortage.

The strain on our labour force has reached a very grave stage. We have to accelerate socialist construction while in direct confrontation with US imperialism which is scheming more overtly than ever to unleash war. We must, therefore, strengthen our armed forces and build up our national defence on the one hand and, on the other, achieve the immediate main targets of the Seven-Year Plan in order to improve the people's living conditions and strengthen the country's economic base. This requires a large labour force. However, owing to

the three-year Fatherland Liberation War, our work force will increase by very little in the coming two or three years and our labour resources will remain extremely limited. So there is a wide gap between the need for manpower and the reserves. South Hamgyong Province, for example, requires 17,000 more workers for next year, but only 8,000 are available.

Our country is suffering from this serious manpower shortage, but senior officials of the Party, state and economic organizations and enterprises show little concern for manpower administration. Even after the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held a serious discussion on how to improve manpower administration and adopted an appropriate resolution, and we have emphasized this matter at every opportunity since then, none of the ministers, or chief secretaries of provincial Party committees or chairmen of provincial people's committees has tackled the job meticulously to date.

This situation can no longer be tolerated. From this very moment, everyone must get to work to solve the nation's acute manpower shortage.

The most important thing in labour administration is to conduct political work properly so that all the working people work willingly, conscientiously and strenuously.

Labour not only produces things which are indispensable for the people's existence, such as food, clothing and housing but it also plays an important role in working-classing all our working people who are building socialism and communism. Only when no one is idle and everyone voluntarily participates in labour, is it possible to build a socialist and then a communist society where all people live well, and to working-classize all the members of society.

In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, however, many people hate work and are strongly influenced by the outdated concept of wanting to live a life of idleness. This retrograde thinking does not originate in socialist society. It is a legacy of capitalist society, where people are so hard pressed by toil that they cannot help longing for an idle life.

Formerly, though they themselves followed the plough, our peasants wanted their sons to serve at least as a clerk for a wealthy man instead of farming the land. They used to be bled white by the landlords. No matter how hard they toiled, they always ended up empty-handed while the idle landlords and capitalists lived in affluence. Therefore, the peasants could not help but regard labour as something disgraceful and even envied idlers instead of loathing them.

These tenacious viruses from the old society persist for a long time even in socialist society where the people have become the masters of the country and all the means of production have become the property of society.

Today many office workers idle their time away in the office doing nothing and then go home at the end of the day. Yet they accept their salaries without feeling any remorse.

Our salaries are remuneration for the work we have done. They are a part of the nation's wealth, public property gained at the cost of the blood and sweat of all the people. Therefore, when taking his salary, every person should consider whether he has really done the work to deserve it. If he feels no pang of conscience at receiving a high salary while doing nothing, it means he is still enslaved by the capitalist idea of getting a large salary for doing as little as possible.

Therefore, in order to alleviate the acute labour shortage, we must first intensify political work among the working people and reform their ideology. In this way, all of them must be taught to regard labour as most honourable and to regard as their lofty duty the devotion of all their energy, knowledge and talents to the good of the country and the people. If we lay undue stress on material incentives instead of attaching primary importance to political work, that is, ideological work, we cannot put manpower administration on the right track.

In most cases, however, our officials think only of increasing material incentives. They consider that manpower administration is unsatisfactory mainly because technical and administrative work such as regulating wage scales and fixing work norms is not done efficiently.

It is true that it is necessary to regulate wages properly and to fix work norms correctly, and our Party pays great attention to this work. But you should not think that in fixing wages we discriminate between heavy and light, physical and mental and industrial and agricultural work for the sole purpose of stimulating work by material incentives. In other words, you should not think that wages are set high for certain categories of work and low for others in order to attract people to the work requiring hard, backbreaking labour.

In determining wages we differentiate between various categories of work chiefly because of the difference in labour intensity and the physical and mental energy expended. We do this so that workers can fully recover the energy expended in labour and to guarantee their livelihood.

At present miners and blast furnacemen are paid more than other workers. This is because they sweat more and get more tired both physically and mentally than those engaged in other work and they should, therefore, be provided with better conditions for recuperation.

When I spoke on the subject of transport, I suggested that dispatchers and engine drivers should be better paid. This is because their work puts a greater strain on them and is very exhausting. During our visit to North Hamgyong Province, we told the people there to provide deep-sea fishermen with good houses. We did so in order to ensure them ample facilities for rest, not to give them material incentives. If deep-sea fishermen returning home after working on the raging sea for a month or two cannot get enough rest or sleep comfortably before going out to sea again, they will not be able to do their work properly. Therefore, it is quite natural that they should be provided with a good apartment, so that they can rest well and completely recover from their fatigue before setting off to sea again.

It would be a great mistake for any of you ever to try to solve the problem of manpower administration with the help of foreign books on labour economy which put the main stress on material incentives.

Today most of our workers do not work for money, nor do they need any material incentive. They want only that the state should

guarantee their livelihood. They all work conscientiously. Once some senior officials who did not have a clear idea on how to apply the law of value correctly in a socialist society, visited the Hwanghae Iron Works and committed a blunder when they tried to apply it incorrectly. When they made random, irresponsible statements on the law of value, the furnacemen said, “Get away with your law of value or ‘law of valves’ or whatever it is. We don’t need any material incentive! So long as our livelihood is guaranteed, we’ll devote our all to working for the country and the people. Stop bothering us and go away.”

We must not try to administer manpower by raising wages or by putting material incentives first. Instead, we must settle this problem by giving absolute priority to political and moral incentives so as to constantly increase the conscious enthusiasm of the working people, while combining this properly with economic and technical work.

Even after the socialist system is established, differences between mental and physical, heavy and light and direct and indirect labour remain for quite a long time. Great differences exist between industrial and agricultural labour, particularly in countries which have inherited backward productive forces. For instance, there is a big difference between the amount of labour expended by a furnaceman and an office worker. Men who work at a blast furnace in the summer sweat so much that their bodies lose a large amount of salt. We supply them with nutritional food, soft drinks and protective clothing and safety equipment, but this is by no means enough for them to recover all the energy they have used.

Distinctions between heavy and light and mental and physical labour will be eliminated in the future when the productive forces are highly developed. Today, in advanced countries, I am told, blast furnaces, open hearths and electric furnaces have cooling devices and are automated. The workers produce steel by pushing a few buttons. They do not sweat at all and even wear ties at work. There is little difference between reading files in an office and watching molten iron at a blast furnace. In the final analysis, to eliminate differences in various kinds of work, the productive forces must be developed quickly.



When our productive forces are greatly developed, we will not have to talk about heavy and light or mental and physical labour, or keep the present differential pay rates.

We still have a long way to go, however, before reaching that stage. For the present, since there are differences in labour, we must keep differential pay rates for various sectors and trades. We do not oppose wage adjustment itself. We oppose the attempt to hold on to material incentives alone and to get people to work for money, instead of doing political work among them. Making people think of nothing but money and work just for money is a capitalist method by which we shall never be able to build socialism and communism.

We stress the proper observance of the socialist principle of distribution, not because we want to give material incentives, but because it serves as an important means of combatting the backward thinking of wanting to eat the bread of idleness.

Foreigners are now asking us how to mount Chollima, but the secret of Chollima is precisely the successful conduct of political work.

If you think we can achieve a high rate of growth in production by increasing material incentives, in other words, by paying larger wages or more bonuses, you are mistaken. Things will never go well if we try to build socialism by increasing material incentives alone, without doing efficient political work among the working people and getting them to work willingly. It will never enable us to mount Chollima, still less make revolution. Suppose you ask somebody to make revolution for a certain amount of money. Do you think he will risk his life for the revolution? If we follow this course, we shall eventually fall into the mire of capitalism.

Things did not progress well in some sectors at one time because anti-Party factionalists spread bourgeois and feudal-Confucian ideas among the working people instead of educating them in our Party's idea.

On one occasion these wicked people visited the Komdok Mine, gathered the miners together and persuaded them not to try to mine more ore as the Party wanted. They told them not to exert themselves

in order to increase production and to refrain from overdoing it. The bourgeois poison spread by these evil elements caused a sharp fall in ore output. Later, when the mine officials fought hard to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system, ore output doubled. On the surface, those scoundrels seemed to show concern for the workers, but in fact they were trying to paralyse their revolutionary consciousness and prevent the state from becoming rich and strong and the people's living standards from improving through the development of the productive forces on a large scale.

In my opinion, our Party has conducted political work correctly so far. Of course, I do not mean that it has been perfect, but the defects are not due to blunders made by the lower-level officials but to the poison spread by the evil persons who held responsible positions. Before, in establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system, many people committed different errors. Some scoundrels looked for a chance to disrupt socialist construction intentionally. But most people committed errors unwittingly because they had accepted the directions of the bad elements in high positions, believing that their mischief was in accordance with the Party's wishes.

If our officials do ideological work skilfully among the workers and help them to be clear on the objectives of their work and strive devotedly for the Party, the country and the people, nothing will be impossible for us.

Rapid progress and radical changes are being achieved these days in all spheres of the national economy because we are carrying on a struggle to wipe out the malicious ideological aftereffects of the anti-Party factionalists and establish the Party's monolithic ideological system among Party members and the working people. Such progress and changes clearly show what great strength they display when they are armed with the Party's revolutionary ideas.

Our vanguard workers now say that they have no fixed work norm or quota but that they themselves set them in accordance with what is demanded by the Party. This not only shows how faithful our working class is to the Party but also tells us that our workers are not concerned

about any material incentives or fixed quotas.

Today, manpower administration personnel and senior economic officials make a fetish of labour management, talking at length about labour quotas and wage adjustment. But this is a mistaken attitude. There is nothing mysterious about manpower administration. Those who are engaged in this work regard wage adjustment as something very complicated. But we can manage it quite easily once we have a good understanding of the actual situation and hold fast to the Party's policies.

Needless to say, senior economic officials should take technical and practical steps such as fixing work norms and adjusting wages. But they should not confine manpower administration to that alone. They should strive to alleviate the pressing manpower shortage by strengthening political work in line with the Party's policy.

Firstly, Party members and the working people should be thoroughly filled with the love of work. It must be brought home to all the working people that labour is essential and honourable in our society. Men should be educated from primary school days onwards to regard idleness as shameful and disgraceful and work as something to love. It is also necessary for films, plays and novels to have the love of labour as their theme so as to educate our working people.

In educating the working people it is very important that cadres set practical examples. This is a precious lesson gained in the days of our anti-Japanese armed struggle. Then none of our company or regimental commanders put on airs and sat doing nothing. On arriving at a camp site, the commanders were the first to saw wood and prepare the quarters. In battle, they fought valiantly in the forefront. All captured enemy material was distributed equally. This was why the men and officers were closely united as one and could stand the grim trials, always emerging victorious.

Our senior officials must work more conscientiously and willingly than anyone else and, through their own example, educate the working people in the communist attitude towards labour.

As well as educating the working people, we should establish strict

order in work and tighten labour discipline.

In getting the working people to adopt the communist attitude towards labour and to work willingly, conscientiously and zealously, the main stress should be put on ideological education to reform their thinking. But education alone is not enough. In the interim, we must establish strict order in work and enforce rigid discipline so that there will be no room for anyone to be idle. If everyone were armed with communist ideology and worked willingly and conscientiously for the sake of the country and the people, that would be another matter. But since outdated thinking persists and there are still some people who are infected with the old capitalist ideas, it is imperative to establish strict labour discipline and place people under regular organizational supervision while educating them.

We sometimes see our children, towels tied around their heads, studying hard well into the night and even skipping their meals, when they are taking exams, although they usually neglect their studies despite our repeated remonstrances. This shows that examinations are an effective means of control.

In the same way, since the ideological awareness of all the working people is not so high as to make them work willingly and conscientiously, we should do our work scrupulously, establish discipline and order and tighten supervision so that the obsolete concept of idle living will not fill their minds. When discipline is strengthened in this way, even those who are gripped to a considerable extent by outmoded ideas will find it difficult to work sluggishly.

If state institutions and enterprises relax labour discipline and fail to establish order and exercise proper supervision, negative factors will take advantage of the fact and grow.

Sometimes, when walking along asphalt roads, we come across weeds growing in the cracks. They raise their heads even on asphalt-surfaced roads if there are cracks. Like these weeds, the poisonous remnants of capitalist ideas are very tenacious and raise their heads whenever there is a crevice, however small.

Individualistic ideas which greatly hinder the development of our

work have become deeply rooted over a long period of time. Carried over as they are from ancient times when class society emerged, they cannot be rooted out easily in a day or two with only a few training sessions.

In addition to persistent education, rigorous discipline and strict order should be established in all sectors to leave no room for capitalist and revisionist elements, however small, to raise their heads. Anyone who idles away his time should be punished by administrative means and his Party or working people's organization should also criticize him severely and press him hard. Factories, mines and other enterprises should keep a close check on the workers' attendance, establish strict order in work and carry out a forceful campaign to make them turn their 480-minute workday to the fullest account.

In the past, people were pensioned off indiscriminately, so we have come across quite a few able-bodied men wasting their time on pension. We should re-examine all pensioners to make sure that there are no idlers amongst them.

Meanwhile, ministries should take the responsibility for providing suitable conditions so that the workers can work for the whole 480 minutes.

A very important task now facing manpower administration is to regulate the labour force correctly so that everyone will work equally hard.

First of all, the non-productive work force must be reduced to the minimum.

At present, there are many redundant organs and departments at higher levels, and more at lower levels, and a great many people in the nonproductive sectors waste their time, doing nothing in particular.

It is said that the Ministry of Railways has a central transport design institute as well as one in each of the eastern and western regions. It has eight in all if other institutes are counted. You can get to any place in our country in one or two days, however far away it is. So if you have something to do anywhere, just one trip from the capital is enough. What is the point of this sector having institutes in so many places?

They should be amalgamated. I was told that there is a large number of different scientific research institutions in South Phyongan Province and in other areas, too. We should investigate them and close down unnecessary ones and merge those which can be merged.

There are also very many redundant personnel in the trade sector. A department store, for instance, has a director, a deputy director and floor managers. There is no need to have so many chiefs.

Also, with the sharp increase in the number of procurement bodies, many of their staff are wasting their time. Hosts of idlers are emerging among purchasing agents because they are sent down to the localities without any correct idea of the amount of work they have to do. At present, many purchasing agents make the rounds of every rural ri to buy goods. But in my opinion this is unnecessary. Since every rural ri has a shop and shop assistants, you can just give them procurement quotas, and a purchasing agent can be assigned to each county seat and he will make trips by car to collect the goods purchased at the village shops.

On the pretext of establishing a system of unified control over the transmission lines, the Ministry of Electricity and Coal Industries had incorporated all cooperative farm electricians into the national manpower pool and has posted linesmen to every rural ri, and they receive their wages and provisions from the state. Now that they are on state rations they sit about doing nothing, using the excuse that they are only supposed to take care of the transmission lines, although they used to look after the electric equipment on the farms as well as checking these lines. This has compelled the farms to employ electricians of their own again. They say that not only the linesmen but their family members have become idlers. This means that one loafer begets more loafers. This all arises from the fact that the officials of the Ministry of Electricity and Coal Industries did their work inefficiently, taking into account only the need for a unified control system over the transmission lines and paying no attention to the great waste of manpower. And because the ministry has failed to supervise the linesmen scattered throughout the villages, this system has in fact not

yet been established although their number has greatly increased.

We must be careful when transferring the work force of cooperative farms to the national manpower pool. At one time this was done with the workers of rice-cleaning mills. Formerly, when they came under the farms, they would willingly clean the rice at any time, even working on Sundays. But as soon as they received their food rations from the state, they worked only eight hours a day and stopped all Sunday work, while others toiled late into the night. This did more harm than good. So we placed them under the control of the farms once more. This is also the case with the linesmen. In my opinion, we should send them back to the cooperative farms, give them practical training and familiarize them with control regulations so that they will take good care of the transmission lines. Their family members should also be urged to work on the farms.

Furthermore, there are many unnecessary establishments such as designing offices and so on. We should do away with these redundant bodies and establishments, amalgamating those which can be amalgamated, abolishing the unnecessary ones and transferring the manpower thus released to the productive sectors.

Officials of the Cabinet department which authorizes new establishments are largely responsible for the unnecessary increase in the work force in the non-productive sectors and in management. Those in the Cabinet who are in charge of this work must rely on the Party's policy and ensure that non-productive and management work forces are reduced and that everyone works equally hard. But they do not do this. They have set up many unnecessary offices and increased the number of idlers. This irresponsible attitude must be completely changed.

At the same time, we must introduce large numbers of women to the labour front by taking positive action to replace the male work force in non-productive and light work with a female work force. This helps to revolutionize women and is of great importance in making up the shortage of young and middle-aged labour power.

However, serious defects are still being revealed in the use of

female labour power. These days the number of women workers is decreasing in the sector of light labour, while increasing in the sector of heavy labour. The Party has asked coal and ore mines to employ fewer women workers and, in particular, not to let them work in the pits. But on the whole, the number of women workers in the mines, including those working in the pits, is steadily increasing. In contrast, the number of women workers is decreasing in light industrial enterprises, in purchasing and food administration bodies and in educational and cultural institutions in spite of the Party's instructions that many women should be drawn into these sectors.

Locally-run factories are instructed to make up more than 80 per cent of their work force with women, but they do not do so. Women can do any work, even in machine factories, except heating and pressing, to say nothing of work in light industries. They can perform any duty including the job of manager.

As for culture and the arts, many men work in the houses of culture. Here, too, women can be employed. We should also cut the number of people in mobile film projection teams. From now on, we should provide cooperative farms with film projectors and arrange courses to train their drivers and announcers to operate the projectors as well. The counties should only be responsible for taking the necessary measures to repair projectors when they break down.

The women labour force is not being used rationally in agriculture, either. In the countryside many men are now assigned to stockbreeding and fruit-growing teams because the work is tough. But in fact, breeding pigs and pruning apple trees is easier than farming activities such as rice transplanting. Yet women are doing almost all the hard farm work because too many men work at stockbreeding and fruit growing. This unreasonable practice must be eliminated.

Women are quite capable of operating water pumps. So we should transfer male pump operators to farming workteams and replace them with women.

We must carry out a thorough examination of the sections at institutions and enterprises in all branches of the national economy



where women can work, and then replace men with women as soon as possible. But we should not transfer old people or disabled soldiers who are doing light work, on the grounds that male labour should be replaced by female labour. This work must be carried out so as to use many young and middle-aged men to the fullest extent.

Our officials allege that women cannot do work which requires a high level of technology and skill, but this is an expression of outmoded feudal ideas. Women are perfectly capable of mastering technology. If men can acquire technology, there is no reason why women cannot. We must firmly resist the tendency to discourage women from working in technical fields by making them afraid of technology.

We should give women a few months' technical training before assigning them to work requiring high technical and skill levels.

At the same time, we should promote women to responsible positions as far as possible at cooperative farms and at enterprises where a large number of women work. Experience shows that women cadres are in no way inferior to men.

In the rural areas, many women should be made workteam leaders, chairmen of management boards and secretaries in future. It would be a good idea for a man to be the people's committee secretary where a woman is the management board chairman, and vice versa.

Meanwhile, we must strongly promote the technical revolution so as to turn heavy labour into light labour and carry out tough, labour-consuming work with machines.

If we mechanize and automate production processes, we can save a great deal of labour and sharply increase per-capita output value. Before we mechanized and automated chicken raising, it was hardly possible for one breeder to raise even several hundred chickens at chicken plants. But with mechanization and automation, one breeder is now taking care of 10,000 chickens. Labour productivity has increased scores of times.

The technical revolution will not only make it possible to save labour but will enable women to do any work formerly done by young

and middle-aged men. At present most rice-cleaning mill workers are men. But the introduction of conveyers and the improvement of some equipment will save a large amount of labour and also enable women to work without difficulty. The technical revolution must be forcefully promoted in every sphere and in every unit so as to economize on labour, even though it is only by one more man-day.

We must concentrate our efforts on solving the problem of the acute labour shortage in this way. This is well within our power once we make up our minds and set to work on it. At yesterday's sub-committee meetings you worked out ways of providing a reserve of nearly 180,000 men, of whom 22,000 will be released through the curtailment of the nonproductive labour force, 9,000 through the amalgamation of managements, 91,000 through the replacement of male by female labour, 30,000 through technological innovations and 25,000 through improved production and labour management.

These are preliminary figures based on a rough and conservative estimate without referring to the manpower ledgers. How conservative they are can be clearly seen by the mere fact that a labour force of no more than 30,000 will be released through technological innovations. I am sure that if you go back and closely examine your data, you will be able to find much greater labour reserves.

Even the roughly estimated reserve reaches approximately 180,000 men. From this we can conclude that we shall be able to make up the shortage of 180,000 men, as mentioned in the report yesterday. You are always asking us to assign discharged soldiers to your factories, but there is no need to do this. Reorganize your labour force, and then you will have a good reserve of young and middle-aged men.

The supply service for the welfare of the working people is one of the most important aspects of labour administration. Only when we provide them with satisfactory supply services and thus help them to recover the energy which they have expended in their work and to relax properly, can they maintain a high level of efficiency in their labour. That is why we regard the welfare supply service as important political work.

Today the living conditions of our working people are better than ever before. None of them has any worries about food, clothing and shelter or about the education of his sons and daughters. Before liberation, our parents suffered bitterly to see their children crying because they were unable to go to school. Even those who could afford to send their children to school experienced difficulties because they could not pay the tuition fees on time. But this sort of worry no longer exists.

If our working people suffer any inconvenience in their daily life today, it is a slight shortage of subsidiary foodstuffs. If we solve this problem, we can raise the working people's living standards one step higher and they will suffer no discomfort at all.

This is not a large problem either. We must get to work and solve it rapidly.

Firstly, the construction of the chicken plants now under way must be speeded up and completed as soon as possible. On the completion of the present projects we shall have an annual production capacity of 600 million eggs at the state-run chicken plants alone. Then, in the following year, these plants will be able to produce 500 million eggs and, from the year after, 600 million eggs annually.

In addition to the construction of chicken plants, a widespread mass movement to raise chickens must be initiated. We experimented with distributing month-old chicks raised at the Mangyongdae Chicken Plant to villages, and each of them laid as many as 200 eggs a year. Large numbers of chicks should be supplied to rural districts from now onwards. If month-old chicks are distributed in this way, we can obtain a great many eggs without even having to take the trouble to build hencoops or provide the hens with assorted feed.

It is true that, at present, the state-run chicken plants cannot afford to supply chicks in large numbers to the country areas because they have to build up their egg production capacities, but from the second half of next year they will be able to supply a great deal.

In the rural areas there are some 1.3 million households, including those of factory and office workers. Each household should be urged to

keep five hens. Suppose each of these lays 180 eggs a year, every home will produce 900 eggs, and the 1.3 million rural households will produce nearly 1,200 million. At least 800 million eggs will easily be produced in the country areas. Adding those produced at the state-run chicken plants, we shall have a total of 1,400 million eggs every year from 1970 on. Of course, this figure still seems a bit small, but even this will considerably improve the working people's diet.

At the same time, we should strongly encourage the movement to get each farm household to produce 100 kilogrammes of meat and each cooperative farm workteam two tons, in line with the resolution adopted at the last plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee. Many farms reached this target this year. We must increase this success.

We must also catch large quantities of fish. As well as deep-sea fishing, inshore and medium and small-scale fisheries should be extensively developed in order to catch 800,000-1,000,000 tons a year.

In addition, large quantities of fresh vegetables must be produced by widely applying the sprinkler irrigation system. The introduction of this system to the vegetable plots will certainly enable us to produce 150 tons of vegetables per hectare.

At the same time, we must cultivate oil-bearing plants on a large scale to solve the problem of cooking oil, and we should also produce a large amount of fruit by carefully tending the fruit trees. If we work well, we shall have a large apple crop next year, and 500,000 tons of fruit a year from 1970 onwards.

The problem of subsidiary foodstuffs will be completely solved if the working people are provided with an abundance of eggs, meat, fish, vegetables and fruit.

All Party organizations, government bodies, working people's organizations and administrative and economic organs must concern themselves deeply with the improvement of the supply service for the welfare of the working people. They should launch a broad-based mass movement to build more houses and keep them neat and clean and to produce more vegetables, eggs, meat and other subsidiary foodstuffs.

Let me once again stress the Party's policy on manpower administration. It is to give absolute precedence to political work while properly applying the socialist principle of distribution; to get everybody to work willingly and conscientiously by strengthening labour discipline and establishing an orderly system in work; to make the most effective use of the nation's manpower resources by putting the right man in the right place; to raise labour productivity and eliminate the differences in work by expediting the technical revolution; and to provide an adequate standard of living for the working people. We must firmly follow this policy and resolutely strengthen manpower administration in order to hasten socialist construction more forcefully.

## **GREETING THE NEW YEAR 1969**

### **Speech at the New Year Banquet**

*January 1, 1969*

Comrades,

We have seen out the year 1968 and welcomed in the New Year of 1969.

In greeting the New Year, I should like to extend warm congratulations to you comrades present here and to all the people including the industrial workers, farmers and working intellectuals who are courageously advancing in the spirit of Chollima under the leadership of our Party.

I also offer fraternal greetings to all the south Korean revolutionaries and democrats who are heroically fighting against the US imperialists and their stooges, braving all difficulties and hardships, underground, in prisons, in the mountains and in all parts of south Korea.

My hearty congratulations go also to the 600,000 Korean compatriots in Japan who, under the guidance of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), are opposed to militaristic repression by the Japanese reactionary government, positively support the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic and are carrying out a forceful struggle for national reunification and for their democratic national rights.

In 1968 we once again achieved great triumphs and successes, boldly overcoming all the political and economic difficulties and trials which stood in our path.

Last year we suffered great hardships because of the *Pueblo* incident which was brought about by the provocative acts of the US imperialists.

Early last year they openly intruded into our territorial waters and committed provocative acts of aggression against our country. But the valiant officers and men of the People's Army and our people captured the armed spy ship *Pueblo* and determinedly smashed the reckless aggressive actions of the US imperialists.

As a result, the situation in our country became very tense, and the *Pueblo* incident was a matter of international concern, which attracted the attention of the people all over the world. Even the press in capitalist countries headlined it as an important world event last year, second only to the Viet Nam war.

When we captured the *Pueblo*, the US imperialists threatened us in every possible way. They created a clamour, stationing the largest nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise* in the East Sea of our country and bringing warplanes into south Korea.

But we were not cowed by any enemy threats.

At a session of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee we decided to take a bold stand to repel any act of encroachment on our sovereignty at the cost of our lives, and we steadfastly maintained it. In accordance with the Party's policy, we made all possible preparations, firmly resolved to fight fire with fire, watching the prevailing situation and every move made by the enemy calmly and intently. On the matter of disposing of the captured *Pueblo*, we adopted the unyielding attitude that we would never return it unless the US imperialists made a formal apology for their violation of our territorial waters and signed a pledge never to repeat such an act of aggression.

This stand and attitude of our Party were most revolutionary and justifiable. If we had not struck back at the US imperialists who had violated our territorial waters, what would have been the outcome? Why should we accept such humiliation? We shall never give in nor shall we act in a cowardly manner however much they may try to

intimidate us with atom bombs or with even more dreadful weapons.

Our Party's unyielding and determined stand eventually deterred the US imperialists from unleashing a war and compelled the *Enterprise* to withdraw meekly. Of course, taking advantage of the *Pueblo* incident, the south Korean puppet clique obtained tens of thousands of guns from the Americans. But these guns do not scare us.

After stubbornly refusing to do so on one pretext or another for 11 months last year, the US imperialists at last signed a letter of apology, in which they vowed that they would never violate our waters again. So we confiscated the *Pueblo* as a trophy and deported her crew. This was also a just action.

Now that the crew has returned, the Americans are disputing the facts, claiming that their signature is null and void, but this is absurd talk. No matter what crafty manoeuvres they employ, they will never be able to conceal from the people of the world the stark fact that they signed the letter of apology and knelt down before the Korean people.

We courageously overcame the severe trial caused by the *Pueblo* incident and won a great victory. Through this incident we clearly demonstrated to the whole world once again that all our people are united behind our Party more closely than ever before and that they are fully prepared to counter any enemy aggression bravely.

Last year we also suffered a bitter political experience externally in connection with the situation in Czechoslovakia.

The *Pueblo* incident in our country and the crisis in Czechoslovakia were different in character but they were both trying ordeals in the fight against imperialism.

In spite of the great political difficulties they experienced under the very complicated circumstances at home and abroad last year, our people were able to make powerful progress in the building of socialism under the leadership of the Party and Government.

In 1968 we were also faced with many difficulties in the field of economic construction.

In 1967 we suffered great flood damage. Repairing the damage was a very difficult task and it seriously affected economic construction



during 1968. But we have completely recovered from the damage in a short time by our own efforts, without depending on any other country and put the national economy as a whole on a regular basis. This was because the foundation of our independent industry was sound.

During the first quarter of last year we took measures for further strengthening our defence capabilities to cope with the *Pueblo* incident, which affected our economic construction to a certain extent. Steel production also suffered from the shortage of coking coal. In particular, last year's long spell of drought had an adverse effect on the production of electricity, and seriously hampered the development of the national economy. Our country undergoes a long spell of dry weather once in every ten years, but last year's was unprecedented. Elderly people said that it was the severest drought in living memory.

We successfully overcame all these difficulties. We succeeded in withstanding the severe drought, made certain of production in spite of the shortage of electric power and coking coal, and surmounted the difficulties in economic construction.

In this way we increased the value of gross industrial output by 15 per cent last year as against the previous year. Of course, this figure is a little lower than originally planned, but it is very high in the light of the very large scale of our industry. Capitalist countries can never attain such rapid growth.

Last year we made great strides in agriculture as well. Despite the unfavourable weather conditions, we produced bountiful crops for two consecutive years. This growth in agricultural production is a great help to the development of our national economy as a whole.

As a result of this high rate of growth in all sectors of the national economy last year, we have paved the way more soundly for implementing the line of developing economic and defence construction simultaneously. This is another great victory for us.

In 1968, many severe hardships and political and economic difficulties and trials stood in our way, but we braved all of them and advanced triumphantly.

This should be attributed to the fact that all our cadres, Party

members and the people, closely united behind the Party, fought through fire and water to carry out the Party's policy.

Of course, in the course of work last year a large number of officials was criticized and went through many hardships. People who work cannot be completely free from criticism. It is natural that when they make mistakes in their work they should be criticized, and this is good for future development.

I am very satisfied with the fact that last year all our officials fought bravely, pursuant to Party policy, without yielding in the face of any difficulties and trials.

Comrades,

We are confronted with enormous tasks in 1969.

This year we must make full-scale efforts to implement the line of carrying out economic and defence construction simultaneously in accordance with the decisions of the Party Conference. By so doing we shall reach some major goals of the Seven-Year Plan on the one hand, and on the other we shall produce more weapons and military equipment to augment our defence capabilities.

As everybody knows, building up the economy and our defences simultaneously means exercising stringent control over economic and defence construction, without weakening either of them. If the one is neglected for the sake of the other, it cannot be called a line of simultaneous construction, and there will be nothing new about it. At the moment some people are said to be talking nonsense, saying that there is nothing new in this line because it is a matter of course that a socialist country builds up the economy and its defences.

These people do not yet fully understand the essence of our Party's line of simultaneous construction. It is the line of going ahead vigorously with the building of the socialist economy, while at the same time carrying on defence construction at a high level. This line is indisputably new and original.

It is a most realistic, revolutionary and logical line in the situation where the country is divided into north and south and we are directly confronting the enemy. The simultaneous construction of the economy

and our defences is the only way to consolidate the foundations of the independent national economy of the country and steadily improve the people's standard of living so as to fully demonstrate the real advantages of the socialist system, and to prepare our own revolutionary forces which will be capable of giving powerful support to the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people and of defeating the enemy's aggressive actions successfully.

Of course, it is a difficult task to carry on economic and defence construction at the same time, and there will be many difficulties and obstacles in the way of our carrying it out. But we must not turn back from this path under any circumstances nor fail to fulfil this task.

I am told that some people are now complaining that new tasks are given them even before the old ones have been finished. You must not, on any account, pay attention to such complaints.

There will always be difficulties in the revolutionary struggle, and, in the face of these difficulties, laggards and deserters will always appear. And when the struggle becomes fierce, some people will also hesitate out of fear. Waverers will drop away from the revolutionary cause, stalwarts will continue with their struggle, and enterprising young people will appear. We can say that this is a law of the revolutionary struggle and of social development.

In order to adhere strictly to the line of building up the economy and our defences at the same time, we must, this year, continue to increase the industrial output rapidly, bring about further improvements in agriculture so as to raise bumper crops once again and make great advance in construction, transport and all other sectors of the national economy. If we do not make this tremendous progress, we shall be unable to implement the line of building up the economy and our defences simultaneously with any success.

Therefore, we have set high targets in most sectors of this year's plan. As I said at the last meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, we need not be afraid of high targets at all. If we are to plan, we ought to plan to advance courageously. We must not plan a slow, comfortable walking pace. This is not an attitude befitting

revolutionaries. Although it is a little difficult, this year we must, once more, aim for, and fight to achieve, high targets so that we can carry out the line of simultaneous construction.

At the moment, some people mistakenly argue that the growth of industrial output cannot exceed 6 to 7 per cent a year because industry in socialist countries is developed and its scale is large.

We inherited a backward economy from the old society, and our country is divided. In this situation we have to build the socialist economy in direct confrontation with the US imperialists and we also have to help the south Korean people in their struggle. So we cannot advance slowly; we cannot accept the opinions of these people.

This year we have planned to increase the value of our total industrial output by 23 per cent. I think this year we shall be able to advance at a higher speed than we did last year. This year everything, except the power situation, is more favourable than it was last year. This year there will be no disturbing incidents like those we underwent last year. So we shall set about our work smoothly from the new year, and we shall have no problem with coking coal and crude oil. We shall be a little short of electric power on account of the drought last year, but it will be no great problem because a large thermal power plant works well.

The prospects for agriculture are also bright. We have a larger stock of fertilizer than last year and the sub-workteam management system is working more efficiently with every passing day, and farming techniques have been improved. In the final analysis, agricultural output will be greater than last year; there is no adverse factor.

This year we must strengthen our People's Army still more.

The main tasks of the People's Army this year are to establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party throughout the army, while building up its technical equipment, to root out bureaucratism and military despotism and to establish the traditional characteristic of unity between army and people and between officers and men thoroughly. The People's Army has to improve political work so as to encourage all the soldiers to defend and carry out the Party's policies,

orders and instructions to the letter in any adversity, to strengthen its links with the people and to knit even closer the bonds of comradeship between officers and men in the units. In this way, the fighting power of our People's Army will be increased in all respects.

At the same time, we must firmly adhere to the policy of arming the whole population and fortifying the whole country, improve the work of Worker-Peasant Red Guards and of public security, and the performance of guard duties, and build up our defences.

In the new year we shall have to work harder in the external sphere, also. As you saw at the celebration functions of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Republic last year, the international prestige of our country is now unprecedentedly high, and international solidarity with our revolution is stronger than ever. The peoples of different countries the world over actively support our Party and our Republic, and we have many comrades-in-arms throughout the world. This year we shall consolidate the successes which we have already gained and strive to win more friends. We shall endeavour to develop relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries including the socialist countries and to align ourselves with the revolutionary people throughout the world.

This year we must carry on the ideological revolution vigorously, so as to rally cadres and Party members closely behind the Party Central Committee. We should, first of all, establish the habit of study throughout the Party. We should make it a rule for every official to study at school for one month a year in accordance with the decision of a meeting of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee. In this way everyone will equip himself with the monolithic ideology of our Party and, closely united behind our Party, make powerful progress towards fresh victories.

In greeting the New Year, 1969, let me propose a toast to the health of all comrades present here.

# **ON FURTHER ACCELERATING SOCIALIST RURAL CONSTRUCTION**

**Speech Delivered at the National Congress  
of Agricultural Workers**  
*February 7, 1969*

Comrades,

Last year we achieved another brilliant victory in agricultural production.

Our country suffered a long spell of drought, the severest in scores of years, and extremely adverse climatic conditions in all areas last year. In addition, it was a year when the country's situation was very tense, because no one knew when the enemy might attack us. However, all our cooperative farmers and senior agricultural workers were not in the least discouraged by the difficulties they encountered. In pursuance of the policy put forward by the Party at the national congress of agricultural workers last year, they determinedly launched a drive to produce 500 kilogrammes more grain per hectare and worked hard to produce more meat—two tons in respect of every workteam and 100 kilogrammes in respect of every household. Last year the Party and the state paid a great deal more attention to rural work than ever before and actively assisted in the work of farmers.

Because of this, a great many cooperative farms far exceeded the targets set by the Party in the production of grain and animal products.

Of the 3,289 cooperative farms in our country engaged in rice farming, 344 increased the per-hectare rice yield by 500-700

kilogrammes last year, 526 by 700-1,000 kilogrammes, and 469 by more than one ton. Thus, 1,339 cooperative farms in all increased their rice output by more than 500 kilogrammes per hectare.

Great success was also recorded in maize production. Our country has 3,513 maize-growing cooperative farms in all. Of them 453 raised their maize yields by 500-700 kilogrammes per hectare last year, 457 by 700-1,000 kilogrammes, and 326 by more than one ton. So, the cooperative farms which increased maize yields by over 500 kilogrammes per hectare numbered 1,236 in all.

As you can see, last year many cooperative farms overfulfilled the target for increased grain output set by the Party. This is a tremendous achievement.

In the drive for an increased yield of 500 kilogrammes or more of grain per hectare, Pyongyang, South Phyongan Province, North Phyongan Province, Kaesong, and North Hwanghae Province, in particular, set a good example. In Pyongyang, every hectare yielded 1,374 kilogrammes more rice and 628 kilogrammes more maize, and the corresponding figures for South Phyongan Province were 956 and 591. In North Phyongan Province, the figures stood at 635 and 504, and in Kaesong—595 and 631. North Hwanghae Province also produced a large quantity of rice, although its maize yield was somewhat low.

We are very satisfied with the great success achieved in grain production last year. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I express warm gratitude to the farmers on all the cooperative farms which produced over an additional 500 kilogrammes of grain per hectare, and particularly the cooperative farms in Pyongyang, South Phyongan Province, North Phyongan Province and Kaesong, and the cooperative farms in North Hwanghae Province which cultivated rice, and to all senior agricultural personnel.

Last year a drive was initiated on cooperative farms for every workteam to produce two tons of meat and every household, 100 kilogrammes. Here, too, great success was attained. It is by no means

easy to produce so much meat in the first year in conditions where stockbreeding foundations are weak and there is a manpower shortage on the cooperative farms. In spite of this, the cooperative farmers and senior agricultural personnel worked hard to carry out the tasks assigned them by the Party, so that many cooperative farms reached the target of meat production.

In the state-run animal husbandry sector, the employees of the Mangyongdae Chicken Plant made an especially commendable effort. Having been formed recently, this plant had not yet established itself and had little experience to draw on. However, its workers, technicians and office employees overfulfilled the egg production plan set by the Party through a devoted and steady effort.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I should like to extend thanks to the cooperative farms and their members for the production of more than two tons of meat per workteam and more than 100 kilogrammes per household last year, as well as to the employees of the Mangyongdae Chicken Plant.

Last year cooperative farms across the country worked well for the all-round development of agriculture, and, in particular, Kaechon County in South Phyongan Province distinguished itself. Kaechon County carried out with credit all the Party assignments for agricultural production, including the production quotas of grain, meat, vegetables and cocoons. This deserves high praise.

I offer my thanks to all the cooperative farmers and senior agricultural personnel in Kaechon County who set an example in the all-round development of agriculture.

All these successes which were achieved in our country areas last year are not by any means accidental. We had already made great achievements in agricultural production in 1967, and last year again accomplished great results. These achievements are attributable to the correct agricultural policy of our Party and the great efforts of all the farming population. This means that a firm foundation has been laid for the continued rapid development of our agriculture and the



attainment of new heights in agricultural production in the future.

But we should not be carried away by the successes which we have already achieved. Consolidating last year's performance, the agricultural cadres and all cooperative farmers should work hard to develop our socialist rural economy at a faster pace in the future.

## **1. ON FURTHER ACCELERATING THE IDEOLOGICAL, TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS IN THE RURAL AREAS**

If we are to continue to develop agriculture at a rapid pace, we must improve the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in pursuance of the policy elucidated in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

First of all, we should intensify the ideological revolution in rural areas.

The ideological revolution is the most important revolutionary task, which must be given priority in all work. Unless the worn-out ideas which linger in the minds of the cadres and workers in agriculture are rooted out and they are armed closely with the progressive revolutionary ideas of the working class, communist ideas, through the intensification of the ideological revolution, it is impossible to carry out the tasks confronting agriculture successfully or to build socialism and communism.

Although we have so far carried on the ideological revolution in the rural areas, we still have a long way to go to reform the thinking of the peasants in communism. During the past few days we have attended this congress and heard your speeches and read all the statements of the views you have presented. In the process we have come to realize that the agricultural cadres themselves are not yet sufficiently equipped with the revolutionary world outlook of the working class but are

suffering from many ideological failings.

Your principal ideological defect is that you have no correct idea of communism, of how to build communism in the rural areas. Many comrades still do not understand what a communist society is, much less what to do to build communism in the countryside or how to do it. This points to your inadequate knowledge of the substance of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* advanced by the Party.

The *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* is specifically the programme for the building of communism in the rural areas. To carry out the tasks set forth in the theses means fulfilling the tasks of the first stage of communist construction in the country areas, that is, the tasks of the transition period, and this alone will pave the way to communism. Although you speak a great deal about the need to implement the theses, you are not yet fully aware of our Party's idea and intention as set out there.

Let me take some examples.

Some comrades have now proposed that the county cooperative farm management committee and the county people's committee should be amalgamated. This shows that you are not yet certain about the reason for the formation of the county cooperative farm management committee and the role to be played by this committee in building communism in the rural areas.

The object of our formation of this committee is to manage agriculture, not by the old administrative methods, but by advanced enterprise guiding methods, namely by industrial methods.

Agricultural production is also a technical process conducted with machines, electric power, chemical fertilizers and agricultural chemicals, like the production of goods which is done with up-to-date machinery and equipment and raw materials in factories. Therefore, it is also essential to guide farm production along technological lines by industrial methods. So far we have often used the term enterprise guiding methods instead of the specific term industrial methods when referring to the county cooperative farm management committee's

guidance of cooperative farms. The reason is simply that our farm production's levels of mechanization, electrification and use of chemicals are not yet so high as to allow us to say it is carried on by industrial methods. The policy formulated by our Party in the theses is to hasten the technical revolution in the countryside to farm with machines, electricity, chemical fertilizers and agricultural chemicals everywhere, and to develop the form of ownership in the rural areas to state, all-people, ownership instead of stopping at converting the private ownership of individual peasants to cooperative ownership. Thus, our idea is to turn all the peasants into advanced agricultural workers without confining ourselves to converting the former individual peasants into socialist farmers.

This is the course by which we mean to proceed to communism in the rural areas. And we formed the county cooperative farm management committee as an important step to hasten this process. Yet, you do not regard this committee as an enterprise like a factory, but consider it an administrative institution for agriculture.

People on the Agricultural Commission are largely responsible for the fact that agricultural workers at the lower units have this imperfect understanding about the county cooperative farm management committee. They ought to set an example in guiding agriculture by industrial methods and teach their subordinates to understand the situation correctly. But, they themselves have guided agriculture more often than not by administrative and bureaucratic methods in the past, instead of industrial methods, and have trained their subordinates very inefficiently. As a result, little difference could be seen in the work of those at the lower levels between the periods before and after the establishment of the new system of agricultural guidance, and now they have even made this ill-advised proposal to merge the county cooperative farm management committee with the county people's committee.

Yesterday a cooperative farm chairman said that it would be a good idea for the state to raise the price of dried radish slices. This, too, shows that many outdated ideas still remain in the minds of the rural

cadres, and that their assimilation of the progressive ideas of the working class still leaves much to be desired.

If the price of dried radish slices has been fixed incorrectly, it should, of course, be put right. But the problem does not lie in the incorrect price of dried radish slices, but in the backward thinking which still persists in the minds of the management workers of cooperative farms. Their request for raising the price of dried radish slices amounts, in the last analysis, to saying that they will produce them only if the state pays more for them. This is because they still have the revisionist idea that they can make the farmers work only by means of increasing material incentives, and because they have the selfish desire to work, not in the interests of the state and all the people, but in their own interests. This has nothing to do with and even clashes altogether with the progressive ideas of the working class, the communist ideas.

It is true that material incentives are necessary to some extent in enlisting the farmers in socialist construction. But our first consideration should always be with political and moral incentives rather than material incentives. We should persuade the farmers to work willingly for the prosperity of the country and the welfare of all the people rather than for money, for their own benefit, and convince them that this is their duty as socialist farm workers.

Industry and agriculture are the two biggest branches of the national economy, and agriculture is the social assignment given to the farmers. Just as the workers regard it as their duty to make steel, electricity, motorcars, tractors, fertilizers and fabrics for the country and the people, so the farmers, too, should consider it their duty to produce grain, vegetables, meat and cocoons for the country and the people. If the farmers do not adopt this opinion, but take the selfish attitude of undertaking any work only if well paid and not otherwise, even when it is for the sake of the country and the people, they are fundamentally wrong.

The workers are not concerned about the prices the state charges for the goods they have produced. They say they can work unceasingly for

the country and the people if only the state feeds them and provides them with clothes, and consider that the state should decide whether to set prices high or low according to the need. The farmers should also adopt this attitude. But your speeches at this meeting show me that the management workers themselves still do not do so.

The agricultural cadres' feeble attempt to raise the backward cooperative farms quickly, is also striking proof that they are not really aware of the message of the theses put forward by the Party.

At present nearly all agricultural cadres—officials on the Agricultural Commission, the provincial rural economy committees and the county cooperative farm management committees—are not very concerned about raising the backward cooperative farms, and they are even reluctant to visit these farms. This means that they still retain the old idea of disparaging rural work and that they are not awake to the importance of the abolition of rural backwardness in building socialism.

Rural backwardness is the legacy of a capitalist society. In a capitalist society the exploiting classes deliberately turn the countryside into an unenlightened, unstable and backward place. This is because it is only when the peasants are kept in ignorance and the rural areas are isolated from modern civilization that the landlord and capitalist classes can oppress and exploit them as they please.

As we have pointed out in the theses, the elimination of the rural backwardness left behind by the capitalist society is of great importance in building a communist society.

A communist society is a society which guarantees an equal and contented life so that all can work and live in prosperity. In order to create a wealth of goods which will be enough to afford everyone a life of plenty, some conditions have to be met.

Above all, everybody should work and participate in production equally. If everyone fights shy of work and society is full of idlers, it is impossible to produce an abundance of material goods. In addition, participation in physical labour alone will go for nothing; everyone should acquire culture and become literate and technologically skilled. It is only when people have mastered modern technology that they will be

able to manufacture large quantities of products. Manual labour or handicraft techniques can hardly produce enough material wealth to satisfy the needs of the members of society. And the productive forces can attain a high level of development only when all parts of the country are developed, and not only some of them, and only when all resources of the nation are tapped and utilized to the utmost.

As you can see, the productive forces of the country will develop rapidly and, accordingly, production will increase to give fuller satisfaction to the needs of the working people only if we have no stragglers and everyone becomes cultured and technologically skilled and works equally hard, and only if all parts of the country develop at the same rate without a single area falling behind. This alone will lead us to a communist society, the highest ideal of mankind.

Therefore, as long as laggards, backward rural areas and straggling villages remain, we cannot proceed to communism.

Of course, the revolution will not triumph by the same process in many areas at exactly the same moment. Because specific conditions differ, some areas may go ahead while others trail behind. Take the world revolution for example. Some countries led the way in winning the revolution and others followed. And there are countries where the revolution has not yet been achieved. This state of affairs will continue for a fairly long time to come.

And as long as even a single country remains where the revolution has not triumphed, we cannot say that the world revolution has been achieved.

This can also be said of our country. In order to build a communist society here, it is necessary not only to accelerate the revolution and construction in the northern half of Korea, but also to carry the south Korean revolution to a conclusion, so that the people of south Korea, taking power into their own hands, become the owners of all means of production and enjoy as happy a life as the people in the north. As long as the people in the north alone are prosperous, we can never say that socialism and communism have been built in our country.

Take the northern half of Korea for example. If only the peasants in

South Phyongan Province and a few other lowland provinces are prosperous, communism cannot be attained. Even in South Phyongan Province, if Mundok and Sukchon Counties alone are developed while Yangdok and Maengsan Counties remain backward, communism cannot be achieved. After all, only when every area and every village, no matter which province and which county they may belong to, progress and everyone prospers, can our country achieve communism.

Therefore, helping the lagging cooperative farms rise quickly and catch up with the advanced farms is not merely a task to raise the living standards of the peasants there, but is a very important duty which is essential for the building of a communist society in our country.

Immediately after the armistice, our Party set the objective of doing away with the situation in which there were impoverished peasants and backward farm villages, and in the theses, too, presented this as an important task in building a socialist countryside, and worked actively for its realization. In consequence, in all parts of our country today the living standards of the peasants have risen to a stage where they cannot be compared with what they were. In the past many peasants could not even afford to eat regularly. Today, however, no one has to worry about food. The economic foundation of the cooperative farms has also been consolidated more soundly than ever before.

But we cannot rest content with this. A considerable number of cooperative farms still have a weak economic base and their farmers receive a rather small share of income. We must take active steps to help such cooperative farms to rise to the level of the advanced ones without exception.

It is an important principle in building communism to help the laggards forward to become activists and to stimulate the backward units to become model ones, thus ensuring that they all progress. This is our Party's traditional method of work which we had already adopted during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. If there was a guerrilla during that time, who was backward, we made it a rule to live with him and explain his shortcomings to him one by one and educate him tirelessly, thus making a fine revolutionary of him at all costs. And

when there was an undisciplined unit which fought badly, we used to visit that unit to solve its problems and sympathetically educate and help its officers and men, so that it became a model unit, well-disciplined and good at fighting.

If agricultural officials would use this method today, visiting the backward cooperative farms frequently to solve their problems promptly and would give cordial assistance to their management personnel, they would be able to improve the position of these farms quickly. But these officials are not yet enthusiastic about this kind of work. And why is this so? It is precisely because they themselves are unaware of the importance of the work of improving the position of the backward cooperative farms and are not clear about the truth that communism cannot be built without doing this work properly. I think that this is, in the final analysis, due to their ignorance of the essence of the theses put forward by our Party.

At present many agricultural cadres are working in a bureaucratic way, and this is a result of the fact that they have not been revolutionized.

Some agricultural cadres still do not think of visiting and helping the lower units but, sitting in their offices, summon their subordinates every now and then for various conferences, short courses, the preparation of statistics, and so on. So these people are kept overbusy and prevented from attending to their duties properly. For a long time, our Party has been telling senior agricultural officials to refrain from working in this bureaucratic manner, and to visit the lower units to hold conferences, give short courses or collect statistics at firsthand, if necessary. And it asked them to go out personally to the lower units to draw up production plans for them after making a detailed survey of the actual conditions, instead of giving them out arbitrarily from above. In spite of this, the agricultural cadres still do not renounce the old, bureaucratic pattern.

As you have all heard during the debate, officials of a certain county cooperative farm management committee were so bureaucratic that they even forced the cooperative farms in flat paddy-growing areas, where



there were no small oak trees, to raise tussah silkworms. Because the county office made this demand, the cooperative farms had no choice but to take many hands off other work so that they could be given the task of raising tussah silkworms in the mountains which were more than 100 *ri* away. So, some fields were left uncultivated just for a small amount of tussah cocoons, causing a great loss in grain production.

This bureaucratic act is a gross violation of our Party's principle in the management of cooperative farms. When it gave guidance to Chongsan-ri in Kangso County, our Party demanded that all rural work forces should be concentrated on farm work and that sidelines should be done in moderation, while carrying out crop farming efficiently. In spite of this, they let farmers from the plains stop their farm work and go into the mountains to spend their time driving away crows and raising tussah silkworms. What an absurd thing to do!

This is not the right kind of attitude for people who are going to build communism. Those people are little better than salaried men who are not serving as revolutionaries for the building of communism, but are working for fame and a little money.

True communists—revolutionaries—do not think of fame or reward for their work. In the past our guerrillas fought against the Japanese imperialists in the mountains for as long as 15 years, undergoing untold hardships, but none of them thought of fame and reward. They had no other thought but to fight against Japanese imperialism for victory in the revolution, for the freedom and independence of the country. They considered it the greatest honour to dedicate their lives to the revolutionary struggle. Today, however, our officials claim that they have taken over the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and that they are copying the revolutionary traits and work methods of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. But they do not do so in their day-to-day activities.

Of course, we believe that all our agricultural cadres, including you comrades here, for their part, want to build communism in our country and to be true to the Party and the revolution. But as is clear from the examples I have just given, you do not yet fully understand the

important ideas concerning the building of communism set forth by our Party in the theses, and your minds retain many survivals of the old ideas, such as capitalism, feudalism, revisionism, departmentalism, selfishness and bureaucracy which have no connection with our Party's ideology, communist ideas. The fact that agricultural cadres themselves, not just ordinary peasants, are not clear about the Party's ideology and retain many old ideas like this, shows that there is still a long way to go before the ideological revolution is accomplished in our rural areas.

We should continue to try our best to promote the ideological revolution, and the agricultural cadres, before anyone else, should revolutionize themselves thoroughly.

If agricultural cadres believe that it is only other people who have outdated ideas and so should be reformed and that they themselves only have the duty to educate and reform others, they are greatly mistaken. They should not only endeavour to educate and reform others, but also strive to clear their own minds of the outdated ideas which remain. In other words, they should wash off not only the grime of others but also their own. At present the agricultural cadres are covered in various kinds of grime. They have capitalist and feudalistic grime, revisionist grime, departmentalistic grime, the grime of selfishness, and bureaucratic grime. If they do not wash themselves promptly, viruses will breed in the dirt. Then these people might contract deadly ideological diseases. Therefore, agricultural cadres should make sincere efforts to wash off their grime quickly and equip themselves closely with the revolutionary world outlook of the working class, to working-classize and revolutionize themselves.

There are two ways for the officials to cleanse and, thereby, working-classize and revolutionize themselves. One is to study well and the other is to be faithful in organizational life.

The Party's policies should be the main subject of their studies. In particular, agricultural workers should make a penetrating study of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. Many comrades now have a vague idea of the essentials of the theses; they have a

superficial knowledge of its contents, simply believing that the theses point out that the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions must be successfully accomplished in the rural areas. This is not enough.

Each and every phrase of the theses put forward by our Party embodies a profound thought. So you must on no account limit your study of it only to reading it through a few times. You must understand its essence correctly by studying every sentence painstakingly, word by word.

The Departments of Information and Publicity and of Agriculture of the Party Central Committee should conduct organizational and political work more energetically to make the message of the theses better known to the agricultural cadres and the peasants.

There are many ways of propagating the theses. At Party schools, schools of working people's organizations, working people's middle schools and mothers' schools regular lectures can be given on the theses, mass lectures and collective discussions can be organized, booklets explaining the theses in easy terms can be compiled and distributed, and calendars giving visual expression to the ideas of the theses can be printed and given out in the rural areas. And it can also be spread by the method of writing interesting songs about the subjects covered by the theses and teaching them to the peasants. In the past when we were engaged in the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle we would often spread revolutionary ideas by means of songs, and songs are an excellent way to spread revolutionary ideas.

In future, we must promote the theses widely among the rural cadres and peasants by every possible means so that all of them clearly understand the quintessence of the ideas which it contains.

In addition, the rural cadres should make a concentrated study of recently published Party documents such as the document of the Party Conference, the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic, and the report made at the 20th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Republic, and disseminate them widely among the rural population.

In order to uproot the remnants of the old ideas from their minds,

the rural cadres should not only study the Party's policies well but also take an active part in the life of Party organization. Anyone who neglects organizational life in the Party, is too bigoted to heed another's advice, and begins acting arbitrarily, cannot do away with his ideological defects and will eventually deteriorate. Therefore, the rural cadres should not be afraid of criticism but should allow the widespread practice of democracy so that subordinates can criticize their superiors' shortcomings without being reluctant to do so. This is essential to enable them to eliminate their shortcomings and avoid committing mistakes. If one is unable to wash the grime off one's body by oneself, one must wash it off promptly, even if this means doing so with the help of others.

The rural cadres should also learn modestly from officials of working-class origin in order to working-classize and revolutionize themselves.

At present some rural cadres consider that officials of working-class origin cannot work efficiently in country areas because they are unfamiliar with conditions there, but they are mistaken. It is true that, when they first go to rural areas after working in industrial establishments, they may not be familiar with conditions there for one or two years and may have difficulty in doing their work. But, on the other hand, they have the revolutionary ideas of the working class, the progressive class. They have sufficient initiative and courage to make a success of their work, and they have also a high degree of organization and are highly demanding. In this respect, officials of working-class origin are far better than those of peasant origin.

A woman, a former factory worker, who has been a cooperative farm chairman in Jangjin County, South Hamgyong Province, for a few years now, addressed this meeting yesterday. Her speech, too, showed that an official of working-class origin has a distinctive feature after all. What she said in her speech was fundamentally different from the views of some other chairmen who favoured the amalgamation of the county cooperative farm management committee with the county people's committee or asked that the price of dried radish slices should

be raised, and so on. As you all heard, she spoke about fundamental problems, including the problem of mechanizing and electrifying farm work and that of building up the rural nurseries and kindergartens in a more cultured way, which our Party is now striving to solve throughout the rural areas. This single example leaves no room for doubt that if a large number of officials of working-class origin go to the country areas, they will play the leading role in accelerating the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions there.

The rural cadres should learn humbly from officials of working-class origin and working-classize and revolutionize themselves still further. At the same time, they should work hard to working-classize and revolutionize all the peasants.

Throughout the country areas the technical revolution must be in tandem with the ideological revolution.

Of course, the ideological revolution, which is designed to reform the thinking of people along communist lines, is a highly important revolutionary task, and it should naturally lead the way ahead of everything else. But for all that, it is not desirable to stress the importance of the ideological revolution alone and give little importance to the technical revolution. The building of a communist society cannot be done solely through the ideological revolution. In addition, we must carry on the technical revolution without fail. The ideological revolution is aimed at carrying out the technical revolution successfully and expediting the building of socialism and communism still further. It is only when the technical revolution is being carried out successfully that it is possible to promote the ideological revolution more effectively. Therefore, while intensifying the ideological revolution in the country areas, we shall have to drive ahead with the technical revolution more forcefully.

In order to build a communist society where everybody works with ease and lives happily and prosperously, the agricultural productive forces should be developed considerably by carrying out the technical revolution. If you continue to practise backward farming methods instead of using industrial methods, you will never be able to free the

peasants from backbreaking work, nor will you be able to ensure that all working people live well on a good diet.

The problem of feeding the working people on eggs, to take that as an example, is unlikely to be solved until the production of eggs is industrialized. As long as we continue to use the old-fashioned method of raising chickens and producing eggs in the farmhouses as in the past, we cannot produce large quantities of eggs, and the workers and office employees cannot buy them because they are expensive. Suffice it to say that, although our Party emphasized the need to increase the production of eggs and other livestock products for a long time, there was only a small quantity of eggs on sale in the shops, and there was no rapid decrease in their price.

Our Party decided to supply more eggs to the working people in every possible way and worked hard to this end for a few years, building modern egg farms in major cities, including Pyongyang, and in workers' districts. As a consequence, a radical change took place in the production of eggs.

A hen kept in a farmhouse lays 100 eggs or less a year; but in an egg farm the figure is 230-250.

The domestic Korean hens do not lay many eggs because they sit on them through habit. They do this for a fairly long time before hatching them and then foster chicks. This process takes at least 40 days. If a hen incubates twice a year or so, there is not much time left for laying eggs. During the course of a very long time, domestic Korean hens were used to this, and they gradually degenerated into a meagre-laying species. But the hens kept in modern farms do not sit on their eggs. Because incubators are used to hatch the chickens, hens do not even try to sit on eggs but lay them all the year round. At present the capacity of the Mangyongdae Chicken Plant is 70 million and it will rise to 100 million next year. Then this plant, on its own, will be able to provide 100 eggs to every citizen of Pyongyang. We are building egg farms on a similar scale in Sopho and Hadang, which are suburbs of Pyongyang. When they are completed, we shall be able to supply Pyongyang citizens with sufficient eggs.

In addition, the modernization of egg production has made it possible to raise many chickens using only a small amount of manpower. Automation has been introduced in all operations at the egg farms, from feeding, watering, and the clearing out of droppings to collecting and packing the eggs. All that is required of the attendant is to watch the automatic control panel and make adjustments by means of switches. Thus, one attendant now takes care of 10,000 chickens. In the past, 1,000 households would have been needed to raise 10,000 chickens, if every family kept ten chickens. But now that number of chickens is easily looked after by one person. This alone shows clearly the great power of industrialization and of the technical revolution.

In the future the number of chickens tended by one person will be still greater. The Kangso Chicken Plant has just been built, and once its equipment has been installed, it is said that one person will look after five storeys, in each of which 20,000 chickens will be housed. This means one person will tend 100,000 chickens.

Since one person raises many chickens and produces many eggs in this way, the cost of eggs continues to decrease. Because of this, there is now the prospect that we shall be able to supply sufficient numbers of cheap eggs to the inhabitants of the cities including Pyongyang and the workers' districts in the not too distant future. This is a direct result of the technical revolution and industrialization in the production of eggs.

The problem of supplying vegetables to the working people can also be solved fully only when their production is put on an industrial basis.

Vegetables require a great deal of water, so you cannot expect a high and dependable harvest if you neglect after planting them in the fields, because they will grow well only if it rains and not if there is no rain. But lay on a water supply and install a sprinkler system, and you will be able to produce large quantities of vegetables. If water is applied for some four hours through the sprinkler system, the fields will receive as much moisture as they would receive from about 15-20 millimetres of rain. Then the vegetables will grow well even without

watering for some ten days. Thus, if you water the fields once in every ten days, the vegetables will thrive and the per-hectare yield can be raised tremendously, no matter how long the dry weather continues. Experience shows that if the sprinkler system is introduced, it is not difficult to produce about 150 tons of vegetables per hectare. To produce this quantity of vegetables without introducing the sprinkler system, three or four hectares of field will be needed. So the introduction of this system is not only an important way of increasing vegetable yield rapidly, but it is also a way of using land sparingly. In the past Pyongyang needed 6,000-7,000 hectares of fields every year for the cultivation of vegetables, but now that the sprinkler system has been introduced, only 2,000-3,000 hectares are enough to meet the citizens' need for vegetables. This means that with the introduction of this system more than 4,000 hectares of land have been reclaimed in Pyongyang, and this is tantamount to a county's land acreage. If we introduce the system in all the vegetable gardens throughout the country, an incredibly large area of land will become available. This land can be planted with grain crops, chufa, or sown to early-ripening potatoes in the spring and then to other crops afterwards. In this way you will be able to increase grain output, to have cooking oil and early-ripening potatoes and to eat noodles.

These few examples alone are enough to show us clearly that the technical revolution in the countryside is indispensable for raising the agricultural productive forces to free the peasants from arduous labour and solve the food problem of the working people satisfactorily.

Of course, it is not an easy task to carry out the technical revolution in the countryside. But we have all the necessary conditions for forging ahead with the rural technical revolution. We have a powerful heavy industry with the engineering industry as its backbone. The rural technical revolution is impossible unless the country has well-developed industries. The technical revolution itself is aimed at turning the country into an industrial state and industrializing all branches of the national economy including agriculture, and this presupposes the development of heavy industry with the engineering



industry as its core. Today our country has a solid industrial base for the production of various types of farm machines, chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and the like, which are needed for the industrialization of agriculture.

Furthermore, our country has no social factors which might interfere with the rural technical revolution.

In a capitalist society the technical revolution in the countryside results in the unemployment of many people and the worsening of the conditions of the peasants and the workers. Therefore, the peasants and the workers are not in the slightest interested in the industrialization of agricultural production and, indeed, are opposed to it.

But in our country where the socialist system has been established, the rural technical revolution helps to relieve the burdensome work of the peasants, ease the labour shortage, and increase agricultural production to make the working people still more prosperous. So the workers and all members of society, to say nothing of the peasants, are vitally interested in the rural technical revolution and work devotedly to bring it about. In our country today all members of society, including the workers, actively assist in bringing about the rural technical revolution and the state gives unstinted help to the country areas. Under these circumstances, if the agricultural cadres sincerely apply themselves to organizing work carefully in order to carry out the technical revolution, it will make rapid headway in our country.

It is true that, because of our Party's correct policy in the past, considerable success has already been achieved in the rural technical revolution. But we have only taken the initial step in this revolution, and still have a long way to go to accomplish it.

Some comrades think that at present we have such and such a number of tractors per 100 hectares of cultivated land, and if we increase them to such and such a number, the rural technical revolution will be completed. But it is not right to see this revolution as such a simple matter. As is specifically pointed out in the theses, the essence of the rural technical revolution lies in irrigation, mechanization, electrification and the wider use of chemicals. Only when all of these

have been accomplished can we say that agriculture has been industrialized and that the technical revolution has been accomplished. The industrialization of agricultural production presupposes that all its processes, though biological, can be accomplished by using machines, chemicals and electricity. Viewed in this light, it is far too soon to say that our agricultural production has been industrialized, and enormous tasks remain to be done for the rural technical revolution.

In accordance with our Party's correct policy, the irrigation programme, the first task of the technical revolution in our countryside, has already been completed to a large extent. Because of this, it was possible to reap a bountiful harvest last year in spite of the severe drought. If we had not established irrigation works, we would certainly have had a disastrous crop failure. So this is a great victory we have won in the rural technical revolution and is a source of great pride to us.

But we cannot yet say that the irrigation programme has been completed in our country. Although the paddies have been mostly placed under irrigation, the non-paddy fields are not yet irrigated. Only when these fields are also brought under irrigation can we say that the irrigation programme has been completed. And our irrigation projects are aimed at watering not only the paddies but the non-paddy fields as well. However, I think we need not undertake irrigation works on a large scale in future. Of course, irrigation works should be done where necessary. But, provided that the irrigation facilities we have already built are put to good use, it will be possible to water both the paddies and the non-paddy fields lavishly.

At present a great deal of water is wasted. Usually, 10,000 cubic metres of water is used per hectare of paddy field. This is too much. If we use water economically, we can reduce the water consumption per hectare of paddy field to 5,000 cubic metres, and the water thus saved will suffice to irrigate nearly all non-paddy fields.

If we irrigate the non-paddy fields with the water we shall have saved, not only paddy farming but also non-paddy farming will become safe from crop failure for ever and the per-hectare yield of

non-paddy grain crops can be raised appreciably. I gave instructions that wheat should be planted experimentally on about 50 hectares of land in Pyongyang and that it should be watered by the sprinkler irrigation system as they do the vegetable gardens. If this is successful, it will be possible to reap not four tons but 7-8 tons of wheat per hectare of non-paddy field. If this experiment works well, the sprinkler irrigation system will have to be introduced as widely as possible from next year. As you see, we still have a great many things to do in irrigation.

Farm mechanization in our country is still at a low level, and we have much to do in this area.

At present, during the busy farming season the peasants go out to the fields at daybreak and come home after dark to sleep, and in the rice transplanting season not only peasants but also workers, office employees and even secondary school children are all mobilized to bed out the rice plants. If rice seeds are sown directly in the paddy fields, there will be no need to use so much manpower. But we are not certain about the benefits of the direct sowing of rice. And in our country the directly-sown rice crop will not be able to withstand storms. So, out of necessity, the whole nation is mobilized to bed out rice seedlings. We must quickly solve the problem of mechanical rice transplanting.

At any rate, in the plains tractors are used in ploughing and carrying operations now to ease the labour of the peasants considerably, but machinery is not yet available on the steep-sloping land and in mountain areas. We must solve this problem without fail.

Today our country has a very large farm machine production capacity for mechanizing agriculture. In the case of tractors alone, the annual capacity for the production of the *Chollima*-model and the *Phungnyon*-model has now reached the 10,000-unit level, and if sufficient steel is supplied, more can be produced. I asked Comrade Minister of Machine Industry if it would be possible to produce an additional 1,000 units of *Chollima* tractors which you requested recently. He said that this could be done.

In addition, hundreds of small tractors of 16-hp capacity, suited for

wide use in the mountain areas, will be produced on a trial basis this year, and from next year they will be manufactured in large numbers. Then it will be possible to send a great number of small tractors, as well as big ones, to the rural areas.

But farm mechanization cannot be successfully achieved in our country merely by increasing the number of tractors and other farm machines. In addition to this, land development projects must be undertaken so that tractors and other farm machines can operate easily.

In fact, as far as the number of tractors per hectare of farmland is concerned, our country cannot be said to be on a low level even now. But although there are many tractors, they cannot operate in fairly steep-sloping fields and the mountain areas because no land development work has been carried out. They can only enter and work the fields in the plains.

Land development work is urgently required to enable machines to enter the areas not yet accessible to them and to introduce mechanization in all parts of the country.

The purpose of land development work is to enable machines to enter and work all plots of land. In order that this can be done, plots should be enlarged, heaps of stones and the ridges between fields should be removed and terraced fields should be laid out, where possible. Roadways must be laid for farm machines to enter the plots. At present there is no access road for tractors to enter the paddy and non-paddy fields, and, moreover, they cannot climb the sloping lands. For this reason, many plots are inaccessible to tractors, and if they do succeed in getting into the plots, they do so by bumping their way along places where there are no roads, and so they break down very often. Therefore, good access roads must be laid for the passage of tractors and lorries, and then they must be gravelled and covered with weathered granite and hardened.

Unless we carry out land development work, it will not matter how many farm machines we make and supply and it will be impossible to introduce mechanization. Therefore, our Party envisages large-scale land re-alignment works during the period of the coming Six-Year Plan.

We have not yet undertaken this work on a large scale because we have few heavy machines.

The lands we have inherited from our forefathers are mostly small patches or steeply sloping fields, and we can hardly cope with the huge-scale nature-remaking work of re-aligning these patches into large level plots with spades, pickaxes and A-frame carriers. If land re-alignment is to be undertaken on a large scale in the future, it is necessary to produce many heavy machines, such as *Phungnyon* tractors, bulldozers, excavators and 10-ton lorries. So the Party is now speeding up preparations to do this.

Such huge-scale nature-remaking projects as land development work cannot be accomplished immediately. But it will not do, either, to sit with folded arms waiting for the supply of large numbers of heavy machines. It is essential to go ahead with land re-alignment step by step with the existing machinery and equipment. Workteams and sub-workteams should accomplish one thing at a time, even if it involves only a few patches at a time, by re-aligning, perhaps, two patches this year and another two patches next year. Then when many heavy machines are available, we should go full tilt into large-scale land development works.

It is advisable to undertake land re-alignment work on a trial basis this year in a few counties. In this way, the necessary experience will be gained as to how many man-days of labour, how many machines and how much fuel are needed for re-aligning how much land and on what type of soil. Based on this experience, we can re-align land on an even larger scale from next year onwards.

If we carry out land development work successfully so as to make all plots accessible to machines and carry out sowing, inter-row cultivating, fertilizer application, chemical spraying and harvesting, in addition to ploughing, mechanically, how much easier the work of farmers will become! It should thus be made possible for one person to cope with 10 hectares of maize fields, 5 hectares of paddies and some 20-30 hectares of wheat fields.

Yesterday we applauded when we heard that on Farm No. 5 one

person tended 16 hectares of wheat fields. Of course, this is a fine achievement in the present conditions of our country, but judged by world standards, it can hardly be rated as a high level.

In countries where the rural technical revolution is advanced, one person manages 30 hectares of wheat fields, 15-20 hectares of maize fields and 10 hectares of paddies. Even if we take into account the fact that the use of machines is very restricted in our country because the plots are smaller than in other countries, have steep gradients and are stony, we should reach at least half their level.

The greater use of chemicals must also be promoted more vigorously. During the past few years the production of chemical fertilizer has increased rapidly, with the result that fertilizer is more readily available, and there has been an increase in the varieties. Therefore, it has become possible to supply the rural areas with a larger quantity of various kinds of fertilizer. But the wider use of chemicals in agriculture cannot be accomplished with fertilizer alone. In addition to fertilizer, large amounts of weed killers have to be produced to free the peasants from weeding, and more agricultural chemicals should be supplied to the country areas to prevent loss due to various insect pests and plant diseases.

We must try to make it possible to farm without weeding operation in the next few years. The state is planning to produce and supply to the agricultural areas large quantities of weed killers, such as 2,4-D, PCP, and Cimadin. We applied the herbicide Cimadin to maize fields on an experimental basis, and no weeds survived. When, in the future, we produce and supply the country areas with large quantities of Cimadin, it will become unnecessary to weed the maize fields. All that will be required will be to bed out humus-pot-grown maize seedlings and then inter-row-cultivate them by machine. In addition, large amounts of weed killers for paddies and other non-paddy fields must also be produced. We should solve this problem without fail in order to release the peasants from weeding the fields, dripping with sweat in the summer.

We must also accelerate rural electrification. On all cooperative farms, electric power should be used in such operations as threshing,

grinding and the pumping of water, and a wider variety of crop-raising and livestock-farming operations should be done electrically.

By following these methods throughout the country, ploughing and inter-row cultivating should be done by tractors; weeds should be killed with herbicides; insect pests and plant diseases should be exterminated with agricultural chemicals; harvesting should be done by machine; and threshing must be done by the use of electricity. In this way we shall end the carrying of loads on human backs as well as manual labour, and the peasants will be freed completely from backbreaking toil, and they, too, like the workers, will have an eight-hour day and enjoy Sunday rest. Only then shall we be able to say that the technical revolution has been accomplished in the country areas and that agriculture has been industrialized.

The agricultural cadres must vigorously promote the rural technical revolution by using every possible method and by exploring every potential in order to reach this goal.

The most important task for the earlier accomplishment of the rural technical revolution is to rectify the mistaken attitude of senior officials who have little consideration for this revolution and only want the state to solve every problem for them. Our officials still have little interest in freeing the peasants from arduous labour, and do not carry out the technical revolution when they can do so under the conditions provided by the state.

As I said during the meeting, the state sent many tractors and a large quantity of weed killers to the Anak Farm to make it a model farm where rice crops could be raised in a scientific and technological way. If the senior officials of the farm are interested in the technical revolution and organize work carefully, all operations, except rice transplanting, can be done by tractors, and in that case the manpower needed for every hectare of paddy fields can be reduced to 50-60 man-days. According to my personal investigation at Chongsan-ri alone, some time ago, it can be cut down to 60-80 man-days and, if things go well, to a still lower level. However, at the Anak Farm they have not re-aligned the fields, which they can do if they take the trouble to do so, and in consequence, they are

doing a considerable part of the farm work by manual labour and by carrying loads on their backs as before in spite of the fact that they have many tractors. In general, the number of man-days needed for each hectare of paddy fields is still very large.

This is also the case on the Ryongyon Farm. Several years ago we had already assigned its management personnel the task of making it a model of rural mechanization and sent many farm machines and a large quantity of necessary farming materials. In fact, the Ryongyon Farm is located in a flat region and has many favourable conditions for mechanization; and so, with the expenditure of some effort, mechanization can be easily achieved. But the level of mechanization is still very low at this farm.

Our officials are not people who work for a living but are communists fighting for the well-being of the people. In that case, they ought to pay the greatest attention to easing the hard and arduous labour of our working people and make every effort to accomplish this. If it pains you to see the peasants bend their backs while transplanting rice seedlings, weed the fields by hand in the broiling sun and carry manure on their backs, you will probably not be able to swallow your food easily.

Agricultural cadres must decidedly correct their mistaken attitude of being indifferent to the rural technical revolution, just hoping that the state will solve every problem for them, and must promote this revolution to the best of their ability, by ensuring that creative initiative is demonstrated in every province, every county and on every cooperative farm.

Another important aspect of the rural technical revolution is to fight against the outdated empiricism found amongst agricultural workers.

Agricultural personnel still show a great and incorrect tendency of clinging only to old practices instead of readily believing in agricultural science and of having an aversion to advanced farming techniques.

I am going to give you an example which I think you will find instructive, although it happened a long time ago. Seven or eight years ago we said that if a great deal of fertilizer is applied and the number of



plants is increased, maize will grow well. At the time a certain cadre of the People's Committee of South Phyongan Province, who was steeped in the outdated empiricism, said, even before he tried it, that if the number of plants per *pyong* was increased too much, maize would not grow well, and he suggested a reduction in the number to five or six. We could hardly believe his words, so we went to Kaechon County and told its officials: "When maize is close-planted in other countries, and high yields are obtained, why should it not grow as well in our country? So you must try this." This time, also, some officials did not accept the idea readily. But young workers who were loyal to the Party and open to new ideas accepted it there and then and got down to work boldly as instructed by the Party. Later I visited Kaechon again and found that as a result of introducing the advanced farming techniques as instructed by the Party, maize crops had grown very well, and at Ryongjin-ri, for example, a high yield of 6-7 tons per hectare has now been obtained for years on end.

I should like to quote another example which took place some time ago. Last year I visited the Migok Cooperative Farm, North Hwanghae Province, with foreign guests who had attended the 20th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Republic. The chairman of the farm is a woman who works well. The previous year we had given her instructions to sow the paddy fields with a new variety of rice. So we inquired how things were progressing with the introduction of the new variety. They said that at first they had intended to sow the new variety in 300 hectares of paddy fields out of a total of 400 hectares, but had been compelled to plant only 180 hectares with the new variety because the elderly peasants had violently objected, clinging to the old practices. In the autumn the plots sown to the new variety yielded 1.2 tons more per hectare than the other plots. Only when they saw this, did the peasants, who had followed the old-fashioned methods, repent and say that all paddy fields should be planted with the new variety from this year, I was told.

Not only the old, but also the young people, and not only the peasants but also many senior personnel suffer from conservatism and empiricism.

In general, as is the case now with the cooperative farms and counties where farming is thriving, their cadres study hard believing in science and try to introduce new farming techniques in every possible way. But as we see on farms or in counties where farming is not going well, their cadres are mostly prepared to retain only the old practices and they pay scarcely any attention to scientific farming.

You should not think it strange that the peasants and cadres are not yet free from the old empiricism. Whenever anything progressive appears, a conservative idea will block its progress, and it is generally accepted that progress is achieved through a struggle against all kinds of reactionary ideas. This is a law governing the development of society and the revolution. In order to make unimpeded progress in agricultural production, we have to wage a tireless struggle against empiricism and conservatism.

Needless to say, when we mention opposing empiricism, we do not in any way mean opposing experience in general. What we oppose is the tendency to cling to the old practices, refusing to introduce new advanced farming techniques. Of course, past experience can be useful in farming to some extent, but it cannot fit in exactly with the changed conditions of today. It is apparent that our past experience when maize was planted thinly because there was no chemical fertilizer will not hold good in today's conditions when farming is done with large amounts of chemical fertilizer such as potash, phosphatic and nitrogenous fertilizers.

Today's world is a world of science, and this is the era of scientific farming. Under no circumstances should we follow outdated practices; we should energetically introduce advanced farming techniques, or else, we shall have no alternative but to trail behind other countries for ever.

The most important task in stamping out empiricism and conservatism which are still evident among the peasants and agricultural cadres is to carry out the work of spreading scientific knowledge among them skilfully.

It can be said in this connection that the experience of Kaechon

County is very instructive. When planting *aegukphul*, the officials of this county tried first of all to explain to the peasants why it was beneficial to plant it and how to cultivate it. I have heard that they called together all the sub-workteam leaders of the county and showed them scientific films. Because they instructed all the peasants about *aegukphul* in this way, none stuck to the conservative stand or thought ill of it. So, in spite of the bad weather conditions last year when there was a severe drought, they did not lose heart but cultivated the grass by watering it. In this way they reaped a good harvest of 80 tons per hectare. In the final analysis, this is eloquent of the importance of the work of propagating scientific knowledge.

Therefore, we must continue to increase irrigation, mechanization, the use of chemicals and electrification throughout the country areas and introduce the achievements of agricultural science and advanced farming techniques widely, so that the peasants can be relieved from the hard labour and agricultural production can be developed more rapidly.

Furthermore, the cultural revolution must be accelerated more forcefully in country areas.

In the past considerable success has been achieved in the rural cultural revolution, but this revolution is falling far behind the Party's expectations. Agricultural cadres should make still greater efforts to carry out the revolution.

We must solve some problems in order to carry out the rural cultural revolution.

As a priority, electricity must be laid on in all farmhouses, so that electric light and broadcasts are available to everyone.

Electricity is essential for the peasants to read newspapers or books at night and to listen in on the radio to lectures concerning agriculture and livestock farming and also to advanced farming practice, political news commentaries and songs. In particular, it is only when the peasants listen to broadcasts that they will be told immediately, on the very same day, before newspapers are distributed, about everything taking place all over the country, including the speeches and discussions at important meetings held in Pyongyang, and that they

will learn the Party's intentions clearly and quickly. All your debates at the present congress, too, have already been broadcast, so the cooperative farmers who have a radio or a cable radio already know what kind of speech has been made by anyone from their farm, and what has been discussed, and by whom, at the agricultural congress. The peasants can widen the range of their knowledge further and raise their cultural level rapidly only when all their houses have electricity and radios or cable radios so that they can listen to broadcasts. Therefore, one of the most important tasks for the rural cultural revolution is to have electricity laid on to all farmhouses.

For a long time, our Party has been endeavouring to bring electricity to all farmhouses and, as a result, electricity has already been laid on in many rural villages which had none before. But in some mountain recesses which have no electricity yet there are still houses lighted by oil lamps. We should ensure that electricity is laid on in all these houses as well at an early date.

In order to supply electricity to all peasant houses in the mountain areas, it is first necessary to concentrate in one place all the houses which are now scattered through the mountain valleys.

We can see that in mountain districts, houses are spread widely here and there around the valleys. We cannot afford the necessary cables to carry electricity to each of them. As I said at the plenary meeting of the Party Committee of North Phyongan Province last year, houses a long way from the villages and those which are scattered in the mountain valleys should be rebuilt by concentrating them in places of a suitable size. But it is not permissible to demolish many houses at a time, which would make the peasants share with others. You should rebuild houses one by one and thus avoid causing even the slightest inconvenience to the peasants. The villages should not be too large; it is advisable to have some ten houses in a village or 20 or 30 at the most.

Meanwhile, small generators should be produced and supplied to some mountain districts. For the most part, it is the far mountain recesses which are still without electricity and some of them are very difficult to supply. In such cases, a small power station should be set up

at each village to produce power for its own use.

In this way we should rapidly ensure that every farm family in the mountain districts has electric light and listens to radio broadcasts in order to lead a cultured life.

In order to raise the cultural and technical levels of the peasants, it is necessary for them to have access to newspapers and magazines, as well as listening to broadcasts. To achieve this, the rural areas should be supplied with more copies of various publications, such as newspapers, materials of education in the revolutionary traditions and books of technology and culture.

Measures should also be taken to run mothers' and working people's middle schools in the rural areas efficiently, so as to educate all the peasants. Working people's middle schools and mothers' schools can be run very effectively by using the classrooms of primary and secondary schools while the schoolchildren are on their winter vacation.

In this way we should ensure that all peasants are more firmly equipped with our Party's policy and possess a knowledge of electricity, machinery, fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, soil, living things, health, hygiene and all, and master more than one technical skill.

So that the rural cultural revolution can be carried out successfully, the cooperative farm chairmen and ri Party committee secretaries, above all others, should study a great deal.

One of the most serious shortcomings revealed among the agricultural cadres at present is that they do not study well. Yesterday I met and talked to a few cooperative farm chairmen, and found their present level little different from last year's. One year has passed, and so if they had studied to a certain extent, they should have changed. But they have not changed.

The peasants expect a great deal from their cooperative farm chairmen and ri Party secretaries and hope that they will organize and guide the work of carrying out the revolutionary tasks arising in agriculture properly. Cooperative farm chairmen and ri Party secretaries should be fully aware of their duties and learn to play the

role of master properly in the country areas. To do this they should raise their qualifications constantly. They must study harder and make greater efforts than others to raise their political and working qualifications and cultural levels.

The leaders of workteams and sub-workteams should also study tirelessly to raise their political, cultural and technical levels all the time. In this connection, I consider it necessary to take measures for their systematic studies. At present there is a training system for cooperative farm chairmen, ri Party secretaries or Party cell secretaries, but no school for workteam or sub-workteam leaders.

Some time ago we examined the matter in Onchon County and found that if we manage it well, we can send workteam leaders, at least, to the county Party school, but it will be difficult to enrol sub-workteam leaders in school. Every county has hundreds of sub-workteam leaders, and the counties have not enough facilities to accommodate them.

I think it will be a good policy to train a large number of teachers in future to give short travelling courses to the sub-workteam leaders. The teachers will have to go to a cooperative farm and give a short course for about a month to the sub-workteam leaders assembled at a school or a clubhouse, before going on to another place to do the same thing there. This will answer the purpose.

The short courses for sub-workteam leaders must always be organized in winter, which is the farmers' slack season. It will be possible to conduct such short courses in turn within about three months from December to March next year.

With regard to this question, further consideration is needed so that reasonable measures can be adopted.

At the same time, it is necessary to build schools well and, in particular, to open branches where schools are too distant and difficult to reach, so that children can study without hardship. In this way, all rural children without exception should be able to acquire scientific knowledge at school. It will only then be possible to make our farm villages still more cultured in the future.

As we can see in the country areas now, young people who have studied under our system are different from uneducated old people when it comes to doing their work. At the present congress of agricultural workers, too, we find a great difference between the levels of the elders and the young people when we compare their speeches. And if we compare the speeches made at the first congress of agricultural cooperatives after the victory of agricultural cooperation with the speeches at the congress of agricultural workers today, we find wide differences between them. In those days the cultural level of the young people, to say nothing of that of our peasants as a whole, was not very high. But the young people in our country today have all finished secondary, technical or higher technical school, and so possess some degree of scientific knowledge. As I watch them speaking from the rostrum, their level is high. In only about ten years from now, during which we will carry on compulsory nine-year technical education, the appearance of our countryside will change completely.

We should devote a great deal of attention to building up nurseries and kindergartens well in the countryside so as to bring up children even better.

It can be said that nurseries and kindergartens hold a very important position in the cultural revolution, because nearly all the children who are heirs to our revolution are looked after in nurseries and kindergartens, where they learn how to be polite and how to dress neatly, and are taught many other things.

Placing children in the care of nurseries and kindergartens is much better than looking after them at home when it comes to developing the collectivist spirit in them and training them in communist thinking as well. Therefore, Engels considered it one of the important communist measures to bring up all children in state institutions at state expense.

There are nurseries and kindergartens everywhere in our country now, and there our little ones are growing happily, romping about freely, by the favour of the state. In our country now the children accommodated in nurseries and kindergartens and the pupils receiving compulsory nine-year technical education amount to a tremendous

number. This fact alone permits us to say that communism has made a good start in our country.

Of course, we still cannot regard all nurseries and kindergartens as being of high quality. They are inadequately furnished, and much has yet to be provided. But this is not a big problem. Just as your appetite cannot be satisfied by the first spoonful when eating your meal, you cannot complete the furnishing of nurseries and kindergartens right at the beginning. It will do if we strive from now to equip them better.

It is said that at present mischief-makers are saying that children fall ill more often because they are sent to nurseries and kindergartens. This is a complete slander spread by landlords and capitalists, or those who are influenced by them, to disparage our socialist system. In the old days when our peasants were making a poor living under the exploitation and oppression of landlords, their children would often fall ill and be left without a dose of medicine even when they were dying. Today, however, nurseries and kindergartens take good care of them, and if they are even to the slightest degree out of sorts, doctors examine them and give injections. It is ridiculous to say that children fall ill more often today than in former times.

All cooperative farms must take great care that children will grow well and strong. For this purpose they should see that the rooms of nurseries and kindergartens are warm and keep their surroundings clean and tidy. In the meantime, the education of the nursery and kindergarten teachers should be enhanced to improve the upbringing of the children. All children will have to be properly trained to cultivate good manners, to dress themselves neatly and to have a collectivist spirit.

In addition, there must be a higher degree of culture in the lives of the peasants.

After all, the main point of the cultural revolution in the rural areas is to raise the peasants' level of political, technical and general knowledge. But, in addition to this, the peasants should also keep their homes and villages clean and tidy and build up the cultural and health aspects of their lives. It is only when there is an improvement in each



of these sections that it can be said that the cultural revolution is progressing successfully.

Nowadays some people believe that life is more cultured when women curl their hair excessively and walk around with their faces heavily made up, and when good rugs are spread in one's house. This is a mistaken idea. When we talk about culture in life, we mean organizing one's life amply and neatly and in a cultured and healthy way. One should wear freshly laundered clothes even though they might be of cotton, look neat and trim, and keep one's house clean and tidy by pasting wallpaper and oiled floor-paper tastefully, keeping the earthen verandah and chimney in good repair, sweeping the yard clean and erecting a fence around the house. This is precisely what is meant by a cultured socialist life.

Nowadays, when we visit farm villages, we still find many houses which are unclean and untidy. In South Phyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces, particularly, houses are kept in a filthy and untidy state. In comparison with South Phyongan Province, North Phyongan Province is a little better, but it cannot be said that even there houses are outstandingly well kept. We always say that even those houses which are to be demolished some day should be kept in good repair, and there is nothing wrong in doing so. One must cultivate the habit of keeping one's house neat and tidy even if one lives in it for only one day.

In some villages there are now many houses which were built a short time ago but have deteriorated because of negligence. After the floods the year before last, we built nice modern houses in Mangil-ri, Mangyongdae District. Last year we visited the village and found many houses dilapidated already in less than a year because of neglect. The oiled floor-papers were all torn in every house so that the bare heated floor was visible, and many doors were damaged. No matter how many nice houses we may build, they are useless if they are kept badly like this. We must pay particular attention to keeping the houses we have already built clean and taking care of them.

We should build many modern houses in the rural areas so that all

farm villages will take on a socialist appearance in the near future. A drive should be started to build 150,000 modern rural houses annually for some three or four years beginning this year. If all rural cadres and peasants join in, this objective will be achieved with ease.

Cooperative farms should have adequate welfare service facilities of different kinds, including bathhouses.

First of all, a mass drive should be initiated to establish a bathhouse in every farm village. It is not very difficult to build a bathhouse. Some comrades think this is possible only if the state supplies the necessary materials, including the piping. But no special material is needed here. Make a little effort, and you can easily build a bathhouse. If fuel is short, indeed, you can set up another oven beside the one for boiling cattle feed and heat water, which you can use in the bathhouse.

While new bathhouses are built, the existing ones should be used effectively. According to our recent investigation, many workteams still lack bathhouses and, moreover, even the workteams which have them do not use them well.

All cooperative farms should see to it that each village has a public bath so that the farmers can take a bath often.

It is necessary to improve public health services and hygienic work in the countryside.

As I have mentioned, electricity should be laid on in all rural houses to enable the farmers to listen to the radio and read newspapers and magazines and study a great deal so as to raise their level further; nurseries and kindergartens should be established well to bring up children in good health; and life in the rural areas should become more cultured so as to step up the rural cultural revolution.

In order to carry out the rural cultural revolution successfully, the county people's committees should increase their role further. It is one of the most important tasks entrusted to the people's government bodies to promote the cultural revolution in the countryside with vigour. The county people's committees should pay great attention to this revolution and guide the rural population properly so that they may

raise their cultural and technical level and build their lives in a more cultured and hygienic way.

Officials of the county people's committees must visit cooperative farms and help them to achieve success in this work, and when they need to summon their subordinates to organize work, they should not call cooperative farm chairmen but secretaries of the ri people's committees. When various tasks such as public health services and hygienic work arise now, many county people's committees summon cooperative farm chairmen continually and give them assignments. They should not do so. By their very nature, the chairmen of the county people's committees are not supposed to summon cooperative farm chairmen, but are expected to do their work with secretaries. The county people's committee chairmen should always call secretaries and assign them tasks pertaining to the cultural revolution, and these, in turn, should report to the management boards of the cooperative farms about the assigned tasks before they carry them into effect.

It is of great importance to enhance the role of the working people's organizations in carrying out the rural cultural revolution. The Union of Agricultural Working People, League of Socialist Working Youth, and Women's Union organizations bear the heavy responsibility of promoting the rural cultural revolution. All working people's organizations should endeavour to hasten the cultural revolution in the countryside and the League of Socialist Working Youth, in particular, should take the lead in carrying out this revolution.

## **2. ON DEVELOPING BACKWARD COOPERATIVE FARMS RAPIDLY**

Over the years our Party has always paid particular attention to the question of developing backward cooperative farms rapidly and, through practical work, has created a pattern which can serve as a

model in improving the living standards of the peasants in the mountain areas.

Changsong County can be regarded as just such a model.

As you all know, Changsong County is situated in a remote mountain region, where conditions are all very unfavourable. Some of the good fields which this county had previously had were totally submerged beneath the Suphung Reservoir, and existing plots are all on steep hillsides with a gradient of as much as 45 degrees and, what is more, they are stony and very unproductive. Even in such unfavourable conditions, the people of Changsong raise good crops and are developing stockbreeding and, by this means, are living as comfortably as others. Every peasant family in this county comes in for a share of over three tons of grain and more than 1,000 *won* in cash. This amount is enough for us to say that the assignment of the Fourth Congress of our Party has been fulfilled.

Even in a mountainous region like Changsong, people live as well as this, so why should they not do so elsewhere? In fact, anywhere in our country the natural conditions are better than in Changsong County. Tokchon or Nyongwon County is called a mountainous region, but it has much better conditions than Changsong; and Sinwon County, South Hwanghae Province, and all other counties with backward cooperative farms at present have also better conditions, or, at any rate, no worse.

Why, then, do people in other counties fail to live well at present?

The main reason is that officials give poor guidance and are halfhearted about the fulfilment of Party policy.

The present prosperity of the people of Changsong is not due to the fact that the Party and the Government have given them great material assistance, nor is it due to the so-called "providence of God" as the Christians used to say. It is the result of the correct guidance of our Party and of the determined efforts made by the cadres and peasants there to carry out the Party's assignments.

Of course, we cannot say that the personnel there worked faithfully from the start as instructed by the Party. While personally guiding

Changsong County every year since 1958, we taught its officials the ways and methods of work in detail so as to improve things in the county. But at first the province and county were unwilling to accept the assignments we gave them. Since the Party's monolithic ideological system was not firmly established, they did not fulfil the Party assignments properly, and there it even happened that the peasants butchered sheep which the state had given them to raise. So we appointed local activists to senior posts and dispatched a comrade who had been working faithfully in the Party Central Committee to be chief secretary of the county Party committee so that the work would be improved. After that, Party guidance spread smoothly through Changsong County and the living standard of its farming population began to improve gradually.

It is because of the Party's correct guidance combined with the persevering endeavours of cadres and the population there to carry out Party policy, that Changsong County has become a place as developed and good to live in as it is today.

It seems, therefore, that we need not look elsewhere in our efforts to discover the secret of developing the backward cooperative farms. If there was no Party policy for making the mountain people prosperous and no pattern created for this purpose, then matters would be different. But since there is a correct Party policy and a model for it, all that is required of the backward cooperative farms is that they strive to carry out the Party policy after the model of Changsong County.

What is there to imitate in Changsong County's experience? First of all, it is necessary to strive to increase the production of grain and, at the same time, to put great effort into livestock farming so as to increase the peasants' cash income rapidly.

Just to mention sheep alone, they keep as many as 3,600 in Changsong County now. The state gave some sheep to the county, and there were only 200 at first. The people of Changsong did not remain idle, merely expecting help from the state, but they themselves bought many sheep from different quarters. They raised them well as breeding stock and kept on adding to them. In addition to sheep, many pigs and

cattle are also being bred in this county. As a result, they have a large cash income from stockbreeding. Each peasant family gets 450-500 *won* from the earnings of collective stockbreeding and, when the earnings from the private breeding of domestic animals are added, the total income from animal husbandry reaches as much as 600 *won*.

The people of Changsong increase the per-hectare yields of grain crops by putting on the fields manure obtained through raising livestock.

They build cattle sheds and pigsties on hillsides and cut grass to feed them or to spread as litter for them, and after remaining in one place for a few days, build sheds at another place and move there. The manure obtained in this way is spread over the fields to fertilize the soil. Because a great deal of manure is spread and the land is well fertilized, Changsong County produces far more grain now than before, although the fields are on steep slopes and land is washed away by heavy rain. In the past this county produced barely 2,200 tons of grain, and even when we began to give it guidance, it produced only 3,000 tons from 3,000 hectares of land. Today, however, each hectare yields three tons, and thus the county produces plenty of grain—more than 9,000 tons or three times as much as before.

This increase in grain output is not because the land of Changsong has changed now or because its cultivated land has been increased. Changsong today is just as it was before. It is mountainous and its fields are still on hillsides, and no more land has been reclaimed. If anything at all has changed, it is only the way its people are working.

Moreover, cash income is increased in Changsong County by the cultivation of red pepper and industrial crops. While red pepper and industrial crops are planted in the county, this is not done at the expense of grain production. The per-hectare grain yields have been raised there and the former yields from two or three hectares are now produced from one hectare. Thus, while grain output is increased on the one hand, a little land is set aside for the cultivation of red pepper and the like for sale.

It is said that red pepper does not grow well in other places. In

Changsong County, however, two tons of dried red pepper was produced per hectare last year. Changsong's red pepper has gained a name throughout the country, and the people of Pyongyang and Sinuiju are also its customers.

In addition, the inhabitants of Changsong pick wild fruit and earn a good income.

As you see, in addition to increasing grain production, the people of Changsong County have developed livestock farming, cultivated red pepper and various industrial crops, and picked wild fruit. In this way, they have been able to increase both their share of grain and their cash income.

In fact, the peasants there scarcely had any cash income in the past, so their children went about without being properly shod and they were badly dressed. But now that the cash income of the farmers has increased remarkably, all children are well dressed and the general living standards of the people there have risen considerably.

If people in all other counties follow the example of Changsong County and endeavour to implement Party policy as its people have done, they will become prosperous. How many comrades say they would like us to guide their cooperative farms personally. Yesterday, too, a cooperative farm chairman from Songchon County asked us earnestly to visit his farm and give guidance. We hope to find time to visit the place one day. But we cannot visit all cooperative farms in the country, which number several thousands. The Party Central Committee has already created the pattern showing mountainous cooperative farms how to become prosperous. So, you should work hard to learn from this model without just waiting for our personal guidance. Then, as in Changsong, the farm work will proceed smoothly and the living conditions of the peasants will improve.

Even without our regular personal guidance, Pyoktong, Usi and Tongchang Counties contiguous to Changsong County have worked to model themselves on it, and so in these counties every farm household gets a good share of grain distribution and receives a large sum of cash for its dividend, and the people enjoy a comfortable life.

Pyoktong County is now carrying out a drive to catch up with Changsong County; they say that 3.15 tons of grain and 1,200 *won* in cash were allocated to every peasant household there last year. This county's sheep alone number 2,700. This is some 900 sheep less than Changsong County. If things go well, it will be able to overtake Changsong County next year. If this county makes further efforts, it will be able to catch up with Changsong County in all respects.

We heard that in Tongchang County, though situated in the depths of the mountains, 2.85 tons of grain and 900 *won* in cash were distributed to each farm household last year. This is very good, considering it is a mountain district. This county has 600 sheep. At present a drive is afoot here to overtake Changsong County. A few more years of sustained effort will enable it to catch up with Changsong County.

These counties, by following the example of Changsong County, have all developed to this extent, whereas others have failed to do so. Taegwan County, although it is adjacent to Changsong County, remained as backward as ever because it had acted conservatively and sung the corrupt song of "Butterflies in Couples" instigated by bad elements in the past. So, the year before last we went there and called the officials together and gave them sound teaching in how to work. Since then the county's economic situation seems to be improving gradually, with the peasants' share of grain distribution increasing a little from last year. If in this county, also, sheep breeding stations and rabbit farms are well established and every family is encouraged to rear such domestic animals as rabbits, sheep and pigs and to keep bees, as we have instructed, it will be able to overtake Changsong County in about three years.

If the inhabitants in the mountain areas work like the Changsong people, they can improve their living standards easily. There are no grounds to say that it is impossible to improve the living conditions of people simply because they live in mountain areas. Now that there is the example of Changsong County, no one can plead ignorance about methods as his excuse for failing to make people more prosperous. If



all rural cadres organize work tactfully and persist in their struggle as instructed by the Party, like the officials of Changsong County, they can turn any mountain area into an ideal place to live.

But, since cadres in mountain counties do not now endeavour to learn from the example of Changsong County, they do not raise the people's living standards.

In North Phyongan Province alone, there are many backward counties including Chonma, and the mountain areas of South Hamgyong Province are also extremely backward. In Sangil-ri and Sangi-ri in Toksong County, South Hamgyong Province, for example, very few domestic animals are raised, so the lives of the people there cannot be improved. This is by no means because these areas lack suitable conditions for livestock farming. It is perfectly possible to raise such domestic animals as sheep there.

The existence of backward cooperative farms and impoverished regions is due, in the final analysis, to the agricultural cadres paying little heed to the matter of improving the welfare of the farmers in mountain areas and to our officials lacking the sound ideological belief of taking mountain folks along with them to communism. If the mountain dwellers are all to be taken to communism, they should be given ample assistance in raising their standard of living.

In fact, our peasants in the mountain areas are all simple and good. We visited Ryangsan-ri, Taegwan County, North Phyongan Province, to find that all its inhabitants were native to the place, except for one family which had moved in from South Hwanghae Province. They said that though their cash income was meagre, they were all better off than before and that our system was really good. It is true that our farmers are now better off than before, because they are free from oppression and exploitation, eat their fill and are given free education for all their children. But we should not be content with this; we must work very hard to make all highland peasants prosperous.

We have searched for some means of bringing forward the backward cooperative farms and have discussed the matter with many people, and under present conditions it seems that there is no

alternative but to make them engage both in farming and animal husbandry.

The provincial rural economy committees should effectively help the cooperative farms in mountain areas to develop animal husbandry, and the General Bureau of Stock Farming should supply these cooperative farms with sheep as well as pigs of good breed. It is advisable to provide these farms with a great number of sheep in particular. Such domestic animals as pigs and fowls should be raised in the plain areas, and sheep should be raised in the mountain areas. In future, livestock breeding stations must be built up well in the counties of the mountain areas and the young animals produced there should be supplied first to mountain villages, so that every peasant household and workteam will rear a large number of animals. A firm foundation for animal husbandry should thus be laid and each cooperative farm in the mountain areas should be urged to raise large numbers of sheep, pigs, rabbits, fowls and other domestic animals.

When you are instructed to rear a great number of domestic animals, you may worry about feed for them. But if you will just make effort, this problem, too, can be solved. The feed problem can be settled if the cooperative farms in the mountain areas cultivate such grass as *aegukphul*. Last year we gave instructions to Changsong County to plant *aegukphul* in the fields with a gradient of 25-35 degrees, and it is said that 40 tons were reaped from every hectare. They had no experience because this was the first year, and there was a severe drought. All the same, they produced 40 tons per hectare. So the yield can be increased considerably in the future. Other cooperative farms in mountain areas should choose suitable plots to cultivate *aegukphul*.

Cooperative farms in the mountain areas should also rear silkworms.

Of course, raising silkworms can use a great deal of labour and present various complicated problems. But if county cooperative farm management committee chairmen and other leading agricultural workers will just give the matter some thought and organize work

properly, it will be possible to raise any amount of silkworms.

Although food for silkworms may present a rather difficult problem, it can also be solved if we make effort. Mulberry is a fast-growing tree, so if it is planted on sloping land or disused fields, good mulberry groves will soon be established. Once this has been done, mulberry groves will also be good in preventing landslide. *Wangsaragu* grass grows well anywhere in our country. Planting it can solve the food problem for silkworms. Some comrades say that if silkworms are fed on *wangsaragu* grass they suffer from diarrhea. So it is advisable to let them eat the grass after it has been dried a little. Feeding silkworms on mulberry leaves mixed with *wangsaragu* grass makes it possible to increase the size of cocoons. Therefore, the cooperative farms in mountain areas should not only create mulberry plantations but plant *wangsaragu* grass so as to raise silkworms in great numbers.

If mulberry groves are created, silkworms can be raised right there. Then there will be no need to take the trouble to pick and carry mulberry leaves home. Silkworm culture, if conducted well, will bring in as much income as sheep raising.

Silkworms should be reared not only on the cooperative farms in the mountain areas but also those in the flat areas and in county seats and workers' settlements. In county seats and workers' settlements, provided that housewives and those women who are elderly or weak and so are able only to do easy work, are mobilized, silkworms can be raised.

It is profitable for farms in mountain areas to keep bees on a large scale.

In order to augment the cash income of peasants in hilly areas, red pepper, garlic and industrial crops should also be cultivated to some extent.

However, the tendency to cut down grain production on the pretext of increasing the cash income of the farmers cannot be permitted. The most important thing in raising the cash income of farmers is, after all, to produce large quantities of grain and sell it to the state.

As we said when we visited Tokchon-ri of Taedong County and

Jungsokhwa-ri of Sunan County, people should not look elsewhere to gain cash income but should do so mainly by increasing grain production where it is possible to do this. The Fourth Party Congress instructed that each farm household in the mountain areas should be encouraged to obtain three tons of grain and over 1,000 *won* in cash. If grain output is increased and 4.5 tons of grain is distributed to every peasant household, it can be said that the task advanced by the Party has been fulfilled even if the cash distribution is 400-500 *won*. Tokchon-ri of Taedong County is a mountain village, but its people worked well last year on our instructions, and, as a result, so they say, each farm household received a share of over 4.5 tons of grain and 400 *won* in cash. So, we can say that the goal set by the Fourth Party Congress has been reached.

Of course, in those mountain areas where the soil is too sterile to raise grain production by very much, it is also necessary to cultivate red pepper, garlic and various industrial crops in some way to increase the cash income. But even in this case, it is advisable to allot some area of land to the cultivation of red pepper and industrial crops, while increasing the per-hectare yield of grain as they did in Changsong County, so that grain output does not fall. This principle must be strictly observed.

We should ensure that not only highland peasants but also cooperative farmers in coastal regions become prosperous.

There are now many combined agricultural and fishing cooperative farms in coastal areas. It may be expedient to merge some of them with neighbouring fishermen's cooperatives, and to leave intact those big ones which are capable of raising crops while fishing independently. Cooperative farms bordering the sea should be allowed to carry on small-scale fisheries well while engaging in crop cultivation and livestock farming.

The agro-fishing cooperative farms should be supplied with boats and various kinds of fishing tackle. Since the members of these cooperative farms do fishing while engaged in farm work, it is unnecessary to build large boats for them.

The cooperative farms on the coast should catch fish and breed shellfish and seaweed extensively as well. Then, they should distribute the seafood produced to their members and sell the surplus.

I consider it necessary to increase state assistance to bolster up backward cooperative farms quickly.

In the first place, we must supply sufficient chemical fertilizer to these cooperative farms so that they can farm well. It would be good to provide a larger quantity of fertilizer to the mountain areas than to other regions, but the present circumstances do not permit us to do so. However, the fertilizer allocated to those areas must be sent there without delay. In the past, some county cooperative farm management committees have failed to transport the fertilizer allocated to the mountainous areas expeditiously. In addition, they sometimes took some of it to send to other areas. This kind of thing must not happen in future. Every hectare of maize needs an application of 350 kilogrammes of fertilizer, so this much fertilizer must be guaranteed without fail, and fertilizer should be transported first to the cooperative farms in the mountain areas from early autumn.

Meanwhile, the cooperative farms in the mountain areas should make greater efforts to improve the land by themselves. At present some comrades do not think of improving land but are inclined to abandon it because it is sterile. This will not do. All cooperative farms in the mountain areas should strive to harvest more agricultural produce from existing fields, by fertilizing and tending every patch of ground well instead of abandoning it.

We plan to conduct land re-alignment work efficiently in the flat areas and reclaim tideland so as to obtain 1.3 to 1.5 million hectares of mechanically-workable land in the future, which will be used exclusively for grain cultivation. This much land will be enough to produce over six million tons of grain, if the per-hectare grain yield is raised to four to five tons through the introduction of the greater use of chemicals and mechanization. Then we shall be able to turn the sloping fields in mountain areas into mulberry groves, pastures or forests for timber. However, we cannot give up the farmland in the mountain areas

immediately. Therefore, until the plains yield enough grain, effective use should be made of the existing fields in the mountain areas to increase grain production, while laying solid foundations for livestock farming, forestry and fruit-growing. Only then will the mountain areas develop as well as the grain-producing plains in the future.

To continue. More farm machines must be produced and supplied to the mountain areas.

First of all, one or two more *Chollima* tractors should be assigned to each cooperative farm in the mountain areas this year to pull more loads. And small tractors which are suitable for use in the mountain areas should be made and supplied in the future. Only then will the farmers in the mountain areas think of mechanizing agriculture and developing their areas further.

Since there is a shortage of rural manpower, no work hand should be taken away from farm villages in general, and, in particular, not a single young or middle-aged man should be taken away from the cooperative farms in the mountain areas. A small number of young and middle-aged people will do in the plains because comprehensive mechanization can be introduced there. But young and middle-aged people are indispensable in the mountain areas, since almost all farming operations there are done by human labour.

The Agricultural Commission and the provincial rural economy committees should intensify their guidance of the backward cooperative farms.

The cooperative farms in Kangwon Province, in particular, are in very difficult circumstances now, worse than in other provinces. Therefore, the state should take steps to bolster up these farms.

Although the Party and the Government have made large investments since immediately after the armistice, established many central counties and adopted a series of other measures to give a lift to the rural economy of this province, it has made no great advance yet. It is true that we can say it is more developed than it was before, but it trails far behind other provinces.

With a view to developing the agriculture of Kangwon Province,

the Cabinet will do well to prepare a detailed survey and send a guidance group composed of scientists and technicians and headed by a cadre of the Agricultural Commission, so as to give direct assistance to the work of county cooperative farm management committees by districts.

In addition, in order to increase the output of grain and other crops in the alpine regions, the role of scientific research institutions for alpine farming should be improved.

Some time ago I read a report presented by the agricultural research institution in Ryanggang Province on the results of its research on alpine crops. These results should be made widely known to highland cooperative farms. Research institutions for alpine agriculture must send scientists to the cooperative farms in the mountain areas to help them cultivate crops suited to the climate and soil of these areas.

In order to stimulate the backward cooperative farms and improve the economic positions of all cooperative farms, measures should be taken for the solution of the problem of wood, of which there is a shortage.

Since the state now controls all forests, the cooperative farms are not in a position to fell a tree for timber to build houses or even to gather firewood at will.

Some 100 hectares of woodland should be allocated to every cooperative farm in future so that they can plant trees themselves and fell them freely for their own use.

Woodlands should be allocated to cooperative farms not only in the mountain areas but also in the plains. Such a flat county as Mundok County should get its allotment of woodland at a rather distant place, because it has no mountains nearby.

Every cooperative farm should put some 10 hectares under forest each year out of its assigned woodland. If trees are planted in this way for only ten years, all the areas allotted to cooperative farms will be covered with forest.

Fast-growing trees should be planted as far as possible. Either larch or such broad-leaved trees as poplar are preferable. Korean poplar and

platanus grow most quickly; in ten years they will be big enough for timber. The Korean poplars and platanuses on Rungna Islet are ten years old, and are already as big as a man's arms' span round. Acacias are also to be grown. Acacias are good for firewood and can be used for cart beams and helms of hoes and axes. If afforestation is to be carried on, the provision of saplings may present a problem. If nursery-trees are not available, young plants should even be transplanted from mountains.

If cooperative farms carry out afforestation work well, they will be able to fell as many trees as they want in a few years time. They will be able to make doorframes and build houses and also supply wood to their members as fuel. No one should be allowed to interfere with cooperative farms which fell trees in their own woodlands. New regulations have to be framed to entitle relevant cooperative farms to control and fell trees on the mountains for their own use, although the mountains belong to the state.

### **3. ON SOME TASKS REQUIRED TO RAISE GOOD CROPS THIS YEAR**

In raising good crops this year it is most important for all cooperative farms to try to obtain adequate supplies of water.

The question of obtaining good supplies of water has been an important topic in the current congress of agricultural workers. This is good. On returning home after the congress, you should mobilize the farmers tactfully and carry out a strong campaign to secure even one more drop of water and use it most economically, in accordance with the message of this congress.

First, you should fill reservoirs and all pools with as much water as possible.

Last year there was a long drought, which caused almost all



reservoirs to dry up and, to make matters worse, we had very little snow this winter. So we are in great need of water. Cooperative farms should fill all pools with water and, particularly in South Hwanghae and North and South Phyongan Provinces which are very short of water, an active campaign must be started to conserve water. Ditches should be cleaned out to allow water to flow into reservoirs and even the courses of rivers should be altered if necessary to fill all reservoirs. And the standing water in ditches and the water from the thawing snow should not be left to flow away but be channelled into paddy fields. At the same time, other regions should follow the example of South Hwanghae Province, and conduct an extensive drive to dig wells and pump out underground water on a large scale.

While making every effort to obtain more water, cooperative farms should use water economically, without leaving even a drop to flow away uselessly.

Sometimes we see water flowing across roads in rural areas because channels have not been kept in good condition and ditches have been carelessly dug. If water is controlled so carelessly, the demand for water cannot be met, however many reservoirs we may build and however much water we may obtain. The county cooperative farm management committees and cooperative farms must examine and know the state of all channels, and stop the leaks, if any, with clay, and repair any damaged structures with cement, thus preventing even a drop of water from being wasted. As much water as possible should be saved by various methods: reservoir water should be used as little as possible for rice nurseries, but standing water should be channelled into them, and the leakage of water has to be prevented by repairing ridges between rice-fields and harrowing with care.

For this reason you must start campaigns vigorously to channel water into all pools and paddy fields, to pump underground water, to save water, and so solve the pressing water problem without fail in this year's farming operations.

Another matter to which we must pay attention in this year's farming is to make adequate preparations against floods by

anticipating that there might be floods in summer.

Our experience for over 20 years since liberation tells us that usually there is a flood in our country in the year following severe drought. This year, too, we may have a flood in summer after the dearth of water during the dry weather in the spring. So, from now onwards you should dredge rivers and reinforce river dikes where necessary, and keep drainage facilities in good condition, so that any large floods will cause no damage.

Secondly, it is important in this year's farming to select new varieties of seeds to plant on the right soil and to introduce advanced farming methods widely by drawing on last year's experience.

As regards rice, early-ripening varieties should be sown widely and strong seedlings should be grown before bedding them out at an early date.

With regard to dry-field crops, maize should be sown extensively. This year the area under maize should be increased to 700,000 hectares.

People of some cooperative farms in the mountain regions have asked for permission to turn their maize fields into paddies. Of course, non-paddy fields should be turned into paddies where this is possible, but there is no need to do so everywhere. According to Changsong County's experience, those dry fields which can be turned into paddies are mostly capable of yielding seven or eight tons of maize per hectare when this is sown after the application of plenty of manure. Such fields, however, produce only two tons and a half or so of rice, if they are turned into paddies. It is better for you to sow maize and get seven or eight tons rather than to produce two tons and a half of rice from the paddy fields which are paid out with the expenditure of enormous manpower and funds. Maize is not very inferior to rice. Riced corn flour is similar to rice when it is boiled. There will be no waste if the residue remaining after making riced corn flour is fed to domestic animals.

While increasing the area under maize, you should introduce the humus-pot maize growing method on a wide scale. As experience shows, humus pots can increase the yields of maize considerably.

Humus-pot grown maize plants will stand typhoons well. You are wrong if you think that there will be no storm this year, just because we did not have a big one last year. If only for the sake of averting storm damage, we should mount a widespread drive to grow maize by means of humus pots this year.

Thirdly, cooperative farms should be provided with adequate supplies of various farm implements and such farming materials as fertilizers and agricultural chemicals needed for this year's farming.

I am told that rural areas are now very short of farm implements such as spades and pickaxes. Steps should be taken to make and supply them as soon as possible. The State Planning and Materials Supply Commissions should provide steel materials on a preferential basis for the production of farm implements, even if their supply to other branches is held back a little. No delay is allowed in all branches of the national economy, and this is particularly so in agriculture. An industrial plan unfulfilled in the first half of the year, can be executed in the second half, but farm work left undone in spring and summer cannot be performed in autumn or in winter, and if the farming season is missed, the result cannot be reversed. Therefore, necessary farm implements should be made and supplied quickly so that this year's farming will not be held up.

When fertilizer, agricultural chemicals and such items which are required for farming this year are produced in factories, they should be dispatched immediately and distributed to cooperative farms in advance.

Fourthly, efficient rural labour administration is important for guaranteeing successful farming this year.

At this congress many comrades asked for the manpower shortage problem to be solved, but there is no labour force which we can send to the rural areas right now.

At present our labour situation is very acute everywhere. This is due, first of all, to the fact that many large factories and enterprises have been built, which increases the demand for manpower continuously, while labour reserves are extremely limited as an

aftereffect of the Fatherland Liberation War. Those children who were born immediately after the ceasefire are now mostly turning 14 or 15, and it will be two or three years before they can participate in productive activities. From 1971, about 300,000 men will be added to our labour force every year. Then labour situation in the country as a whole will be improved to some degree and there will be considerably more adult labour in the agricultural branch. Therefore, you should not think that you will be getting any more manpower for the next two or three years.

Another reason for our manpower shortage is that many young people have joined the army.

While straddling half of our territory, the US imperialists are now intensifying their aggressive plots against the northern half of Korea and slaughtering many patriots and innocent people in south Korea at will. The US imperialists and their lackeys are now arresting and imprisoning members of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in South Korea and are committing all sorts of barbarities against them. In this situation we must continue to build up our national defence power solidly and, accordingly, we cannot reduce the ranks of our People's Army in the slightest.

You keep asking that a large number of demobilized soldiers be sent to the rural areas. Of course, I will see to it that of the demobilized soldiers those from rural areas are all returned to farm villages in the future. But we are not in a position to reduce the numerical strength of the People's Army just to send young people to rural areas.

Then, what is the way to solve the acute rural labour problem?

As I said at the national congress of agricultural workers last year also, in the long run, the fundamental solution to the pressing manpower problem of the cooperative farms lies in making rational use of the available manpower through the efficient organization of work.

First of all, we must put an end to the practice of county cadres doing what they like with the work force of the farms. These days county people's committees take away work hands from cooperative

farms at every opportunity and use them to do unplanned work. They must not do so. They must make it a principle to use the cooperative farm work force only for carrying out drainage projects, the river improvement work now under way and the construction of rural houses, and not for any other purpose.

In accordance with the spirit of the decisions of the 18th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party, cooperative farms should make a more rational use of existing manpower through proper labour allocation and organization.

At present some cooperative farms allocate many able-bodied men to water-pumping stations, stock-raising teams, fruit-growing teams and the like, but assign women and elderly people primarily to the arduous work of crop cultivation. This is a serious mistake. If you teach them the basic essentials, elders or women will also be fully capable of doing such work as operating a pumping station. Stock-raising and fruit-growing teams and such like can be kept going by elderly folk and women, provided a few able-bodied men are included in them. The distribution of manpower on cooperative farms must be re-examined and those able-bodied men assigned to branches of secondary importance must be transferred to crop raising work.

The key to the easing of the shortage of rural manpower lies in the enterprising promotion of farm mechanization. We must introduce mechanization in farm work by making use of every possibility so that more work can be done with the available manpower.

In the rural areas we still find loads being carried on people's backs and work done by manual labour in many cases. Immediately after the ceasefire wheelbarrows and different kinds of simple machines were made and used widely. But all this has been cast aside now. If you will just try, you will be able to use tractors to do various kinds of heavy work easily, but you do not do so. This is solely due to the rural cadres' indifference to mechanization and to their inefficient organizational work.

Workers of the county cooperative farm management committees

and the cooperative farm management boards should take a great interest in farm mechanization so as to ease the farmers' burdensome labour at least a little and save as much manpower as possible. At the same time, the state should see that large quantities of machines and equipment, including tractors, transformers and electric motors needed for farm mechanization, are produced and supplied to the rural areas.

There must be many other problems which should be solved to make agricultural production successful this year. However, these are problems which I have stressed on many occasions, so I do not intend to dwell on them any further.

Now, I am going to speak about the problem of producing subsidiary foodstuffs which now faces the agricultural branch as an important task.

In producing subsidiary foodstuffs it is important to grow different kinds of vegetables in profusion.

Vegetables are one of the most important non-staple foodstuffs and are indispensable to the lives of our people.

Cooperative farms must increase the production of vegetables sharply and supply them in sufficient quantities to all factory and office workers and urban dwellers, not to mention the farmers. As I have said, the best way to increase the output of vegetables is to introduce the sprinkler irrigation system.

All rural cadres and management workers of cooperative farms should endeavour to introduce the sprinkler system on a wide scale in vegetable production. In particular, those cooperative farms which supply vegetables to urban communities and workers' districts should establish this system without fail.

In addition, a large quantity of manure should be applied to vegetable fields. It is particularly good to use a great deal of chicken manure. Last year some cooperative farms in Ryongsong District, Pyongyang, spread on their vegetable gardens chicken manure which had been brought from the Ryongsong Chicken Farm, with the result that an excellent crop was reaped. Chicken farms are now under construction everywhere in our country, so cooperative farms should

take all the manure from there to their vegetable plots.

In order to increase vegetable production, it is also necessary to lay out the plots on comparatively high grounds where water does not lie long, even in the rainy season, so that an assured harvest can be gathered every year.

In the past there were many cases of crop failure in Pyongyang and some other areas because vegetables were grown in low-lying lands which would be flooded with muddy water in the rainy season. It is true that vegetable cultivation in such places will result in a rich harvest in comparatively dry years. But when there is a flood or a long period of rain, failure is inevitable in vegetable production in such places. In future, cooperative farms should do away with this risky method of relying on chance in vegetable production, and should lay out vegetable plots at the right places which will ensure high and dependable yields at all times.

Research on vegetable production must be extended.

Research on producing vegetables by scientific methods is not going well at present. So the Party has instructed the Agricultural Commission to set up a vegetable research institute. In future this institute should make a thorough study of various problems concerning vegetable production—the creation of select varieties, soil improvement, the use of a wide variety of fertilizers including microelements, the introduction of humus-pot cultivation, the use of agricultural chemicals and others—and apply the results in production on a wide scale.

In addition to vegetables, large quantities of soya beans should be produced.

This is very important in improving the people's dietary life. Soya beans are essential for producing soya and bean paste. Soya and bean paste are indispensable subsidiary foods for Koreans and contain a high degree of protein. Since the question of making amino acid from cornstarch has been resolved, we can make soya without soya beans, but we need them to make bean paste. Soya beans are also indispensable for making nutritious bean curd and bean mash,

favourite foodstuffs of Koreans. A large quantity of soya beans is also needed to provide bean soup for children. Bean soup is different from cow's milk in its constituents, but is not inferior to it in nutritive value. Since our country still has only a small number of dairy cows, we are unable to feed all the children on cow's milk. So we should at least feed them on bean soup instead. Soya beans are needed also for oil extraction. Of course, we can extract oil from *kirumkol* plant, wild sesame and the like, but these on their own are not enough. Moreover, soya beans are needed for egg production as well. We have now built many egg farms, and if we are to produce lots of eggs, we should feed bean cake and similar items to the fowls.

As you can see, soya beans are very important in improving our people's dietary life and particularly in providing them with protein. That is why our Party has, for a long time, stressed the need to increase the production of soya beans and to plant them mainly in North Hamgyong Province where they grow well.

Agricultural cadres, however, still do not show much interest in increasing the production of soya beans. Although the Party's policy of producing these beans mainly in North Hamgyong Province is not being carried out properly, the workers of the Agricultural Commission remain indifferent, and they also do not take steps to correct the farmers' errors, even though they choose barren land for the cultivation of soya beans as in the past, neglect to apply fertilizer properly and weed carelessly. Agricultural scientists, too, carry out hardly any research on the production of soya beans. As a consequence, we cannot even produce a scientific film on the cultivation of soya beans yet. Because agricultural personnel show so little concern, soya bean production is barely able to increase.

You say you grew a good crop of soya beans last year, but according to the report of the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration, the amount which they purchased was insignificant. This also shows that you did not grow a large crop last year.

Agricultural personnel must rid themselves, as soon as possible, of this irresponsible attitude, which is unworthy of masters, manifested in



the production of soya beans during past years, and increase their output considerably.

In the first place, their yield per unit area must be radically increased. Since farming land is very limited, we cannot simply expand the land under soya beans even at the expense of the area sown to grain crops. We should raise the per-hectare yield in whatever way possible and so increase their output.

They say that at the Pongam Cooperative Farm, Kilju County, North Hamgyong Province, coal ash was spread and a great deal of manure was applied to 26 hectares of soya bean fields last year, with the result that each hectare yielded three tons. In the case of other cooperative farms, four hectares of land is needed to produce three tons of soya beans. At present, we plant a wide area of 420,000 hectares to soya beans every year, on 130,000 hectares of which they are sown as the main crop. If other cooperative farms raise their per-hectare yield like the Pongam Cooperative Farm, only 150,000 to 200,000 hectares will be enough to meet the demand for soya beans in our country.

If you introduce advanced methods and make persistent efforts, it will be quite easy to reap three tons of soya beans per hectare. Other countries produce 1.8 tons per hectare even by sowing mechanically and without weeding. Why, then, cannot we raise the per-unit-area yield when we are practising intensive farming? If you apply microelement fertilizer and a large amount of manure before you plant soya beans, you may be able to raise the per-unit-area yield not merely to three tons but even higher. All those cooperative farms where soya beans are planted as the main crop should strive for three tons per hectare.

As well as being planted as the main crop, soya beans should also be cultivated on a wide scale as an aftercrop, in order to increase their output. Last year we planted the “black-eye small-grain” variety of soya beans as the aftercrop in the worst land of the experimental plot and reaped 2.5 tons from every hectare. In South Phyongan and North and South Hwanghae Provinces soya beans should be cultivated widely as an aftercrop. Then, it will be possible to produce a large

quantity of soya beans even without expanding the area used for their cultivation.

Ridges between paddies should also be planted on a large scale with soya beans. We have advised the farmers in the past to plant them on these ridges for their own consumption, but they do so at their discretion, adopting a casual attitude to the matter. So now it is necessary to find out the area of the ridges and assign a definite quota of soya bean production to each cooperative farm. If you manage well, a large amount of soya beans can be produced on the ridges.

This year we should start a powerful drive to produce 500,000 to 600,000 tons of soya beans and meet the domestic needs for them entirely on our own.

As well as producing soya beans, we should cultivate chufa extensively to ensure a regular supply of cooking oil for the people.

We should develop livestock farming further.

This congress of agricultural workers ought to have taken up the matter of meat production as an important question, in addition to grain production, but little mention has been made of this. Therefore, I should like to make some remarks on increasing the output of animal products.

Every farm household should raise, as a matter of priority, a great number of fowls this year.

In future, too, we must continue to develop the state-run poultry farming and produce chickens and eggs in a more intensive way. But the state farms alone cannot satisfy the demands for chickens and eggs. We must, therefore, see to it that while the state farms concentrate on intensive poultry production, a widespread drive is also undertaken for the farm households to keep poultry.

If farm households raise chickens, it is possible that they might produce slightly fewer eggs than the state farms because they are handicapped in feed supply and in tending the birds. However, each hen will lay some 180 to 200 eggs a year. If a hen lays 200 eggs a year, five hens will produce 1,000. At present our country has about 1.3-1.4 million households capable of raising fowls. If they raise five hens

each, 1,300 million eggs can be produced in a year. This is a large amount.

Of course, if farm households are to raise chickens, they will experience some difficulty in obtaining animal-based feed. But they can resolve this question if they tackle it skilfully. Provided that we can solve this problem, it will not be very difficult to raise some ten chickens at each house. County cooperative farm management committee chairmen, ri Party committee secretaries and cooperative farm chairmen must, therefore, deal with this matter efficiently.

In order to get all farm households to raise chickens, the state farms should hatch many chicks for them.

In the past few years we have constructed many egg farms in major cities and workers' districts. In Pyongyang, egg farms have been built at many places such as Mangyongdae, Hadang and Sopho. In South Phyongan Province, they have been erected in Ryonggang, Tokchon and Kaechon Counties, and others are now under construction in Phyongsong District and Mundok County. Therefore, in Pyongyang and South Phyongan Province, it will soon be possible to provide chicks to all farmhouses. Other provinces may experience some difficulty, but the matter will be settled if each egg farm takes charge of a few counties and accepts the responsibility for hatching and supplying them with chicks.

Poultry farms have so far not supplied many chicks to farmhouses because they have had to keep them for their own development. But in future they will be able to supply as many chicks as required.

Poultry farms should rear the hatched chicks for about a month before selling them to farmers. Day-old chicks are liable to die, but they will not die so easily if they are a month old. If they are taken to the farmhouses when very young and accustomed to the conditions there, they will grow without being given much feed.

When supplying chicks to farmhouses, it is necessary to provide egg producers and birds for the table in the right proportions. A meat-producing variety differs from an egg-laying variety in many ways. The meat producer matures quickly, but lays fewer eggs. If a

farm household is given only meat-producing chicks, it will not get many eggs. I think it will be wise to supply five chicks for laying and five for meat production to each household, making a total of ten.

Roosters are also good for meat production. They say that nowadays farmers are reluctant to take male chicks. You should explain the situation to them well and encourage them to take male chicks, too. Because their present raising capacities are not great, the poultry farms kill all male chicks as soon as they are hatched. If that is the case, it will be good to let the farmers take them home free of charge and raise them.

This year we should encourage every farm household to raise fowls, so that children at nursery schools and kindergartens will have eggs and the remainder can be sold at shops. Because this is the first year, every farm household should be given a quota of producing 400 to 500 eggs, and 1,000 eggs from next year on.

In this way the farming families can produce 1,300 million eggs annually; when those produced at the state egg farms are added, the total figure will reach 2,000 million. If 2,000 million eggs are produced in our country, it will be possible to supply eggs to the working people at all times.

Many pigs should also be raised.

This requires establishing strong fodder bases. Cooperative farms should be encouraged to grow the nutritive and high-yielding *aegukphul*, pumpkin and the like extensively, thus providing feed on their own. They say that many pumpkins will grow when they are sown so as to be able to climb up the trellises erected by the roadside and on the banks of ditches. The Ponghwa Cooperative Farm in Kaechon County is said to be keeping a great number of pigs now by obtaining their feed in this manner. Instead of just looking only to the state for pig feed, other cooperative farms should also make efforts to grow it for themselves.

This year we should launch an all-mass movement for every workteam to produce 2-3 tons of meat and every farm household to produce 100 kilogrammes of meat and 400-500 eggs or more, and thus

attain without fail the target of meat production set by the Party at the 17th Plenary Meeting of its Fourth Central Committee.

Comrades,

Today a fierce struggle is being waged in all sectors of our national economy to attain the major goals of the Seven-Year Plan this year. In agriculture, too, the construction of a socialist countryside must be accelerated following the path indicated by the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, and all rural cadres and cooperative farmers should come out as one to mount a powerful campaign to produce 500 kilogrammes more grain per hectare again this year.

I am firmly convinced that you will successfully carry out all tasks set by the Party at this congress and bring about a new advance in agricultural production, thus meeting the expectations of the Party with credit.

# **ON SOME PROBLEMS IN PARTY WORK AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS WHICH MUST BE SOLVED**

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Departmental  
Heads of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*February 11, 1969*

## **1. ON IMPROVING PARTY WORK**

The Organizational Leadership Department, Information and Publicity Department, those in charge of economic affairs and all other departments of the Party Central Committee are the staff which helps its Political Committee and the General Secretary in handling matters concerned with policy, personnel affairs and various other problems relating to Party work. The general functions of these departments are to disseminate Party policy, to supervise its implementation and help subordinate units to implement it properly, to study work thoroughly and make suggestions on policies so as to ensure that the Party Central Committee makes correct decisions on relevant issues, and to select and appoint suitable officials and provide them with systematic training.

Their functions are not very complicated, but a great deal of effort is required to perform them successfully. Unlike administrative activities. Party work does not yield results immediately, and constant

effort is needed to do it properly. For this reason, if you neglect Party work the consequences will be grave.

At the moment, departments of the Party Central Committee, and particularly those in charge of economic affairs, are not operating properly. Every year we have stressed the need for them to do Party work well, but the education of the working people in Party policy is still inefficient, and the supervision of the implementation of Party policy is still not done properly. Furthermore, the selection, appointment and training of cadres is unsatisfactory.

We always say that the Party must not take over administrative duties or undertake economic activities but must always work with people, in other words, work with cadres, with its members and with the masses. Only then will everything proceed well.

If Party work is effective, the work of the Cabinet will be successful, and all other administrative and economic activities will go smoothly. The main function of the Cabinet, for example, is to adopt relevant resolutions in line with the Party's direction and send them to the lower echelons and then exert every effort to put them into effect. Therefore, if the Party fills the ranks of cadres of the Cabinet well, informs them of its policy correctly and stimulates them to action, things will run smoothly. This is true of other administrative and economic activities. These activities cannot go amiss, if the Party builds up and gives proper training to the officials in charge of administrative and economic affairs thus inducing them to discharge their duties with devotion, fully aware of their mission, and brings home to the masses the Party policies and supervises their implementation effectively. If Party work is done in this manner, ministers and other executives and economic management workers will find their work easy. Party organizations should not usurp the functions of administrative and economic executives but conduct organizational and political work to ensure that these matters are done with credit.

This year we must radically improve the activities of the departments of the Party Central Committee. To this end, we plan to

obtain regular reports from these departments in future. Pressure of work has so far prevented us from getting prompt reports on the activities of these departments. But from now on we are going to have a consultative meeting of the departmental heads of the Party Central Committee every quarter to review their work. This meeting should sum up in detail how many cadres the departments have met, how they have studied them, how many lectures they have given, to whom they have given them, and on what subjects they have spoken.

I shall now deal with some important questions in improving Party work this year, including personnel affairs and the dissemination of the Party's policy.

#### 1) ON MANAGING PERSONNEL AFFAIRS CORRECTLY

Cadres are the hard core of the Party who play a very important role in the revolution and construction. Only when they are given a good education and systematic training and allowed to stay in their posts for a long time, so that they can work efficiently, can the revolution and construction be successful. A most important thing in Party work is to work with officials and, accordingly, the departments of the Party Central Committee must first work with cadres properly.

But these departments are still inefficient in dealing with personnel affairs. This is a great failing. This work is now confined to the promotion of officials.

As we said when we set up the Personnel Department of the Party Central Committee, and as we have emphasized whenever we have had the opportunity, this work must not be confined to promoting officials. If personnel affairs are to be managed properly, it is necessary not only to appoint cadres on the basis of sound judgement, but also to check on their activities regularly, meet them and talk to them frequently and, if anything is wrong with their work, criticize and educate them before it is too late. During the past year, for example, the departments of the



Party Central Committee concentrated on the appointment of cadres, but almost totally neglected their education. They summoned them for meetings once or twice at most, but did not conduct a deep investigation into how they were working nor did they make any effort to educate them. In consequence, cadres cannot make progress, nor are their mistakes discovered before it is too late. Their errors pass unnoticed until they become serious, and then they are criticized all at once. The result is that the guilty cadres cannot be rescued.

We must remedy these shortcomings and thus bring about a radical change in the management of personnel affairs this year.

It is necessary, above all, to study cadres properly.

In many cases you examine them only on paper at your desks and do not make effort to learn about their political preparedness and work abilities through their work and day-to-day life. So you do not know them well.

If you are to manage personnel affairs properly, you must select cadres in a methodical way, following a plan by which you decide where you will appoint this man, and to what cadre you will promote him after some two years, and where you will appoint another man and to what cadre you will promote him after three years, having studied them closely. But there is no clear understanding of cadres at present, so that when there is a need to select a cadre, different candidates are named in a careless manner. So a happy choice results in the appointment of a sound man, otherwise an undesirable man is selected who will have to be dismissed before long. In short, the selection of cadres is not free from the element of chance in many cases. This means that departments of the Party Central Committee still do not have a clearly-defined system of studying personnel.

Since these departments do not systematically acquire knowledge of personnel, it is very difficult to choose a cadre.

In the field of science and education, for example, a full dossier should be maintained on each of the university rectors, vice-rectors, deans, heads of departments and lecturers so that, in case a vacancy occurs in the office of a rector, a replacement can be appointed without

delay. But now it takes several months, and even some years, to select a rector by weighing the merits of one man against those of another. This also applies to the industrial sector. Because information on the people suitable for promotion from amongst the workers of factories and other enterprises is not available, a vacancy in the position of manager or chief engineer is left unfilled for six months or a year, or even for some years. This does not in the least mean that any person should be promoted without prudence. This cannot be permitted even if it means that a vacancy will have to remain unfilled for a long time.

The lack of systematically gathered information on cadres and on the reserves whom it is planned to promote is also the cause of the failure to appoint even ministers speedily.

Because there is no systematic study of personnel, we have to spend a great deal of time on selecting a cadre by looking for the right man at one place or another. It is no easy matter to pick up an attractive stone or shell on the riverside offhand, much less to choose sound cadres in such a way.

Since the Party Central Committee has no well-established system of studying personnel, the provincial Party committees are not good at this work, and the county Party committees are also not efficient in this respect. This can also be said of the Ministries of Public Security and National Defence, and all other units.

The Party Central Committee must first set up a well-organized system of studying personnel. Only when it sets an example, can its subordinate organizations follow its lead.

Without building up the ranks of cadres at lower echelons and without knowing subordinates well, no sector can select cadres in a planned manner, nor can it reinforce the ranks of cadres at higher echelons. That is why the departments of the Party Central Committee must study well the personnel who are in their direct charge as well as reserve cadres.

The number of reserve cadres on whom information should be available must be at least twice the number of the cadres in their direct charge. Suppose the Party Central Committee deals directly with 2,000

cadres in a sector, then it ought to have information available on 4,000 reserves. The sum of both categories totals 6,000. If the relevant deputy head of the department for personnel cooperates closely with the staff members of the sections concerned, he will have no difficulty in studying so many people.

The departments of the Party Central Committee in charge of economic affairs, in order to promote sound people to the posts of industrial managers and chief engineers whom they directly control, must make a careful study of the lower-ranking cadres—their deputies, section chiefs and the shop managers of factories and enterprises. The departments of the Party Central Committee should be informed of the cadres of the establishments which are under their indirect control, in addition to those under their direct charge. If a department of the Party Central Committee in charge of economic affairs, for instance, is to manage the second and higher-grade enterprises directly, it must know about the cadres of the third-grade enterprises through the heavy industry departments of provincial Party committees, in addition to the cadres under their direct control.

The reason for establishing the economic affairs departments of the Party Central Committee is not only to direct economic affairs but also to manage personnel affairs properly for the administrative and economic establishments. Since the Organizational Leadership Department is in charge of personnel management of Party workers and directs Party life as a whole, it is not in a position to manage even personnel affairs of administrative and economic executives. Economic affairs departments should study administrative and economic executives including cadres at factories.

Departments of the Party Central Committee must have information about executives down to shop managers at industrial establishments and down to cooperative farm managerial chairmen.

As shop managers of factories and enterprises, in particular, are candidates for the posts of manager, it is of paramount importance to study and train them in a methodical way. In the army good platoon leaders are the source from which company commanders are

appointed, sound company commanders provide battalion commanders, competent battalion commanders provide regimental commanders, and able regimental commanders supply divisional commanders. In the same way, in the economic sector, the ranks of economic executives can be replenished systematically only when shop managers are men of sound class backgrounds, of good qualities and of ability.

Since departmental heads are unable to obtain firsthand information on all the executives down to shop managers, they should enlist the cooperation of their staff members in this task. If a department holds frequent consultations about the personnel under its control, its head is able to form a general opinion of any of them, even if he does not study him himself.

When information on the cadres of lower echelons becomes available, a list showing the planned appointment of reserve cadres from top to bottom should be drawn up. For example, this kind of list must designate a shop manager of a factory to fill the post of the manager of the factory if it becomes vacant, or suggest a shop engineer for the job of its chief engineer in case there is a vacancy.

At present no one can make a prompt recommendation when a department has to select a cadre. But if its officials have systematically gathered information about all personnel from top to bottom as I have suggested, a suitable recommendation can be made without hesitation on such an occasion. If they have full information about the cadres down to shop managers of the machine industry, they can immediately appoint one of them to the post of manager of a machine factory if it becomes vacant. The person appointed may come from the factory concerned or, if it has no suitable candidate, from amongst the shop managers who are confirmed and are being trained for the purpose at another factory.

Much stress has been put on the need to study personnel properly, but things have not worked well. This year you must work out a detailed plan for the study of cadres down to shop managers and carry it out without fail. It will not be easy to study all the shop managers

because they number tens of thousands. Nevertheless, you must do it. If the numerous officials of the Party Central Committee and of provincial Party committees are all fully mobilized they can do anything they want. These committees should draw up a precise plan and get down to this task. If we do it properly this year, personnel affairs management will improve in future.

The People's Army should also study the officers in the lower ranks well. Although the number of its officers is great, it is not an arduous task to study them. The Ministry of National Defence and field armies should decide the levels of ranks for information on which each will be responsible, and get down to work on this.

This year we are going to give one-month courses for the officials by category, which will serve as a good opportunity of learning about them.

There is no harm in having a good knowledge of the cadres. In many cases our officials suspect cadres because they judge them only from their files. This tendency will cease if a close study is made of them. If you find on paper the record of an evil deed supposedly committed by a comrade's father, you should take this opportunity to find out the truth and inquire about the influence of this deed on the comrade. Then you will be able to take better measures for his education and trust him. If you are to learn more about the officials at lower units, you should not confine yourselves to meeting them once or twice but do so whenever you visit these units. When they inspect factories or rural communities, the officials of the Party Central Committee must always try to learn how the local officials are working and what their shortcomings are.

Whenever we visit lower echelons, we always take with us officials from different departments of the Party Central Committee to teach them how to work and let them familiarize themselves with the cadres. Last year, on our inspection tour of North Hamgyong Province, we took with us officials of the Personnel and Heavy Industry Departments and other departments of the Party Central Committee to teach them the method of work. Then we instructed them to compile a

list of intellectuals in the province. This was not only for our own reference, but mainly to let them acquire a good knowledge of many intellectuals and learn the work method in the course of drawing up their list. Of course, time did not permit us to go deeply into the matter, but we obtained information on quite a few people who are eligible for promotion. We always stress the need to study personnel and teach officials how to work, taking them along with us, but they do not work as instructed.

As I think it will be a good reference for you, I am going to give an account of our experiences of studying the cadres of Changsong County.

We frequently visit Changsong and meet officials there; we are now familiar with almost all the officials of that county. Of course, there are too many people for us to remember all their names, but we can recognize by sight the chairman of the management board of which cooperative farm and know which of the cooperative farm chairmen works successfully and which does not.

We are familiar with the officials of Changsong County so that we are confident in selecting cadres from among them. We appointed the chairman of the Changsong County Cooperative Farm Management Committee as chairman of the North Phyongan Provincial Rural Economy Committee because we knew him well. In order to acquire a good idea of him, we used to receive work reports from him a couple of times whenever we visited the place, asking him about various matters and setting him tasks. In this way we learned how committed he was, whether he was careful with his work or not, and how qualified he was. We came to the conclusion that he could be promoted to the post of a provincial rural economy committee chairman or vice-chairman in case of need. We also had in mind who would succeed him when he was transferred from the county cooperative farm management committee. On his promotion to the chairmanship of the provincial rural economy committee, we assigned the chairman of the Kumya Cooperative Farm as his successor.

Some time ago we appointed a cooperative farm chairman of

Changsong County as the chairman of the Tokchon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee. Needless to say, we shall have to wait and see how they will work in the future but, judging from present indications, we consider that they will do a good job. The new chairman of the Tokchon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee, for instance, is a devoted worker and has already got the county situation under control, although it is not long since his appointment. All this promises his success in improving the rural economy of Tokchon County. It is true that he may not be very knowledgeable as a county cooperative farm management committee chairman at the moment because he has been a cooperative farm chairman, so he may find it difficult to perform his duty for a year or two. However, since he has been trained in such a mountain area as Changsong County, he will be successful in directing the rural economy of Tokchon County. During the years of guerrilla warfare, too, we selected people from those units which had had many hard battles and appointed them as officers in other units, and they proved excellent.

However hard we try to learn about people, it is impossible, single-handed, to know about all the cadres. Only when the departmental heads and all the officials of the Party Central Committee have a good knowledge of personnel, can we be told about them by the officials, and can our Party's personnel affairs be managed efficiently.

Departmental heads of the Party Central Committee and their deputies, as well as the section chiefs and instructors, should be kept well informed about the cadres of the branches in their charge. Each of the officials of the Party Central Committee should have knowledge of approximately 2,000 officials. Of course, it is difficult for a man to study so many people at one time. But if he does this work diligently and step by step for a few years, he will be able to learn about more than 2,000 people. If each of the departmental heads, their deputies, section chiefs and instructors of the Party Central Committee learns about 2,000 officials, we can have details on all our officials at our finger tips.

Until now, you have worked superficially, drifting and missing your target. From now on you must not miss your aim but work soberly with the main emphasis on the study of personnel. Throughout this year all the departments must make a detailed study of the qualifications of the officials at the organs in their charge, the level of their class spirit and the correctness of their ideological viewpoint.

Next, in personnel management this year it is important to give the officials a substantial one-month training course.

There is no undesirable man among our officials now who deliberately wastes his time at work. Therefore, success in their work depends on how they are educated.

In accordance with the Party's policy, we should organize this training course well so as to make it an important occasion for improving the qualifications of cadres and steeling their Party spirit. The training course for officials of the Party Central Committee and other important Party workers should be given at the Central Party School; the training course for senior executives of the administrative and economic bodies at the University of National Economy, and that for lower-ranking officials at their provinces or counties.

Platoon leaders and higher-ranking officers of the People's Army should also participate in the one-month course. Regimental commanders and their seniors should be given the course by the Central Party School and their subordinates by the Ministry of National Defence. This training course should also be given to those public security officers who are resident in ri, to the cooperative farm management board chairmen and to the ri Party secretaries.

No official should be allowed to miss this course. If any university graduate thinks it unnecessary to study at the one-month course, he is greatly mistaken. Everybody, including those who have completed a university or post-graduate course, must participate in the one-month course. Only then can they work well, without deteriorating.

One or two ideological examinations are not enough to rid the people's minds of vestiges of outdated ideas. Anyone can become ideologically degenerate unless he is given constant education. There



is no guarantee that even revolutionary veterans will not degenerate. Constant ideological education is essential in training people to be faithful to the revolution to the end, without falling off in any way.

The ideological education of people is a very important task for socialist construction and it is a direct part of the building of socialism. Without ideological education to eradicate the capitalist poison from the minds of the working people and cadres, the poison left over from the old society, it would be impossible to accelerate socialist construction and continue pushing the revolution forward. If we are to continue to advance the revolution, we must intensify the ideological education of the working people and the cadres and wage a tireless ideological struggle against outdated ideas.

The one-month training course we give the officials every year can be regarded as a highly important measure to keep them from degenerating ideologically and to help them to continue the revolutionary struggle faithfully. So we must pay close attention to ensuring that the training will be effective.

Shop managers and workteam leaders in factories and workteam and sub-workteam leaders in the rural communities are omitted from the training course. So measures to educate them are also necessary. Suggestions for these measures were also made at the recent national congress of agricultural workers. On my recent visit to Onchon County, South Phyongan Province, I consulted the chief secretary of its Party committee about this matter. If well organized, shop managers and workteam leaders can have training at factories. But the training of the workteam and sub-workteam leaders of the cooperative farms is a problem. Short courses for the junior rural workers, in particular, have to be organized in winter, but the difficulty is to educate all of them in this season. The Organizational Leadership, and Information and Publicity Departments and also the Agricultural Department should study this problem and submit a solution.

I think the best way of training these leaders of the cooperative farms is to organize a mobile training course. In other words, it means organizing teachers into groups, each taking charge of several rural

communities, and giving lectures to these people. Immediately after the war such courses were run for some time but then abandoned. They should be revived.

A county usually consists of 20 ri, and three or four ri will need a mobile training team. You can make a monthly plan for each training team, specifying which ri it will teach in the first month, which in the second month, and which in the third. If training is given in this order, it will suffice.

The syllabuses of the training course should be as easy as possible, to suit the trainees. The main thing in this training course is to teach the trainees Party policy.

If we organize the training course well so as to teach even the workteam and sub-workteam leaders of the cooperative farms during this winter and let them teach the farmers in their turn, then the whole country will literally be studying.

In addition, we must ensure that the schools for managers, shop managers and workteam leaders are run properly.

In this way, we shall establish the system of studying cadres and educating them and bring about a radical change in personnel management.

## 2) ON IMPROVING THE DISSEMINATION OF PARTY POLICY

One of the major defects in the activities of the departments of the Party Central Committee is that they neglect the dissemination of Party policy.

At present the Departments of Organizational Leadership, and Information and Publicity conduct this work through Party organizations, but those in charge of economic affairs are not doing it properly. Last year, for example, these departments did virtually nothing in this respect.

The departments of the Party Central Committee should put the

main emphasis on studying Party policy in depth, explaining and disseminating it amongst Party members and working people, thus inspiring them to carry it out. Party work is, strictly speaking, an undertaking to educate Party members and working people in Party policy and organize them for the fulfilment of their revolutionary tasks. But departments of the Party Central Committee are not working in this direction.

More often than not, the officials of the departments of the Party Central Committee in charge of economic affairs concern themselves exclusively with the number of lathes and other equipment and production figures when visiting factories and enterprises, instead of steeping them in Party policy. So the executives at lower echelons and working people are not familiar with Party policy nor do they carry it out properly.

Let me take a few examples.

Five years have passed since the publication of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, but many of our officials and working people do not clearly understand the import of the theses. At the recent national congress of agricultural workers, therefore, some comrades even made the absurd suggestion that the county cooperative farm management committee and the county people's committee should be merged. This is patent proof that our officials have been unsuccessful in disseminating Party policy. To be frank, none of the departmental heads of the Party Central Committee or their deputies has given a convincing lecture on the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* to people at subordinate units. The officials of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee have been engrossed in such practical problems as improving plant strains and river improvement, but have done almost nothing to give the executives of the agricultural sector and farmers a clear idea of the fundamental method of accelerating the construction of the socialist countryside. Consequently, these people are not clear about the way of socialist rural construction. This being so, it is obvious that they do not carry out the theses successfully.

Our Party's line of undertaking economic construction simultaneously with the buildup of defence has not been brought home to the working people through effective measures, except the publication of a few articles on this matter by the press.

We have advanced a number of important tasks to accelerate defence construction. Departments of the Party Central Committee ought to give lectures and explanatory talks to the lower units on the matter of fulfilling our Party's military line including the policy of placing all the people under arms and fortifying the whole country. But they are not doing this.

Our Party has continued to stress the need to speed up the work of preparing against war in order to frustrate the US imperialists' aggressive schemes and hasten the accomplishment of the revolutionary cause of national reunification. It has emphasized the need to accelerate the preparations against war, particularly in the light of the great tension caused by the incident of the US imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo*. Officials of the Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee should have done political work through talks on the situation and by various other means so as to mobilize the masses of the workers in factories and enterprises to prepare against war. On their visit to steel plants, for example, they should have told the steel workers clearly what their tasks at the moment were and encouraged them to increase their output; when visiting machine factories they should have done political work to inspire the workers to implement their tasks under the national economic plan at any cost. But the Heavy Industry Department has not properly carried out its task of explaining to factories and enterprises the need to hasten war preparations.

The state adopted a very important decision on supplying all children with clothing last winter. But you have not given the masses proper lectures about this great people-oriented measure which was taken by the Party.

The dissemination of the Party's policy on labour administration is also not effective. The subject of improving this matter has been

discussed more than once at plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee, and appropriate decisions have been adopted. The officials concerned have only passed on the concluding remarks made at the plenary meetings, but have done nothing to explain to the masses the Party's policy on improving labour administration. Of course, it is necessary to pass on these concluding remarks. But it is also imperative to organize lectures and explanatory talks on a wide scale to bring home to the working people the Party's intention to improve labour administration.

The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee has decided to build modern rural houses for 150,000 families this year, but this decision also does not seem to have been given proper exposition and publicity. If the propagation of this decision had been successful, there would have been some reaction or some problems would have arisen. But there is no such response, and everything is quiet. Nothing is ever completely free of problems, particularly the huge task of building 150,000 modern farm houses. The fact that there has been no response to this task means, in the final analysis, that the decision has not been properly explained and disseminated and that the masses have not been roused to the struggle to carry it out.

The officials of the Organizational Leadership, and Information and Publicity Departments, and particularly those of the economic departments, must deliver a large number of lectures to explain and disseminate Party policy. When they go on a tour, directing lower echelons, the officials of the Party Central Committee should take with them syllabuses for lectures and talks and should deliver lectures to the working people and their subordinates or hold discussions with them before they return. Then they will feel proud of their Party work. How can they find their work satisfying if they simply travel around inquiring into production figures?

It is also necessary for officials of the Party Central Committee to deliver lectures to explain Party policy not only to educate their subordinates and the working people but also to improve their own qualifications. The section chiefs and instructors of the Party Central

Committee should lecture frequently, and this will improve their qualifications and help them to make progress.

Using the texts prepared by the Information and Publicity Department, officials of the economic departments should deliver lectures on establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system, on the present situation and the people's struggle in south Korea, on the international situation, and on the aggressive moves of the US imperialists. They should also frequently lecture on the economic policies for the sectors concerned. The Heavy Industry Department should lecture on the heavy industry policy of the Party; the Light Industry Department, on the Party's policy on light industry; and the Agricultural Department, on the Party's agrarian policy; and other economic departments should give wide publicity to the Party policies which concern their own sectors.

The texts of lectures can be prepared by the Information and Publicity Department for all other departments or else by each economic department for its own use. In addition, texts should be written for explanatory talks on Party policy. Economic departments are fully capable of doing this. If the departments in charge of economic affairs draft these texts, they must refer to the Organizational Leadership, and Information and Publicity Departments for agreement. This will prevent possible mistakes in these texts. The texts which they prepare should be approved before they are used by their staff members or widely circulated to subordinate units for lectures and talks.

Instructors of the Party Central Committee and of provincial Party committees should participate widely in delivering lectures. Each of the officials of the Party Central Committee should prepare texts on one or two subjects every quarter and give lectures at least once a month at his subordinate units.

All the cadres and working people must take part in study sessions and learn Party policy in detail. Each study group should not be too large, but moderate in size, and should be run efficiently.

This year we must provide every household with access to radio broadcasts, so that all the people can be informed promptly of

measures taken by the Party Central Committee.

To this end, we must complete the process of electrification. I was told that North Phyongan Province is going to ensure that electricity is available to all its houses this year. Other provinces are also working hard to complete electrification. They should speed up the project a little more so that all houses can have access to broadcasts as soon as possible.

We should also take steps to provide every family with a newspaper or a magazine. On our inspection tour of rural communities, we found that farmers had few newspapers and magazines to read. If this is due to the shortage of paper, the number of copies of magazines, for instance, should be increased, even if it means reducing their pages a little.

It is advisable to increase the number of copies of *Political Knowledge* to educate the Party members and working people. When we were fighting the Japanese imperialists, we educated a large number of people through the magazine *Two Fronts*. Based on this experience, we published *Political Knowledge* after liberation.

This publication is effective in giving concise information about Party policy, so it should be circulated to the Party members as well as outsiders. It should be printed in large numbers so that it can be available to every household, and so that everybody can carry it in his pocket to read in his spare time.

The cultural revolution can be successful when a cable radio network covers all parts of the country and every household can take a newspaper or a magazine.

Our officials speak a great deal about the cultural revolution at present; but they only pay lip service to it, merely chanting it as a slogan, instead of organizing and promoting it. In the name of the cultural revolution they are just providing nine-year compulsory technical education and running working people's middle schools and mothers' schools, but there are not many kinds of activities to raise the level of general knowledge and the cultural standard of the working people. Without promoting the cultural revolution, it is

impossible to carry on the ideological and technical revolutions successfully.

In the propagation of Party policy among the working people it is very important to involve the working people's organizations actively in this work.

There are such working people's organizations as trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth, and the Women's Union in our country, but Party organizations do not stimulate them to action properly. At present, the leadership given to them by the Party is ineffective; the Party is doing everything itself. This is a major shortcoming. It is sufficient for the Party, as a matter of principle, to give the working people's organizations a direction in which their work should go and supervise their activities. But the Party organizations are not working on these lines at the moment. They have made the working people's organizations refer to the Party organizations for approval in dealing with anything, with the result that the officials of these organizations cannot show creativity in their work. So, although their staffs are large, they do very little, and the presence of the trade unions and LSWY organizations is felt nowhere. The lack of momentum in the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions is mainly due to this failure to stimulate the working people's organizations properly.

Party bodies ought to actively involve the working people's organizations in disseminating Party policy and in other aspects of educating the masses.

The working people's organizations should, above all, give a great many lectures to the working people.

I was told that the working people's organizations neglect this. This is wrong. It is desirable that not only Party officials but also the workers of these organizations should devote a great deal of effort to giving lectures to the masses. If they do this, they will contribute greatly to the education of the working people.

The working people are eager to acquire new information at lectures. When we were engaged in youth work before liberation,



young people in the villages used to come to us often and eagerly ask us to tell them about the development of events whenever we visited them. So we were obliged to give lectures frequently and so we could educate a large number of people. Since radio sets are in wide use, and nearly all districts have a cable radio service, the situation is now a little different. Nevertheless, it is not bad to give lectures frequently. The working people's organizations should organize lectures on a wide scale, not only on political questions but also on subjects which are of assistance in raising the standard of general knowledge. The subjects can cover hygienic work, economic affairs, academic questions and many other matters.

At present we have good facilities which can be used for organizing lectures. Pyongyang, for instance, has many clubhouses. If you use them, you can easily organize lectures on a variety of topics. But these clubhouses are seldom used properly. The clubhouse in the Kangson workers' district is also not used except for film shows. Because clubhouses were not used properly in Pyongyang, last year we summoned the senior officials of the municipal Party committee and instructed them to make effective use of them. It seems that now lectures are being given quite frequently there.

The working people's organizations should organize lectures widely by making full use of the clubhouses, leaving none of them idle. The clubhouses in workers' districts can be used in the daytime to give lectures to workers who rest after working on night shift. Clubhouses can at least be used for the dissemination of hygienic knowledge to old folk.

In addition, the working people's organizations must work hard to popularize songs.

Songs are very effective in spreading revolutionary ideas. When we were engaged in guerrilla warfare, we spread revolutionary ideas by popularizing songs. It is very necessary to do this even now.

When they are told to have simple songs on Party policy composed and popularize them, our officials are reluctant to do so, arguing about the artistic value of music. They are mistaken. Needless to say, the

songs to be broadcast should be highly artistic because they will be heard abroad, but the people at home can get along with songs which are not the best.

We should ensure that many songs on Party policy are composed and circulated widely amongst the people. If they try, our officials can do as much of this as they want to. Using the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* as a basis, for instance, you can compose songs on the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions and others on how to build socialism and communism in the country areas; how farmers living in the highlands should utilize the mountains to make a good living; how to keep up progress in hygienic and sanitation work; how to keep houses clean and tidy; how to use raw and other materials economically; how to take good care of equipment, and on how to love comrades and foster collectivism. These songs should be simple and sound in content, and their lyrics should be considered more important than their tunes.

Songs should be easy to sing. Nowadays our composers try to write difficult songs. This is not good. During the guerrilla struggle we sometimes wrote words to be set to existing tunes because we had no professional composers. But now we have many composers, and they can compose as many easy songs as we need.

Easy songs can spread quickly among the people. *Song of Women 's Emancipation*, *Anti-Japanese Song* and many other revolutionary songs which we produced in the past were easy to sing. Although we had no specified information squads to disseminate songs, they were widely sung not only in the guerrilla zones but even in the areas under enemy rule. Even the pupils and students of schools run by Japanese imperialists sang these revolutionary songs walking along the road. This naturally inspired them with the revolutionary idea of hating Japanese imperialism.

Even now good songs can contribute greatly to the education of the people. Old people, too, can easily understand the meaning of songs which they learn. It can be said that, in a sense, the spread of songs on Party policy is more effective than giving lectures.

There can be many ways of popularizing songs. You can teach them to pupils and students at schools of various levels and then let them in turn teach them to their parents. You can also teach young people and let them teach old people. It is advisable to teach songs at mothers' schools, too. If housewives learn songs, they can learn new words and become refined.

Gramophones ought to be mass-produced so that songs can be effectively disseminated.

I am told that the mainsprings of gramophones are not made well. The reason is that our officials have paid little attention to this matter. If light and engineering industries would take some trouble over this work, they would be quite able to make as many good gramophones as they want. The Information and Publicity Department should also consider this work and ensure that great numbers of gramophones are produced. In this way the democratic publicity halls in the country areas can be equipped with gramophones to teach songs.

We should employ these ways and methods to disseminate Party policy extensively for the education of the masses.

### 3) ON BUILDING UP THE RANKS OF OFFICIALS OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND IMPROVING THEIR WORK STYLE

We must pay great attention to strengthening the ranks of the officials of the Party Central Committee. We should not, on any account, accept just anyone simply because we need to fill vacancies in the staffs of the departments of the Party Central Committee. These officials must come from among the people with strong Party spirit and with sound class backgrounds.

They should also have a high standard of knowledge. Therefore, they should be selected from among the graduates of the Central Party School, the University of National Economy and other institutions of higher learning. Those who have completed university correspondence

courses will also be suitable. They should not be regarded as ill-educated. Of course, some of them may not be well qualified, but many of them are. The departments of the Party Central Committee should also be staffed with people who have been selected from among those graduates of university correspondence courses who have sound class backgrounds and work experience.

Each of the departments in charge of economic affairs should have at least some specialists in industrial economics, agronomy and other economic fields. At present, these departments are mainly composed of technicians. If they have economists on their staffs, they can advance good ideas which are helpful to formulating the Party's economic policy.

It is necessary that the departments of the Party Central Committee should consist of veterans and young, inexperienced people in the correct proportions. If they have only inexperienced people, they will not be able to direct their subordinate units efficiently. The best way of building up the staffs of the Party Central Committee is to promote those workers who graduated from university and have been trained in practical work at lower echelons.

While building up the ranks of the officials of the Party Central Committee with competent people, a thoroughgoing system of training them should be established.

You cannot claim that an official of the Party Central Committee knows everything. Departmental heads, their deputies and other officials of the Party Central Committee must continue to study. To this end, they should all take the one-month course at the Central Party School and, at the same time, the officials who need training should be sent to the University of National Economy and the like to take a specialized course for one month every year. Two months or so of study every year will not interfere with their work, but will, on the contrary, be of assistance, if they learn properly.

To proceed, the officials of the Party Central Committee have to improve their work style.

Some of them still behave in an unreasonably critical way. Not only

instructors and section chiefs but also departmental heads and their deputies do so. This shows that officials of the Party Central Committee do not do their work as required by the Party. If Party workers visit production sites, work among the cadres, give them lectures and always do Party work, mixing with the masses, they will not be critical. Because they do not visit subordinate units, but sit at their desks, continually calling on them to submit documents and statistics, the officials of the Party Central Committee naturally become bureaucratic and hard to please.

We always say that our Party is a mother-like party. So Party workers must not behave in that fashion. They should never be cross or show anger on any account; people like this have no place in Party bodies. Even now we frequently receive letters of complaint from lower units which say that officials of Party organizations are reluctant to meet the complainants and do not help them to settle their problems. Officials in Party bodies who have the duty to combat bureaucracy must not work in a bureaucratic manner themselves. Party workers should be generous to everyone, to both administrative officials and executives in charge of economic affairs, and settle their problems without delay. In this way, they will not be censured for abusing Party authority or being hard to please.

Party workers should not give a hasty, final decision on any question, but must always have patience in dealing with problems. Party work must not be done as though giving military orders, such as “forward, march!”, nor in an administrative way. Even if someone suggests an idea which is not acceptable, Party workers must not shout and rebuke him immediately, but should hear what he has to say. If they have something to tell him right away, they should tell him politely what they think. If they have no ready answer, they must say that they will answer him later after further consideration, leaving themselves time to think about it.

Furthermore, Party workers must not take the most prominent place for themselves, but give it to administrative officials and executives in charge of economic affairs, and let them deal with the

problems which have been raised.

Only when officials of the Party Central Committee behave modestly and are generous towards people, will the masses trust our Party, keep in touch with it at all times, and, if they have any opinion, they will come to the Party to open their hearts to it as they do with their mothers. In general, children are more attached to their mothers than their fathers. When they do wrong, their fathers sternly rebuke them on the spot, whereas their mothers approach them compassionately, and even when they scold they do so with a tender heart. So children do not hide anything from their mothers. The officials of our Party should also deal with people just as mothers treat their children. Only then can our Party be a genuine mother-like party.

Officials of the Party Central Committee, in particular, should be careful in dealing with questions relating to the political integrity of people. Since the Party Central Committee is the supreme staff of our revolution, all its decisions are final. If its officials draw the wrong conclusion about a man, a good person may be taken to be a bad one.

When we were checking the personnel of a department recently in order to build up its staff, we found that one of its deputy heads was not there. We asked the reason, and were told that he had been dismissed. This was indeed deplorable. When there had been a suggestion that he should be dismissed because he had made a mistake in his work while in the post of deputy head, we had advised against it, saying that an appropriate punishment would suffice. But corrupt elements arbitrarily expelled him from the Party and fired him without even obtaining the approval of the Secretariat. We met him some time ago and asked why he had said nothing about the loss of his political integrity. He replied that he had accepted it because he thought there had been a decision from above that he should be expelled from the Party and dismissed. So we reinstated him in the Party and in his post because his case was not so serious that it warranted his expulsion from the Party.

I am telling you comrades this today because we value Party cadres

and because we have to make sure that when a cadre is to be punished he must be told why and has to be given the opportunity to submit complaints to higher authority when he thinks the punishment unreasonable. The punishment of a cadre is a very serious matter which affects his political integrity. That is why cadres must not be punished without circumspection.

We must clearly understand what serious damage was done to the management of personnel affairs by military-bureaucracy which appeared in the People's Army in the past, and must not allow anyone to act arbitrarily in this matter. In the past some wicked elements made mischief with the promotion and appointment of officials. Because they promoted people as if conferring a favour on them, some officials who were not well-qualified had the mistaken view that they could only be promoted if they curried favour with them. In order to put an end to such a tendency once and for all, we have set up a rigid system by which all cadres, without exception, are approved by the Party organizations concerned through collective discussion.

Our Party workers must clearly understand the principle of the management of personnel affairs, be single-heartedly loyal to the Party and discharge their duties honestly, without pinning their hopes on any individuals.

Next, officials of the Party Central Committee must on no account seek fame in their work or aspire after higher salaries and decorations. Party workers are professional revolutionaries who are dedicated to the revolutionary struggle. They should work faithfully in any post to which they are appointed by the Party, whether it is a senior or a junior one.

Party workers must resist flattery.

Where there is bureaucratism, there is always flattery, and this outdated practice does not disappear easily. Officials of the Party Central Committee must strictly guard against sycophancy. No one should commit bureaucratism, accept flattery or flatter anybody.

Officials of the Party Central Committee must also thoroughly oppose nepotism.

Learning bitter lessons from the serious mistakes caused by nepotism at some organs in the past, they should sharpen their vigilance against such practices and prevent acts contrary to organizational discipline. Departmental heads of the Party Central Committee must not only prevent their subordinates from flattering, but also take explicit precautions against the possible appearance of nepotism in their departments. Senior officials must not hate those officials who speak frankly and must ensure that a wholesome atmosphere of criticism always prevails in their departments. Departmental heads should request their subordinates to criticize them. If their subordinates criticize them, they should willingly accept it and remedy their defects.

The departments of the Party Central Committee must give full play to democracy. Questions relating to their work, except those which are strictly confidential, should be debated with the participation of all their instructors. There would be no harm in discussing their problems at meetings of departments. Even when preparing the text of a lecture, it is advisable for those who are familiar with its content to meet and discuss the matter. If suggestions are made on the draft text, these should be taken into consideration when revising it.

This year the officials of the Party Central Committee must improve their work style radically, acquire, without exception, the characteristics befitting Party workers and see to it that a revolutionary work attitude is thoroughly established in the committee.

Since the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, its staff members have been ideologically steeled more than anyone else. For almost two years since then, they have undergone a great deal of ideological struggle and education. Therefore, I think that it is high time that a great improvement in their work took place. This year you must do Party work efficiently and bring about a great change in all aspects of Party work including personnel affairs, the propagation of Party policy, and the education of the masses.



#### 4) ON RAISING THE ROLE OF COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEES

In improving Party work it is important to raise the role of the county Party committee.

The county Party committee must control all activities in its county and be fully informed about the situation there. At present, however, even central county Party committees, to say nothing of ordinary county Party committees, do not control the activities of large industrial establishments, being ignorant of whether their production plans have been fulfilled or not and what is happening there.

Take Kangso County as an example. Because there are many large factories in that county a central county Party committee has been set up there. But it has not taken large factories under its control, although it does control small coal mines and factories.

Of course, its failure to control the activities of large factories is partly caused by the low qualifications of its chief secretary and other officials. In order to place large factories in his county under his control, the chief secretary should not only be highly experienced in Party work, but should also be proficient in industrial management and have a wealth of general knowledge. But the chief secretary of the Kangso County Party Committee is unfamiliar with industry and, in addition, lacks general knowledge because he was formerly a farmer. So he works hard to carry out the assignments the Party has given to agriculture but does not know whether the tasks given to large factories have been implemented or not and does nothing more than visit them once in a while to hear what the senior officials say.

But we cannot say that this Party committee's failure to control the activities of large factories is due entirely to the low qualifications of its senior officials. Even if the level of the county Party committee officials is low, this committee should be in a position to get information on whether or not Party policy is being implemented by

large factories. To this end, conditions should be provided for the Kangso County Party Committee to keep the activities of large industrial establishments under its supervision and control. But such conditions are inadequate now. It is true that, as a central county Party committee, it is authorized to give Party guidance to the work of large factories and enterprises. At the moment, however, factory Party committees deal with, on their own, the admission of members to the Party, the approval of personnel affairs and all other questions arising in Party work, so that the county Party committee is, in fact, not in a position to control the work of large factories.

We must set up a work system by which the county Party committees can exercise substantial control over all industrial establishments, including special and first-grade enterprises in their counties. In this way, not only central county Party committees but also ordinary ones will be able to control the activities of all industrial establishments in their counties, to supervise whether they implement Party policy properly and to work in close cooperation with them.

In order to enable county Party committees to control the activities of industrial establishments, it is necessary to subordinate the factory Party committees organizationally to the county Party committees concerned. But this does not imply that the factory Party committees which have functioned at the level of the county Party committees ought to be abolished. Party committees of large factories should retain the functions which are equivalent to those of county Party committees except the authority to decide on personnel affairs and the admission and punishment of Party members. In other words, the functions of factory Party committees should be confined to the dissemination of Party policy, to the guidance of Party lives and to the discussion and adoption of preliminary decisions on the admission and punishment of Party members, decisions which must have the final approval of the county Party committees concerned. The authority to decide on personnel affairs must be vested to county Party committees. Unless this authority is vested to county Party committees, factory managers and the chief secretaries of factory Party committees will not visit

county Party committees nor will they obey them.

The structure of the county Party committee must not be increased because it has to control the activities of factory Party committees. Even the existing staff seems too big. Therefore, the present staff should not be increased as a whole. The structure of the county Party committee and of factory Party committees should be reorganized in such a way as to reinforce the former. Since the staff structure is needed to ensure efficient work, it can be reorganized as far as it fits in with prevailing conditions. In my opinion, it would be advisable to increase the organizational department of the county Party committee by adding some people taken from the corresponding departments of factory Party committees. The organizational departments of factory Party committees need only people who are to guide the Party life of members. For example, some officials should be transferred from the organizational department of the Party committee of the Kangson Steel Plant to the Kangso County Party Committee, which should be allowed to take charge of those organizational affairs which have previously been handled by the factory committee. But factory cadres must not be transferred without prudence as an excuse for building up the county Party committee. The committee should be authorized to decide on the transfer of factory officials, but it should not fail to keep the Party Central Committee informed of the decisions made.

## **2. ON SOME PROBLEMS IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS**

In economic affairs today it is most important to manage labour efficiently.

There is a great strain on the manpower situation in our country at present. We have been short of manpower from the outset, and the shortage has been aggravated by the situation which became complex last year.

This manpower situation requires that senior officials should thoroughly implement the Party's policy on labour administration, eliminate the waste of manpower and explore manpower reserves to the extent of even one more man-day. But they do not implement this policy to the letter. The matter of rectifying labour administration was stressed at the Party Conference and was reiterated at plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee, but no notable improvement has been made in this matter. Even now some people are idle at work, sauntering about with briefcases under their arms. Some units are short of hands, while others have an excess of them. Secondary sectors where work is easy have more than enough men, whereas important sectors where work is difficult suffer from a shortage of labour. Such practices never cease. Many senior officials still try to boost production, not with the existing manpower, but by increasing the work force.

Nevertheless, the Cabinet Secretariat, Agricultural Commission and other ministries and central organs have not taken any measures, and the Ministry of Labour, in particular, which is directly in charge of labour administration has also neglected to take active measures.

Provincial Party committees have paid almost no attention to labour administration. Senior officials of these committees do not have a comprehensive knowledge of the manpower situation in their provinces or how much surplus labour they have. Whenever the Party requests them for labour, they simply say that they have no labour to spare.

So long as labour is managed like this, no rapid economic progress can be expected. We can predict that the strain on the labour situation caused by the last war will continue in the coming three or four years. So if we do not get down to improving labour administration, we shall have great difficulties in economic affairs.

The labour situation in our country will improve a little by 1974, when we shall be able to supply a considerable amount of manpower to factories and rural communities even after recruiting into the army some of the graduates of middle schools.

But until then the acute strain will continue. So every official must tackle labour administration, dealing with every single man-day with

meticulous care. In this way they will carry out the Party's policy on improving labour administration.

We must, first of all, intensify political work amongst the working people so that they acquire a high sense of honour in their work.

Material incentives such as pay increases and the supply of overalls, if they are not preceded by political work, will not encourage the working people to adopt a communist attitude towards labour.

We must intensify political work among Party members and the working people to inspire them to adopt this attitude. We must convince them that only when they work sincerely, can they accelerate the construction of socialism and communism, and hasten the shaping of a happier future, so that they willingly take part in work with a high sense of honour. We must give better ideological education particularly to the young people to encourage them to bear the brunt of work of their own accord.

Schools must also teach their pupils and students to love work from their childhood.

In addition to intensifying the political education of the working people, we must also try to explore labour reserves in every way.

The Ministry of Labour and all other ministries should explore and mobilize labour resources to the maximum, and the provincial Party committees must also work hard to discover labour reserves. If ministries and provincial Party committees do not do this properly, the Party Central Committee will have to form small groups itself and send them to inspect factories and enterprises to cut down on excessive manpower and unnecessary organizational elements.

We cannot sit idle when our labour shortage is so acute, particularly on farms. We must investigate institutions and enterprises to explore labour reserves and supply work hands, giving preference to those farms which are short of labour.

A particularly important task in labour administration this year is to give the country areas assistance with their labour problems by means of an all-people campaign.

Farming may not be successful this year unless all institutions and

enterprises greatly assist the farmers to make up for the acute manpower shortage. Therefore, after our recent visit to rural communities, we instructed the Cabinet Secretariat to plan labour assistance for the country areas. The Party Central Committee should also give consideration to this matter and ensure that a detailed plan is drawn up, specifying which institution should send how many helping hands to which cooperative farm and when, and the plan must be published in advance.

During the busy farming seasons, factory and office workers, students and other able-bodied people should all be obliged to help the farmers for a period of 40 days.

In view of the acute shortage of rural labour, we must pay particular attention to accelerating the rural technical revolution.

Mechanization and the use of chemicals in agriculture in our country are still at a low level. So the rate of man-days required to cultivate one hectare is high, and farmers have not yet been relieved of backbreaking labour.

At the recent national congress of agricultural workers a speaker said that on Farm No. 5 last year one worker tended 16 hectares of wheat and another four hectares of flax, thanks to the technical revolution. Under our present conditions the standard of mechanization of this farm is higher than that on other state and cooperative farms, so we congratulated them on their success. But this is not a very high standard. To reach the world standard, a man will have to cultivate at least ten hectares of maize, five to six hectares of paddy rice, or 30 hectares of wheat.

We have scored an initial success in the rural technical revolution; a great deal of work has still to be done in this sector.

However, many agricultural workers do not consider using manpower more sparingly by promoting mechanization and the use of chemicals, but continue to request more labour. This, of course, is due partly to the fact that they are very conservative, but the main reason is that adequate amounts of various farm machines and agricultural chemicals are not supplied to the rural areas. If *Chollima* and

*Phungnyon* and small-size tractors and various other farm machines and weed killers are mass-produced for the rural areas, agricultural officials will not want to request more work hands. At present, in other countries, thanks to the technical revolution, a farmer tends scores of hectares with ease. Can we who are building socialism allow ourselves to go on farming by hand? We are communists, so we must farm in a communist way and provide the farmers with easy working conditions.

A greater number of tractors and various other farm machines should be produced and sent to the country areas to lighten the farmers' heavy work.

In addition, we must put great effort into the chemical industry so as to promote the use of chemicals in farming.

In our country, which has a large area of hilly and sloping land, it is very important to produce chemical fertilizer, weed killer, and other agricultural chemicals as well as tractors. If you produce and use weed killer in large quantities, you can save a large amount of labour because you can dispense with weeding. If weed killer is applied to paddies, 60 to 80 man-days are needed to tend one hectare, and if it is used on maize fields, furrowing two or three times will be enough, and so a great deal of labour can be saved.

This year we must make a great effort to construct a weed-killer factory and pay close attention to scientific research on the manufacture of highly effective weed killers.

An important question in economic affairs is to put the production of electricity on a steady basis and to increase the output of coal.

In spite of repeated stress being laid on the need for the steady production of electricity, fluctuations in this sector have not yet been eliminated. If power stations do not operate at full capacity through possible accidents when the power situation is very strained this spring, it will seriously obstruct the implementation of the national economic plan. I was told that instructors of the Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee are now constantly visiting the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant to prevent accidents, but this alone will not guard against all mishaps. The most important thing

in regularizing the production of electricity is to conduct political work properly among the workers and establish strict discipline so as to prevent accidents.

In order to avoid accidents and fluctuations in power production, it is necessary that the power stations check and repair their equipment regularly, establish strict discipline and order, use the equipment in accordance with the technical regulations, and tighten the system of daily duty.

While putting the generation of electricity on a regular basis, we must ensure that the output of coal is radically increased to meet the demand.

With the rapid development of our national economy and particularly with the construction of many thermal power plants over the last few years, the demand for coal is very high. However, the production of coal has failed to keep up with this so that, at present, we are not in a position to satisfy the demand of the national economy for fuel and, in particular, that of thermal power plants for coal. If thermal power plants are to put their production on a regular basis, they should have reserves of coal for at least 15 to 20 days. But this is not the position at present.

We must strengthen the ranks of coal-industry officials and raise their sense of responsibility so as to increase coal output decisively.

To proceed, we must forge ahead with the building of modern farmhouses for 150,000 families as well as with urban construction.

At present the housing situation in our country is strained, especially in the rural areas. This year we must ensure the construction of modern farmhouses for 150,000 rural families at all costs. If we go on at this rate for three successive years, the housing shortage in the country areas will be eliminated.

At the forthcoming conference of the South Phyongan Provincial Party organization, we are going to give the province the task of being the first to construct modern farmhouses for 30,000 families this year. I was told that North Phyongan Province has already resolved to build houses for 20,000 families and has obtained the necessary amount of



timber. As this province abounds in weathered granite, it will be able to carry out this plan, if things go as they should. Other provinces must also work hard to build modern farmhouses.

The Construction and Transport Department of the Party Central Committee should not consider that it need not give guidance in the construction of modern farmhouses just because the Agricultural Department is in charge of this task. It must ensure the supply of the necessary amount of timber and transport equipment and must take the responsibility of providing technicians for this construction work.

Large numbers of dwelling houses must also be built in the towns. Pyongyang will have to build at least 20,000 apartments if it is to solve the housing problem completely. But in view of the shortage of materials, it is advisable for it to construct some 10,000 this year.

In addition, Pyongyang will have to erect many modern public buildings. Some time ago we told the officials concerned about a dozen large projects which were to be undertaken, including an indoor stadium, an international hotel and academic building No. 2 of Kim Il Sung University. The construction of many such modern public buildings requires funds and material as well as manpower. But Pyongyang is very short of labour at present. So we have given instructions that the manpower obtained by reducing the work forces of institutions and enterprises should be used for this purpose.

The important task of the mining industry is to earn more foreign currency by working hard. Only when we earn a large sum of foreign currency can we import modern factory equipment.

South Hamgyong Province has so far taken the lead in the fight to earn foreign currency. In this province, all mines except the February 8 Manphung Mine, are doing a fine job. The Komdok Mine in particular is making an all-out effort to put into effect its resolve to more than double its ore output this year, although in the past the ore output dropped sharply under the influence of the hypocrites who had talked rubbish on their visit to the mine.

Other mines should also launch a strenuous campaign to earn more foreign currency. The work force of the Unpha Mine must be brought

up to establishment quickly and the work of the Songhung Mine improved so as to boost the output of nonferrous metal ores drastically.

Light industry must mass-produce high-quality cloth.

Spinning machines should be imported and also manufactured at home to create a capacity of 400,000 spindles. If the mills are provided with the spinning equipment, they will have no difficulty about production space. The mills in Kanggye and Kusong can accommodate some 200,000 spindles and those in Sariwon and North Hamgyong Province can take the remainder. Only when we work hard like this for a few years to increase the spinning capacity, can we increase the output of fabrics.

As well as the mass-production of fabrics, the question of footwear must be solved. The shoes which are being produced are still below standard both in quality and quantity. Workers in this sector must redouble their efforts to produce larger numbers of high-quality shoes and boots.

The paper industry must also be developed rapidly. This is one of the weakest economic sectors in our country. A large amount of paper is required to carry out the cultural revolution successfully. But the shortage of paper does not permit us to print sufficient textbooks for pupils and students, increase the number of copies of newspapers and supply packing paper and window paper in plenty. Workers in the paper industry should make every effort to produce larger quantities of paper so as to make a significant contribution to the cultural revolution.

The transport sector must fully implement the decision of the 18th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party. If we do not do so it will have been pointless for us to have held the meeting. All the workers in the transport sector must carry out this decision to the letter and bring about an improvement in transport.

Next, I shall speak about ways of improving the people's standard of living.

Our Party has consistently paid great attention to the people's standard of living and shown concern for their welfare. In particular, it has recently taken a series of important measures to this end. If the

tasks set forth by the Party are fulfilled, the living standards of the people will greatly improve. But they are not being implemented properly. This year we must, without fail, carry out the tasks given by the Party and improve the people's standard of living.

We must, first of all, complete the construction of chicken plants quickly.

Over the past few years, we have built many chicken plants; but we are not running them properly because they still lack some minor processes. For instance, electric cable, transformers, hen coops, and water channels have not been prepared. If these items are installed, the existing chicken plants will be able to produce 600 million eggs annually. If the chickens are hatched and distributed to farmhouses, they will produce eggs. Thus the output of eggs will total 2,000 millions. This means 180 eggs per head of the population a year, which is a very high standard. This year we must quickly complete the chicken plants now under construction so as to increase egg production greatly.

We must increase meat production considerably through a vigorous campaign by which every farm family produces 100 kilogrammes of meat and every workteam at least two tons annually.

In addition, the sprinkler system should be introduced on all vegetable fields. In response to the call of the Party, provinces are now trying to finish the project for the introduction of sprinkler system by May Day this year. I am told that Pyongyang will complete the project on 2,300 hectares of dry fields by that date. If this is done, the vegetable problem in Pyongyang will be solved completely. True to their resolutions, all provinces must complete this undertaking at the earliest possible date. In order to ensure their completion in a short time, the state should run the vinyl chloride pipe factory properly and mass-produce pipes for this purpose.

In conclusion, I shall deal briefly with the question of preparing fully against war.

This matter has been given emphasis at the Conference of the Party, discussed on many occasions at plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee and stressed on every opportunity. A number of officials

busied themselves making war preparations for a time, but now their enthusiasm has cooled, and they are not very concerned about it. Last year, in particular, when the situation was tense because of the incident of the US imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo*, senior officials became very active. But since the second half of last year they have paid little attention to this matter, since their ardour has cooled. When urged to implement the tasks assigned by the Party rapidly, many of the senior officials of ministries often request that they should be allowed to postpone their fulfilment on the pretext that they are short of one thing or another.

When the predatory US imperialists are watching for a chance to swallow up our country now, how can we be lazy in the matter of making war preparations? We must not become the slightest bit indolent or slack but be vigilant and make full preparations against war.

Only when we are well prepared against war can we accelerate socialist construction with peace of mind. And if war does break out, we can make certain of wartime production with credit. If we, being well-prepared against war, are able to reunify the country without hostilities, it will be even better. We do not want war from the outset, nor do we consider that the country must necessarily be reunified by means of war. If the south Korean people pool their efforts and drive out the US imperialists, establish a revolutionary government and propose to us that we set up a coalition government even tomorrow, we shall hail it and respond to the proposal at any time.

We must always advance with defence construction firmly in one hand and economic construction in the other. In other words, when we consider economic construction, we should think of defence buildup, and vice versa. We must give them both equal attention at all times.

Without slackening our alertness in the slightest, we must carry out to the letter the task of building up our defences, the task given by the Party, and make full preparations to deal with war.

This year we shall encounter a number of obstacles and hardships in the course of implementing these huge tasks. However, we must redouble our efforts to carry them out without fail.

## **SOUTH PHYONGAN PROVINCE SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD ON ALL FRONTS OF THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM**

**Concluding Speech Delivered at a Conference  
of the South Phyongan Provincial Organization  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*February 15, 1969*

On the authority of the Party Central Committee, I have attended this Party conference of South Phyongan Province for several days and have listened with deep interest to the report which reviewed the past activities of the Party organizations in the province and specified their tasks for the future, and to the speeches of many comrades.

In the past the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province have achieved great successes in their inner-Party work and in their struggle to carry out Party policy.

In particular, this province has always led the whole country in implementing the agricultural policy of the Party put forward in each period.

When our Party advanced the policy of the socialist reorganization of agriculture, this province was the first to complete cooperativization, and in the work of amalgamating agricultural cooperatives into one for each ri it also led the way for the other provinces.

Furthermore, when the Party Central Committee put forward the task of expanding the area of maize fields and increasing the yield of

maize, the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province spearheaded the process of implementing the task, effectively mobilizing their Party members and working people for this purpose.

Following agricultural cooperativization, South Phyongan Province also stood in the forefront of the struggle for the introduction of irrigation which is the first process of the technical revolution in the countryside and thus acquitted itself better in irrigation works and introduced more of them than any other provinces. In the past, this province built the Phyongnam and Kiyang irrigation systems, a large number of pumping stations, reservoirs and waterways. The pumping stations, reservoirs and channels in Sungho, Rangnang and Samsok Districts now under the municipal jurisdiction of Pyongyang were all constructed by this province. Today it can be said that South Phyongan Province is the best-irrigated region in our country.

The province is playing a major role in the mechanization of agriculture. Although they had no designs or experience, the heroic workers of South Phyongan Province built tractors and lorries by themselves for the first time, defeating conservatism, passivism and fear of technology and demonstrating a high revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. They also produced and supplied to all parts of the country large quantities of electric motors, pumps and various other kinds of modern machines. In this way they made, and continue to make, a great contribution to the technical revolution.

When we were setting up the new agricultural guidance system with the county cooperative farm management committee as the axis in order to direct the rural economy by the method of enterprise management, that is, by the industrial instead of the administrative method, Sukchon County took the lead and South Phyongan Province served as a model for the whole country.

In past years this province set an example in conducting the agricultural cooperative movement which is a great socio-economic reform, and in implementing the agricultural policy put forward by the Party in each period. It is achieving good results in the battle to carry out the Seven-Year Plan described by our Party at its Fourth Congress.

In particular, the province produced 900,000 tons of grain last year and thus creditably carried out one of the ten tasks given it by the Party. Even though the production quotas of meat and fruit have not yet been met in the agricultural sector, the yield of grain, the main item of farm production, has reached the 900,000-ton goal. This is a very great achievement.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I extend warm thanks, through this conference, to the Party organizations and their members and all working people in South Phyongan Province who have always been exemplary in implementing the Party's agricultural policy and have rendered excellent service in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan and especially in the struggle for reaching the production target of 900,000 tons of grain.

Now I should like to speak of some of the tasks which face the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province.

## **1. CONCERNING ECONOMIC WORK**

South Phyongan Province comprises a geographically important area as it is situated near the seat of the Party Central Committee and surrounds Pyongyang, the capital of revolution. Moreover, it is one of the regions which count for a great deal in our economy.

Important factories and enterprises are concentrated in this province. There are major engineering works such as the Tokchon Automobile Plant, Kiyang Tractor Plant, Taean Electrical Machinery Plant and Nampho Dockyard which are of great economic importance. The Kangson Steel Plant, one of the principal steel production centres of our country, and the Nampho Smeltery, a huge nonferrous metallurgical centre, are also in this province. In addition, it has many large factories such as the Sunchon Nitrolime Fertilizer Factory, the Sunchon Pharmaceutical Factory and the Nampho Glass Factory and numerous

important mines including the Anju Coal Mine, Sinchang Coal Mine, Pukchang Coal Mine, Songhung Mine, and Songchon Mine. At present work on the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant is making rapid progress. When it is completed, South Phyongan Province will have the largest thermal power production centre in our country.

South Phyongan Province has a large share not only in industrial but also in agricultural production.

Since this province is economically very important, the result of its economic activities will have a major effect on the strengthening of the economic foundation of the country as a whole. If economic work goes well here, the foundation of our national economy will be further consolidated, the technical revolution will progress more rapidly, and war preparations will also make better headway. The Party Central Committee takes a very great interest in the economic work of this province and the Party expects a great deal from you.

So I am going to deal first with the economic tasks of South Phyongan Province.

## 1) ON THE TASKS OF INDUSTRY

One of the most important economic tasks facing South Phyongan Province is to accelerate the construction of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant.

Today our power situation is very strained. Because there was little rain in the autumn of 1967 and, in addition, the severe drought continued last year, nearly all the power station reservoirs have dried up. In consequence, only one or two generators are in operation at the hydroelectric power stations, and at present the country derives almost all its supplies of power from the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant. If our Party had not taken far-sighted measures to build this power station, we would be in a tight corner today with no alternative but to close down many factories, sitting and waiting for rain, looking up at the sky.



We cannot keep depending on the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant. Its generating capacity is no more than 500,000 kw, which cannot meet all the power needs of the country. Therefore, our Party decided to build another large thermal power station in South Phyongan Province with its enormous coal reserves, during the Seven-Year Plan period. In conformity with this measure, work on the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant is now progressing at full speed.

Because of an error of judgment on the part of certain senior officials in charge of economic affairs, the construction of this power station is somewhat behind schedule. When dry weather continued last year, they should have anticipated that the supply of electricity would drop considerably this year and concentrated material supplies on the power station to speed up its construction. If they had done so, a generating capacity of 100,000 kw would already have been created. But the officials in this field failed to do so and, consequently, a generating capacity of 100,000 kw has not yet been attained.

The Party organizations of South Phyongan Province must make every effort to hasten the construction of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant so that a capacity of 100,000 kw may be built up quickly, 200,000 kw created this year, and 600,000 kw by next year. This year's state plan envisages the production of 700 million kwh of power at the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant. If you speed its construction and raise its power output to 1,000 million kwh, this will greatly assist in solving the country's acute power problem.

In the future, when the geological survey and design work are completed and technical problems concerning the expansion of the power station are solved, preparations for expanding its capacity to a million kw should be accelerated.

Another important task facing South Phyongan Province is to develop the coal industry further.

As you all know, a thermal power station with a capacity of 500,000 kw has already been built and put into commission in Pyongyang, and the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant with a capacity of 600,000 kw will be completed in the future. Then, our thermal-power generating

capacity will reach 1.1 million kw, and these two power plants alone will require a large quantity of coal. Furthermore, the coal needs of other branches of the national economy are also increasing rapidly. In this situation, the expansion of the coal output is a very urgent task confronting us today.

This year the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province should make every endeavour to produce 12 million tons of coal to exceed the state plan by concentrating forces on the coal industry. To this end, the Anju Coal Mine will have to produce 1.5 million tons, the Sinchang Coal Mine—one million tons, the Ryongdae Coal Mine—1.2 million tons, and the Joyang Coal Mine—800,000 to one million tons. Meanwhile, small and medium coal mines should be worked extensively to produce large quantities of coal.

In addition, the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province should continue to pay particular attention to the development of the steel industry.

At present our Party is building the base of an independent iron industry in this province as an important step in further strengthening the economic independence of the country. It is precisely for this purpose that we are now building the April 13 Iron Works. In the future when this works is completed, granulated iron and rough steel will be made by using the dust ores which are plentiful in the Unryul and Jaeryong areas and the anthracite of which there are large deposits in South Phyongan Province, and will then be supplied to the Kangson Steel Plant. This will enable the plant to produce steel entirely from domestic raw materials.

For this reason we have built a completely independent ferrous metallurgical base in the Kangson district, capable of producing iron, steel and steel goods from domestic raw materials and fuel. This is of great strategic importance.

The Party organizations of South Phyongan Province must speed up the construction of the April 13 Iron Works so that four to six granulating ovens will be put into production this year without fail. The capacity of the Kangson Steel Plant is 400,000 tons at present and

will reach 600,000 tons when it is increased by 200,000 tons in the future. To feed it with enough raw materials, the April 13 Iron Works must continue to be expanded.

At the Kangson Steel Plant, construction work should be accelerated in order to expand its capacity by more than 200,000 tons, and more rolling equipment should be installed to process the additional steel to be produced. This will answer two purposes—making preparations for war and expanding the steel production base.

While the April 13 Iron Works is being built, the construction of a medium-size blast furnace now under way in the Kaechon area has to be completed at an early date to produce pig iron by using local iron ores and the briquettes from the Ryongdae Oval Briquette Manufactory. Part of this pig iron should be supplied to the engineering industry and the rest to the Kangson Steel Plant.

At the Kangson Steel Plant the construction of the 6,000-ton and 2,000-ton press shop should be finished quickly so as to meet the future demands of the engineering industry for large-size cast steel goods in full. At the same time, the campaign for saving electric power should be more rigidly carried forward.

Steel-making furnaces now out of operation because of the power shortage should be kept in good repair, and the rolling machines and electric equipment, too, should all be put into good shape. Sufficient stocks of raw materials should be built up. Then, when the power situation improves in July and August, all furnaces should be worked to full capacity to produce large amounts of steel. I have stressed this for several years now, but the Kangson Steel Plant has not repaired the furnaces or built up a stock of raw materials when electric power was in short supply every year, with the result that all furnaces were not operated when power production increased, so that the plans for steel production were not fulfilled. On no account should this be repeated this year.

Next, the production of nonferrous metals has to be increased.

Our country now requires more foreign currency than ever before, and so it is our urgent task to increase the output of nonferrous metals,

an important source of foreign currency.

In South Phyongan Province the Songhung Mine leads in the production of nonferrous metal ore. This mine has undertaken to produce large quantities of ore this year. This is very gratifying. At the mine, every effort must be made to reach the set goal by arousing all Party members and miners properly.

Other mines must also produce more nonferrous metals, such as copper, lead and zinc.

At one time people of the Songchon Mine committed the dishonest act of telling a flagrant lie and even making a deceitful report to the Party Central Committee. But, for all this, the provincial and county Party committees should refrain from criticizing them incessantly, but sympathetically help the Party committee of the mine to display courage and conduct organizational and political work efficiently so as to produce more ore. Workers of the Songchon Mine should fulfil this year's plan for the production of nonferrous metal without fail by keeping excavation and geological survey ahead of other work and introducing advanced techniques extensively.

While the mines are producing large amounts of ore, the refinery should strive to increase the output of nonferrous metals. The amount of nonferrous metals the Nampho Smeltery plans to produce this year is by no means small. All Party members and workers of the Nampho Smeltery should increase the output of nonferrous metals by tapping every reserve and displaying creative initiative.

At the same time, the existing nonferrous metal rolling capacity should be used to the full to produce more rolled items. This is essential if we are to earn a large amount of foreign currency and supply nonferrous metal goods to the defence and engineering industries without difficulty.

In addition to this, the Party organizations of South Phyongan Province must apply themselves to the engineering industry and carry out their machine production quotas under the Seven-Year Plan.

In the first place, they should see to it that large numbers of lorries are produced. It was originally specified in the Seven-Year Plan that

10,000 lorries would be manufactured. But last year when we gave guidance to the Tokchon Automobile Plant, we instructed it to produce only 8,100 of them and instead manufacture large numbers of automobile engines. Even if only 8,100 lorries of various types are produced, they will be equivalent to 10,000 and more in terms of the *Sungri-58* model. So this will mean overfulfilling the assignment of the Seven-Year Plan. The Tokchon Automobile Plant should produce 2,500 3.5-ton lorries and 1,000 10-ton *Jaju* lorries and manufacture other items as specified in the plan.

The production plan of the Kiyang Tractor Plant for the current year stands at 3,000 units each of the *Chollima* and *Phungnyon* models. But since the demand for tractors is great, the figure for the *Chollima* model should be boosted by some 1,000, so that a total of 7,000 tractors is produced.

As well as large-sized tractors, small ones should also be produced in great numbers. Since our crop area still includes many small patches, light tractors are necessary in addition to large ones. The September 25 Tractor Plant must produce many 16-hp tractors for agriculture. Since this is its first year of operation, it has experienced many problems in the production of parts and has not yet been completely supplied with machines and equipment, and so I think it will do well to turn out some 200 to 500 units. Even if only 200 to 500 light tractors are produced this year, the total number will reach 7,200 to 7,500 when the large tractors are included. In terms of 15 hp, this will mean exceeding the goal of tractor production set at the Fourth Party Congress.

The small tractor we are now making has a rather low clearance, and this is a drawback. It should be redesigned in the future to suit conditions in our country. If the small tractor is to be redesigned to make it suitable for use in our country, it should be built a little higher and turned into a wheeled type. Only then can it be used both for ploughing and for drawing loads.

The Taean Electrical Machinery Plant creditably carried out all the tasks assigned to it by the Party in the past, and this year, as in the past,

it must not fail to carry out its plans for the production not only of large transformers, motors and generators, but also of other items.

South Phyongan Province should fulfil its production assignments for machinery and equipment including bicycles, radio sets, television sets, cargo ships, dredgers and boilers.

Every effort must be made to improve the quality of machine products. The products of the engineering works are still of low quality. Workers in this industry should strive to improve the quality of their products and raise the quality of machinery and equipment to the world level in a short time.

Now, you must put great efforts into the chemical industry, so as to increase the production of chemical fertilizers and medicines.

Large quantities of nitrolime fertilizer need to be produced.

It is a very good fertilizer which prevents the acidification of the soil, kills harmful insects and helps grain crops grow well. The South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee should pay particular attention to the production of nitrolime fertilizer and ensure the fulfilment of its production quota as envisaged in the current year's national economic plan.

Because of the power shortage, the production of carbide is rather low at present, which prevents the production of adequate quantities of nitrolime fertilizer. But when the power situation improves in the future, the equipment should be operated at full capacity so as to catch up on the production plans. To this end, all necessary preparations for production ought to be made now. All facilities, including the revolving kilns, should be put into good condition and sufficient quantities of limestone and anthracite should also be prepared. At the same time, it is advisable to organize extensive short courses and practical training in order to improve the technical and skill levels of the personnel.

The production of medicines has to be increased.

The Sunchon Pharmaceutical Factory is one of the largest factories of its kind in our country, which manufactures aspirin, penicillin, streptomycin and various other drugs. The South Phyongan Provincial and Sunchon County Party Committees should give it proper guidance,

so that it will be kept clean and tidy, will be supplied with raw materials in good time so as to carry on production normally, and produce large quantities of different beneficial drugs needed for the promotion of people's health. Arrangements should also be made to send technicians of the factory abroad to learn advanced techniques.

An important industrial task of South Phyongan Province is to build up a reliable building-material-production base of its own.

This province is at present short of housing and public buildings, and so very many of them have to be built in future. Tidelands should also be reclaimed, rivers improved and many roads paved. If such extensive construction work is to be carried out successfully, large quantities of various kinds of building materials, including cement, are necessary. This province, however, has no building-material-production base, and so cannot afford to build even what is well within its power.

The Party organizations in South Phyongan Province should take steps to create reliable building-material-production centres of its own by every possible means at an early date.

First of all, they should expedite the construction of the cement factory in Unsan. This area abounds in good-quality limestone and anthracite. Moreover, since it is situated on the Taedong River, it is a suitable place for developing the cement industry. This is why our Party has already taken steps to build a large cement factory there.

Work on the cement factory is said to be making little progress at present. So, when you return home, you must ensure that the railways serving the factory are built without delay, and conduct efficient political work among the building workers so as to ensure the commissioning of the factory without fail before the end of May. A production capacity of some 200,000 tons should thus be created this year, and the foundations should be laid for expanding its capacity to one or two million tons and then to three million tons.

In this province, a few more large quarries should be opened up, so that large quantities of granite can be produced.

The production of natural slates ought also to be increased. They are in no way inferior to cement tiles, and their use in construction will

save us a great deal of cement. In Songchon County natural slates are now widely used, but, because they are used haphazardly on roofs, I have been told, they are unsightly and leak. If natural slates are cut to standard and laid methodically, the roofs will look nice and will not leak, either. Therefore, they should be produced in large quantities and used extensively in construction work.

Construction requires a great deal of timber. A campaign involving all the people should be launched to plant trees on hillsides, so that the province will be self-sufficient in timber.

Next, I want to speak briefly about the tasks of light industry.

The light industry factories in South Phyongan Province are not very large. But this province has many of them, such as the Kangso Knitted Goods Factory, the Sunchon Footwear Factory, ceramic and foodstuff factories which play a very important part in improving the people's living standards.

An important task for light industry is to raise the quality of its products and increase their variety.

The quality of our light industry goods is not yet high. Light industry factories should raise the quality of their products and, in particular, radically improve the quality of footwear and knitted goods. To do so, they should mechanize and automate the production processes and improve the technical qualifications of their workers.

Still more must be done to expand the variety of light industrial products. In particular, a wide variety of ironware should be mass-produced. All machine-building factories in this province should set up their own ironware shops to produce different kinds of high-quality goods in large quantities.

Great quantities of glassware should also be manufactured. The Nampho Glass Factory has to produce a variety of high-quality glassware to provide better service to the people.

Next, I should like to make some brief remarks on developing the fishing industry.

South Phyongan Province has very good conditions for developing the fishing industry. It can fish on the waters either off its own coast or



off the coasts of North Phyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces. These fishing grounds abound with good fishes. Yesterday a comrade said in his speech that in the West Sea, the yellow corvina which we used to catch in large quantities, was now scarce, but instead anchovy and a variety of other appetizing fish were teeming there. It would be unnatural if there were no fish in the sea, and if one kind disappears, another will take its place. This province should make proper use of these fishing grounds to catch a large amount of fish.

I have more than once spoken about the need to develop the fishing industry in the West Sea on my visits to Nampho and have stressed it when I have summoned the officials in charge of fishing in the West Sea to Pyongyang, and at any opportunity available. In the past, however, the senior officials of this sector have not organized work properly to carry out the tasks given them by the Party, nor have they given effective scientific and technical guidance nor supplied an adequate amount of fishing equipment. As a result, the production of fish in the West Sea has hardly increased at all. Today I appeal once again, through this conference, to the South Phyongan Provincial Party organizations to strengthen the base of the fishing industry in the West Sea and develop inshore fishing still further.

First of all, an adequate amount of the necessary fishing equipment should be produced and supplied. The provincial Party committee, in cooperation with the fishing research institute, should see to it that nets and hooks are manufactured by strengthening the fishing equipment production base. You must also build fishing boats. These boats need not be large. They should be equipped with automobile or tractor engines so as to be fast and convenient for fishing operations. The State Planning Commission and the Materials Supply Commission should ensure the rapid supply of materials to fishing implement factories, and the Ministry of Fisheries should direct them efficiently, so that a variety of fishing implements are produced for fishermen's cooperatives in keeping with the seasons and their conditions.

If you are to increase the catch of fish, you must organize more fishermen's cooperatives.

It is advisable to see that they are not organized on too large a scale but on a small scale, each comprising from 30 to 40 or from 70 to 80 members at the most. Of course, where necessary, the membership of a fishermen's cooperative can be a little more than 100, but it should be kept as small as possible.

Fishermen's cooperatives ought not to have large management staffs. Too many nonproductive people who are addressed by the title "Sir" or "keeper" will stand in the way of catching a large amount of fish. Therefore, management personnel should also catch fish in the sea, and housewives should process the landed fish.

In his speech the chairman of the Waudo Fishermen's Cooperative said that his cooperative with 50 members would catch 500 tons of fish this year. That is very good. If they do so, this means that they will catch 10 tons each. This will be a great achievement. Other cooperatives should also initiate a campaign for each man to catch 10 tons a year.

In fishing it is important to discard the speculative method. At present, some of the fishermen's cooperatives only look for big things and tend to go out to distant waters. If they do this, they will waste their time and even lose the fish coming inshore. The Party organizations at all levels should initiate a firm ideological struggle against the speculative practice of the executives in the fishing sector. By doing this, reel and line with multiple hooks, scoop net and various other fishing methods should be employed to catch a lot of fish inshore.

As well as catching a large amount of fish, you should process them well.

Pickled shrimps and shellfish and planktonic shrimps have been enjoyed by the people in North and South Phyongan Provinces for a very long time, but nowadays such things are rare. Since most shrimps remain in one place, they must still be living in the coastal waters. In the past the bed of the Taedong River between Pyongyang and Nampho was covered with corbiculas, so that peasants and children used to go there and gather a lot of them at low tide. They could still catch plenty of them now, if they tried. But the officials in charge of this sector just grumble about the absence of shrimps and shellfish,

instead of studying or investigating them.

In future, large quantities of shrimps, shellfish, planktonic shrimps and other fish must be caught and processed properly and supplied to the people. To this end, refrigeration plants must also be built and packing materials and other things necessary for fish processing must be supplied in good time so as to ensure the freezing, salting, drying and pickling of large quantities of various kinds of fish.

Fish culture ought to be organized on a large scale.

South Phyongan Province is bounded by shallow waters and has large rivers—very favourable conditions for fish breeding. In particular, at the lower reaches of the Taedong and the Chongchon, fresh water and salt water meet, so that many fish gather there. If this province uses the favourable conditions effectively, it can breed plenty of fish, shellfish, shrimps, crabs and so on.

The Party organizations in South Phyongan Province should pay particular attention to the work of fish culture and explain things to the workers of the fishing industry and the people so that they will make an effort to protect seafood resources.

In order to conserve these resources, factories and mines should not be allowed to discharge noxious substances into the rivers without purifying the water. If they continue to do so, fish, shellfish, shrimps and such like will die. There are now fewer fish in the Taedong River than there used to be and this can be explained by the fact that the Holtong Mine and the dyeing shop of the Pyongyang Textile Mill discharge noxious substances into the river. This is a very serious matter. In the past the Japanese imperialists did so without caring for the fish in our rivers because they were concerned only with filling their own pockets by plundering the natural resources of our country as much as possible and by exploiting the workers. But today when all natural resources belong to the people this cannot be tolerated.

It is said that some mines still discharge poisonous substances into the Chongchon River. These mines should take prompt action to prevent this from happening. The factories and mines which use noxious substances at present should build facilities to purify the water

before it flows into the river. Factories of this kind which are to be built in future must have purifying facilities. By doing this we will ensure that a lot of fish live in the Taedong and Chongchon Rivers, and we must also increase fish resources through breeding.

The Party organizations should intensify political education among the workers of the fishing industry to inspire them with a high sense of pride and honour in their work.

Yesterday a comrade from the Nampho Fishermen's Cooperative said that it is a common practice now to despise fishermen. But I think it is their own judgement which is due to their preconception that they are regarded as inferior by other people because they themselves have no sense of pride in their work.

Fishermen are a proud detachment of our working class who are engaged in the honourable and worthwhile work of fishing in the sea at the risk of their lives and in spite of all difficulties for the good of the people and improvement of their diet. Nobody can dare to look down upon such an honourable working class. If there are such people, they must be only a few who have neither been freed from the ideas of exploiting classes nor reformed.

Even in the old days it was the landlords and capitalists who really looked down upon the fishermen; the workers and poor peasants sympathized with them from the bottom of their hearts. If some of the people look down upon them, we must fight against this practice uncompromisingly, so that all the people will respect and love the fishing workers.

## 2) ON SOME TASKS OF DEVELOPING THE SOCIALIST COUNTRY AREAS

### (1) ON INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

South Phyongan Province is an important granary of our country and produces a very large proportion of our total agricultural output.

Last year this province produced more grain and other crops than South Hwanghae Province, although it has less cultivated land. This is mainly due to the fact that this province is better irrigated than any other and that it has good climatic and soil conditions.

South Phyongan Province must work hard for a steady increase in the output of grain on the strength of these favourable conditions.

This province produced 900,000 tons of grain last year, and this year it should endeavour to produce at least one million tons.

According to your speeches, some counties are working hard to increase the grain output by one ton per hectare of rice and maize this year. This is very good. If many counties follow suit, it will not be so difficult for the province to increase the output by 100,000 tons this year.

Those counties with comparatively favourable conditions should particularly strive to increase grain output.

Onchon County, for instance, can produce a great deal of grain since it has an excellent irrigation system and is suitable for farming. If it develops the land properly, improves farming methods, and directs farm work in keeping with the present conditions of the developing countryside, it will be able to produce 70,000 tons without difficulty. Not only Onchon County but also Jungsan and Taedong Counties can raise the grain output at least to 70,000 tons each.

At present, in South Phyongan Province, Mundok and Sukchon Counties each produce 100,000 tons a year. In the future, Phyongwon, Taedong, Onchon and Jungsan Counties should all do the same. It is difficult for them to reach the goal immediately. So they should begin by trying to attain 70,000 tons this year and then 80,000 to 90,000 tons and, finally, 100,000 tons. Kangso County should be able to achieve 60,000 tons this year, though not 70,000 tons.

An important factor in increasing the grain output is to make efficient use of land.

The people in South Phyongan Province do not know how valuable land is and have a bad habit of treating it carelessly. This practice must be stopped. In Onchon, Taedong and Jungsan Counties, for instance, a

great deal of land is not cultivated allegedly because there is a shortage of labour. This idle land is much better than the land in Ryanggang and Jagang Provinces. In Jagang Province very sloping and stony fields are used for crop cultivation. If South Phyongan Province cultivates all its idle land, it can increase its grain output considerably. The province must bring all its idle land back under cultivation.

The fields which depend on the rain should first be used properly. I was told that there are about 3,000 hectares of rain-dependent fields in this province. This cannot be regarded as a small area in our country which is not blessed with arable land. I hear that a workteam in Samsok District, Pyongyang, plants upland rice "Namsin No. 1" in rain-dependent fields and harvests more than 3 tons of rice per hectare every year. If you attain such a yield from each of the 3,000 hectares, you can harvest nearly 10,000 tons of grain in all, which can be exchanged for 4,000 tons of chicken.

Nevertheless, South Phyongan Province has excluded nearly all this valuable land from cultivation in the past. Senior officials in this province ought to accept responsibility for this before the Party.

It is true that rain-dependent fields are not as good as the other paddy fields, but it is still better to cultivate them, although their yields are not great, rather than to leave them standing idle.

Buckwheat and maize do not thrive in rain-dependent fields, but rice does. Now, the irrigation of these fields is a problem. This can be solved by sinking springs or wells near these fields and pumping water from them.

When irrigation is made available, it is important to plant rice strains which thrive in such fields. We have experimented on such fields for some three years and found that, in spite of everything, upland rice is most suitable to the fields watered by rain. This strain does not grow rapidly, but if a little water is given, there is no fear of its dying for want of water, and it ripens well. So upland rice should be planted in the fields with a limited natural supply of water. As it does not thrive if it is planted in the ordinary way, it should be planted densely in moist land with ready access to the source of water so that it

can be thinned out and transplanted after a heavy rainfall. If much rain comes even at the end of June, the rice should be transplanted. If it is transplanted early, its seedlings should be planted far apart, for early planting facilitates the shooting of side stems. When it is transplanted late, the seedlings should be planted densely because late planting does not help towards branching.

As for dry-rice strains, "Namsin No. 1" which has been planted on an experimental basis in Samsok District seems to be good, and so it should be planted in the fields which have a limited natural supply of water.

You must direct and supervise factories and enterprises more efficiently so as to induce them to make effective use of their sideline fields.

At present, the ancillary farms of factories and enterprises are often left uncultivated because the provincial rural economy committee and other organizations in charge of directing agriculture almost totally ignore them. In future the provincial rural economy committee should see to it that production plans are given to these farms, that crop areas are distributed on the principle of the right crop on the right soil, that fertilizer and agricultural chemicals are supplied to them and that weeding is done at the right time. Because they try to cultivate the ancillary farms by using only able-bodied men, they suffer labour shortage and sometimes leave their fields idle. They should not try to do so but make wide use of housewives and cultivate all their fields.

As well as the effective use of land, seed selection should be improved.

We should build small seed stores in several places to be used as models, and similar ones should then be built where they are necessary.

In addition, seed farms should improve their economic management so as to keep within their budgets. Officials pay no attention to the work of seed farms at present and, when they suffer a loss, they think of filling it up with something else. They must not do so. The Party organizations should take much interest in their economic management and ensure a rapid development of the seed farms.

Next, we must develop poultry and stock farming and increase the output of animal products, including meat and eggs, still further.

We are still behind other countries in the production of meat. Therefore, at this time the Party Central Committee attaches great importance to the question of increasing the output of meat rapidly, and the whole country is working hard to achieve this. At present, all provinces are making an effort to produce two to three tons of meat per cooperative farm workteam each year in conformity with the Party's policy, and South Phyongan Province should strive to produce three tons per workteam. A target of two tons of meat for each workteam is something that should be aimed at by less-developed provinces. Provinces like South Phyongan Province which takes the lead in agriculture should also set a higher target in meat production.

If you organize your work with care and come to grips with the problem, three tons of meat per workteam will be quite within your reach. The fifth workteam leader of Kuup Cooperative Farm in Kaechon County has expressed his resolve at this meeting to produce eight tons of meat. He will be able to produce more than ten tons if he is supplied with good breeding sows by the state. All workteam leaders should follow his example and increase meat production.

In future, the state will supply good breeding sows to cooperative farms. You will have to work very hard to obtain at least three tons of meat per workteam and 120 or 150 kilogrammes from each farmhouse.

The ancillary farms of factories and enterprises should also produce a large amount of meat. It is advisable to see that industrial districts raise large numbers of ducks which grow quickly so as to increase the output of meat. In general, a chicken weighs 1.1 to 1.2 kilogrammes 60 days after its birth, but a duck weighs 1.8 kilogrammes after 45 days, and three kilogrammes of assorted feed are needed to produce one kilogramme of duck. If you try to improve breeding ducks, you will be able to increase the output using less assorted feeds. At present, the Kwangpho Duck Farm uses only 2.8 to 2.9 kilogrammes of assorted feed in producing one kilogramme of meat by improving breeding ducks. This achievement should be further developed.



A duck is not only highly productive but also relatively immune to disease, and duck farms are easier to construct than stock farms. Since our country has assorted feed plants, this poses no problem. So, provided that good breeding ducks are supplied, the production of duck meat can be rapidly increased. The senior officials of the General State Poultry Bureau of the Cabinet and those in charge of agriculture must immediately supply the sideline poultry farms of factories and enterprises with good breeding ducks.

Until now these farms have been run without even being registered by the state, so that they have not received supplies of feed from the state and have failed to increase their meat output. From now on the General State Poultry Bureau of the Cabinet must register them all, give them explicit production plans and supply feed to them.

In order to solve the problem of fodder for meat production it is necessary to create a large number of fodder fields in the hills.

South Phyongan Province has many hills suitable for fodder cultivation apart from those used for fruit cultivation. Kangdong County, for instance, has many hills. If we cut down small pines there, we can obtain as many fodder fields as we want. These pine trees, even if left as they are, could not be used as timber and would be of little economic value. You should create pastures by cutting them down.

If you fell trees without forethought on the hillsides because you have to create pastures, landslides may occur during the rainy season. The Ministry of Land Development and the rural economy committee of the province should cooperate to carry out an accurate survey, plant rabbit food and sow grass to prevent landslides on sloping areas where landslides are less likely to occur, and thus create pastures. If you have grassland, you can raise sheep and rabbits and cattle there.

We have no experience in creating pastures. So we had better acquire the necessary experience from the grassland now being developed by the students of Kim Il Sung University on an experimental basis on the Ryonggang Dairy Farm.

Because of severe drought last year, the dairy farm did not succeed in developing pastures. If the farm succeeds this year, you will have to

organize a demonstration lecture on the spot in autumn and teach the chairmen of the management boards and senior officials in charge of agriculture in detail which grass thrives in given terrain conditions.

Officials of the Agricultural Commission seem to be afraid lest the area under maize cultivation should decrease to the extent that dry fields are planted with feed crops. They need not worry about it. If 200 to 300 tons of feed are produced from one hectare, 30 to 40 pigs can be raised and three tons of meat will be obtained.

Pig breeding yields a great deal of manure. If five tons of manure are obtained from one pig, we will get 150 tons of manure from 30 pigs. The application of manure to maize fields markedly increases the per-hectare yield. Therefore, if we plant feed crops in dry fields, the areas under maize cultivation will be reduced slightly, but total grain output will not decrease. It would be much better to cultivate feed crops and produce a great deal of meat on the one hand, and on the other use a large amount of manure on dry fields by raising domestic animals so as to increase the per-hectare yield.

The state gave South Phyongan Province the production quota of 30,000 tons of meat, but it would be better if you set a target of 32,000 to 35,000 tons and strive to reach it. If South Phyongan Province reaches the level of 35,000 tons of meat, that will be fairly good.

As well as meat, eggs should be mass-produced.

It is advisable for the state chicken plants in South Phyongan Province to aim for a target of 52 to 55 million eggs a year and for every farm household to set a target of 800 eggs.

But this year each farm household should produce 400 eggs because it is expected that good breeding hens will be distributed to farm families only from autumn and because this is the first campaign. This is feasible enough. Because an ordinary hen lays 100 eggs a year, four hens of native breed will give you 400 eggs and five of them 500 eggs.

If each farm household in South Phyongan Province produces 400 to 500 eggs this year, the number will total 80 to 100 million on a provincial level. With the addition of 52 to 55 million to be produced

from the state chicken plants, the total will be 132 to 155 million.

From next year on, every farm family can raise five good breeding hens, so it should reach the target of 800 eggs a year. Then 160 million eggs will be produced from farm households in the province. At an estimate of 150 to 160 million eggs from the state chicken plants, the provincial total will reach 310 to 320 million next year.

At present South Phyongan Province has a population of approximately two million, so 300 million eggs would mean 150 eggs per person. Of course, this cannot be considered a large amount, but it can be said that it is a big improvement in our diet in comparison with the days in the past when we could not afford to eat eggs. We must work hard to increase the output of eggs in every way.

We must also increase the output of fruit.

We can supply the people with an adequate amount of fruit and the smelters, and others who work in hot conditions, with fruit juice when we produce large quantities of fruit.

We have reclaimed a great deal of orchards. If we tend them properly, we can reap a large amount of fruit. A great deal of labour is needed for good cultivation of fruit trees, but we cannot afford to allocate more manpower to work in orchards because of the present acute labour situation. Therefore, mechanization should be introduced into all fruit growing operations; manure should be transported by machine, chemical liquids must be piped, water applied by the sprinkler system and fruit picking and transportation must be done with machines. Since this is an age of technical revolution, the problem of cultivating orchards must be solved through the wide introduction of modern techniques.

The state fruit farms should be the first to introduce the mechanization of fruit cultivation. The Sukchon Fruit Farm, for example, is located in a flat area with rivers nearby, so that, with a little effort, a great amount of work can be mechanized. Only when state fruit farms lead the way in introducing mechanized operations, can cooperative farms follow their example.

South Phyongan Province should look after existing orchards

carefully and attain the target of 40,000 tons of fruit this year and 50,000 to 55,000 tons next year.

I will not give you a separate task of vegetable production. I should just like to emphasize once more that the sprinkler irrigation system should be introduced into all vegetable gardens. And maize must be planted in humus cake and after it has been harvested, autumn radish or cabbage which is planted by means of humus cake should be grown. At present, by using this method a large quantity of vegetables is produced in Thaechon County, North Phyongan Province. I think that it is necessary for South Phyongan Province to adopt this procedure. In this way we shall ensure that at least 300 kilogrammes of vegetables are supplied to each factory or office worker as well as to each peasant every year. If we produce a lot of radishes and make large quantities of dried slices of radish, we can supply them until spring vegetables are available the following year.

We must conserve water to guarantee this year's farming. After a severe drought in spring there may be a heavy flood in summer. So while endeavouring to conserve water, we should improve the rivers in advance, building dikes where necessary and constructing drainage facilities so as to prevent flood damage.

## (2) ON STRENGTHENING BACKWARD COOPERATIVE FARMS QUICKLY

An important task facing us at present in the building of a socialist countryside is that of strengthening the backward cooperative farms as soon as possible.

The Fourth Congress of the Party put forward the task of distributing three tons of grain and more than 1,000 *won* in cash to every farm household in the mountainous areas and four tons of grain and more than 600 *won* in the plains in the final year of the Seven-Year Plan. Any farm in which five tons of grain are shared out, even if every farm household gets only 400 *won* in cash, will virtually have achieved the goal set forth by the Party Congress because they will be able to

earn additional money by selling their grain.

There are quite a few cooperative farms in South Phyongan Province which have not yet reached the target set by the Fourth Congress of the Party.

The main reason why these backward cooperative farms still exist is that the senior officials in charge of agriculture have not managed them properly. The Rural Economy Committee of South Phyongan Province, for instance, should have directed Nyongwon, Maengsan, Yangdok, Sinyang and other counties with many backward cooperative farms more efficiently, but it has almost totally neglected them in the past. The officials of the county cooperative farm management committees should also have given more help to backward cooperative farms and should have personally visited them to help them to solve difficult problems; but they have visited only prosperous farms which are located near roads and have fertile land.

As a matter of fact, even underdeveloped cooperative farms in South Phyongan Province have more favourable conditions than in other provinces. At present, the Kumsong Cooperative Farm in Tokchon County is backward, but this farm has better conditions, not worse, than those elsewhere. From olden times the Koreans have used the letter “Kum” as a symbol of fortune or wealth. A place whose name includes the letter “Kum” has exceptionally good conditions. Kumya-ri, Changsong County and Kumbu-ri, Sakju County, though remote mountainous villages, have some plains and their conditions are better than other villages. Kumsong-ri, Tokchon County, about which I am now talking, has very fertile land. Nevertheless, the people there harvest only 1,700 kilogrammes of grain from one hectare of dry field. At the hands of the people of Changsong County, the same land would give them a per-hectare grain yield of seven tons.

The natural conditions in Maengsan and Nyongwon Counties are as good as those in Changsong County. Even some of the fertile land which once belonged to Changsong County was completely submerged in the Suphung Reservoir, and the remaining land is very sloping and, worse still, stony and sterile. Even under such bad

conditions the people in Changsong worked hard; every farm household receives a distribution of more than three tons of grain and more than 1,000 *won* in cash.

Of course, Changsong was not a well-to-do county from the outset. Only ten years ago its peasants were very poor. So we visited them every year, and helped them tirelessly. We helped them mainly by teaching the officials how to work, not by giving them a great deal of material aid. We just saw to it that fertilizer allotted by the state was delivered in good time and that some sheep were supplied to them to lay the foundation for livestock farming. As a result, the officials and farmers there worked assiduously to carry out the Party's policies. Each family raised sheep; each farm reared sheep and pigs, thereby increasing the cash income. And they fertilized barren soil with the manure obtained from stock farming. As well as raising the per-hectare yield to increase grain output, they devoted a part of their land to the cultivation of red peppers and industrial crops so as to increase their cash income which was further augmented by gathering wild fruits and edible grass.

In this way Changsong County, which was once backward, has now become a civilized place which is good to live in. When travelling through the valley of Yaksu-ri, I feel as if I were in an earthly paradise. The villages are kept tidy; all the people, young and old, are cheerful and friendly; no one looks gloomy. With the improvement in their living standards, their amateur art activities have become stimulated. The children, girls and housewives in Changsong County can sing beautifully.

The experience of Changsong County shows that if officials are good at directing work and strive to implement the Party's policies, they can develop any mountain areas with unfavourable conditions into places which are good to live in. People in the places which followed the example of Changsong became prosperous. The mountainous counties like Pyoktong and Tongchang have no backward cooperative farms now because they worked successfully, following the example of Changsong.

In the final analysis, cooperative farms are backward not because their natural and other conditions are bad, but because their executives neglect Party policy. You must not try to seek any other ways to strengthen backward cooperative farms but, following the example of Changsong, must improve direction and organize and mobilize the farmers and all the working people properly in implementing the Party's policies. It would be different if there was no Party policy for providing the peasants in mountain areas with a good life or if we did not provide an example of it. Now that there is an explicit Party policy on this matter and now that there is an example, all that you have to do is to work hard to follow that example.

First of all, the senior agricultural officials must direct work properly so as to ensure that the equipment and materials for farming which have been allocated by the state are properly supplied to the backward farms in good time.

Senior officials ought to devote more attention to the backward farms and endeavour to help them to solve difficult problems. But they have neglected this in the past; the backward farms have received fertilizer and other farming materials allocated by the state when the farming season was over. I was told that such farms were not adequately equipped with farm machines and means of transport. At the recent national meeting of agricultural workers, a woman comrade said that at present some of the senior agricultural officials make investments only in plains and supply farm machinery and materials liberally to them, but do not supply tractors and lorries to her farm, probably because they see things only from the point of view of economic effect. She appealed that mountain villages should also be given attention, effective direction and assistance so as to make them prosperous. I think she was completely right. The senior officials must correct their wrong ideological viewpoint, give priority to the backward farms in transporting fertilizer, farm machines and other equipment and materials and visit them frequently to help them to solve difficult problems before it is too late.

Next, the senior agricultural officials should attend to helping the

backward farms in laying foundations for stock farming.

As the experience of Changsong shows, only when domestic animals are raised on an extensive scale, can cash income be increased and farming improved with the manure obtained from the livestock. The General Bureau of Stock Farming under the Cabinet and the provincial rural economy committee should supply the backward cooperative farms with sheep and help them to build breeding stock farms properly so that both the farms and farmhouses can raise large numbers of sheep, rabbits and pigs. This will help towards increasing cash income and improving farming. The problem of animal feed can be solved if one hectare of land is planted with fodder crops in every workteam or two hectares in the places with land to spare like Ryongnam-ri, Onchon County.

At the same time, you must cultivate industrial crops and pick wild fruits and vegetables, and thus increase cash income.

In order to shore up the lagging cooperative farms as soon as possible, rich farms should help them and, in particular, the assistance of industries must be increased. South Phyongan Province has many large factories, so if they come to the aid of the backward farms in their vicinity, they will be able to offer great assistance.

If we rapidly strengthen the backward cooperative farms and make it possible for all the cooperative farms in the mountainous districts to distribute three tons of grain and more than 1,000 *won* in cash to every peasant household as set forth by the Fourth Party Congress, the monthly income of each household will amount to at least 100 *won*, even without counting their food. Then, these farmers' living standards will not be lower than those of the workers.

We intend to hold the Fifth Congress of the Party next year. By that time South Phyongan Province should do away with all the backward cooperative farms. Of course, it will be a little difficult to accomplish this task in two years, that is, this year and next. But if the chief secretary of the Party committee and the chairman of the rural economy committee of the province take part in the Party Congress without carrying out this task, they will feel very ashamed of their



failure to implement the task set by the Fourth Party Congress. You must participate in the Fifth Congress of the Party, proud of having converted all the backward cooperative farms into prosperous ones by your own unremitting efforts.

### (3) ON UNDERTAKING LAND DEVELOPMENT AND OTHER RURAL CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS SUCCESSFULLY

Rural construction is a very important task facing us today. If we are to implement the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, we must carry out land development and other rural construction tasks on a wide scale.

If we do not undertake rural construction, the rural technical revolution will be impossible to achieve, and consequently farmers will not be freed from burdensome labour, nor will the agricultural productive forces develop rapidly. Without carrying on rural construction, it would also be impossible to change the out-of-date appearance of our countryside, which has existed for a very long time.

As is generally known, the backwardness of the country areas is not a product of the socialist society but a leftover from the old society. In a capitalist society, capitalists only build urban communities and neglect rural construction in order to exploit the country areas by leaving them in a backward state. This is a general trend. Of course, in some developed capitalist countries there are cases where capitalists also make investments in the countryside, undertake construction to some extent and turn farmers into agricultural workers. But this only throws farmers out of work and impoverishes them still further. This is why the working people in a capitalist society oppose the attempts of the capitalists to make rural areas capitalistic.

In a socialist society, on the contrary, it is a matter of great social concern to modernize the country areas and working-classize the farmers. This is because the rural technical revolution solves the problem of manpower, frees farmers from difficult and

labour-consuming work and enables them to produce much more material wealth while working with greater ease. So our working people are vitally interested in the rural technical revolution and strive to carry it out.

To do away with the backwardness of the countryside, which is a remnant of the old society, and to free farmers from burdensome labour is essential in building socialism and communism and an honourable revolutionary task devolving on us communists.

In order to build a communist society, farmers must be freed from backbreaking work once and for all, and the eight-hour work day must be made applicable to them just as it is to the workers, by using machines for ploughing and sowing, weeding with weed killer, and pumping water and doing threshing with electricity.

But manual labour is still widespread throughout the countryside, and farmers work harder and for longer hours than industrial workers. In order to free farmers from difficult labour and enable them to work eight hours as the workers do, the rural technical revolution must be promoted energetically.

We have already achieved considerable success in the rural technical revolution and have good prospects of developing it further. Irrigation, which occupies an important place in this revolution, has mainly been completed, and we can also go ahead with mechanization because we mass-produce different kinds of modern farm machines, including tractors. Rural electrification will also be largely completed before long. The prospect of using chemicals more intensively is also good because various agricultural chemicals, including fertilizer and weed killer, will be produced in large quantities.

But there is a problem in our rural technical revolution. Because of minimal progress in land development, tractors and other farm machines and technical equipment cannot operate to capacity.

Of course, the slow progress in the rural technical revolution at present is due partly to our inability to produce different kinds of farm machines and other technical equipment in large quantities, but it is mainly due to the fact that technical equipment cannot be effectively

used because land development has not been carried out in the countryside. We now have many tractors and other farm machines, but tractors can operate only in plain areas and not in mountainous or sloping fields because these fields have not been developed. Even in the plains, tractors cannot operate effectively in many fields because of their small size.

Our country has built powerful centres of the machine industry, so it will present no great problem to produce large and small tractors and other farm machines which are needed in the countryside. But the mass-production of tractors and farm machines alone will not accomplish the rural technical revolution. If land development is neglected as it is now, we shall be unable to ensure the widespread use of tractors and other farm machines, no matter how many are produced, and consequently no great development will take place in the rural technical revolution.

If we do not carry out land development in the future, it will be impossible to proceed with the rural technical revolution at a greater pace, or free the farmers from burdensome work or carry out the task of turning our countryside into rich modern communities which are good to live in.

As I said at the recent national meeting of agricultural workers, we must undertake land development on a large scale so as to permit the unlimited operation of tractors and various other farm machines, increase the effective use of fertilizer and weed killer and use water more efficiently.

The Party Central Committee is going to put forward rural land development as an important task at the Party Congress to be held in 1970.

In the past, we have been unable to bring the question of land development to the fore. That was because it would have been pointless to raise such a question when our machine industry was not yet able to produce as many machines as were needed for land development. A grand nature transformation project which involves the levelling and re-alignment of 1.4 to 1.5 million hectares of fields

cannot be done with picks, shovels, A-frames and suchlike, instead of modern machines.

But, today the situation has changed. Our machine industry produces large bulldozers, excavators, lorries and other machines and their output will rapidly increase in the future. So you must now begin land development as far as possible, and do it extensively as the supply of machines increases during the coming years.

Small dry fields should be enlarged by removing the ridges between them and rice paddies must also be enlarged and levelled so that the work of draught cattle and manual labour can be replaced by mechanical operations. Stone piles in fields have to be removed and unnecessary ridges levelled.

In addition, the country roads must be well maintained. Access roads to the fields must be prepared well so that lorries and tractors can pass freely, and roads used for general traffic must also be well taken care of.

Without building up the roads, it would be impossible to build a modern socialist countryside, or carry out the technical revolution. But our officials take little interest in road construction at the moment. As was mentioned in a speech during this meeting, Hyangdan-ri, Sunchang-ri and some other villages in Kangdong County have no road worth mentioning, even though more than 20 years have passed since liberation. This shows clearly how little the officials of the provincial and county people's committees care about rural construction. Government organs, county cooperative farm management committees and cooperative farms must attend to this matter and build up the country roads as soon as possible.

If we develop the land and build up roads, farmers will be able to do farming with machines, and weed with chemicals; their work will become much easier, and the area cultivated by one farmer will increase. At present a farmer tends 0.5 hectare of paddy fields on the average, but he will be able to take care of five hectares without great difficulty if mechanization and the use of chemicals are introduced extensively.

If we estimate the total area of our paddy fields at 700,000 hectares and the area tended by a farmer at 0.5 hectare, 1.4 million farmers are required to tend them all. But 140,000 farmers will be enough for this purpose if a farmer tends five hectares as a result of effective land development, mechanization and use of chemicals. Then, we shall be able to cut the rural work force now engaged in rice cultivation to one tenth.

At present we have nearly 700,000 hectares of maize fields. Even if we ignore the 200,000 hectares of fields on steep slopes, the tending of the remaining 500,000 hectares requires 500,000 farmers, at the rate of one hectare per farmer. But the technical revolution will enable a man to cultivate 10 hectares, which means only 50,000 farmers taking care of the 500,000 hectares.

This will give you a surplus of hundreds of thousands of farmers from the countryside. This manpower can be used to expand stock farming, sericulture, and fruit growing and to organize fruit processing for yourselves. And women will no longer have to drudge, stooping and splashing in rice paddies, and farmers will no longer say that they do not want their sons and daughters to toil on farms.

Land improvement projects, along with land development, must be widely undertaken. New soil must be spread where carpeting is needed, acidified land neutralized, wet land drained by digging ditches, and thus all fields improved so that they will become fertile.

Some comrades insist on obtaining new land, complaining of the small area of our arable lands. Of course, we should strive for new land. But it is more important to raise per-hectare yields by developing and improving the land which is now available and by carrying out the technical revolution.

As we often say, if we develop the available land properly, carry out mechanization and improve the land, rice paddies can yield five tons per hectare and non-paddy fields four tons of cereals per hectare, and then the total will be six million tons. Six million tons of grain are sufficient to feed the population of the northern half of Korea even when it reaches 20 million in the future. Our people will be much better

off than now if we produce, in addition to the 6 million tons of grain, plenty of eggs, meat and vegetables, and supply enough non-staple foodstuffs and fruit. So we must first concentrate on land development and improvement.

We must improve the rivers. There are many rivers in our country. But river improvement has been neglected, so that they overflow in times of flood because their beds are rising.

To avoid flood damage, we must improve all rivers, both large and small. Riverbeds must be dredged, and the banks built up and reinforced with stone facing and planted with many pussy willows to prevent erosion. The Taedong and Chongchon Rivers in particular must be dredged, and properly banked.

Waterways must be cleared well. In our country it rains heavily in the wet season, so it is very important to keep them properly cleared and keep the draining facilities in good order so as to prevent crops from suffering flood damage.

We have built well-laid-out irrigation works in our country, so that our agriculture is protected from damage by drought. If we had not built them, it would have been impossible for South Phyongan Province to produce even 100,000 tons of grain in the severe drought last year, let alone 900,000 tons.

If we are to farm with confidence, we must not only overcome drought but also prevent flood damage. Therefore, rivers must be improved and waterways cleared well so that they will not overflow even in the event of heavy rain. Drainage facilities should be well prepared so as to prevent fields from being flooded even in the rainy season. If we overcome dry weather and prevent flood damage like this, we shall prosper, literally free from crop failure.

We must reclaim tidelands on a large scale.

We have gained a large area of new land by reclaiming tidelands on Sin Island, North Phyongan Province. As a result, the new Sindo County has come into being in our country. Originally, the island had no suitable farm land. Most of it was submerged at high tide and could be seen only at low tide.

When we began the reclamation of tidelands on this island as an example, we had no machines and had to use manual labour. So the work was difficult and labour-consuming. Surging high tides used to demolish the earth embankment we had built. We reviewed the reclamation project and gave the Party Committee of North Phyongan Province an assignment to introduce mechanization in this venture, and we ensured that the necessary machines and cement were supplied for the project and that the embankment was built from concrete blocks. In this way, we succeeded in acquiring a large area of new land.

The embankment at Sin Island is more than 40 kilometres long, and, moreover, it was built in water, not on land. Success in this difficult large-scale reclamation project was attributable entirely to mechanization.

South Phyongan Province must not carry out the tideland reclamation project using manual methods as it does now. It should set up a tideland reclamation enterprise, bring the necessary machines and tackle the task in a mechanized way, just as they did on Sin Island.

Counties which have tidelands must make good preparations, from now, for their reclamation.

The most important thing in tideland reclamation is to build a permanent embankment. You can bring stone by boat to build a causeway on which to lay rails and then continue to bring and dump stone in the places where the embankment is to be built and erect walls of cement blocks on this foundation.

South Phyongan Province can reclaim 40,000 to 50,000 hectares of new land from tidelands. From a high mountain in front of Onchon, you can see a large area of tideland which can be reclaimed by shutting off the sea. The tidal flats near Jungsan and Anju will total 40,000 to 50,000 hectares.

South Phyongan Province must endeavour to obtain approximately 10,000 hectares of new land a year and thus reclaim 40,000 to 50,000 hectares of tidelands in the coming four to five years. If this is done, the sloping land of over 40,000 hectares in this province will be used to cultivate feed crops and the newly reclaimed fertile land where

machines can operate, will be used for crop farming. Some comrades insist that the sloping land should be used for other purposes immediately, but the limited area of cultivated land in our country at the moment does not permit this. We have to continue to use the sloping land for crop farming until we obtain new land.

Beside these things, there are many others we have to do to build the rural communities.

We should plant all mountains with trees to create forests and also develop grassland.

As I said at the national meeting of agricultural workers, each cooperative farm must take the responsibility for a hundred hectares of mountains and grow forests on them. At present, no one is allowed to develop the mountains because they belong to the state; they are not planted to trees nor properly cared for. That is not the right way of doing things. We should make good use of the mountains. We should cut and use trees from the mountains and also continue to plant and grow trees there. As has already been decided, 100 hectares of mountains should be placed in the care of each cooperative farm so that, by planting trees, it can cut them to build houses or to make handles for picks, shovels, hoes, and so on at will. At present, it is said that people can cut trees from mountains to make such things only with the permission of a public security man, which I think unnecessary.

Afforestation requires detailed preparations. You must first grow good saplings. If you allocate mountains to cooperative farms before the saplings are ready, they might cut trees at random without replanting. Therefore, mountains must not be made available to those farms which have not prepared saplings.

If a cooperative farm plants ten hectares with trees every year, 40,000 hectares of mountains will come under trees throughout the country. If the cooperative farms go ahead with the project for ten years, they will have 400,000 hectares of forests. So many hectares of good forests will provide them with enough timber to build houses and make farm implements and furniture.

Modern dwelling houses must be built in the country areas.



Today our country areas are still short of housing and there are many dilapidated houses. Recently the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee adopted a decision on building modern dwelling houses for 150,000 households across the countryside this year and the Cabinet drew up a plan to implement it.

South Phyongan Province must launch a campaign to build modern rural houses for 30,000 families every year. In four years you will have dwellings for another 120,000 households. If this is done, the farmers in South Phyongan Province will all live in good houses because there are also other modern dwellings which have already been built.

In order to build dwellings for 30,000 households annually, each sub-workteam must start a campaign to build one house a year. You say that the cooperative farms in South Phyongan Province have approximately 18,000 sub-workteams. So, if each of these sub-workteams builds a house for two families, the annual total will provide for 36,000 households. County cooperative farm management committees, county people's committees and cooperative farms must supply sub-workteams with timber, cement, roof tiles, galvanized iron sheets, stone and other materials beforehand, so that all the farmers can join the sub-work team effort to build dwellings.

It is best to build houses in spring in the countryside, but it is already a little late this spring. If you start now, it might interfere with farming. So you had better get materials ready and get down to construction during the relative lull in the interval between transplanting-weeding and harvesting. Thus, if you build dwellings before the harvest it will not hinder farming.

If we build modern dwellings in the rural areas for a few years, all cooperative farmers in our country will live in comfortable dwellings, and the signs of backwardness in the rural areas which were handed down from the old society will disappear completely.

Members of some cooperative farms in the lowland areas are still said to be drinking impure water. This problem must be resolved immediately. The provincial people's committee and the county people's committees should ensure the construction of waterworks for

Changdong-ri in Sukchon County and other places which still have a drinking water problem.

With this end in view, all counties and cooperative farms should make good preparations for extensive rural construction.

They must first prepare detailed plans and designs for this purpose.

The Party Central Committee intends to set about a Six-Year Plan in 1971 for a great nature transformation project in our country. We envisage that during the Six-Year Plan all Party members and working people will participate widely in land development and other rural construction work. From now onwards all counties and cooperative farms must draw up detailed plans for rural construction. In planning land development, for instance, they should study how to lay out ridges, where to dig ditches, how to shape rice paddies, and where to build roads for access by machines to rice paddies, make the necessary surveys, and thus work out priority designs. At present, our officials try to tackle rural construction by rule of thumb, without even a plan. A nature transformation project for lasting prosperity should not be dealt with in such a casual way. From now on, although it is a little late, the cooperative farms must plan all their work, ranging from the removal of stone piles and enlarging the size of rice paddies to the building of roads for machines. Not only men but also women can design easily if they learn how to do it. Many women must be enlisted in design work.

When the designs are ready, clear plans must be worked out on the basis of the designs. A long-term plan, as well as one for the immediate period ahead, must be worked out for rural construction, accurately estimating what machines are needed for each construction and in what quantity, and how much labour is required and how much work is to be done in a year.

Land development and other rural construction are complicated and difficult undertakings which require the creative wisdom of the broad masses and a certain degree of experience. Therefore, as I said at the conference of the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees and chairmen of provincial rural economy committees held in Sakju last year, South Phyongan Province must also organize projects for soil

improvement, land development and river improvement in some counties this year for the purpose of setting an example. This is the way to improve designing and planning and also facilitate acquiring necessary experience. On this basis, all rural communities should undertake wide rural construction from next year.

It seems necessary to set up a land development enterprise in each county so as to facilitate this work. But too much rural manpower should not be diverted to these enterprises.

At present in Kangdong County, the land development enterprise is said to have a regular work force of 250 people. If so much rural labour is diverted, it may interfere with farming. To avoid this, therefore, the enterprise must be manned with those who are required to operate bulldozers, lorries, excavators, and other machines on double shifts.

This composition of the work force of the enterprise is imperative to prevent the outflow of rural manpower except the machine operators in the event of the enterprise moving to another place. Although it has no large work force of its own, the enterprise will face no problem in carrying out its work for lack of manpower, since all the members of a cooperative farm will take part in land development when a project is being carried out on their farm.

The huge rural construction projects including land development will be successful only if they receive the active support of the working class. Workers of the machine industry in South Phyongan Province must work harder to supply the rural areas with many more machines needed for rural construction.

The Nampho Dockyard must build many more dredgers, including large ones, and the Kiyang Tractor Plant must mass-produce heavy-duty bulldozers. The *Phungnyon* bulldozer now in production is not very powerful. So the powerful large 300-hp bulldozers must be produced in quantities to move earth in bulk. The Ragwon Machine Factory must manufacture large excavators, and the Tokchon Automobile Plant a large number of 10-ton lorries. The Tokchon Automobile Plant says that it will manufacture 1,000 10-ton lorries this year. But this is not enough to meet the demand. South Phyongan

Province alone has 24 cities and counties. So, at the rate of 50 10-ton lorries for each of them, they need 1,200. In order to carry out both land development and tideland reclamation, a cooperative farm must have at least ten of these lorries. If a county has twenty cooperative farms, South Phyongan Province alone requires nearly 5,000 lorries. Lorries made by this factory are supplied not only to South Phyongan Province but to all parts of the country. Therefore, the factory must produce many more 10-ton lorries.

As well as producing many large lorries, bulldozers, excavators and dredgers, we should also turn out various other machines in large numbers, such as ditchdiggers and rollers. To do this, we must increase the output of iron and steel and machine tools.

Rural construction will be carried out successfully if all workers in the agricultural sector and cooperative farmers work hard and the working class gives them its active support.

South Phyongan Province must also take the lead in rural construction just as it did in the campaigns for irrigation and rural mechanization in the past.

#### (4) ON PROMOTING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRY AREAS

Today the country areas have too few cultural establishments and also lag behind towns culturally. Of course, this has something to do with the fact that rural communities are dispersed over wide areas in comparison with industrial communities. But the main reason is that the senior agricultural officials neglect the cultural revolution in rural areas. In its *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, our Party has already put forward the important task of accelerating the rural cultural revolution. But our officials are not yet fully aware of the importance of this task and do not carry it out properly.

Only by accelerating the cultural revolution throughout the country areas is it possible to raise the farmers' level of general knowledge and techniques rapidly and improve their lives culturally. The cultural

revolution is also the basis and prerequisite of the ideological and technical revolutions. Therefore, only when the cultural revolution in the countryside is efficient, can the ideological and technological revolutions there be successful.

All the senior officials in charge of the countryside must fully appreciate the importance of the rural cultural revolution and work harder to speed it up.

We must first ensure that every household in the rural communities takes a newspaper or a journal.

It is only when farmers read a newspaper or a journal regularly that they will be able to learn about the tasks set forth by the Party in each period and quickly raise their political, technological and cultural levels.

I hear that the provincial newspaper now has a circulation of 100,000 copies. It must be increased. Only when every family takes a newspaper or a journal, can the old people, housewives, children and the rest of the rural population read it regularly.

Every house in the rural communities must have access to radio broadcasts. South Phyongan Province must make sure that a radio set or a cable radio is available to every farmhouse by 1970. By this means, every village and every house will hear the voice of Pyongyang through broadcasts.

An important task of the rural cultural revolution facing South Phyongan Province is to ensure that the TV network covers the whole province, in other words, that all its inhabitants have access to TV broadcasts.

TV is a good way of popularizing technical and cultural knowledge and educating people. If TV is available, one can, sitting on a heated floor, watch the scenes of important meetings held in Pyongyang, movies, art performances, football and other games and matches. Therefore, if every rural household has a TV set, the rural population can be educated more quickly. All the counties of South Phyongan Province except Nyongwon and Maengsan Counties can have access to TV broadcasts. Nyongwon and Maengsan Counties will also be able

to do so at some time in the future when relay stations are built for the east coast area.

TV must gradually be introduced throughout the country areas in stages. I think it should be done in three stages; that is, a TV set should be provided for each workteam in the first stage, for each village in the second stage and for each house in the third stage.

It will take a long time to supply every farmhouse in the province with a TV set, but we can do it with every workteam and village within two or three years. Okto-ri, Ryonggang County, for instance, has eleven workteams in all. I am told it is going to provide TV sets for six workteams this year. This is a very good idea. Cooperative farms in the province must endeavour to supply all workteams and villages with TV sets within a few years. If possible, it would be advisable for each workteam to obtain a TV set by 1970. In this way, South Phyongan Province, along with Pyongyang, must lead the whole country in introducing TV sets.

If they are to obtain TV sets, the rural communities must earn a large sum of foreign currency. Since our country still cannot mass-produce TV sets, locally-made ones alone will not be able to meet the whole rural demand in South Phyongan Province in a short time. Until our country mass-produces TV sets, we shall have to import them, and this requires a large amount of foreign currency.

All the cooperative farms in South Phyongan Province must launch a campaign to earn foreign currency in order to gain access to the TV service. Each workteam and sub-workteam of cooperative farms and each household should plant pumpkins, hemp, snake gourds, castor beans, sesame, wild sesame, gather seeds of the jujube, apricot and peach, medicinal herbs, fur and hide and must produce cocoons, apples and tobacco over and above state plans to suit their specific conditions, in order to earn a large amount of foreign currency.

Counties must produce various good-quality consumer goods by running local industry factories properly and thus ensure more foreign currency earnings. If local factories manufacture nail clippers, watch bracelets, locks, scissors, spice grinders, kerosene stoves, picks and

shovels and so on in large quantities and export them, they can earn a large amount of foreign currency.

The working class must give a great deal of assistance to the rural communities in the introduction of the TV service. It has a responsibility to guide the rural cultural revolution and is in duty bound to help the country areas.

Industrial workers in South Phyongan Province can manufacture various articles of daily use with scrap iron and other by-products from their factories and earn a great deal of foreign currency. Factories and enterprises in the province must launch a campaign to earn a larger amount of foreign currency and give active assistance to the early introduction of a TV service in the countryside.

We must accelerate rural electrification so as to make radio and TV services available to the whole province. I am told that in South Phyongan Province there are still villages and households which have no access to electricity. We must see to it that electricity becomes available to all parts of the province as soon as possible.

In order to supply electricity to every house, the houses which are now widely scattered over mountainous areas should be grouped into villages of suitable size. In places where it is difficult to gain access to the electricity supply network, a small power station should be built for each village. In this way electricity will become available to all farmhouses in South Phyongan Province by 1970.

The next important thing in the rural cultural revolution is to raise the cooperative farmers' level of knowledge by running various schools properly to suit their levels. In winter, working people's middle schools and mother's schools must be run efficiently to communicate a broader knowledge to all cooperative farmers.

Children must be well taken care of by building up nurseries and kindergartens in the rural communities. Cooperative farms should improve work among the nursery and kindergarten teachers so that they take good care of children, bring them up to be healthy and give them a good education.

Strenuous efforts must be made to develop sanitation in villages,

and to promote the way of a cultured life among farmers while raising their level of general knowledge, technology and culture.

South Phyongan Province leads other provinces in introducing advanced farming methods and in developing grain and other agricultural production, but it trails behind them in keeping houses tidy and in building up rural villages. Basically the people of South Phyongan Province have a bad habit of keeping houses and villages untidy. They must shake off this backward habit quickly and strive to promote a cultured way of life to prove themselves worthy of being agricultural working people living in the socialist countryside. In this way South Phyongan Province will set an example to other provinces not only in agricultural production but also in establishing the socialist way of a cultured life.

Time and conditions must be provided for farmers so that they can keep their houses and villages neat and tidy and build up life in a hygienic way. At present, management workers of some cooperative farms do not give farmers time to attend to these matters properly. This is wrong.

Cooperative farms should improve the organization of work and allow farmers more time to take good care of their houses and build up their villages. Even in the busiest farming seasons they must be allowed to have a few days off every three months so as to repair their houses. In spring and autumn a week or ten days must be fixed for maintenance work so that every house can get its floor mended, walls whitewashed, doorsteps rebuilt, roofs rethatched and fences repaired. If in spring and autumn members of each sub-workteam help each other for some ten days in such a way as to repair this house today and that house tomorrow, all the village houses can be put into good condition.

All the cooperative farms must put their bathhouses in good order so that rural inhabitants can take a bath regularly.

Village shops should ensure that materials needed for housing repair are readily available to the farmers and that the supply of consumer goods for farmers is improved. I was told that in some



village shops even needles, thread and the like are not on sale sometimes because they are out of stock. This is because the senior officials of the provincial people's committee are working inefficiently. South Phyongan Province has a solid industrial base. So, if it builds up local factories well with help from the industrial centre, needles, thread and spare parts for sewing machines, for instance, can be produced and supplied without difficulty. Government officials must promptly correct their indifference to the people's living conditions and take firm measures to ensure the regular supply of different kinds of consumer goods to the people.

Now that rural communities have all been cooperativized, their senior workers must play the role of masters of the countryside properly. To do so, they must not travel about, simply holding meetings and making speeches, but organize each piece of work meticulously and get it done successfully.

If you are to carry out the rural cultural revolution successfully, you must build up the county seats to be models for the rural communities.

As I said at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Officials and stressed in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, the county plays a very important part in building the socialist countryside. The county is the base for linking the towns with the countryside in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture and the base for the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the rural communities.

In fact, farmers do not often go to Pyongyang or their provincial capitals but frequent the county towns for meetings, marketing or other business. They learn Party policy and the way of a cultured life in county towns. Therefore, to develop the county towns properly is the way to raise the farmers' cultural level quickly and build up modern rural communities by following the example of these towns.

A county town which is neatly built serves as an example for all villages in the county and exerts a good influence upon the farmers. Whichever house you may visit in such a town, you can see its walls and floors papered cleanly, its rooms well provided with wardrobes

and other pieces of furniture, its doors in good shape, its doorsteps well built—the whole house clean and in good order in every respect. Farmers in such a county see everything in the town for themselves and learn a great deal from it when they visit the town for a meeting or marketing, and try to emulate it when they return home. That is why every village and every house in such a county is clean and tidy.

But the county towns of South Phyongan Province have not been developed so well. No schools, shops or hospitals in the county towns are in good shape, nor are houses and streets kept tidy. The chief secretaries of the county Party committees and other county officials can see every day that their county towns are not taken care of properly, but they do not do anything about it. This being the case, how can they ensure that all the villages in their counties are well developed?

South Phyongan Province must work hard to build up the county towns neatly in the next few years. Schools, shops and hospitals there should be laid out well, waterworks and sewage systems must be constructed, and houses and streets have to be kept clean. In this way the county towns will become a model for the other rural communities in every respect as well as being the base for the cultural revolution in the countryside.

Not only county towns but also workers' districts should be developed in such a way as to serve as a model for the rural communities.

There are the Kangson workers' district and many others in South Phyongan Province, but none of them has been built well. Very many houses have been built in these districts, but they are not well distributed nor are they attractive because they have been neglected.

This is the position not only in Kangson but also in Kiyang, Taean and Tokchon. On my visit to Tokchon last year I found that there had been no improvement in the management of the town since my previous visit several years before. Every year I visit Kaechon, but I cannot see any improvement in its appearance. This town is little different from what it was twelve years ago, that is, in 1956 when a

conference of the Kaechon County Party organization was held there.

The working class is the leading class of society and the advanced class. So it ought to lead the farmers and set an example for them politically, ideologically and technically and also in building up a cultured way of life. If a workers' district where a large contingent of workers live is kept untidy, how can it be a good influence on farmers and what can farmers learn from it?

The failure to develop workers' districts properly is not due to any neglect on the part of the state in supplying materials or providing other requirements, but to the indifference on the part of senior officials and to their neglect of organizing work. South Phyongan Province is quite capable of producing various kinds of materials needed for improving the workers' districts. Therefore, if the senior officials of the province, factory managers and chief secretaries of factory Party committees take an interest in this matter and get down to work, they can improve the workers' districts without difficulty.

The senior officials of the province, and factory and enterprise managements must show great concern in this matter and develop all the workers' districts as soon as possible to be a model in the cultural revolution in the countryside.

By carrying out the ideological revolution in the rural areas successfully, as well as the cultural revolution, we must thoroughly revolutionize and working-classize the farmers.

Mere words are not enough to revolutionize and working-classize people. To do this, you must organize work meticulously. You must train all the farmers to become revolutionaries who are faithful to the Party and the revolution by strengthening their life in Party and working people's organizations and by educating them well in Party policy.

The education of farmers in Party policy must not be confined to study sessions and lecture meetings, but must be conducted by means of plays and songs and by different forms and methods which cater for their tastes and feelings. It is particularly effective to compose and popularize songs on Party policies among farmers.

When we were fighting the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we disseminated revolutionary songs extensively among the people in the guerrilla zone and in the enemy-held areas. These songs assisted greatly in revolutionizing the people. In those days there were no professional composers among us. But now we have many composers, and we can get them to compose as many songs as we need.

In future it is necessary to compose many songs about Party policy which are simple and easy to sing. The song about the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic is excellent.

Songs on other subjects can also be composed in this manner. Songs can be composed about the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, about the technical, cultural or ideological revolutions, and about taking good care of state property, about the love of labour, about efficient land development and about other subjects of Party policy. This will help the farmers to understand Party policy better.

It is necessary to increase the role of the working people's organizations in disseminating Party policy to the masses and revolutionizing and working-classizing them. Rural Party organizations must work among the masses well by arousing the working people's organizations, such as the League of Socialist Working Youth, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union. These organizations must explain and disseminate Party policies among the masses well and educate and reform the people with energy and on their own initiative. In future rural Party organizations must do the work with the working people's organizations efficiently and encourage them to play a bigger part in the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside.

### 3) ON PUTTING LABOUR ADMINISTRATION ON THE RIGHT TRACK

As I have already emphasized more than once at plenary meetings

of the Central Committee of the Party, the work of labour administration is neither a short-term campaign nor a mere technical and practical matter. It is a very important subject which concerns the fundamental question of the building of socialism and communism and which is a constant challenge throughout the whole course of socialist and communist construction.

But some of our officials do not yet fully appreciate the importance of labour administration and the Party's intention of improving it, nor do they show proper concern for it. Moreover, in recent years, the labour problem has become very acute in our country and to solve this question was a pressing task which was decisive for further progress in our revolution and construction. Therefore, plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Party have discussed the matter on many occasions and adopted appropriate decisions. But no tangible improvement in labour administration has been apparent.

The recent 18th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party discussed the matter of labour administration earnestly and adopted another resolution. But even after that ministers, factory and enterprise managers, chairmen of the county cooperative farm management committees and of the cooperative farm management boards have done nothing. All that they did was to read it once themselves and tell their subordinates about it.

This shows that our officials are not faithful to the Party in practice although they say they are faithful to the Party and that they try to implement Party policies. As we have emphasized on many occasions when talking about this matter, success in labour administration is a major yardstick by which to measure the Party spirit of our officials at the present time. This Party spirit ought to be manifested by unconditionally defending and implementing Party policy, and at the moment the senior officials ought to be showing their Party spirit in labour administration on which so much stress is being laid by the Party. Those who carefully organize and manage labour administration successfully by giving it priority, are strong in Party spirit. Those who do not are weak in it.

We must ensure that the attitude of officials who play down labour administration is corrected immediately and that a distinct improvement is brought about in this work.

The most important principle of labour administration is to ensure that everyone works, that everyone strives to the best of his ability and that he acquires a communist approach to labour.

If labour administration is inefficient, it will produce many loafers and breed idleness among the people.

Let us take an example.

We know through recent information that students have now been mobilized to build a camp, but they are loafing because materials are not available. If things are to proceed well, the students should have been mobilized only when all preparations had been made, including the procurement of materials. But the students have been mobilized before these arrangements have been completed. That is why a large number of students have to waste their time, not going on with their studies, nor doing construction work. If the preparations for construction are inadequate, they should be allowed to study. What is the use of mobilizing them and then making them waste their time? If you let them loaf without doing anything, it will only breed idleness in them.

Today there are quite a few loafers because labour administration has not been handled properly.

Large numbers of research institutes were established, one after the other, but no definite assignments have been given them. Therefore, many research workers are just passing their time idly, I am told. Because these institutes have been increased without being given proper assignments, many undesirable people have slipped into them and are loafing on the job.

Inefficient labour administration thus produces loafers and develops the tendency to dislike work and to eat the bread of idleness. If people hate working, we shall be unable to build socialism and communism.

Nothing is desirable than to encourage everyone to work and to do their best. This is the way to educate people in the communist idea of loving labour.

If we are to improve labour administration, we must firmly oppose the practice of wasting labour.

At the moment the manpower situation in our country is very strained. Because we are short of manpower we are unable to make up the shortage of workers at the Onchon Farm and at the Jungsan Farm, and unable to supply the necessary manpower to mines and the factories and enterprises which are under construction.

As you can see, on the one hand we are suffering from a shortage of manpower, but, on the other hand, a large amount of labour is being wasted. As was pointed out in a speech, the Sukchon Fruit Farm and the Onchon Fruit Farm each have construction workteams which consist of 50 people, although they have undertaken virtually no construction projects during the past few years. They also keep a large amount of unnecessary manpower as livestock breeding workteams and sapling nursery workteams. They even keep separate work hands for transporting manure, which can be done quite easily during winter by the people who tend the orchards. Here so many people are allowed to waste their time when the state cannot even undertake necessary construction projects because of a shortage of manpower.

Factories and enterprises just try to keep as many work hands as possible; none of their managers and chief secretaries of their Party committees want to give up their work hands. At plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee, they all resolve to use manpower economically, but on their return home they forget their resolve and think only of keeping as many work hands as possible at their disposal, just as they did in the past. This is a gravely mistaken attitude.

On your return you comrades must first set about putting labour administration to rights. You must examine every aspect of the matter in detail and quickly eliminate the waste of labour.

The first thing you must do is to overhaul the organizational structures and cut down the wasted and superfluous work hands. In particular, you must waste no time in reducing the excessively swollen management staffs. The manpower thus saved should be sent to the factories under construction and to the farms which are now being

organized. In South Phyongan Province there are many enterprises which need additional manpower. The April 13 Iron Works which is under construction has only the construction work force, but no productive work force. We must immediately supply manpower to this enterprise. The Onchon Farm and the Jungsan Farm also need work hands, and we must supply them with manpower.

The task of reducing work forces must not be done by coercion on the part of the officials of the Ministry of Labour; factories and enterprises should give up work hands of their own accord. But if they refuse to do so, the Party will have to send guidance groups to them to examine their manpower situation and thin out their redundant labour.

In addition, we must take measures to use a great deal of labour which is not used because of the unwise location of industrial enterprises.

If we set up light industry factories in workers' districts for coal and ore mines, the housewives in these areas will come to work. But our officials have located industrial enterprises haphazardly without taking into account the source of labour. In consequence, one sector of the economy is short of labour when in another sector housewives are wasting their time because they have nothing to do.

We must adopt measures to ensure that industries are distributed rationally by making detailed calculations about the source of labour so that every single man and woman can work.

Next, it is important to appoint the right man to the right job.

Work hands should be appointed sensibly in accordance with their sex, age, physical aptitude, and technical and skill levels so that all working people can work to the best of their abilities. As a result of inefficient labour administration by our officials in the past, there are still some cases where jobs which are suitable for women are being done by men. We must correct the irregularities in the assignment of work hands and, in particular, the men who are doing work which is suitable for women must positively be moved elsewhere. This matter should also not be handled by an administrative method but through a convincing explanation so that the men themselves admit that such a



job is not for men but for women, saying that they do not want such a job and volunteering to do a worthwhile job.

Other important matters in labour administration are how to make it easy for people to work, how to eliminate the differences between heavy and light labour and how to increase output with a smaller outlay of labour.

We must improve labour administration so as to let everyone work, and also to free the working people from burdensome labour, to abolish the differences between heavy and light work and to increase labour productivity to a considerable extent. In order to achieve this task, we must carry out the technical revolution. The technical revolution is a firm guarantee for the emancipation of the working people from backbreaking work and for greater productivity.

Eggs have now become cheaper. This is because we have built modern egg farms and effected a technical revolution in egg production. The egg farms have automated all their work processes ranging from feeding, watering, and removing hens' excrement to collecting eggs. A workman has only to push buttons at the control panel to get all the work done automatically. Turn on the feeding switch at the feeding hour, and the feed is supplied automatically. Turn on the watering switch when watering is necessary, and water is supplied automatically. If you turn on the egg-collecting switch at the egg-collecting hour, then the eggs roll into boxes and are to be packed automatically. This automated production has not only made people's work easier but enabled one workman to look after a large number of birds. On our egg farms, one person now takes care of 10,000 birds. The automation of egg production has greatly reduced the production cost. The per-egg production cost at our egg farms is nine *jon* at the moment, and we intend to reduce it to five to six *jon* in future. Then, eggs will be available to the people at a still lower price. If egg production had not been automated, it would have been impossible for one person to take care of more than a few hundreds at best, nor would it have been possible to lower the production cost.

The technical revolution is also the way to increase the value of per-

worker output. At present, the per-worker output value is 5,500 *won* on the national average, and that of South Phyongan Province is said to be lower than this. That is a very low level. A man ought to produce work to the value of at least 10,000 *won*. This will increase state savings and make the country rich and strong.

As you can see, labour administration and the technical revolution are closely interrelated, and the two are inseparable from each other. All the officials must always consider how to make work easier for the working people and increase output, how to free them from difficult work, and how to eliminate the differences between heavy and light labour.

You must give full scope to the ingenuity of the broad sections of the working masses in all sectors so as to promote the technical revolution just as the Anju Coal Mine has mechanized production by perfecting a new coal cutter. Both the industrial and the agricultural sector must carry on the technical revolution to save labour to the maximum.

The local industry factories, in particular, must accelerate the technical revolution. For a time they were engaged in a campaign for mechanization and automation, but nowadays they have given it up. They must resume technical innovation with great zeal. The fabrics now produced by local industry factories are not only of low quality but expensive because of their high production cost, with the result that no one wants to buy them.

There is no need to go on producing fabrics which the working people do not want to buy. The local industry factories must introduce mechanization and automation so as to save labour, improve the quality of their products and drastically reduce the cost of production. Otherwise, the working people will not buy the fabrics, and it would become unnecessary to continue their production. The factories which produce such fabrics will have to be abolished or switched over to the production of other kinds of goods.

Because we are inefficient in the technical revolution the demand for manpower increases, instead of labour being saved in step with the development of industry. For this reason we are unable to develop

industry further nor can we speed up the rate of economic progress, which would otherwise be possible.

If we are to develop the economy steadily, we must carry on the technical revolution in the existing industries in such a way as to permit an enterprise, for instance, using a hundred work hands to save half of them and divert the surplus to a new enterprise, or else to let it double its output without taking on additional work hands. This is the way to solve the problem. If the demand for labour goes on increasing with the development of industry, the rate of industrial progress will be unable to outstrip that of the natural population growth.

Of course, our industry has not yet reached a level where it can automate all its production processes. So we cannot say that all production processes must be automated immediately. But if we make effective use of the existing assets, we can mechanize many of the operations, which will save a great deal of manpower and relieve the working people from burdensome work to a considerable extent. Today the technical revolution is very sluggish in the light of the Party's requirements and of the existing possibilities. This is because our officials are not committed to emancipating the working people from backbreaking labour, and do not give the matter deep thought or strive to increase output with a small outlay of labour. It is a manifestation of the bourgeois ideology that one does not feel regret at seeing working people engaged in exhausting work. We must strongly oppose this wrong ideological attitude which lingers in the minds of our officials and urge all of them to promote the technical revolution by mobilizing all the reserves and possibilities.

To proceed, you must improve rural manpower administration.

This year the agricultural sector is confronted with a colossal task, but the rural manpower situation is very severe because a large number of young people are serving in the army away from the rural communities, and because the source of manpower reserves is limited as an aftermath of the Fatherland Liberation War. So we can say that it is the key to agricultural production this year to improve rural manpower administration.

First of all, the rural work force must be kept in place, lest a single work hand be transferred elsewhere. Even soldiers should be recruited from cities and workers' districts for the time being, and not from the rural communities.

This year we must increase manpower support for the country areas. The Party has already given instructions to the People's Army units in South Phyongan Province to help the rural communities. In the busy farming season, factory and office workers, university students, higher technical school students and middle-school children must lend a helping hand to farmers, for approximately 40 days in each case.

Until the technical revolution is completed in the countryside, soldiers, workers and office workers, students and schoolchildren must all give manpower support to the rural communities. It is advisable for the senior officials of the farm machinery institute and the tractor factory in particular to acquire experience in rural work. At the moment, the tractor factory is not increasing its output nor is it developing production. If the manager or the chief secretary of the Party committee of this factory visits the country areas and makes an attempt at transplanting and ploughing, he will understand more fully how difficult farming is, and only then will he endeavour to improve the quality of tractors and increase their output so as to promote the technical revolution.

Since a large number of soldiers, factory and office workers, and students are going to give manpower support to the rural communities, the officials in charge of agriculture must pay particular attention to the efficient use of this manpower. It would be a good idea to allocate the People's Army units, institutions, enterprises and schools to each county so as to facilitate their effective use. This will encourage the supporting organizations to develop a greater sense of responsibility, and the farms to strive to use these additional work hands to good account.

According to the students who have been to work in the countryside, the people who went to help the farmers did farm work with great enthusiasm, whereas the farmers, the masters of farms, could be seen wasting their time, and managerial workers were

sauntering about with briefcases under their arms. This should never happen. In the busy farming season, all the rural people including the chairmen of management boards, the ri Party secretaries, and the announcers with the exception of the bookkeeper and the nurses of nursery schools should go out to the fields in work clothes to do farm work. It would be unreasonable if the masters of the countryside loafed on the job when a large number of factory and office workers and students had come to help them.

In addition, work should be organized properly so as to ensure that the farmers can relax properly and work with high efficiency.

I was told that in the busy farming season farmers on a number of farms are urged to go to work at dawn and sent home from work late in the evening. This practice should not be repeated from this year onwards. Many workteam leaders are attending this meeting, and I think they are fully aware that such work organization in fact tires people to no purpose and lowers their work efficiency.

During the past guerrilla struggle, good commanders used to rest their men after some time spent on the march. During the break the men whose leggings had become loose were allowed to adjust them and the men who needed treatment of their boils had them treated, and other necessary things were done before they resumed the march. So there was never a single straggler, and the men liked it because they were not pressed hard. But some commanders simply urged their men to move quickly, without even giving them any rest when they needed it, so that some of the men had to drop behind to tighten their loose leggings, others to mend their torn slings, and because of these stragglers the march eventually slowed down, only tormenting the men to no purpose.

If the chairman of a management board or the ri Party secretary is to direct and manage a farm properly, he must learn the art of leadership. Chairmen of management boards must not think that things will go well if they simply urge the men forward. The chairman who knows the feelings of his farm members and knows how to work them, giving them adequate rest, is a competent leader. There is a saying that a

daughter-in-law who has been mistreated by her mother-in-law will not persecute her own daughter-in-law later when she herself becomes a mother-in-law. In the same way, the chairmen who just press the farmers forward are ignorant of the farmers' feelings. In summer, for instance, if farmers return home from work late in the evening, they have to cook and eat supper after ten o'clock. If they are to go to work at five the next morning, they have to rise at three or four and cook their breakfast, and this means that in fact they sleep for scarcely five hours. Five hours' sleep is not enough for people to keep doing heavy work. Because the farmers cannot relax properly at home in these circumstances, they have to sleep on the ridges between rice fields or on the edges of dry fields during the day. It would be much better to have a good rest at home and then work with high efficiency than to sleep in the fields. In future, it should be a principle that work is organized in such a way as to give the farm members enough time to sleep, say, approximately seven hours at home so that they can work efficiently when they are out in the fields.

By improving rural manpower administration in this way, and mobilizing all the people including the soldiers, factory and office workers, and students in the 40 day campaign to support the countryside, South Phyongan Province must attain the target of one million tons of grain this year.

On the subject of labour administration, I should like to emphasize in conclusion that since labour administration is work with people to all intents and purposes, this work must not be corrected by using administrative, technical measures but by intensifying political work among the workers.

Labour administration is work with people, to influence all of them to work willingly and honestly and strive to the best of their abilities. So this work can hardly be done only by the efforts of a few officials in charge of this matter. The problem can be solved successfully only when all the senior officials give priority to this matter and get down to work. Party officials and those in charge of economic affairs and the managerial workers of enterprises must intensify political work among

the working people to encourage them to love labour, to work faithfully by devoting everything to the country and their fellow countrymen, giving full scope to their ingenuity so as to save labour to the utmost and increase productivity.

From the single fact that many people who had worked on the Onchon Farm and the Jungsan Farm left these farms, we can see clearly that both the Party organizations concerned and the senior officials in charge of economic affairs had not conducted political work properly to educate the Party members and other working people in the spirit to love labour. Formerly, these farms had been managed by the People's Army. When the People's Army gave up the management of these farms, the people who had worked there for three years said that they would leave the farms. I have heard that, when asked where they were going, they all answered that they would go to work in factories. This means in the first place that because farming was difficult they wanted to take an easier job, and in the second place that they wanted to go to seek better treatment because their treatment under the care of the county cooperative farm management committees would be a little worse than under army management.

They are Party members. Party members ought to think of making difficult work easier and of building modern socialist rural communities by carrying out the technical revolution in the countryside, pursuant to the Party's policy, and they must lead the struggle to carry it out. But they said they wanted to go to work in factories because farm work was difficult. If everyone dislikes farm work as they did, who will run the farms and how will the people obtain food?

These people are not entitled to Party membership. Party members are revolutionaries, and they must be ready to accept any kinds of difficult tasks if it is for the sake of the Party and the revolution to do so. It is obvious that the people who say farm work is too difficult for them to do, because they are unable to endure a little hardship, will refuse to fight for the revolution at the risk of their lives in case of emergency.

A bad tendency is becoming apparent, not only among these people but even among young people, to seek an easy job, and put difficult jobs onto the shoulders of older people and women. We must strongly fight against this bad tendency. We must intensify political work to encourage all the people to like to work and strive to ease the difficult work, and encourage the young people in particular to bear the brunt of difficult work at all times.

## **2. ON IMPROVING THE WORK OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE**

For a long time we have been stressing the importance of improving the work of the people's committee in keeping with the new circumstances. In my speech at the enlarged plenary meeting of the Party Committee of North Hamgyong Province in 1959, at every place I have visited, and on every opportunity I have had, I have raised this matter as an important task. Last year, the Party Central Committee had the speech at the enlarged plenary meeting of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee reported in the newspaper once again so that it could be studied by the officials. But there has been little improvement in the work of the people's committee.

As we often say, the people's committee is the genuine government of the people. Our people's government practises dictatorship over the landlords, capitalists and other class enemies, but it applies democracy to the working people and serves them. The people have elected the officials of the people's committee in order to let them work in the people's interests. The officials of the people's committee should, therefore, be the servants of the people and assume the responsibility for their well-being.

Nevertheless, these officials do not fully comprehend that they are



the servants of the people and are not willing to take responsibility for their well-being.

Let me give you some examples.

In the vicinity of Waudu, Nampho, on my way back from my inspection of Onchon County a few days ago, I found that the road was awash with melting snow because of a lack of concern on the part of those who were responsible, and that the pedestrians' shoes were all sodden. There was no bench provided at the muddy bus stop, so that the passengers had to stand while waiting for the bus, unable to relax on a seat.

What difficulty is there in making a bus stop comfortable for the passengers? If officials of the people's committee make the slightest effort to become true servants of the people, they will be able to provide the bus stop at least with benches, as well as with shelters to prevent it from getting muddy. How good it would be if women with babies and old people could sit comfortably on benches, while waiting for their bus!

The chairman of the Nampho City People's Committee must be able to see, while driving around in his car, that the roads are not good and that no bus stop is provided with benches. But he does nothing about it. We provided the chairmen of the people's committees with cars to let them travel about the administrative areas in their care, find out what is causing the people hardship, and adopt prompt measures to rectify it, and not to let them drive around as though on a pleasure trip, or give themselves airs.

At present, Nampho as a whole is not properly maintained. The smeltery, factories and other enterprises in the city and its harbour are dirty, and the streets are unhealthy. I should say that Nampho is the filthiest city.

The managers of the industrial establishments in the city must also feel responsible for this neglect. Since Nampho has a large industrial population, these managers ought to work hard to build up the city as its masters. But they are indifferent to the fact that the city of their workers is squalid, nor do they even bother about the shortage of water

from which the people suffer. This is an indefensible attitude.

This indifference is, in the final analysis, due mainly to the fact that the city people's committee or the provincial people's committee do not give them explicit assignments or organize work properly. If Nampho is to be looked after properly, the managers of major factories and enterprises in the city should be given a place on the city people's committee and allowed to participate in the committee meetings and urged to play an active part in its work. But this is not the position at the moment, so that the managers consider the work of maintaining the city as somebody else's affair and do not participate in it as masters.

Not only in Nampho, but in other cities also, we can see that many roads and the surroundings of houses are filthy because they are not properly cared for. If in spring and autumn, the citizens are mobilized to pave the roads neatly with pebbles, or broken pieces of brick at least, it will be comfortable for people to walk about even when snow melts or rain falls, but they do not do it. As a result, the pedestrians' shoes get muddy, which causes them a great deal of trouble.

The people's committee officials also manage trading in a slipshod manner. When I called at a shop on the way to Waudo, Nampho, the shopkeeper was absent because of illness and two shop-girls were at work. They were shivering with cold, because there was no heating. As it was so cold inside the shop the shop-girls were unable to keep the stock in good order. Dusty bowls had not been wiped clean and cloth and other goods were piled up at random.

It is not very difficult to install heating equipment in a shop. At least a heated floor will serve the purpose. If the floor is warmly heated, the girls can warm themselves in turn in the well-heated room and work without feeling cold. This will enable them to keep commodities tidy and serve the people better. But the officials of the people's committee do not consider things like this.

At present, officials of the people's committee do not pay heed to the broken doors of the people's dwellings nor do they take prompt measures to solve the problem of non-staple foodstuffs even when

these have run out; nor do they bother about the people suffering from a shortage of firewood. Some comrades say that they can do nothing about the firewood shortage because the state does not give them lorries. But this is just an excuse. If lorries are not available, they should organize the work of carrying firewood even if it means using oxcarts.

Pressure of other work must never be an excuse for the people's committee officials' failure to take good care of the people's living conditions. We have relieved the county people's committee of the responsibility for directing agricultural work so that it can look after the people better. At present, the county people's committee is in charge of education, public health, commerce, town management, procurement and food administration and so on, all of which directly serve the people. If work is organized skilfully, you will find it very interesting and not too difficult to carry out these functions. Let us take education as an example. Education for the children is given by the state, and is free and compulsory, so there is nothing difficult about this work. All that you have to do with the public health service is to organize work properly, because free medical care is given and everything is provided by the state. Other matters which are in the charge of the county people's committee will work successfully if a little effort is made. However, chairmen and other officials of county people's committees are not directing the work in these sectors, nor do they show much concern for the people's living conditions.

Our officials do not take good care of the people because they still do not have the idea of serving the people faithfully. If they had the clear ideological belief that they should serve the people faithfully, the officials of the people's committee would not be as critical as they are now, and they would not be unconcerned about the living conditions of the people.

With the clear understanding that they are servants of the people, the people's committee officials must pay great attention to their living conditions. They should endeavour to ensure the prompt supply of non-staple food to the people, take steps to build houses if there is a

housing shortage, and examine every aspect of the people's living conditions.

The solid foundations of an independent national economy have now been laid in our country. So, if they try, the people's committee officials can easily solve the problem of housing repair and all other matters relating to the people's living conditions.

If the people's houses are to be repaired regularly and properly, the state fund for housing repair must be used for this purpose. At the moment, some officials divert this fund to other purposes without authority. They must not do so. From now on, there should be strict discipline so that the fund for housing repair cannot be misused.

In both urban and rural communities, hardware shops should be set up and run efficiently so as to help the people to repair their houses themselves. I have mentioned this matter more than once over a long period, but the officials of the provincial and county people's committees still do not work hard to provide good hardware shops. The people's committees must establish hardware shops and provide the people with facilities to repair their houses themselves. In particular, institutions should refrain from buying up the materials which are needed for housing repair. I have been told that at the moment a small stock of cement or something like that which has been supplied to hardware shops is bought up by institutions so that it is not available to other people. This practice must not recur in future, and there must be a rule to sell certain items of materials only to the people, and not to institutions.

Cement and similar items should be packed for sale in five or ten kilogramme sacks. This will help the people to repair their damaged floors and kitchens, and they can use them wherever necessary. Glass, too, should be cut neatly to fit the windowpanes. Since the Nampho Glass Factory is in South Phyongan Province, you can call on the workers of the factory to increase the output of glass. Then, you can sell the amount needed by the people.

Local industry factories should make nails, nail pullers and so on with by-products from the Kangson Steel Plant, saw wood into planks

and bars for the framing of doors, and manufacture large quantities of window paper, wall paper and floor paper for the market. Because there are many local industry factories in South Phyongan Province you can produce all the necessary materials for housing repair and, therefore, can run hardware shops well.

We must radically improve the work of the people's committees so as to ensure that the people live free from any discomfort. The chairmen of the people's committees must become the people's faithful servants who champion their interests and strive for their happy lives.

An important task of the people's committee is to direct school education properly. It must pay particular heed to education in schools and ensure that schools teach our younger generation properly.

The most important thing in educational work is to see that the teachers give a good education to all the schoolchildren, without being influenced by the "theory of genius". Some of the teachers are said to be still talking about gifted talents and aptitudes and tend to teach their pupils in accordance with these qualities. They must not do so on any account. Admitting the existence of gifted talents and aptitudes, saying that one pupil is unusually clever, that another is good at mathematics, and that still another is good at something else, is an idealist point of view. Of course, some pupils may be relatively quickwitted, and others a little slowwitted, and different pupils may have slightly different aptitudes and tastes. Physical characteristics also vary from one child to another. But there is no gifted talent or taste, nor is there an inherent talent.

How good pupils are at their work and in what subjects they take an interest depends mainly on how their teachers teach and guide them. If they teach their pupils well and guide them correctly in accordance with the Party's policy, all the pupils will show good results and grow up to be excellent people. We must, therefore, see to it that the tendency of discriminatory education, the tendency which is due to the so-called "theory of genius" affecting teachers, is thoroughly eliminated, and that all the pupils are given good training to become competent workers in the future.

Drafting good curricula is a very important part of education. There is an opinion that too many subjects are taught for the third, fourth and fifth years of the middle school. It is advisable that the curricula for the primary and middle schools should be examined. It also seems to me that the curricula give too little time to the lower grades, and too many subjects and too much time to the higher grades, especially to the last year of the primary school, and to the third, fourth and fifth years of the middle school. In future, the curricula of the primary and middle schools should be examined in detail, and the subjects and time for school years should be increased or reduced according to the need, so that teaching is done to suit the particular situation.

School textbooks must also be well edited, and large numbers of reference books must be published for the pupils. There are many good educational materials in our country, which can be used for the compilation of reference books. The stories of revolutionary martyrs who fought well in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, and accounts of the heroes of the Fatherland Liberation War should be well written and published. These will be a great help in educating pupils. Young people and schoolchildren are fond of reading these books and are eager to follow the examples set by worthy people after doing so. We must ensure that such good material is collected for the publication of many more books which are necessary for education purposes.

However, this does not mean that the reference books which are to be published must contain only Korean material. These books must mainly deal with our own information, but foreign materials should also be published if they correspond to our particular conditions and are useful for educating our pupils.

If we are to train the pupils properly, we must organize their extracurricular activities sensibly and radically improve their education.

Now that universal nine-year compulsory technical education is in force in our country, all the young people and children are supposed to study and lead an organizational life at school until they are 16 or 17

years old. So the teachers must assume the responsibility for educating schoolchildren.

At present, however, schools lack the sense of responsibility needed to train the younger generation into becoming excellent revolutionaries for the future and do not educate them in accordance with a careful plan. Since the parents of the pupils all go to work, the schools should strengthen the organizations of the Children's Union and of the League of Socialist Working Youth so as to organize the pupils' extracurricular activities properly. But they are not doing this, and the pupils have time to make mischief and some of them misbehave.

In order to educate young people and schoolchildren properly, we must strengthen their organizational life.

During our past revolutionary struggle, we had experience in the guidance of youth work and work among children, and also in the guidance of the revolutionization of rural communities. At that time, with a few teachers in each village under our control, we strengthened the organizational life of the young people and children by combining our efforts with the teachers. We were very successful and we were able to revolutionize a large number of young people and children.

If schools encourage the pupils to lead a good organizational life under a carefully prepared plan, none of them will misbehave, and all of them will be trained to become excellent people.

The Children's Union and the League of Socialist Working Youth must organize the extracurricular activities of the pupils efficiently. It is desirable that, when going home after school, the pupils should be taught to walk in file, review their lessons in groups at home, and play together as far as possible. If the pupils are organized to lead a collective life at all times in this way, they will develop a stronger collectivist spirit, study better and behave themselves better.

In addition to strengthening the organizational life of the pupils, they should be taught to value and take good care of state and public property and do good things for society and the people. This is one of the most important points in communist education.

We must teach all the pupils to acquire from childhood the habit of valuing and taking good care of communal property as their own, and of working devotedly for society and for the people. In this way they will be encouraged to keep their schools in good condition, and their houses and villages clean; to kill flies, rats, mosquitoes and sparrows; to do gleaning, tree planting and various other good things of their own accord whenever they have spare time. No matter how well-informed one might be, one will be useless if one does not work for society and the people, dislikes to help others, and only seeks one's own personal comfort. We must train the younger generation to become excellent communists who work by devoting everything they have to the good of the Party and the revolution, and of the country and the people.

We must not only teach the young people and children knowledge and morality but also train them physically. In particular, the schools must widely organize physical training and sports which will strengthen their bodies and promote their growth.

If they are to improve school education as required by the Party, the people's committees at all levels must pay close attention to this matter. In future, the people's committee should improve its direction of school education, strengthen the ranks of teachers and intensify the struggle to working-classize and revolutionize them, under the guidance of the Party organizations concerned. And school buildings have to be built as soon as possible to overcome the shortage of classrooms. Various other problems relating to education must be solved before it is too late, so as to expedite nine-year compulsory technical education.

### **3. ON IMPROVING PARTY WORK**

Since I have spoken a great deal about Party work, I am going to stress only a few important matters.



As you all know, our Party, as a party in power, is the General Staff of our revolution, which leads and moves all institutions and organizations in our country, as well as all the people. In other words, our Party is the guiding force which shows the path for all the people to follow, indicates the direction of our revolution, educates the people and leads them along the road to victory. In order to increase the position of the Party, the guiding force of our people, it is necessary for all Party organizations to do their work well.

What, then, are the important things in Party work?

The first and foremost thing is to lead the masses as required by the policy of the Party Central Committee. Figuratively speaking, Party organizations must not row the boat at random but steer it in the direction indicated by the Party Central Committee. Party organizations must perform the function of leadership to the full in all spheres and assume responsibility for the work of all sectors.

To this end, it is, above all, essential for Party organizations to bring Party policy home to Party members and working people and give priority to political work.

If our revolution and construction are to be given a strong impetus, our work must be successful in all sectors, and this requires everyone to be actively involved. To stimulate the people and mobilize the masses in carrying out the revolutionary tasks, we must provide them with a clear understanding of Party policy. To work unremittingly to explain and bring home Party policy to the masses is the primary task of Party organizations. By means of Party policy the Party organizations must educate the officials of state and economic bodies, including the people's committees and those of public organizations, and Party members; in turn Party members must teach the masses. In this way they will ensure that all institutions and organizations and all the working people implement Party policy thoroughly. Giving priority to political work in this way is the method of Party work.

At present, Party organizations are educating Party members and working people in Party policy in a very perfunctory manner. The economic departments of the Party, in particular, do not keep in close

touch with the masses or educate them in Party policy effectively. That is why they cannot achieve greater success in their work, although they could do so.

Unless the masses are well informed of Party policy and unless officials and working people are encouraged to work willingly for its implementation, things will not proceed well, in either industry or agriculture. As we have seen at this meeting, work was very successful in those sectors where people clearly understood Party policy and persistently endeavoured to carry it out, and was not successful where this was not the case.

This is eloquently illustrated by the case of the Kangson Steel Plant.

In the spring of 1967, because of an acute shortage of electric power, the Party instructed that the plant should repair furnaces and collect an adequate amount of granulated and scrap iron so that when the power shortage would be eased in the rainy season, it could speed up production in the second half of the year and recover the loss incurred in the first half. We also stressed this point more than once by telephone. The management of the plant, however, paid only lip service to this matter, working in a casual manner. They made no preparations to increase the output of steel in the second half of the year as instructed by the Party. Because of this, they could not make up for the loss in production which they had suffered in the first half, even after the power shortage was alleviated that summer.

Last year the plant again failed to produce as it should. When we were directing the work of North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee last year, we sent for the manager of the Kangson Steel Plant for the explicit purpose of giving him the task of making efficient production preparations so as to put it on a steady basis. But I was told that the rolling equipment had to stand idle for nearly a month because of the failure to maintain an adequate reserve of oil.

For a long time our Party has stressed the need to store raw materials and other necessities in reserve for three months at least. In particular, the Party had told the management of the Kangson Steel Plant on many occasions that they must build an oil tank and that if it

was impossible to do this, they should dig a large underground tank to store oil. In spite of this, they did not do so. They simply trusted to luck in their work. The plant used up the oil supplies as soon as these were received, instead of following the instructions of the Party. Consequently, when the supply of oil was suspended for some time, the plant was compelled to stop the operation of its rolling equipment.

As a result, last year the plant failed to fulfil its plan for the production not only of steel but also of structural steel and thus hindered the development of the national economy to a considerable extent.

In the Kangson Steel Plant supply service is also not satisfactory because the instructions of the Party are not being followed. Long ago the Party Central Committee summoned the senior officials of the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Kangson Steel Plant and gave them a concrete task of improving their supply service. Since then, the Hwanghae Iron Works, on the basis of state investment, has built a large stock farm, introduced a sprinkler system in vegetable fields and expanded the chicken plant. Now, the workers there are supplied with milk, eggs and plenty of vegetables and each of the men staying in the hostel eats 100 grammes of pork every day. In contrast, the Kangson Steel Plant has not taken good care of the dairy cows and the pigs which were supplied by the state and it has not built a chicken plant. Worse still, in spite of the fact that it produces a large quantity of steel pipes, it had not even introduced a proper sprinkler system in the vegetable fields. So it is obvious that the workers there are not properly supplied with non-staple foodstuffs.

In the past everything has gone unsuccessfully in the Kangson Steel Plant because its senior officials themselves have not studied the Party's policy deeply, nor have they properly filled the workers with it, nor endeavoured to implement it.

Everything depends on whether or not Party policy is brought home to the senior officials and the masses and whether or not people are persistent in carrying it out. Experience shows that success in work depends largely on the ideological consciousness of officials. Nothing is impossible if the senior officials and the masses are firmly equipped

with Party policy and work hard to implement it.

Party organizations must disseminate Party policy among the Party members and working people with enthusiasm, give them a clear understanding of the Party's intentions, and encourage everyone to uphold Party policy wholeheartedly and endeavour to implement it. Only then can all problems arising in the revolution and construction be solved successfully.

It is not very difficult to propagate Party policy among the masses and equip them with it. All that is needed is for Party officials to visit lower units regularly and help their subordinates in their work, making tireless efforts to educate people in Party policy individually and collectively. In other words, they should have talks with individual people and organize lectures and short courses on Party policy, that is, tirelessly disseminate Party policy by using all possible means.

Party organizations must radically improve the education of Party members and working people in Party policy so as to equip all the people firmly with this policy and actively mobilize them in the struggle for its implementation.

In addition, it is very important to organize proper inspection of the implementation of Party policy.

When you have disseminated Party policy among the masses, arranged its implementation and organized them to participate willingly in its implementation, you must not fail to inspect how the Party's policy is put into effect. Party organizations must always check whether Party policy is correctly executed or not and must know what shortcomings are revealed in implementing it. They must help them to correct mistakes promptly and strive to ensure that Party policy is carried out.

Another important thing in Party work is to do work with people well.

As we always say, work with people is basic to Party work. The proper performance of work with people makes it possible to achieve success in mobilizing the masses to carry out the revolutionary tasks and, further, to speed up the building of socialism and communism. So knowing how to work among the people is very important.

Not only the Party Central Committee but the provincial Party committees and other Party organizations must work among the people efficiently. The provincial Party committees should work efficiently with the Party cadres in provinces, counties, factories and enterprises and the officials of administrative organs and public organizations. County Party committees should work not only among the county and ri cadres, but also among the Party members; and factory Party committees among the cadres and Party members of the factories.

Party organizations should work with cadres and Party members regularly and systematically. They should take into good account everybody's character, tastes, and preparedness and so on. When anyone reveals shortcomings, they should educate him by persuasion and admonition and, if necessary, severely criticize him. In this way, they should ensure that cadres and Party members do not commit mistakes and, equipped with the ideology of the Party, work well, true to the intentions of the Party Central Committee.

The most important thing in work with people is to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system among cadres and Party members.

As experience shows, those who depart from the Party's monolithic ideology do not study our Party's policy, look around in an attempt to see if there is anything good elsewhere and end by ruining their work.

We must equip all Party members and working people firmly with the revolutionary ideology of our Party and closely rally them around the Party and lead them along the one road which it indicates.

Today, great-power chauvinism, revisionism, "Left" adventurism and other unsound ideologies are being spread around us, and the US imperialists are waiting for a chance to invade the northern half of Korea all the time. In these circumstances, if people are not firmly equipped with our Party's monolithic ideology, they may slide into revisionism or "Left" adventurism and, worse still, they may fear and hate to fight against the enemy. This would result in the destruction of our revolutionary cause.

Party organizations must work properly among the people to equip all cadres and Party members with the Juche idea of our Party and must increase the struggle to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system among them. Even those who are fairly well equipped with the monolithic ideology of the Party, as well as those who have not acquired it, should be armed more firmly with the revolutionary idea of the Party. In doing this, they must see to it that there is no one in the Party who is infected with the slightest revisionism or "Left" adventurism and that all the people breathe the same air with the Party Central Committee and vigorously advance along the road indicated by it.

Another thing to be stressed in work with people is that officials should have a proper understanding of and attitude towards women.

The Party has emphasized for a long time the necessity for training women cadres, and more than once, at meetings of the departmental heads of the Party Central Committee the task has been given of eliminating mistaken attitudes towards women and training them as socio-political activists in great numbers. In spite of this, our officials do not implement the Party policy on this matter properly because they have not rid themselves of their outdated views.

We should categorically reject the outdated conception like the "principle of wise mother and good wife" which derived from feudal-Confucian ideas. Why should women confine themselves to their homes just to attend to their husbands, cooking food and mending clothes? If they are trained well, women, like men, can pursue a career in literature, philosophy or engineering and can distinguish themselves as socio-political activists.

In those days when we waged the revolutionary struggle there were many women revolutionaries. Today, in south Korea, too, many women faithfully carry on the revolutionary struggle without yielding to the enemy in the slightest.

At present, however, our officials believe that women are able to perform no other revolutionary work than to serve as chairmen of the Women's Union organizations at best. Women are human beings, just like men, and they account for half the total population of our country.

Why, then, can they not become cadres and direct men? In the final analysis, women are not trained to be cadres because our officials have the wrong concept and attitude towards them and the outdated feudal-Confucian ideas are working in their minds.

It is because our officials retain these old ideas that they hold women back from playing their part even when they are promoted to cadres. I am told that a certain man is displeased with his wife working as a cadre and torments her, with the result that she cannot perform her duties properly. This is due to the fact that Party organizations neglect the education of men. Moreover, it is said that if a man respects his wife and helps her to carry on social activities with success, some people mock him, saying that he is submissive to his wife. They are absolutely mistaken.

Because survivals of the old ideas persist in their minds in no small measure, our officials refuse to train women to be cadres and tend to look down upon women cadres. Once I held talks with vice-directors of the departments of the Party Central Committee. When the talks were over, a woman vice-director stood behind the male vice-directors and went out after them. Perhaps she herself thought that she should go out after all the men. On seeing this, I thought that cadres in the Party Central Committee themselves still had the wrong attitude towards women. When this is the attitude of the officials of the Party Central Committee towards women, there is no need to mention those of provinces and counties.

Party organizations should see to it that officials acquire a correct concept of women and make efforts to train many women to be cadres.

Nowadays it is noticeable in the country areas that men walk about with briefcases under their arms while women all work in the fields. This will not do. Men should do difficult work and instead women should be allowed to go around carrying handbags.

Party organizations should educate men properly so that in society women are respected and their socio-political activities are fully guaranteed. In schools, too, students must be taught to respect women.

#### 4. ON MAKING PROVISION AGAINST WAR

In conclusion I should like to touch on making provision against war.

The situation in our country is still tense and our enemies are becoming more vehement in their aggressive moves against the northern half of Korea.

We must be fully prepared to repel a possible invasion by the US imperialists and to counter their moves to unleash war.

As we always say, we must prepare well against war in two respects, that is, in terms of both material and politico-ideological preparations.

According to the Party's policy, we must strengthen the material and technical foundations of the country and increase the output of different types of weapons and build up greater reserves of materials. Only when we have adequate reserves of materials can we fight confidently in the event of war and win. But we cannot say that material preparations alone are enough to fight a war.

If we are to counter war, politico-ideological preparations must be made properly, as well as material preparations.

What do we mean when we say that we must make politico-ideological preparations to deal with a possible war? It means that all cadres, Party members and the working people should become staunch revolutionaries who are ready to volunteer to serve at the front at any time in the event of war and fight without hesitation even at the cost of their lives for the sake of the Party and the revolution.

But we cannot yet say that our officials are all prepared politically and ideologically in this way. Some of them appear to have a strong revolutionary spirit in peacetime because, for instance, they are chairmen, vice-chairmen or secretaries, but they may not want to go to the battlefield when they are really told to do so.



Since our officials are not well prepared politically and ideologically, there are some cases of indolence and slackness. Even now some people misbehave after drinking liquor at a wedding; some are morally loose, and others avoid study sessions and do not observe Party discipline properly, I am told. At present, the Yankees are looking for an opportunity to invade the northern half of Korea, and the south Korean people and revolutionaries are fighting in all parts of south Korea, risking their lives on the gallows, or languishing behind bars. How can we be idle in this situation?

We must on no account become slack. Indolence and slackness are not tolerated in the revolution. You must live in a state of constant preparedness and resolutely fight against the slightest manifestations of indolence and indiscipline. All our officials must be alert and work better and increase preparations for war, always remembering the south Korean people and revolutionaries.

We must launch a vigorous struggle to revolutionize and working-classize all Party members and the working people by intensifying the ideological revolution, following the policy laid down by the Party Conference. In this way we must ensure that the Party members and the working people acquire a thoroughgoing revolutionary world outlook, staunchly fight to build socialism and communism in Korea in any adversity, drive out the US imperialists from our land and reunify the country as soon as possible and that they are ideologically ready to devote their lives to the Party and the revolution without hesitation.

Today the revolutionary resolve of the south Korean revolutionaries and patriotic-minded people is very strong. Comrade Choe Yong Do, the late chairman of the South Jolla Provincial Committee of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in south Korea, was a staunch revolutionary who fought devotedly, dedicating everything to the motherland and the revolution. He joined the struggle to set up the people's committee, a truly people's government, in south Korea immediately after liberation, and continued the hard-fought battle against the US imperialists and their lackeys. At the time of the Fatherland Liberation War the Yankees murdered all his family. But he

never abandoned his revolutionary constancy nor did he cease fighting for a moment. Even when arrested and imprisoned by the enemy, he, with a firm resolve to devote his life to the revolution, did not yield to the enemy's barbarous torture of all kinds and remained faithful to the revolutionary principle to the last moments of his life.

Our officials must all follow the example of such south Korean revolutionaries and be ideologically prepared to devote their lives to the revolution without hesitation. Only when our officials are all prepared in this way can they be regarded as being firmly equipped with the revolutionary idea and well prepared politically and ideologically.

We must deal with the aggressive stratagems of the US imperialists by making the necessary preparations and fight devotedly for national reunification. Until we have driven the US imperialists from our country, we cannot say that our Party has fulfilled its duty. How can we allow the Americans to keep half the country under their rule? We must not fail to drive them from our country and reunify the country as soon as possible. This is the supreme national task which does not brook a moment's delay. In the future, too, as required by the Party's policy, we must carry on economic and defence construction simultaneously, holding a sickle or hammer in one hand and a rifle in the other, and make full material and politico-ideological preparations for a war which might be started by the enemy.

I am firmly convinced that you will greet the Fifth Congress of our Party by bringing about a great change in the work of South Phyongan Province through a vigorous struggle to carry out the line set forth by the Party Central Committee and all the tasks which were discussed and decided on at the provincial Party conference with success.

# **ON SOME THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY**

**Answers to Questions Raised by Scientific  
and Educational Workers**

*March 1, 1969*

In April 1968 I received some questions from scholars, through the Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee, concerning problems of socialist economic theory. But, as the situation in the country was tense and we had the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic last year, I had little time to spare for a prompt answer. Recently, I was told that some senior economic officials and scholars still have no clear understanding of these problems and are arguing about them. Therefore, I am now going to give my opinion on these questions.

## **1. THE QUESTION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SCALE OF THE ECONOMY AND THE RATE OF PRODUCTION GROWTH IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY**

A “theory” is now current amongst certain economists to the effect that although the economy grows without interruption in a socialist

society, its rate of growth cannot exceed 4-5 or 6-7 per cent a year after a certain stage of development is reached. I am told that some of the leading workers in our state economic bodies also argue that, even if our industrial output increases by only 6 or 7 per cent a year, that is sufficient, since production in capitalist countries barely increases by 2 or 3 per cent a year.

They base this argument on the assumption that the reserves for production growth diminish in the period of reconstruction as compared with the previous period of rehabilitation and that, accordingly, as the economy develops and its scale expands, the possibilities for increasing production are reduced. In other words, they contend that the further industry advances, the more the reserves for growth diminish and the slower the rate of increase of production becomes. In our country, too, they say, there were plenty of growth reserves in the postwar rehabilitation period, but these reserves are no longer abundant today, when the basis of socialist industrialization has already been laid and we are in a period of all-out technological reconstruction of the national economy, and therefore the high rate of increased production cannot be maintained.

People who think in this fashion are either unaware of the true advantages of the socialist economic system or they do not wish to see them.

A socialist society has unlimited potential for developing the economy at a continuous high rate which would be inconceivable in a capitalist society, and the further socialist construction advances and the stronger the economic basis grows, the greater this potential becomes.

In a capitalist society production cannot grow steadily, because the process of reproduction is periodically interrupted and much social labour is wasted because of the crisis of overproduction. In a socialist society, however, all the labour resources and natural wealth of the country can be utilized in the most rational way, and production can be raised continually according to plan. This potential for production growth will always increase as long as the balance between the

branches of the national economy is rationally maintained and the country's economy is coordinated well by strengthening the economic organizing functions of the state of proletarian dictatorship and improving the economic management capacity of officials. Since the socialist state controls, coordinates and carries out production and distribution, accumulation and consumption according to plan, it can allocate large amounts to accumulation and make the most rational use of funds, and in this way carry on socialist reproduction steadily on a larger scale.

The production relations of socialism open a broad highway for unrestricted development of the productive forces; the socialist state, by making use of this potential, can develop technology rapidly, according to plan. The replacement of outmoded technology by a new one and then by a still newer one, the mechanization of manual labour and the further development into semi-automation, and then from semi-automation on to automation: this is a law which governs the construction of socialism and communism. It is a self-evident truth that in a socialist society, with the rapid development of technology, labour productivity increases continuously and production grows at a high rate.

In a socialist society, the people's high revolutionary zeal is the decisive factor which forcefully drives the development of the productive forces. The essential superiority of the socialist system lies in the fact that the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, work with conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative for the country and the people, for society and the collective, as well as for their own welfare. In a capitalist society the working people are not interested in the development of production and technology at all, for they work against their will, forced by the threat of unemployment and hunger. But in a socialist society the working people work with enthusiasm for the development of production, because they are deeply aware that the fruits of their labour are their own, their people's and their country's. The more the proletarian party and state fulfil their proper functions of strengthening the ideological revolution among the

working people and gradually eliminating the survivals of old ideologies from their minds, the more the working people will devote their talents and strength to the development of socialist production. In this way, continuous improvement and innovation will be brought about in all aspects of economic management, the organization of production and manpower, and the advancement of technology.

All this testifies to the utter fallacy of the “theory” that in a socialist society the reserves for increasing production gradually diminish and that production cannot be kept increasing at a high rate as the economy develops and its scale expands.

Practical experience in the building of socialism in our country also irrefutably proves the error of such a “theory”.

To begin with, let me tell you what happened when we were carrying out the Five-Year Plan. The economic life of our country at that time was very hard in general, although our Party members and working people had, on the whole, rehabilitated the ravaged economy and stabilized the people’s living conditions by successfully carrying out the Three-Year National Economic Plan. Furthermore, our enemies at home and abroad were frantically trying to damage the gains of our revolution and demolish our people’s work of construction. Under such circumstances we were confronted by an urgent task, that of speedily laying the foundations of industrialization, in order to drive the country’s economy ahead and improve the people’s living conditions. This required large quantities of rolled steel.

At that time our country had only one blooming mill and its rated capacity was only 60,000 tons. However, 60,000 tons of rolled steel were far from enough, for we had to build the towns and the rural areas, erect factories, and manufacture more machines.

Throughout all the previous arduous revolutionary struggles our Party had trusted the working class and, relying on their strength, had overcome obstacles and difficulties. On this occasion, also, our Party decided to go to the working class, consult them and overcome the difficulties which had arisen.

On the authority of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, we went to the Kangson Steel Plant. When we asked the senior officials there whether they could increase the output of rolled steel to 90,000 tons, some of them shook their heads and said that it would be difficult. So we called the workers together and told them: We have barely managed to rehabilitate the ravaged economy, and now the factionalists have shown their hand against the Party and the great-power chauvinists are putting pressure on us, and the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique are wildly clamouring for a “march north”. But can all this be an excuse for us to become disheartened and yield to the grave difficulties before the cause of revolution and construction? It is unthinkable. We trust only you, the working class, the main force of our revolution, and we have no one but you to rely on. Therefore, to overcome these grave difficulties which are facing our Party, you must keep your spirits high and work hard to produce a great deal and build well, and so promote economic construction more vigorously.

We did our political work in this way, and the workers of Kangson responded with a resolution to produce 90,000 tons of rolled steel. Roused to activity, they worked hard, improving the existing machines and equipment and solving difficult problems, with the result that 120,000 tons of rolled steel were produced that year instead of 90,000. This steel plant was able to raise the capacity of its blooming shop to the present level of 450,000 tons, that is, nearly eight times the rated capacity.

Not only in the Kangson Steel Plant but in all branches of the national economy and in all factories and enterprises, the old rated capacities were scrapped and great innovations were made. Miracles were wrought day by day which astounded the world, and our country’s economy developed at a very high speed. Thus, the Five-Year Plan envisaging a 2.6-fold increase in total industrial output value was carried out in two years and a half, and the plan for major manufactured goods was also fulfilled or overfulfilled on all production indices within four years.

During the seven or eight years which have elapsed since the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, the tasks of the overall technical revolution have been vigorously carried forward in our country, with the result that a number of new branches of industry have been established, our industrial technical equipment has been radically improved, and the volume of production has expanded several times over. If the “theory” held by some people, that with the expansion of the scale of production the rate of growth decreases, were correct, it would have been impossible for our country to keep up the high rate of production growth in the period that followed the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. But in the Seven-Year Plan period, too, the economy has developed continually at a high speed, though our country allocated more of its accumulation than planned for the defence construction in view of the US imperialists’ more pronounced aggressive intrigues. Above all, the national economic plan for 1967, the plan for the first year the Party Conference decision on simultaneous construction of the economy and our defences was in effect, was a tight plan envisaging a 12.8 per cent increase in total industrial output value over the previous year. But we actually overfulfilled the plan by far and raised industrial output by 17 per cent that year. If it had not been for the exceptional flood damage that year, industrial output would have risen by more than 20 per cent. This is attributable to the fact that our Party intensified the ideological revolution among the working people, arousing their conscious enthusiasm and waging a strong campaign against passivism, conservatism and all other kinds of outmoded ideas which were hampering our progress.

Take the Songhung Mine for example.

In 1967, when the mine’s management came up with a very low target plan, the Cabinet persuaded them to raise it a little. Yet, even this was too low to meet the Party’s requirements. So the Party Central Committee, in order to conduct political work among the workers of the Songhung Mine, summoned its cadres, from platoon leaders upwards, to a meeting. There, we told them: “In order to succeed in



carrying out the line of simultaneous economic and defence construction, as set forth by the Party Conference, the Songhung Mine will have to extract more nonferrous metal.” They immediately pledged themselves to mine more than the target set by the Cabinet. In the end, they produced nearly twice as much as they had promised at first.

Let us take another example.

Officials in the machine-building industry said that they had no potential for expansion, so we went to the Ryongsong Machine Factory in 1967 and kindled the flames of innovation. The workers there all rose to the task and fulfilled the increased plan for that year, including the extra production quota, by October 10, two months and 20 days ahead of schedule.

Great reserves for growth were also found in the course of the struggle to carry out last year’s national economic plan.

Responding to US imperialist war hysteria following the *Pueblo* incident, the Party Central Committee addressed an appeal last year to the factories and enterprises in all sectors of the national economy to fulfil all their production and construction assignments ahead of schedule and produce more with the manpower, materials and equipment thus saved.

This revolutionary call by the Party met with a great response in all the factories and enterprises; and many of them, inspired by a burning desire to drive the US imperialists from our soil and reunify the country at the earliest possible date, asked for greater assignments and did a fine job of fulfilling their commitments.

All this shows that we can develop the economy as fast as we wish, no matter how big its scale is, if we do our political work well, in accordance with the line set by our Party, and thereby raise the political consciousness of the masses, arouse their revolutionary zeal and constantly improve technology.

The “theory” that as industry reaches a certain stage of development the reserves diminish and a high rate of growth cannot be ensured in industrial production, has nothing to do with

Marxist-Leninist economic theory. The “theory” that large-scale economies cannot develop rapidly is just a sophistry put forward by some people to justify the fact that their technological progress is slow and their economy stagnant because they have been talking about “liberalization” and “democratic development” instead of educating their working people, who, as a result, have become ideologically slack and degenerate and are idle at their work.

Referring to the immediate tasks of Soviet power after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin put forward the famous proposition: “Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country.” This proposition, though simple, has a profound meaning. I think it is of great importance for building socialism and communism that we have a correct understanding of this proposition and translate it into practice. What is meant by the Soviet power Lenin mentioned? It means proletarian dictatorship itself. Therefore, the working-class state must continue the class struggle and carry out the ideological and cultural revolutions, and thus reform the consciousness of the people and raise their technical and cultural levels, and carry out the programme of working-classizing and revolutionizing the whole of society. Electrification means that we should develop technology to such a high level as to be able to make all the production processes automatic and greatly consolidate the material-production basis of society. To sum up, this proposition of Lenin’s teaches us that communism will be achieved only when, on the one hand, the ideological and cultural revolutions are accomplished and the whole of society is revolutionized and working-classized through the strengthened dictatorship of the proletariat and when, on the other, a solid material and technical basis for a very high level of the productive forces is laid, relying on the fulfilment of the technical revolution.

If we neglect either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the technical revolution referred to by Lenin, we can neither develop the socialist economy steadily at a rapid pace nor build a communist society. We should therefore strengthen the dictatorship of the

proletariat and speed up the technical revolution in order to build a communist society. As Lenin died before he himself could build communism, we must interpret his proposition correctly and carry it into effect. Some people, however, refuse to understand this proposition of Lenin's correctly and put it into effect properly. We must categorically oppose Right opportunism in the field of economic theory in order to boost socialist construction at a higher rate. If we do not oppose the Right deviation in the economic field, and instead weaken the proletarian dictatorship and fail to do political work, thus fostering individual selfishness among the people, and try to induce the people merely with money, we cannot arouse their collective heroism and creative initiative and, accordingly, we cannot carry out the tasks either of technical revolution or of economic construction successfully. If we followed the Right opportunist theory and failed to develop the economy rapidly, we could even find it difficult to provide everyone with jobs and food. In that case, with the very backward productive forces which we inherited from the old society, how could we catch up with the advanced countries and build a communist society where everybody works according to his abilities and gets his share according to his needs? We must reject the Right opportunist theory, thoroughly defend our Party's revolutionary ideas, our Party's theory of economic construction, and carry them through to the end, thus keeping up the grand march of Chollima in building socialism.

## **2. THE QUESTIONS OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION IN COMMODITY FORM AND THE USE OF THE LAW OF VALUE IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY**

I have heard that some economists are arguing about whether the means of production are commodities in a socialist society and

whether the law of value operates in the domain of their production and circulation.

I do not think these questions should be dealt with in the same way. In a socialist society the means of production are sometimes commodities and sometimes not, as the case may be. The law of value will operate when they are commodities, and will not when they are not, because the law of value is a law of commodity production.

Then, when are the means of production commodities and when are they not? To find the right solution to this question, I think it necessary, first of all, to have a clear idea of the properties of commodities and the origin of commodity production.

Commodities are produced not for one's personal consumption but for sale. In other words, not all products are commodities; only those things which are produced for the purpose of exchange are commodities. As will be clear from this, in order for a product to be a commodity certain criteria must be met: first, the social division of labour through which different kinds of goods are produced; second, the seller and the buyer—that is, the man who gives up the right to possess a thing by selling it, and the man who buys and acquires the right to possess it. That is to say, commodity production presupposes the social division of labour and the differentiation of appropriation of the products. Therefore, where there is no social division of labour and ownership is undivided but remains in a unified form, there can be no commodity production.

The continuance of commodity-money relations in a socialist society is also due to the existence of the social division of labour and different forms of ownership of the products. As everybody knows, in a socialist society the division of labour not only exists but develops day by day. As for ownership, there are both state and cooperative ownership of the means of production, and private ownership of consumer goods as well, although, in the course of the socialist revolution, private property is abolished and different forms of economy which existed early in the transition period are gradually fused into a single, socialist form. Besides, the socialist states must

engage in foreign trade during the period in which communism has not yet triumphed on a world scale and national frontiers still exist.

All these are conditions which give rise to commodity production in a socialist society. It goes without saying that in a socialist society commodity production is a production of goods without capitalists and, therefore, the law of value does not operate blindly as in a capitalist society, but within a limited area, and the state uses it in a planned way as an economic lever for the effective management of the economy. Later, when the transition period is over and cooperative property is transformed into property of all the people so that a single form of ownership is established, the product of society, leaving aside for a moment the consideration of foreign trade, will not be given the name “commodity” but simply called “means of production” or “consumer goods”, or some other names. Then the law of value will also cease to operate. Needless to say, even then the social division of labour will continue to develop, but there will be no more commodity production.

Scholars, senior economic officials and many other people are now committing Right or “Left” errors both in the field of theory and in economic management, because they have not fully understood the question of whether or not the means of production are commodities in a socialist society. As a result, some fall into the Right tendency to manage the economy in a capitalist way, overestimating the importance of commodity production and the law of value in the wake of revisionist theory, while others commit the ultra-“Left” error of failing to streamline the management of enterprises and causing great waste of the means of production and labour power by totally ignoring commodity production and the role of the law of value, taking no account of the transitional character of our society. A correct understanding and treatment of this question is of vital importance in socialist economic construction. After all, the question of utilizing commodity-money relations is an important one which the working-class state must settle properly in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Right or “Left” mistakes on this question can do serious harm.

The factor determining when the means of production are

commodities and when they are not in a socialist society should also be found in the differentiation of ownership. In a socialist society the means of production, even when shifted from one place to another, are not commodities as long as they do not change hands, and they are commodities when they do change hands. An obvious conclusion follows from this:

First, when the means of production made in the state sector are transferred to cooperative ownership or vice versa, they are commodities in both cases and the law of value therefore operates; second, when the means of production are exchanged within the bounds of cooperative ownership—between cooperative farms or between producers' cooperatives, or between the former and the latter—they are just as much commodities and here, too, the law of value operates; third, when they are exported the means of production are commodities and are traded at the world market price or at the socialist market price. For instance, when countries such as Indonesia or Cambodia ask our country for machine tools, the machine tools sold to these countries are commodities for which we should naturally receive payment. And when a Federation of the north and the south, though not yet realized at this time, is established in our country in accordance with our Party's proposal for national reunification, and businessmen in south Korea ask us for machines and equipment, we shall have to sell them. In that case the machines and equipment we sell them will be commodities, and the law of value will have to be taken into consideration.

What, then, are the equipment, raw materials and other supplies which are transferred between state enterprises? They are not commodities, because the means of production such as these are manufactured on the basis of socialist cooperation between production enterprises, and even when they are transferred from one enterprise to another they remain under the ownership of the socialist state, and such means of production are supplied not through free trade but under state planning of equipment and material supply. When the state believes it necessary, it provides the enterprises with the means of production,

even if the enterprises do not ask for them, just as it provides the army with weapons. Therefore, the machines, equipment, raw materials and other supplies, which are transferred between state enterprises, cannot be called commodities which have been realized through the operation of the law of value.

Then, what shall we call these means of production which are transferred between state enterprises, if not commodities, and what shall we say is being made use of, if not the operation of the law of value, in fixing the prices of the means of production when they are transferred, or in calculating their costs when produced? It would be correct to say that the means of production transferred between state enterprises according to the plans for equipment and material supply and for cooperative production are not commodities, but assume the commodity form and, accordingly, that in this case the law of value does not operate in substance as in the case of commodity production, but only in form.

In other words, such means of production are not commodities in the proper sense of the word, but merely assume the commodity form, and, accordingly, what is made use of here is not the operation of the law of value in the proper sense of the word, but the law of value in its outward form; and in the case of the production and exchange of means of production, it is not value itself but the form of value which is made use of simply as an instrument of economic accounting.

Then, how do you explain that the means of production transferred between state enterprises are not really commodities but only assume the form of commodities? This occurs because the state enterprises are relatively independent in using and managing the means of production and in running the economy, just as if they were under different ownership, when in fact they are all under one and the same state ownership. Although all the cost-accounting enterprises in the state sector are owned by the state, they independently use the means of production received from other enterprises according to a unified state plan, and must net a certain profit for the state over and above their production costs.

Although such cost-accounting state enterprises are under the same ownership, their independence in management gives the impression that the means of production transferred between them are commodities like those delivered to different owners. Thus, when one enterprise delivers any means of production to another, it does not give them free or at a discount, but hands them over at uniform prices fixed by the state according to the expenditure of socially necessary labour on the principle of compensation in terms of price equilibrium, although they are all cost-accounting enterprises in the state sector. Even between state-owned enterprises, control is kept of things that are mine and thine, and transactions in means of production have to be conducted on a strict cost-accounting basis.

Why, then, should the enterprises within the state sector be granted independence in management, and, if the means of production are not commodities, why should they be delivered and received under strict accounting procedure, on the principle of price equilibrium? That has something to do with the specific feature of a socialist society, which is a transitional one. In a socialist society the productive forces have not developed to such an extent that each person works according to his abilities and each receives according to his needs. And not all people possess so great a collectivist spirit as to value and take responsible care of state property as though it was their own. In many cases, even those who are educated enough are not so concerned about the affairs of other state bodies or enterprises as about their own affairs, nor do they devote themselves to them, to say nothing of those who still harbour such old ideological beliefs as stodgy departmentalism and parochialism, gnawing away at the interests of the state or other institutions and enterprises, putting the narrow interests of their own institutions and localities above everything else. Furthermore, under socialism labour has, of course, become an honourable and worthwhile thing, but not yet life's prime requirement as it will be in a communist society. All these things require that under socialism exchange value be strictly calculated in transactions between the enterprises, although they are all state-owned. If our society had a great abundance of goods



and if the managing staffs and working people of all enterprises were free from selfishness, were as concerned about all state property as about their own, and conducted all the affairs of state as devotedly as their own, then there would be no need to keep accounts on the basis of exchange value.

A proper use of the commodity form and the commercial form in the production and circulation of the means of production is of some importance in methodically increasing the profits of the enterprises and state accumulation, by eliminating the wasteful use of social labour and strengthening the economic regime. It is therefore necessary to make proper use of them in all branches of the national economy and in all enterprises.

Above all, efforts should be made to use the value form correctly in the manufacture of the means of production, so as to strengthen the strict accounting system and control by the *won* over the use of raw and other industrial materials as well as labour power, and systematically lower the norm of material consumption per unit of output.

In the field of circulation, too, the commercial form must be fully utilized, in addition to the drawing up of good plans for the supply of equipment and materials, so as to do away with the waste of machines, equipment, raw materials and other industrial supplies and use them in a rational way. When we set up the material supply agencies and ensured that raw and other industrial materials were bought and sold through the medium of these agencies, we had the intention of ensuring their smooth supply.

Our economic officials, however, do not do this properly. The textbook of political economy, too, simply says that the means of production are excluded from the sphere of commodity circulation and are supplied to enterprises according to plan, but it makes no mention whatever of how and in what form they are supplied. The question of supply of the means of production is all but excluded from the textbook of political economy and the question of the purchase and sale of raw and other materials between the state enterprises, in particular, is not even mentioned.

This being the case, many shortcomings have appeared in the supply of materials. When obtaining raw materials and other supplies, the enterprises take them without worrying greatly about their prices, whether high or low. Moreover, it is not infrequent that valuable materials lie unused in heaps at some enterprises, while at others production is held up for lack of these same materials.

It is true that this is partly due to the defective material supply plans drawn up by the State Planning Commission, but the real problem is the lack of understanding of the fact that the supply of raw and other industrial materials is carried out in the form of trade. That is to say, their supply is carried out in the form of commodity circulation, inasmuch as the form of selling and buying is adopted between the state enterprises, too. But this has been ignored. As a result, if the planning organs make inaccurate plans for the supply of materials, nobody is responsible for them being unused or wasted, and no one notices the mistake.

To remedy this, it is necessary, first of all, to improve the role of the material supply agencies. When these agencies do their work well, they will not be besieged by crowds of people coming to get materials; even when scarce, the materials will be put to effective use, being supplied in adequate quantities to the enterprises which most need them; and the enterprises, for their part, will stop obtaining whatever materials they can get, without considering the need for them, only to leave them unused or waste them.

We must realize that when the means of production such as machines, equipment, raw materials and other supplies produced in factories and enterprises, while remaining under state ownership, are transferred between enterprises, they assume the form of commodity circulation. Then, as prices are important in this case, if defects occur in the plans, it will be possible to correct them during the actual supply process.

Of course, in our society everything is produced, supplied, and consumed according to plan. Moreover, under the ownership of all the people, production, supply and consumption are completely planned. It is not easy, however, to have everything accurately planned. We have

had a planned economy for over 20 years and we have continually stressed the need for the plans to be objective. But planning is still not being done as well as it should be.

This is also true of the supply plans for raw materials and other supplies. Some kinds of materials are left out of the plan and some unnecessary items are included. Then, where should the errors be detected? They should be detected at the supply agencies. That is, they must be complemented and corrected in the course of selling and buying raw and other industrial materials through the agencies.

Besides, even if a material supply plan has been perfectly prepared, it cannot be executed when the supply work itself is not carried out properly. If the commercial form, that is, the selling-and-buying form, is ignored in the supply of raw materials and other supplies and if they are simply supplied according to plan, materials may be used haphazardly and wastefully at the enterprises. Such practices could occur quite frequently as long as our officials and working people are not all communists.

It is, therefore, necessary to improve the role of the supply agencies and make the most of the form of commodity circulation in the supply of raw and other industrial materials. Things must be so arranged that if an enterprise purchases too much of some kinds of materials, it will not be able to buy other kinds, and if materials are wasted, the activities of the enterprise will be greatly affected. Only when such conditions are established in the provision of raw materials and other supplies, will the officials in enterprises keep a close check on their prices and transport costs, treasure and take better care of these materials, and make efforts to lower the norm of their consumption per unit of output.

Now I should like to put forward my views on the question of making proper use of the law of value in the production and circulation of commodities.

In the use of the law of value it is vitally important to fix the prices of commodities correctly. These should be calculated by taking full account of the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism and the law of value.

First of all, the assessment of prices should be based correctly on the socially necessary labour content of the goods. If prices were not fixed on the basis of the outlay of socially necessary labour, the price equilibrium could not be maintained, nor could socialist distribution be handled properly and the development of social production would be unfavourably affected.

Let us take an example. Once I walked into a shop in Changsong County of North Phyongan Province, and there I found a metre of twisted-yarn fabric woven with 200 grammes of yarn priced at three *won*, and a ball of thread weighing 50 grammes priced at 5.4 *won*. This meant that a ball of thread cost twice as much as a piece of dyed cloth made of twisted yarn equivalent to four balls of thread. Indeed, it would seem that a lot of manpower and fairly large production costs were needed to spin thread at the local industry factory, because it was poorly mechanized. But, since the thread was not spun on hand spinning-wheels, its cost cannot be greater than the cost of fabric. And even if the production costs were so high, the price cannot be fixed without taking into account the expenditure of socially necessary labour, and it is unreasonable to fix the price so high.

In addition, when prices are being fixed, low prices should be assigned to the basic consumer goods. It is a matter of course, as I have already mentioned, that the values of commodities should be taken into account in assessing their prices. But this does not mean that the price of a commodity cannot diverge from its value. The working-class party and state should set low prices for the mass consumption goods by deliberately differentiating the prices of commodities from their values. That is to say, rice, cloth, footwear, mosquito nets, thread, matches, school articles and other goods indispensable for the people's material and cultural life should be cheap. This means a proper use of the law of value, and accords with the essential requirement of the socialist system to feed and dress all the working people equally and to make them equally prosperous.

If, on the contrary, we make the price of basic consumer goods high, we cannot fully display the superiority of the socialist system and

may possibly disturb the daily life of the people. If, for example, the prices of fabrics such as the vinalon mixtures which are greatly needed by our people were set high, it would not be possible to have all the people dress well. And if the prices of such school supplies as textbooks, pencils, notebooks and schoolbags were set high, children would not receive a proper training despite compulsory education.

Nevertheless, there is a tendency among our officials to increase the state budgetary revenues by raising the prices of fabrics and other basic consumer goods unjustifiably. As a result, although we produce a large volume of fabrics, 20 metres per capita, the working people cannot afford to buy enough to dress their children well, because the prices are high. No doubt, the major reason why not many fabrics reach the people is that our country does not yet manufacture different kinds of low-cost fabrics. But it should be clearly borne in mind that the mistaken attitude of the officials who seek to secure revenues for the state by raising the price of cloth is also largely responsible for the inadequate supply of cloth to the people. Because of this mistaken action of the officials, the prices of fabrics have kept rising unjustifiably over the past few years.

Unless our officials correct these wrong ideas and work attitudes, the people's living standards cannot be improved rapidly. In fact, it often happens that fabrics do not sell because of their excessive prices and lie on the shelves for a long time and finally have to be sold off at reduced prices. In the long run, this will not only be harmful to the people's living conditions but will make it impossible to guarantee the state budgetary revenues.

Our Party and Government, therefore, fix definite rates on turnover levies and assign lower prices as far as basic consumer goods are concerned and, in particular, ensure that goods for children are priced so low that their production costs are barely recovered, even if the state budgetary revenues are not increased. This principle must continue to be observed.

On the other hand, however, luxury items, costly goods, high-quality suiting and other things which are still in limited supply,

should be priced higher than basic consumer goods in order to control the demand for them. The charges for houses and welfare facilities should also be fixed on the same principle as the prices of commodities. The rents on ordinarily-furnished one-or two-roomed apartments, for example, should be cheap, but those on well-appointed homes with three or more rooms should be high because we do not have many of them. Of course, when our productive forces are developed highly enough to provide all the goods and facilities needed by the people, it will become unnecessary to go to the trouble of taking such measures.

To fix the prices of commodities correctly, we must make them uniform. The unfair prices found so far in some cases were caused by the failure of senior officials of the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance and some other economic organs to exercise control over the fixing of prices on the goods produced by locally-run enterprises, leaving it to the chairmen of the provincial people's committees, on the pretext that these goods were supposed to be of only local importance. Therefore, just as the regional planning commissions have been set up to unify planning, regional price commissions must be established to unify the fixing of prices on all goods, including those manufactured by the local industry enterprises, and the economic organs such as the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance and the Price Assessment Commission should tighten their control over the fixing of prices.

### **3. THE QUESTIONS OF THE PEASANT MARKET IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND OF THE WAY TO ABOLISH IT**

The peasant market represents a form of trade whereby, at definite places, the peasants sell directly to people part of the agricultural and

animal produce, both of the collective economy of the cooperative farms and of the sideline work of individual cooperative members. Though a form of trade in a socialist society, the peasant market retains a number of features which have survived from capitalism. What, then, are these capitalist survivals? They are to be found in the fact that in the peasant market prices are determined naturally according to supply and demand and, therefore, the law of value operates somewhat blindly. The state does not plan supply and demand or prices for the peasant market. Of course, the spontaneous character of the peasant market undergoes certain restrictions as state trade develops and the state control over the market grows. Yet, at the socialist stage the peasant market cannot be completely abolished.

The word *jang* (market-Tr.) gained currency under neither the socialist system nor the capitalist; it is a word which comes to us from feudal society. *Jang* came into being as handicrafts developed in the feudal period. From early times the Koreans have called a merchant *jangsagan* which means a person who does business at *jang*. Thus, *jang* is a backward form of trade which has its origin in feudal society. It is therefore preferable in principle that there be no peasant market—a backward form of trade—under the advanced, socialist system.

But, since the cooperative economy and individual sideline production exist under socialism, it is inevitable that the peasant market should also exist, and this is not such a bad thing. Some comrades seem to consider that the state should even purchase all the sideline products and supply them in a planned way, but they are wrong, and it is not practicable either. As for individual sideline products, the producers should be allowed to consume them and take the surplus to the market to sell or barter for other goods according to their wishes. As for the animal products and industrial crops produced by the collective economy of cooperative farms, the greater part should be purchased by the state, but part should be divided amongst the peasants. They may consume them, or sell them to the purchasing agents, or take them to the peasant market for sale. The peasants should not be forced to sell them exclusively to the purchasing agents, but

should be allowed to sell them to anybody they like. That is the way to make the people's life easy.

The textbook of political economy does not give a good account of the peasant market. It only says that the peasant market produces an unfavourable effect on the development of the collective economy and fosters the peasants' petty-bourgeois ideas and selfishness. But no clear account is provided as to why the peasant market is necessary in a socialist society, what role it plays and when it can be dispensed with.

There is more good than bad in the continued existence of sideline production and the peasant market in a socialist society. We are not yet in a position to supply everything necessary for the people's life in sufficient quantities, through state channels, especially miscellaneous goods for daily use like brooms and calabash-ladles, and subsidiary provisions like meat, eggs, and both wild and cultivated sesame. In these circumstances, what is wrong with individuals producing these items on the side and selling them in the market? Even though it is a backward way, it should still be made use of when more modern ways are not sufficient to cover everything.

Some officials are apprehensive that sideline production, or the peasant market, could revive capitalism immediately. But there is no basis for this fear. If too large kitchen gardens were allotted to cooperative farmers, they might become involved in their individual farming, neglecting collective labour, and this could foster capitalist elements. But the kitchen gardens of our farmers are no bigger than a few dozen *phyong* each, and their individual sideline animal raising amounts to no more than one or two pigs or a dozen chickens or so per household. Just because a peasant grows a few tobacco plants in his garden plot, that will not make it a capitalist economic unit and even if he takes a few chickens to the peasant market and sells them at a somewhat high price, he will not become a capitalist.

But what would happen if the peasant market were abolished by law on the supposed ground that sideline production as well as the peasant market had a harmful effect on the collective economy and fostered selfishness? The marketplace would disappear, of course, but



the black market would remain. Peasants would knock at kitchen doors or hang around the back streets to sell chickens or eggs which they had raised on the side. Then they might be caught and fined or otherwise punished by law. So, forcible abolition of the peasant market would lead to no solution, but might rather inconvenience people and needlessly turn some of them into criminals.

Therefore, as long as the state cannot produce and supply enough of all the goods needed by the people, we must strictly guard against the “Left” tendency to abolish the peasant market so hastily.

When, then, will individual sideline production and the peasant market disappear?

Firstly, they will disappear only when the country is industrialized, when technology is highly developed and when there are ample supplies of all the consumer goods required by the people. No one will bother to go to the peasant market when he can buy anything he wants from state-owned shops, and it will not be offered on the peasant market, either. Suppose cheap and good-quality chemical fibres are produced on a large scale by the factories. Then people will not take the trouble to go to the marketplace to buy expensive cotton; and even if some peasants want to sell it at a high price, it will not sell. Even under the present circumstances, those goods which meet the needs of the people are not traded in the peasant market, they are sold at uniform prices in all parts of our country, in big cities such as Hamhung and in remote mountain villages such as Phothead-ri at the foot of Mt. Paektu. When goods are plentiful and are sold at uniform prices in this way, it amounts to a supply system.

It must be borne in mind, however, that goods which do not meet the needs of the people are traded on the sly or resold at the peasant market, even when uniform prices are fixed by the state. It happens that some people buy goods from the shops and hoard them and sell them at higher prices when they are badly needed by others. Let me take the sale of eggs for example. At present we produce eggs at the chicken plants built in Pyongyang and many other places. But we do not yet produce enough to meet the people’s requirements. So there is a

discrepancy between the state and the peasant-market prices of eggs. Taking advantage of this, the practice of reselling eggs has appeared.

We cannot, of course, arrest the people who have resold some eggs and send them to prison as criminals. As for other methods of control, we can only take some technical measures such as regulating the volume of sale per buyer. Of course, such measures should also be taken, but all we can do with them is just to limit, to some extent, the tendency towards concentration of goods in the hands of a few people. Such measures will not do away completely with the reselling in the peasant market or black-marketeering.

In order to solve this problem large quantities of goods must be produced. If more egg plants are built and enough eggs are produced to fully meet the needs of the people, black-marketeering in eggs will disappear, and buying and selling in the peasant market will also naturally come to an end. If the state satisfies the needs of the people in this way and eliminates from the peasant market the goods which are traded there, one by one, then the peasant market will eventually no longer be needed.

Secondly, individual sideline production and the peasant market will cease to exist only when cooperative ownership is turned into ownership of all the people.

As was also pointed out in theses on the socialist rural question, there will be no more buying and selling in the peasant market when we have converted cooperative property into the property of all the people by integrating the two forms of ownership while steadily raising the leading role of property of all the people over cooperative property.

One of the major reasons why the peasant market exists at present is that the cooperative and individual sideline economies exist, side by side with the state economy.

Therefore, when the two kinds of ownership are integrated into the single ownership of all the people, the individual sideline economy will vanish, due to the developed productive forces and, consequently, the peasant market will disappear and the circulation of commodities

as a whole will become unnecessary. Then products will be distributed under a supply system. At present, we distribute rice and some other indispensable goods to the workers and office employees under a supply system. Needless to say, this system was not introduced because of an abundance of these goods, nor was it introduced under the single ownership of all the people. We have this system with a view to exercising control so that people eat and live on an equal basis under conditions where goods are not plentiful. The system of produce supply which we intend to introduce, when the productive forces are very highly developed and the two forms of property are welded into the single property of all the people, will be different from the one we have now for purposes of control; it will be a supply system aimed at providing the people more effectively with the consumer goods which will be manufactured in large quantities, according to their diverse needs.

To conclude, both the peasant market and black-marketeering will disappear and trade will finally be converted to the supply system only when the productive forces have developed to such an extent that the state can produce and supply enough of all the kinds of goods required by the people, and when cooperative ownership has grown into ownership of all the people.

# **ON SOME TASKS OF IMPROVING PARTY WORK**

**Speech before the Heads of Departments of the Party  
Central Committee and Chief Secretaries  
of Provincial Party Committees**

*March 3, 1969*

Today I am going to talk about some immediate tasks of all Party organizations.

## **1. ON TIGHTENING THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL DISCIPLINE**

I would like first to mention some of the Party's organizational principles which the Party Central Committee and local Party organizations must observe in future, in connection with the matter which was criticized at the Fourth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Committee of the People's Army.

This recent enlarged meeting and the plenary meetings of unit Party committees at all levels exposed and criticized the fact that some officers of the People's Army had committed acts of military bureaucracy and had done tremendous harm to the work of the People's Army.

The military despots in the army not only neglected the execution of the Party line and policy, but rejected Party leadership over the People's Army. They did not report their work to the Party nor did they pass on Party instructions to their subordinates as they should have done. They were absorbed in making themselves important. They abused their authority, threw their weight about, and behaved haughtily. As a result, they went in for individual heroism and finally degenerated into anti-Party, counter-revolutionaries.

Some officials still behave in contravention of organizational discipline, a practice similar to that which occurred in the People's Army. On their inspection tour of factories and local areas, they abuse their authority by telling their subordinates to use money as they please, and by ordering the supply of more goods than are needed. They behave in a despotic manner, by ordering the dismissal of their subordinates at will even without going through organizational procedures.

Our Party's organizational discipline is based on the revolutionary organizational principle of the Party. All Party members are in duty bound to observe this discipline strictly and willingly. We must tighten this discipline and ensure that all officials and Party members abide by it to the letter. We must adopt thoroughgoing organizational measures to prevent the senior officials of the central authorities in particular from abusing their official powers by taking advantage of Party authority on their inspection of provinces.

Vice-premiers of the Cabinet, secretaries of the Party Central Committee and other senior officials of the central authorities must stop convening meetings at will in the provinces and deciding or disposing of matters in hand carelessly. They are entitled to convene meetings in provinces only on the decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and its Secretariat or on the authority of the General Secretary.

The organizational discipline of our Party demands, by nature, that everybody, regardless of his position, should do all work under assignment by his Party organization. Therefore, no individual

officials can direct local Party organizations and administrative bodies or convene any kind of meetings as they wish.

Today, an individual's authority does not exist in our Party, separately from unitary Party authority. Since they belong to their organizations, vice-premiers of the Cabinet can only inspect provinces, call meetings and settle matters which are raised, on the authority of the Premier and of the Cabinet, and secretaries can do so only when empowered by the General Secretary or by the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee. Even in these cases, they must get the approval of the provincial Party committee and the local Party organization concerned.

But it is a different matter when senior officials of the central bodies visit provinces and call consultative meetings on the affairs which concern their specific sectors. When necessary, and according to their plans, they can visit provinces and convene such meetings of the officials concerned.

For example, a secretary in charge of an economic department, even when he is not authorized by a decision of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, may visit factories and enterprises and convene consultative meetings of their managers, chief engineers and other officials concerned to see if production has been organized properly, how equipment is maintained technically, what their output is, and what their problems are in production, and so on. Such gatherings can do no more than exchange the opinions of producers: these meetings are not entitled to make any decision, and, accordingly, the matters debated there do not become effective there and then. If the items discussed are to become effective, they should be brought to the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, to its Secretariat, or to the Cabinet for the necessary decisions to be made. The information which individual officials obtained and the items discussed at local consultative meetings should be reported to the Party Central Committee and its General Secretary. Then, problems which, according to their categories, require settlement by the Cabinet will be discussed at the Presidium of the Cabinet, matters which concern

inner-Party work will be debated at meetings of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, and important questions which are related to economic policy will be considered at the Political Committee for the relevant decisions to be made. Only when the information which was collected by individual officials at subordinate units and the issues raised at the consultative meetings have been discussed and decided on at such meetings, can these decisions become effective.

To proceed, individual officials should not be allowed to punish or dismiss their subordinates at will without going through the organizational procedures.

No official can, or is authorized to, punish or dismiss his subordinates without following organizational formalities. The organizational discipline of our Party does not permit it.

During the past 40-odd years of our arduous revolutionary struggle, we have never peremptorily dismissed people in violation of Party discipline or dealt with personnel affairs contrary to the organizational formalities.

But the military despots, abusing the high authority of the Party and their official powers, have dismissed officials from their posts arbitrarily in the past by totally ignoring organizational procedures. As a result, many people were afraid of them, fawned upon them and followed them blindly. Even now some officials on their local inspections punish or dismiss subordinates without circumspection.

This undisciplined practice must be stopped once and for all, and, in every circumstance, organizational procedures must be followed before officials are punished or dismissed.

What is meant by following these procedures? It means that if an official is to be punished or dismissed, his case should be discussed and decided on collectively by the Party committee which appointed him. For example, if an official who was appointed by the Political Committee, or by the Secretariat, of the Party Central Committee, is to be punished, the Political Committee or the Secretariat must discuss his case and decide on it.

In a battle situation, a commander can, of course, use his authority

to punish on the spot a soldier who disobeys his orders. With the exception of such a special case, the organizational formalities must be observed in all circumstances in punishing officials.

If a senior official of the central authorities finds a culpable subordinate when directing a lower echelon, he should suggest to the Party organization concerned how to handle his case, instead of dismissing him irresponsibly. The Party organization which receives the suggestion must not blindly obey him simply because he is a high-ranking official, but must convene a Party meeting to consider whether the suggestion is justified and examine in detail how the man in question has worked. On this basis, the case should be handled correctly.

Next, officials should make it a rule to inform their subordinates of the Party's policy promptly and correctly.

The policy of our Party mirrors the essence of the intention and thinking of its Central Committee; it constitutes food indispensable for Party members in the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the decisions of the Party and the instructions of the General Secretary must be passed on to the subordinates promptly and correctly.

In the past some officials neglected to do this, and even when they did, they did not convey them correctly in the established order, but in such a way as to make it impossible to distinguish between the General Secretary's instructions and their own statements.

In informing their subordinates of Party decisions or of the General Secretary's instructions, officials must not mix their own words with them; they must say distinctly which are Party decisions and which are the instructions of the General Secretary.

Furthermore, individual officials must not arbitrarily change Party and Cabinet decisions and state laws and decrees.

No one is authorized to change them as he pleases. No decisions of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, for example, can be amended by a secretary or by a member of the Political Committee at his discretion.

When there is a need to amend Party or Cabinet decisions, the



organization which has adopted them must adopt new resolutions or approve the amendments. The decisions of a provincial Party committee, too, cannot be cancelled by a secretary of the Party Central Committee or by the chief secretary of the provincial Party committee at his discretion. These decisions can be revoked only by resolutions of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee or of the provincial Party committee concerned.

No one but the General Secretary or the Premier is authorized to change his directives. What would happen if a secretary or a vice-premier on a visit to provinces arbitrarily changed the instructions given by the General Secretary or altered an arrangement made by him?

Secretaries of the Party Central Committee are assistants to the General Secretary, so they must act upon his instructions and do the work organized by him. To assist the General Secretary in his work, the secretaries in charge of the departments of the Party Central Committee should report to him on the situation and activities of their departments, give him opinions on the policy of their respective sectors and inform the departments concerned of his instructions.

Party discipline must be tightened in future, so that individual officials will refrain from arbitrarily altering Party and Cabinet decisions, state laws and decrees and the instructions of the General Secretary and the Premier. Only then can we prevent the appearance of anti-Party factionalists like those who existed in the Party in the past and, even if such elements do appear, can we forestall them from doing any harm.

Next, all Party organizations should make it a rule to tell the Party Central Committee promptly about any officials who act contrary to the monolithic ideology of the Party.

An official, whoever he may be, is liable to make mistakes, unless he observes Party discipline. An official cannot acquire the monolithic ideology of the Party without effort simply because he is a cadre. Even those who have waged the revolutionary struggle for a long time, can degenerate if they do not make untiring efforts to revolutionize

themselves. Even those who have so far worked devotedly can become corrupt tomorrow if they are not armed with the Party ideology. This is illustrated by the case of the anti-Party elements who appeared in the People's Army.

The military despots in the People's Army spoke ill of the policy of our Party on many occasions. But Party organizations and officials failed in the past to strike out at such anti-Party moves promptly, neither did they report them to the Party Central Committee. The failure to report is due partly to the fact that our officials could not judge whether their doings were right or not. But the main reason is that, lacking Party spirit, they feared possible persecution which they might invite if they reported these misdeeds to the Party Central Committee. Some people even flattered those military despots, instead of informing the Party of their anti-Party acts.

In future all Party organizations and officials must strike hard against people, irrespective of their position, who speak against the monolithic ideology of the Party or slander its policy, and immediately tell the Party Central Committee about them.

The discipline of our Party has not been established by any one individual. It is the revolutionary discipline which we have observed for the 40-odd years of revolution. Party organizations at all levels must thoroughly observe our Party's revolutionary discipline in all circumstances, and at all times.

## **2. ON IMPROVING PARTY DIRECTION OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS**

As I told the ministers and the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees some time ago, efficient planning is important in economic activities.

It can be said that at the moment the major shortcoming of

provincial Party committees in directing the national economy is that they do not control the regional planning commissions, factories and enterprises and thoroughly implement our Party's policy of unified and detailed planning.

Whether or not all economic sectors implement this policy is a vital question which affects the rapid development of the economy. All the officials in charge of economic management must clearly understand the essence of this policy, and must carry it out. If you implement the policy of unified and detailed planning, you will be able to tap a large reserve of labour and materials, to mesh all economic sectors like cogwheels and to remove complexity in planning.

If you are to plan the national economy properly, you must first establish a thoroughgoing system of unified planning.

What is the meaning of unified planning? It means that state planning bodies, and the planning departments of ministries, and of other central authorities, of provincial organizations, and of factories and enterprises are integrated into a single planning system so as to prepare plans under the unified direction of the State Planning Commission. Without unified planning it would be impossible to eliminate departmentalism and to ensure a balanced development of all sectors of the national economy.

With a view to setting up a unified planning system, we instituted the regional planning commissions and placed them under the State Planning Commission so that they work under its direction. This step is of great importance in enabling the planning bodies, which have worked with a parochial attitude, to plan strictly in accordance with the point of view of the state.

The regional planning commission is a rational organization which is capable of planning, based on good information of the requirement of the state and of the producers as well as the specific local conditions and the economic situation of the country as a whole. The regional planning commissions are completely familiar with the production capacity of factories and enterprises in their districts. So they can judge whether the executives of factories and enterprises suggest planning

below or over and above their capacity.

To achieve unified planning, the regional planning commissions must correctly combine the draft production plans of factories and enterprises and forward them to the State Planning Commission. But I can see that these regional commissions are performing their duties as though they had any choice in whether they would do them or not. This being the case, factories and enterprises draft their plans for themselves and send them to ministries and the latter put them together before submitting them to the Cabinet and the State Planning Commission. This is very wrong.

A task should be given to a man according to his skill. Likewise, the regional planning commissions should draw up plans by calculating in detail each factory's capability to increase production or its maximum capacity. Only when they plan meticulously in this manner, can they implement the policy of unified planning as required by the Party.

Next, an important thing in planning is to carry out detailed planning properly. By detailed planning we mean coordinating the economic activities of all sectors of the national economy and the enterprises down to the smallest details.

In the past there was no detailed planning, so that plans were based on rough estimates and sent to the lower units. In planning machine production, for instance, no detailed plan was given which specifies the number of bolts and gears necessary for each machine, but a plan which mentions only the number of machines to be produced—machines calculated in terms of their monetary value. If you issue a plan which only defines the number of items to be produced and their value instead of designating the kinds and specifications, you will be unable to halt the tendency to produce things which are easy to make.

If a plan is made on the basis of the monetary value of the goods to be produced, the factories and enterprises will tend to mass-produce things which are easy to manufacture and which require simple technical processes though the demand for them is small. They will produce only a small number of things which are complex to make, though they are badly needed.

Nowadays this tendency is evident in some factories and enterprises. To fulfil their plans with ease, steel works produce plate steel in large quantities, instead of turning out sheet steel which is rolled through complex processes. They also draw out thick steel wires rather than thin ones. Steel works produce little sheet steel because it takes them more time and requires more technical processes to produce than plate steel. Since there is no detailed planning, the steel works produce large quantities of plate steel which is easy to manufacture, and yet they are judged to have fulfilled their plans and are assessed on this basis.

In order to put an end to such practices, regional planning commissions should plan steel production, for example, in detail, in terms of types, specifications and their use, by taking into account the specific production conditions, before the plan is forwarded to the lower echelons. But they are not doing so. All that they do now is to consolidate the draft plans submitted by factories and send them to the State Planning Commission, and mechanically apportion the state plan between each of the lower units. Last year they were criticized more than once for their careless planning, but their staff members have not made strenuous efforts to remedy this shortcoming. As a result, detailed planning has not yet been implemented properly.

The planners' failure to implement the Party's policy of detailed planning at the moment is not on any account because the Party's policy for planning is vague nor because the workers lack enthusiasm. The Party's planning policy is correct, and the workers are very eager to carry it out. The point is that officials of the planning sector have not wholeheartedly accepted the detailed planning as the Party's planning policy, and that they lack the revolutionary spirit to carry it out at any cost. So they do not have a deep theoretical understanding of the essence of detailed planning nor are they clear about how to plan in detail. They plan mostly by rule of thumb.

At present, the economies of certain countries are not developing rapidly. This is mainly due to the fact that they are not introducing detailed planning properly. A certain country was so engrossed in

gearing production to profit-making, calculating only profitability, that it even neglected the construction of the factories which are necessary for extended reproduction. It tries to build only those factories which can yield economic results quickly and recover the invested money quickly and increase profits. If this is to be removed from economic construction, it is necessary to introduce detailed planning.

A proper use of the law of value is important in the construction of the socialist economy, but it is more important to carry out detailed planning effectively.

The efficient introduction of detailed planning will enable us to ensure a smooth supply of materials and make it easier for the factories and enterprises to produce on a steady basis. The Party organizations must educate the officials properly and give them a clear understanding of detailed planning so that they will implement this policy thoroughly.

If they are to be good at detailed planning, the regional planning commissions must draw up detailed lists of the items produced by the factories and other enterprises in the districts under their jurisdiction.

At present, many sectors of the national economy do not have detailed plans. As a result, the Ministry of Metal Industry supplies to the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 steel of a size which the latter does not want and is storing, unused. If a regional planning commission which has a metallurgical works in the district under its jurisdiction is to make a good detailed plan, it must have the information of the demands of different sectors of the national economy for steel and the output of steel produced by the metallurgical works, in terms of kinds and sizes. The commission must know which size is needed where and in what quantities, how much sheet steel and how much plate steel are required where, and what their output is. Suppose the regional planning commission has the Hwanghae Iron Works in its area, then it must have lists of different kinds of steel produced by this iron works and of the steel needed by different sectors of the national economy, so that it can draw up a plan by dovetailing the details according to the lists.

The regional planning commissions must check the production capacity of each of the factories and enterprises in their districts, list the items and their output, compare the items which are produced in their own districts with those which are made in other districts, and then work out measures to meet the deficiencies by means of cross-reference. Regional planning commissions can make realistic plans only when they do their planning with the knowledge of the demands of other provinces for manufactured goods.

The regional planning commissions must have the information of the items produced and of those consumed in their districts and coordinate them on the basis of factories and enterprises, and the State Planning Commission must do it on a district basis. In this way the policy of detailed planning will be properly implemented at all levels from the districts up to the central authorities.

After drawing up the lists of details, the regional planning commissions should re-examine the lists once in every three months, writing in changes and making any necessary alterations.

In order to perform detailed planning correctly, you must have faith in the strength of the masses and stimulate them. The planning commissions will be unable to make the complicated lists of items and detailed plans of material supply by using only the subjective desire of a few of their staff members, instead of depending on the wisdom of the masses. Because the Materials Supply Commission said that it would introduce detailed planning in the supply of materials, we assigned thousands of planners to it, but they are not equal to the task.

Only when they work by depending on the masses can the regional planning commissions satisfactorily solve difficult problems in detailed planning. Success in this work depends on whether the regional planning commissions rely on the masses in their work or not.

If the regional planning commissions adhere to the Party's policy of detailed planning and work out detailed plans properly by depending on the masses, they can correct the situation so as to prevent impediments to production even when ministries fail to supply materials because of their inefficient work. Therefore, the regional

planning commissions must endeavour to enlist the efforts of the masses to implement detailed planning.

Next, local Party organizations must improve Party leadership of factories and enterprises.

At present, large factories and enterprises are not willing to be under the control of local Party organizations. Since the establishment of the Taean work system in all sectors of the national economy, the industrial enterprises under the central authorities have been placed directly under the guidance of provincial Party committees, not of county Party committees, but the position is that a provincial Party committee, no matter how quickly its officials move around, is not able to give detailed guidance to each of the many factories and enterprises in the province.

At present, county Party committees do not keep under Party control the large factories and enterprises located in the area under their jurisdiction because these industrial establishments are supposed to be under the guidance of provincial Party committees. Since the provincial Party committees cannot give them detailed guidance, no one is well informed of the situation in large factories and enterprises. If Party leadership is given to large factories and enterprises as it is now, economic construction will not succeed.

From now on, the county Party committees must be firm with them and tighten Party control over them.

There is a great difference between factories and enterprises which are under the control of county Party committees and those which are outside their control. It is only when they are under the control of county Party committees that their workers can always keep themselves on their mettle and carry out their revolutionary tasks properly.

In order to tighten Party control of the factories and enterprises which are under central authorities, we must increase the regular staff of the county Party committee even if we have to reduce the organizational structure of the factory Party committee. County Party committees should fill their vacancies with people from factory Party committees, rather than try to get people from elsewhere.



In counties where there are many large factories and enterprises, central county Party committees should be organized; and in counties where there are not many such industrial establishments, new departments in charge of factories should be set up within the county Party committees. The factory Party committees which have so far performed functions equivalent to those of the county Party committee should retain the functions of information work and the like, but must get the approval of the county Party committee on organizational questions including the matter of admitting new members. Only then will factory Party organizations be bound by the county Party committee and accept its tight control.

In order to tighten Party control of the large factories and enterprises, the chief secretaries of the county Party committees must enhance their role. From now on, competent people with a knowledge of economics should be appointed as chief secretaries of county Party committees so that they can control and direct all the economic affairs in their counties.

### **3. ON IMPROVING PUBLIC SECURITY WORK**

The public security service is an important undertaking to protect and defend our Party politically, and to do this is the basic duty of the public security organs and workers. In the past, however, the Ministry of Public Security has not performed security work properly; it has occupied itself with economic affairs.

The ministry has not implemented the class line and mass line of our Party in security work properly, nor has it successfully fought against anti-Party factionalists. Some of its officials were reluctant to accept Party leadership in security work and did not inform the Party Central Committee of the complaints lodged by subordinate units promptly.

It is now most important in improving public security work to

follow the class principle in personnel affairs faithfully, build up the ranks of public security men on the basis of sound class backgrounds and give them a good ideological education.

Firm adherence to the class principle by public security agencies is an essential requirement of public security work; this is a policy which the Party has constantly stressed. Whether the public security organs do it well or not affects success in security work.

The duty of the public security agencies and personnel is to spot undercover spies by all means. If they are engrossed in the production of cars and in sideline work, instead of concentrating on capturing spies, the security men cannot say that they have discharged their duty as the political defender of the Party. Their neglect of their duty is due to the fact that their ranks have not been built up from hard-core elements of the Party who fight in the interests of revolution, and that their class consciousness has not been fully developed.

Developing their class consciousness means providing them with sound foundations, so that they hate the class enemies, protect the Party politically and ideologically, defend the interests of the working class and the socialist system to the end, and fight without compromise against hostile elements.

Party organizations ought to select public security personnel from among the people who have sound class backgrounds and then intensify their political education. No matter how good the people who are appointed as security men might be, they could become lazy and slack and, eventually, corrupt ideologically, unless they receive proper political education.

If they are ignorant of the Party's intention and act contrary to its policy, security personnel cannot claim that they are the political defenders of the Party. They must know how to champion the interests of the Party and protect it politically anywhere and at any time. To this end, they should be given intensified political education and equipped firmly with the Party's monolithic ideology.

In equipping them with the monolithic ideological system of the Party it is important to give them a thorough ideological grounding, so

that they unconditionally accept Party policy and carry it through and fight mercilessly against the class enemy, at no matter what cost, in order to defend the socialist gains. They must know Party policy better than anyone else and possess the revolutionary spirit to carry it out. If they are firmly equipped with the Party's monolithic ideology, they will hate the enemy more bitterly than anybody else and dedicate themselves, day and night, to detecting spies.

In order to intensify the political and ideological training of the public security men, it is important for the ministry to design a good political education programme for them. This programme should comprise subjects on the establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system, the advantages of the socialist system, the sure triumph of socialism and communism, the inevitable fall of imperialism and the safeguarding of the socialist system. It can also cover such practical matters as how to tighten control and establish public order, how to launch the anti-espionage campaign as an all-people movement and so on.

Public security work should be undertaken as a movement involving the whole Party and all the people.

At the moment we are carrying on the revolution and construction under difficult conditions where we stand in direct confrontation with the US imperialists. The US imperialists are resorting to every possible means to destroy the socialist system which our people have set up by the sweat of their brows and at the cost of their blood. The Japanese militarists, too, are increasing their moves to reinvade our country. The south Korean puppet clique, backed by their masters, are bent on sabotage and subversive activities against the northern half of Korea.

The efforts of a few public security men alone are not enough to prevent the sabotage and subversion of the enemy and to uncover spies and hostile elements. Like other revolutionary work, public security activities will only be successful when the Party's mass line is implemented so as to mobilize the whole Party and all the people.

The revolution and construction cannot be carried out by the efforts and intelligence of a few people. The revolution can be made only by

the united efforts of the masses under the leadership of the Party, and this is a law.

You must not try to do public security work using only the security personnel, but must rouse the masses and rely on their efforts in this matter. If public security organs, and Party and mass organizations are mobilized in security work, they will be able to find out everything. The point is how to enlist the participation of the masses in these activities and how public security workers cooperate with the masses.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we formed many paramilitary, semi-civilian organizations such as the Young Volunteers' Army and Children's Vanguard in the guerrilla base in east Manchuria. These organizations acted as shock brigades in production in the guerrilla zone, as combat forces in repelling enemy attack and they also detected enemy spies. This prevented the spies from penetrating the guerrilla zone with impunity, and forestalled the undercover spies before they could act.

Today we are fighting in a more favourable situation than we did at that time. If mass organizations are roused to action in these conditions, they can prevent hostile elements and spies from acting freely.

#### **4. ON SOME ASPECTS OF INNER-PARTY WORK**

Party work is work with people. We have stressed this more than once; at the recent consultative meeting of departmental heads of the Party Central Committee, we also emphasized that from this year onwards we should work mainly with people and with cadres by discarding the outdated work method of usurping administrative functions.

Provincial Party committees and all other Party organizations should radically improve Party work and put more effort into their work with people and with cadres.

It is very important for provincial Party committees to know cadres in their provinces well and keep them working correctly. If they will just set about the two aspects of work–personnel affairs and the guidance of organizational life–nothing will be beyond their reach and they will have at their finger tips everything that is happening in their provinces.

In personnel affairs it is of paramount importance to build up the ranks of junior cadres and raise their qualifications rapidly. Provincial and county Party committees must concentrate on strengthening the ranks of junior cadres, the primary base of the Party, and select the secretaries of primary Party organizations and Party cells from sound people.

To strengthen the Party's primary base is the foundation of our Party's development. The cell is the basic organization of our Party; Party organizations at all levels are based on cells, and above them is the Party Central Committee. If it is not based on sound cells, the Party Central Committee is like a castle in the air. If the Party Central Committee is to be healthy, Party cells must be sound; and if cells are to be sound, the ranks of junior cadres must be pure. But cells, the basic organizations of the Party, are not working as they should. The main reason is that cell secretaries do not play their role properly because of their low qualifications.

A survey of the present cell secretaries in the rural communities shows that most of them are elderly people who took part in the agrarian reform immediately after liberation. Of course, they were young at that time, but since then more than two decades have passed, and they are now veteran Party members who are on the wrong side of 60 or 70.

These cell secretaries do not discharge their duties efficiently at present, even when they want to. The point is not their age but the fact that they do not know how to educate Party members well because they have neglected the study of Party policy for a long time, and their level of political theory is low. Cell secretaries ought to know political theories, some economic theories and how to educate Party members. But some of them lack these qualifications.

On my inspection tour of the rural areas this spring, I visited a village and talked to Party members. Even veteran Party members who had participated in the agrarian reform were ignorant of the per-hectare yield and the total grain output of their sub-workteam. This was also true of the sub-workteam leader. A girl farmer who had finished secondary school, was a little better informed.

There was a similar state of affairs at the Wonhwa Cooperative Farm, Sunan County, according to my recent investigations there. Everywhere I went, I found that elderly Party cell secretaries neglected study themselves and failed to educate Party members properly. This was a common practice.

Nevertheless, we cannot afford to dismiss them now. They took part in the agrarian reform and waged the revolutionary struggle valiantly in the past, and they are people of unswerving revolutionary principle. They hate the enemy more bitterly than anyone else and faithfully carry out our Party's policy. So it would be a good idea to let these people work in an advisory capacity and select cell secretaries from amongst enterprising young people.

Members of the families of those who fell in battle or those who were murdered by the enemy were promoted as Party cell secretaries. But they have not been taught how to work nor have they been given political training. So many of them cannot play their role properly. Because of their minimal schooling and lack of experience in Party work, these people, although elected Party cell secretaries, have no keen political eye to judge the matters with which they have to deal from the point of view of Party principle, nor can they see the essence of problems correctly, nor are they capable of educating Party members properly. The blame should not be placed on them, but on higher Party organizations which have not educated them after their promotion as junior cadres. There is no inherent knowledge of everything. Promotion of people is not the end, but the beginning of personnel administration.

Families of those who fell in battle or were killed by the enemy are highly prepared ideologically, so their promotion to junior cadres is

justified. It is important, after their promotion, to teach them how to do Party work. At the moment, however, Party organizations neglect the education needed to improve the qualifications of junior cadres.

Party organizations must strengthen the ranks of junior cadres and, at the same time, establish the habit of studying hard and teach them well. Circumstances do not permit us to summon all the junior cadres to the capital for training. So it is necessary to organize mobile lecture teams who, with textbooks and lecture plans adapted from those used at the Central Party School to suit specific occasions, will travel about rural communities in winter, giving them training courses.

Another principle which must be followed in personnel affairs is to appoint the right man to the right job.

With the development of the national economy, new industrial sectors have emerged, and the scale of the economy has grown. As a result, we need a greater number of technicians. But some technicians are not working in the right jobs at present, and are engaged in activities which have nothing to do with their special qualifications. According to the recent investigation of cadres in South Phyongan Province, too many specialists in economic affairs have been appointed to Party bodies.

Those technicians who are not working in the fields of their specialities must all be reappointed to their own specialities so that they can use their technical knowledge. Within Party organs, too, all the technicians must be reassigned to the relevant economic departments of their specialities.

To proceed. In order to improve Party work, intensive guidance must be increased.

The Party Central Committee should resume its intensive guidance of provinces. When the Party Central Committee devoted a great deal of effort to giving intensive guidance to provinces in the past, even the lowest units were well informed of Party policies and instructions. But since it began to disregard this, the work of learning about cadres and all other matters are not going as well as they did previously.

The Party Central Committee must first give intensive guidance to

Kangwon Province and then to Jagang Province.

The purpose of its giving intensive guidance to provinces now is to learn about the Party workers and the officials of public organizations and administrative and economic bodies and educate them so as to improve all the activities in the provinces concerned. Therefore, the guidance group must consist not only of Party workers but officials of administrative and economic establishments and the working people's organizations including the League of Socialist Working Youth, the trade unions and the Women's Union, so that it will be a comprehensive team capable of giving guidance to all sectors. While guiding the provinces, the team can help them in farming and in the dissemination of Party policy but it must on no account take over the functions of the administrative and economic organs.

Based on the outlines issued by the Party Central Committee, the provincial Party committees should give intensive guidance to their counties.

It is desirable that the provincial Party committee should guide a few counties at a time, rather than try to deal with all its counties at the same time.

Only when a provincial Party committee guides its counties from time to time and learns about their cadres and about the composition of their population, can it have a correct idea of class relationships in the counties and, on this basis, work out an effective way to pursue the class struggle. If it does not guide counties frequently, it will not be able to understand whether or not county work is being done well, nor will it be able to take measures to improve county work.

Our experience in guiding Changsong County shows that it is of great significance in developing county work and in improving the people's standard of living to find out the shortcomings in county work and eradicate them through intensive guidance.

On our first visit to this county we found that farming there was not successful, the cash income was small and commodities were not being supplied properly and, as a result, the people's standard of living was very low. Whilst guiding this county at that time, we gave detailed



instructions that, in view of poor crop yields, the county should develop local industry fed by locally available natural raw materials and cultivate a great deal of red pepper, for instance, which thrives there, so as to increase incomes and thus make the people more prosperous.

But the living standards of the people in Changsong County improved very little. So we gave intensive guidance to this county and learned about the officials and affairs of the county. We learned, in the course of intensive guidance, that the senior officials of the county Party committee had not properly implemented the tasks we had given them. Red peppers, for example, were planted on barren lands, not in fertile fields.

During the inspection we dismissed the chief secretary of the county Party committee and appointed to the post a comrade from the Party Central Committee. The new chief secretary was a man of action and followed our instructions faithfully. With the help of technicians, he ensured that red pepper seedlings were raised in hotbeds and bedded out in the best fields, so as to get an abundant yield. He also built a local factory which processed wild grapes, fruits of the *Actinidia arguta*, wild pears and so on, which abound in this area, and encouraged farmers to pick these fruits for the market so as to earn more money. In addition, he saw to it that stock farming was developed with the sheep supplied by the state as an asset, that every peasant family in the county raised domestic animals and that the manure from these animal sheds was applied to fields so as to increase the crop yields threefold.

Today the farmers of this county earn a larger income than people in the plains, their living standards are much higher than before. They are as prosperous as people in the plains. Our guidance of Changsong County was a valuable experience. Drawing on this experience, provinces should guide the political, economic and cultural affairs of their counties, discovering defects in their work and the causes of these defects and then remedying the shortcomings.

In order to give efficient guidance, we must set up a strict reporting system this year and make it a rule to submit a monthly report on the

results of guidance. At an enlarged meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee to be held with the participation of departmental heads of the Party Central Committee and the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees, provinces should make their reports on the results of their guidance and inspection of all aspects of county work—Party work, economic affairs, security work, the work of the Red Guards, of the working people’s organizations and of government bodies.

Furthermore, so that Party work can be developed in depth it is necessary that the Political Committee should conduct a proper review of these activities. Over the past few years even the Party Central Committee has neglected to conduct a work review. From next month onwards, it should draw up its work plan and review its activities properly just as it did in the past. The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee should sum up Party work, and the implementation of the tasks put forward by the plenary meetings, and by the departments in charge of economic affairs by dealing with one item every month. This will enable the economic departments of the Party Central Committee, when preparing for the review, to learn about cadres and ascertain whether or not Party policy has been brought home to lower echelons, and how Party policy has been disseminated and implemented.

The review can take the form of a meeting in the same way that the Party Central Committee held an enlarged meeting of its Presidium at Pukchong—that is, by the members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee or officials from the Secretariat who are visiting a province so that they can hear the work report at the plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee concerned and make a closing speech.

If the Political Committee reviews one item every month without fail, it will be able to sum up many urgent and important items of Party work during a year.

To continue. All Party organizations must help the People’s Army to correct the shortcomings criticized at the Fourth Enlarged Plenary

Meeting of its Fourth Party Committee, as soon as possible.

An important factor in strengthening the People's Army is to build up its ranks. To this end, sound people should be recruited. Local Party organizations must exercise care and ensure that this is done.

Next, Party organizations at all levels should work properly with the soldiers who come home on leave and with those families whose members are away serving in the People's Army.

I was told that because soldiers of the People's Army had not been allowed to take leave for several years, even veteran soldiers had had no chance of visiting their homes. When we were fighting the guerrilla war in the mountains circumstances did not permit us to send men home on leave. But why not now when we are in power? In the years of the guerrilla war we did not send the men home lest they should be arrested by the enemy and their families suffer persecution. But now the situation is different.

We criticized this bitterly at the Fourth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Committee of the People's Army and made certain that the leave system was restored. I was told that in a month and a half after the meeting thousands of soldiers have been sent home on leave and that they are very happy. Since then the soldiers' families have become more enthusiastic in their work, the servicemen and people have been more friendly with each other, soldiers have become more successful in military training and in their political lives, and the combat efficiency of the People's Army has increased.

Party and working people's organizations should work with the servicemen on leave as well as with the army dependants properly. The Party organizations, the League of Socialist Working Youth, the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union should work properly with the dependants of the People's Army men so that they do their work zealously, and keep their houses clean and tidy and that, when the soldiers come home on leave, they have a good influence over them and encourage them to perform their military duties better when they are back in their units.

**LET US PROMOTE THE ACTIVITIES  
OF THE TRAVELLING YOUTH MOTIVATION  
TROUPE TO ROUSE THE MASSES  
TO IMPLEMENT THE PARTY'S POLICY**

**Talk to Officials of the League of Socialist Working  
Youth after Watching the Combined Performance  
of the Participants in the Second National Contest  
of Travelling Youth Motivation Troupes**

*March 12, 1969*

The combined performance of travelling youth motivation troupes today was excellent. The items are good, cheerful and full of vitality. The repertoire reflects the Party's policy correctly, and the form of the items is also excellent. In particular, an item dealing with the problem of establishing the revolutionary habit of study is extremely good, because it criticizes those who neglect their studies and teaches them how to study. Those items which show how to conduct a strenuous campaign for collective technical innovation and how to make effective use of the 480-minute workday are also good.

The motivation troupe must present a colourful programme, which combines such artistic forms as speeches, songs and the recital of poems in the right proportions. This is the way to produce good results in spreading the Party's policy.

The imperfection in today's performance is that too much time was spent on speech-making, while there were few songs. It is better not to include too much speech-making, but to ensure that a reasonable

number of songs and recitations about the Party's policy are contained in the programme and that many kinds of musical instruments, instead of only an accordion, are played.

A song is a very effective means of propagating the Party's policy and mobilizing the masses for its implementation. If the Party's policy is simply presented in a song which is easy to understand and is made popular in this way, it will contribute to raising the morale of the masses and equipping them with the policy quickly.

If you want to adapt a song from the Party's policy, you will have no difficulty in doing so. For instance, you can compose songs to encourage the young people to take good care of their machines, to improve their products, to consume less electricity, to value the forests, to manage the nation's economy effectively, and so on. And I think you can compose songs on the themes of self-reliance, independence and the like, to which the Party attaches great importance at present. If you compose many songs based on the Party's policy and spread them widely through the activities of travelling youth motivation troupes, the audience will enjoy them. Some time ago, I heard the songs about child education written by the Women's Union; both their subject matter and tunes are excellent. In the same way, the League of Socialist Working Youth should write and popularize many songs about Party policy.

You must compose simple songs, which are easy to understand and sing, and which give a good description of the Party's policy. Then, workers at factories can sing them during a break, cooperative farmers will sing while working the fields and women will be able to sing them whilst doing kitchen work. If, in this way, everybody sings songs about the Party's policy, it will be well popularized.

Some songs which are sung by the working people at present do not express the Party's policy properly. As regards the *Ballad of Ploughing*, its tune is beautiful but the words do not express the Party's policy. All that can be heard in the song are the words "Let us go ploughing" and nothing is said about increasing grain output or how to achieve that. It would be a good idea for that song to be rewritten, so as to reflect the Party's policy.

Today in their combined performance the travelling youth motivation troupes did not present the everyday lives of young people satisfactorily. Since it consists of young men and women, the troupe should naturally give great prominence to these matters in its repertoire. For example, there ought to be something about these questions—closely uniting the young people around the Party, encouraging them to take the lead in difficult and arduous work, and revolutionizing them through strong ideological struggle, and so on. By just dealing with these matters, the troupe will be able to play its role of giving the young people a revolutionary education and encouragement.

Some items failed to describe the Party's policy in a comprehensive manner. One item "Let us spread soil to make Orori Plain fertile in response to the leader's teaching!" deals only with the problem of land improvement. It should have also included the need to carry out the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the rural areas and to increase the output of grain, in keeping with the spirit of the rural theses.

Today's performance has a few defects, but, generally speaking, it was wonderful. I think that if the League of Socialist Working Youth gives effective guidance to improve some items and perfect them, the performance will be successful.

The travelling youth motivation troupe is a powerful means of educating and rousing the masses to implement the Party's policy. The youth league must establish these troupes well and encourage their activities.

It would be a good idea for a travelling youth motivation troupe to consist of some 15 members and for each performance to last about 30 minutes.

A performance should be given either during breaks or on Saturdays, so that it does not interfere with the working people doing productive activities.

Each troupe should make it a rule to work in its own factory, or cooperative farm or county. It is wrong for the young people to be kept

away from production for art performance for a long time.

In order to publicize the experience of the troupe's activities, it is effective to organize a national art contest. But a national travelling motivation troupe should not be formed, so as to prevent the young people from making a tour of the whole country, kept away from production activities for a long time.

If one troupe is to tour the country, its programme should be different from what it is now, but it should include every subject. There must be items dealing with the fishing and railway sectors. As regards the railway sector, that should include different subjects such as the production of rolling stock, the transport of freight and the electrification of the railways. In addition, there are many matters to be represented in each sector, and all this cannot be included in the programme of one motivation troupe.

Furthermore, a national travelling motivation troupe will not be able to conduct information and motivation activities to suit the individual conditions in each branch and each unit. In my opinion, an item in today's programme, which deals with the problem of felling trees properly, will not make much of an impression on the working people in Pyongyang. When performing in the capital, the troupe should mainly show student education, the revolutionization of teachers, the production of light industrial goods, city construction, and cultured ways of life. It is advisable, therefore, that the travelling youth information and motivation troupes prepare repertoires to suit their own characteristics, and work in their respective factories, farms and counties.

This kind of troupe has to be organized in every particular field.

It would be a good idea that in the People's Army it be formed with a division or army corps as a unit. It should give a picture of the army's specific activities—practice shooting, the beautiful tradition of unity between the army and the people, between officers and men, and the protection of the people's lives and property. There are large numbers of young people in the army; so, if effective guidance is given, the troupe's activities will be more successful than those in any other fields.

Schools should run their own motivation troupes, in order that students may be encouraged to study hard, take an active part in their organizational life and adhere to school discipline conscientiously.

The League of Socialist Working Youth organizations should strengthen their guidance of troupe activities.

In this connection, they should concentrate on forming these troupes properly and strengthening their activities in factories, enterprises and on cooperative farms. A national contest of travelling youth motivation troupes should not be organized very often.

The youth league organizations should work out detailed plans for these activities, and see to it that they give art performance every Saturday. In a factory, the troupe should present a performance either in its clubhouse or in the vicinity of machines in different workshops. In rural areas it should do so in the fields where the farmers are working.

The factory troupes should not confine themselves to their own factories, but should visit other factories to give performances within their counties. It would also be welcome if they were to visit each other's factories to give performances. In Pyongyang, travelling troupes should be formed from young workers and students to carry on information and motivation activities in districts and factories.

The youth league organizations must ensure that the travelling youth motivation troupes conduct their activities extensively, employing various forms and methods, so that they can inform the masses of the Party's policy quickly and arouse them vigorously to implement it.



**CONGRATULATIONS TO OFFICERS  
AND MEN OF UNIT 447 OF THE KOREAN  
PEOPLE'S ARMY ON SHOOTING DOWN  
THE HEAVY RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT  
OF THE US IMPERIALIST AGGRESSIVE  
FORCES WHICH ILLEGALLY INTRUDED  
INTO THE NORTHERN HALF OF KOREA  
FOR RECONNAISSANCE PURPOSES**

*April 16, 1969*

I warmly congratulate the officers and men of Unit 447 of the Korean People's Army upon shooting down with a single shot the heavy reconnaissance aircraft of the US imperialist aggressive forces which illegally intruded into the territorial airspace of the northern half of Korea to carry out reconnaissance activities on April 15, 1969.

You performed a heroic deed by shooting down the aircraft which had violated the sacred territorial airspace of our country and committed an insolent act of provocation.

Your distinguished service is an example of the heroism of our People's Army soldiers who firmly upheld the honour and dignity of the motherland by determinedly punishing the US imperialist invaders, and it is the manifestation of their infinite loyalty to the Party and the revolution.

By striking a powerful retaliatory blow at the aggressive act of the US imperialist air pirates, you comrades hit them hard and demonstrated once again the might of the heroic Korean People's

Army soldiers who are firmly equipped with the Party's monolithic ideology and are well trained in military techniques, and each of whom is a match for a hundred enemies.

Our Party and people greatly appreciate your heroic deed, by which you resolutely retaliated against the serious provocation of the US imperialist aggressors and displayed the unswerving revolutionary stand and heroic stamina of our people.

The recent rank piracy committed by the US imperialist aggressors is a link in the chain of their premeditated stratagems in preparation for another war in Korea.

To cope with the ever-blatant aggressive acts and the war provocations of the US imperialists, you must sharpen revolutionary vigilance and defend the territorial airspace of the country stoutly, keeping yourselves on the alert at all times.

I am convinced that in the future, too, you will mercilessly crush every enemy attempt at aggression and provocation, and safeguard our socialist system and revolutionary gains with credit and fulfil your revolutionary duties with honour.

